For

Stephen, Ila, Leon, Kieron, Liam

Traa dy liooar,
Soie sheese as tow aash

BEGGARS CAN'T BE CHOOSERS

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF POST-SCHOOL TRANSITIONS IN A HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AREA

(VOLUMES I AND II)

by

Stephen F. Craine

BA (Hons) 1st Class : University of York

Thesis presented to the University of Salford, Department of Sociology, in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 1993

CONTENTS

CHAPTER SEVEN 418-504
PROTRACTED TRANSITIONS

CHAPTER TEN
SUBCULTURAL STYLE

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Steve Craine

Aberystwyth
November 1993

Abstract of Thesis

BEGGARS CAN'T BE CHOOSERS :
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF POST-SCHOOL TRANSITIONS IN A HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AREA

My thesis seeks to explore and document the processes involved in the career transitions of a specific sample of unqualified minimum age school leavers drawn from a high unemployment inner city area. The main body of data was collected ethnographically between 1985 and 1990, although the original 'data-base', entrée into the field, and 'insider status' were derived from my former employment in a Youth and Community Project in the study area.

The research has identified three broad patterns of labour market transition: the first involved a minority of participants and was a traditional post-school transition to primary employment; the second involved a slightly larger group in protracted transitions *via* combinations of experiences which included unemployment, underemployment and government schemes; the third and most common pattern involved a cyclical post-school transition described by some study participants as the 'Black Magic Roundabout'. Cyclical transitions entailed early careers in which participants became trapped on a (not so) merry-go-round of unemployment, government schemes and special programmes, youth jobs, work in the informal economy, more unemployment, schemes, and so on. Generally, this transition preceded the slide into cynicism, disillusionment and labour market withdrawal. Each of the labour market transitions reflected a complementary career pattern in terms of entry into and progress through adult domestic life. Case studies explore individual responses which were mediated by the inter-relationships between labour market and domestic career transitions and trends in government policy, the economy, local labour market conditions, housing and the family.

By far the largest group among research participants were those who had moved through cyclical transitions and labour market withdrawal into long-term unemployment. My study illustrates how this group restricted social networks to others in a similar position, built on a common sense of identity and reduced commitment to the orthodox labour market. My study reveals that to those for whom employment was perceived as only a distant and diminished possibility, alternative status systems were subculturally conceived. Significantly large numbers of participants proactively explored, constructed and pursued sub- and anti-employment careers. Affiliation to the sub- and anti-employment subcultures enabled participants to offset threats to psychological well-being posed by their objective labour market positions and provided alternative routes to income, status, identity and meaning.

Of all the post-sixteen progression routes, the slide into the informal economy and acquisitive criminality is the most under-researched. Detailed exploration of these non-conventional routes contributes to the contemporary understanding of post-school transitions and provides knowledge of the 'career points' through which this transition occurs.

INTRODUCTION

"The Sociological Imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. This is its task and its promise" (C. Wright Mills (1971 : 12)

The transition from school to work has become an issue of national significance in recent years. One of the central principles of both British political parties between 1945 and 1979 was an avowed commitment to 'full employment'. Though it was never universal, the principle of full employment served to establish the parameters within which a traditional transition from school and dependent status to employment and independent adult status was achieved. Previously, those sociologists concerned with the transitions to adulthood and adult working life could safely assume there was work to go to. Attention was largely directed at how young people came to occupy different occupational roles and positions within the labour market. The traditional post-school transition routes, forged in the post-war political consensus, held until the sudden quadrupling of oil prices in the mid-1970s. The resulting economic recession, when combined with changes in technology, produced a near collapse of manufacturing industry and wiped out substantial areas of the traditional youth labour market.

In 1979, when I first moved to my study area to begin work as a detached youthworker, unemployment was endemic; since that time, it has doubled nationally and almost tripled locally. The volume of research and comment on the issue of unemployment has proliferated in tandem with the expansion of agencies designed to deal with it. What else can be added to the avalanche of studies produced in the past decade or more? Most work on the subject of unemployment and youth transitions has been concerned with specific issues: unemployment and the family, changes in the labour market, the state's responses, and so on. In the spirit of Sociological Imagination advocated by C. Wright Mills, my thesis brings together these and other themes by examining them in relation to the lives and lived experience of a specific group of unqualified, minimum age school leavers in a high unemployment inner city area. In

attempting to grasp history and biography, my thesis seeks to explore and document the processes of post-school transitions within the overarching canopy of structured inequalities.

The national economic and employment crises had significant local consequences for study participants as the late 1970s saw an apparent breakdown in the smooth transitional progression from school to employment, from working class origins to male and female working class destinations in the occupational and social structure. The North West region as a whole has suffered a contracting labour market for over twenty years and my study area exhibits many of the socio-economic consequences of de-industrialisation which have become familiar to the traditional industrial regions of the North. As the old industrial areas lost investment and employment, so the traditional opportunities for both the indigenous adult and youth labour force evaporated. High inflation rates and dwindling productivity produced closures and labour shedding on an unprecedented scale. These, in turn, affected public expenditure pressures at both a national and local level. The very structure of the Welfare State, which had been established in the post-war economic consensus, came under increasing fiscal and ideological pressure. By 1979, a new Conservative political regime had emerged under Thatcher, with radical right wing programmes of deregulation and privatisation which represented a fundamental break with the post-war Keynesian consensus. Changes in youth policy during the Thatcher era ensured that the life transitions of the young working class were no longer to be structured through employment opportunity, but rather through containment and socialisation schemes under the 'new curriculum' for young people.

In our society, the series of post-school transactions and transitions are crucially dependent on entry into, and progressions through, the labour market. The weight of evidence of my study indicates that, for the majority of research participants, the old transitions to adulthood have broken down. Post-school transitions exist at many levels: the transition into work; the transition into trade unionism; "the transition into the

2

working class wisdoms of working cultures" (Willis 1988 : 271); the transition to residential independence; the transition to consumerism and to the citizenship of things; the transition to adult roles and statuses, to adult domestic careers of 'going out', courtship, marriage and parenthood. The fracture in these transitions had enormous implications for the lives of study participants as they left school and moved towards adult autonomy. Capitalism, in and for itself, could offer no alternatives to the young working class, and the political representatives of the ruling class reneged on their side of the 'unofficial social contract' when the traditional transition routes to working class adulthood were fractured by the crisis of unemployment. What generally characterises the past decade of policy interventions are unsatisfactory exercises in socialisation, containment, and social control, mobilised through an increasingly authoritarian 'law and order' state. The Manpower Services Commission, for example, primarily through incursions into education and vocational training, sought to establish a new curriculum for young people and for post-school transitions. Under the management of this centralised and largely unaccountable state agency, (un)employment training schemes were expanded into a compulsory post-school containment programme which ensured that, for many, schemes became the normal prelude to (un)employment.

Youth (un)employment training policies formed only one strand in the wider matrix of institutionalised economic and social insecurity which moulded participants' post-school transitions. The collapse of the youth labour market, and the loss of employment opportunities upon which to structure adult independence, resulted in the majority of participants becoming more, not less, dependent upon their parents and families.. Their positions were exacerbated by the fifty or so changes in benefit regulations which, since 1979, have resulted in an overall reduction in living standards (Kirk et al 1991 : 39). Moreover, the barriers to residential independence experienced by study participants must also be understood within the context of the deteriorating housing situation which has confronted the young working class since 1979. The Conservatives' ideological push for privatisation was responsible for a major restructuring of the nation's housing stock. The

policy of encouraging home ownership, and the removal of millions of properties from local authority ownership through the 'right to buy', were revealed by the 1985 Housing Act, which sought to maximise the 'right to buy' incentive by offering potential purchasers substantial discounts of between 60% and 70% on council house purchases. In the meantime, the average local waiting time for a council house (for a couple with children) has recently been extended from three to over five years (Shelter 1993). My study suggests that these and other policy strategies have engendered inter-connected and cumulative forms of structured inequality.

Political policies, practices and perspectives are historically specific and the intersection of biography and history forms a significant focus for my thesis; however, history and biography applies as much to the researcher as to the researched. Thus, my own biography forms part of this study, for the thesis also represents a significant chapter in my own history. Having emerged from prison in 1979, to undertake youthwork in Hartingleigh, my personal transition is such that I am now studying the processes of which I formed a part. However, despite certain similarities between my own experiences of growing up in a disadvantaged inner city environment and those of my study participants, it was necessary for me to make a leap of the Sociological Imagination in order to connect with their social worlds, and I hope that, in so doing, I can carry the reader with me.

The main body of data was collected ethnographically between 1985 and 1990, although the original 'data-base', entrée into the field, and 'insider status', were derived from my residence in the study area and my former employment there as a detached youthworker. Thus, although not at that stage formally engaged in sociological research, 'data' has been derived from research participants since they were originally contacted, at the point of school leaving, in 1980, as part of a community-based youth project. Consequently, the dramas, despair and proactive resistance, which I shared with study participants over the ten year period of my project, form part of my own consciousness

4

and were connected at the intersection of a significant portion of my own history and biography.

Hartingleigh, my study area, is one of nineteen wards within the Inner City boundary of Manchester, as designated by the City Council. In Chapter One, I explore the historical and social context of participants' post-school transitions by setting them within the broadest sweep of history. In this, I briefly explore the transformation of Hartingleigh from an agricultural community to the urban nightmare it became as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution and the development of industrial capitalism. For a study of contemporary Britain, starting in feudal times may be considered at best eccentric, at worst irrelevant, but 'King Cotton', as the 'pacemaker' of the new industrial order, saw Lancashire and, in particular, Manchester, at the epicentre of the "most fundamental transformation of human life in the history of the world". It was a transformation that engendered a new system of production, a new form of society and, most importantly, a new exploitative economic relationship - class society. The historical threads of disadvantage, exploitation and class inequality, engendered by the transformation to industrial capitalism, are explored in terms of their contemporary manifestations within Hartingleigh's socio-economic structure. Hartingleigh is, for example, one of several Inner City wards characterised as an "economic and social problem area", as defined by Greater Manchester Council research. The Chapter continues with an examination of the roots of the parent cultural values of collectivism and community resistance, and explores how these historical traditions informed contemporary community initiatives. The formation and development of the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project, for example, may be viewed as a contemporary manifestation of working class cultural traditions informed by the desire for collectivism and community resistance. The significance of the Project for my study is that it provided my original employment as a detached youthworker, supplied a research identity, entrée to the field, data-base, and a host of invaluable contacts and resources.

Chapters Two to Five are divided into the chronological phases within which my research evolved and eventually came to fruition. In part, this is an autobiographical/methodological (research) journey as it encompassed a ten year period of my life. In Chapter Two, the first phase (1979-1982), I outline the background and origins of my data-base, and the contacts fostered with the young people from Hartingleigh, who eventually became the participants in my research. In 1980, I collaborated in a Youth and Community Project initiated survey of fifty school leavers from the 'catchment area' of the Project. Although I did not realise it at the time, my involvement in these early contacts with the young people of Hartingleigh was to provide the starting point for, and basis upon which, my subsequent research developed. I also established many contacts, personal as well as 'professional' relationships, and these were to greatly facilitate my eventual fieldwork and, on occasions, provide crucial access to 'backstage' areas of data acquisition; informal areas of social life that may well have eluded other types of researchers less involved in, or acquainted with, the community.

The first phase of detached youthworking for the Project also significantly influenced my disposition towards a participatory methodology. The principles and practice of, so-called, 'permissive youthwork', containing the avowed emphases of empowerment, advocacy and community participation, meshed neatly with a family of participatory research approaches derived from the ethnographic/participant observation traditions within sociology.

Chapter Three, the second phase of my study (1982-1985), fully explores the contours of the ethnographic tradition within social research and attempts to make explicit the theoretical scaffolding within which my study would be constructed. In the second phase, I undertook undergraduate study and, during the three years as a sociology student, I was drawn to participant observation because of its emphasis on a humanistic and empathic research encounter, an emphasis which fitted neatly predilections I had acquired from detached youthwork principles and practice. Participant observation studies offered a rich

6

tradition of providing depth analyses of social worlds from the perspectives of research participants. However, a critical component has also been explored as a necessary element in the analyses of 'lived experience' in order to display the relationship between participants' individual experiences and the generative structures of social life. The methodological task I was to set myself in my apprenticeship as a 'critical ethnographer' was to display the structural, ideological and related issues which impinged upon and shaped participants' status sequences and choice patterns during the life course ("to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two").

The period of the third phase of my evolving study (1985-1986) saw me leaving University to re-enter the urban environment of my home community. In Chapter Four, I provide an outline of the preliminary sampling and fieldwork conducted during the twelve month period of the third phase. It was an exploratory ethnographic journey which began in Hartingleigh with the young people (who were now young adults) with whom I had established friendships and informal contacts as a result of my detached youthwork during the first phase. These contacts had been consolidated during the frequent trips home during the undergraduate years of the second phase. Thus, by the time I began the third phase of preliminary fieldwork, I had not only established an easy rapport with many of those who would become study participants, but had also developed relatively open and informal access to their wider social networks. My friendships provided the necessary 'street credentials' and 'insider-status' which allowed me to begin the process of systematically documenting the variety of local adaptive responses to the new 'broken' transitions.

During the third phase of preliminary sampling and fieldwork, I was able to trace, formally contact and interview, a total of thirty-nine (20 male, 19 female) members of the original survey group of fifty, who, as school leavers, had participated in the Project's 1980 Youth and Community Survey. Out of these contacts, I was able to sketch some broad patterns in terms of study participants' post-school transitions. There were three notable

7

patterns of post-school transition which broadly conformed to a typology originally identified by Roberts (1986). These were: Traditional Transitions, from school directly into primary employment; Protracted Transitions, from school to primary employment, via combinations of post-school experiences which included unemployment, underemployment, and government inspired schemes and special programmes; the third, and most common pattern, involved a Cyclical Transition from school into a cycle of unemployment, schemes, special programmes, youth jobs, work in the informal economy, more unemployment, more schemes, and so on. Generally, this latter transition preceded the slide into disillusionment, cynicism, long-term unemployment and labour market withdrawal.

By far the largest group among my study participants were those who had moved from school through cyclical transitions and had then entered the ranks of the long-term unemployed. My preliminary fieldwork suggested that the long-term unemployed 'coped' by restricting social networks to others in a similar position; they recognised and built on a common sense of identity and reduced labour market commitment. Preliminary fieldwork also suggested that, although waged employment remained a crucial aid and symbolic reference point in the transition to adult roles, statuses and identities, to those for whom employment was only a distant and diminished possibility, alternative status systems were proactively explored, constructed and pursued. My preliminary fieldwork revealed that significantly large numbers of study participants had evolved alternative modes of post-school transition and that some had sought out and developed sub- and anti-employment subcultures. Evidence drawn from preliminary fieldwork made it clear that involvement, whether real or potential, in these alternative career routes enabled participants to offset threats to their identities and psychological well-being posed by their objective labour market positions. The non-conventional 'strategies for survival' not only provided alternative routes to income, but also for defining status, identity, meaning and time-structure, and thus served as proactive alternatives to the 'latent functions of employment' identified by social-psychological research. Alternative careers and

transitions enabled some study participants to preserve their social and psychological well-being in a situation of profound disadvantage and prolonged unemployment.

Chapter Five provides an overview of the main body of research conducted during the fourth and final phase of my study (1986-1990). The Chapter highlights the difficulties, strengths and limitations, of participatory research, and I explore some of the personal consequences of conducting intensive fieldwork in one's own 'back yard'. I also examine the host of formidable ethical, political, and confidentiality implications and ramifications of conducting research into law-breaking amongst the long-term unemployed. The Chapter also provides an overview of the post-school movement of study participants into and out of employment/unemployment, explores the main explanations for the causes of unemployment, and examines the theoretical implications of the terms 'trajectories', 'transitions' and 'careers'.

Each of the different modes of post-school labour market transition identified amongst participants reflected a complementary pattern in terms of entry into and progress through adult domestic life. Chapter Five compares and contrasts the different modes of transition and paves the way for detailed exploration of the different modes in succeeding Chapters. Chapter Six provides a detailed examination of Traditional Transitions, Chapter Seven explores the more common Protracted Transitions, and Chapter Eight the most common Cyclical Transitions into long-term unemployment and labour market withdrawal. Individual responses within each of the separate modes of post-school transition are explored with case studies and ethnographic references, which seek to examine the relationship between history and biography, the mediation of inter-relationships between labour market and 'domestic career' transitions, and trends in government policy, the economy, local labour market conditions, housing and the family.

In recent years, the avalanche of youth research literature has concentrated on post-sixteen progressions. Under the impact of the vanishing youth labour market, the

traditional routes to adult roles and statuses have been broken. Within this broad body of research, some preliminary attempts have been made to explore and document the 'coping' and 'survival strategies' of young adults in high unemployment areas. However, little has been revealed about the use of the informal economy, the development of alternative enterprise cultures, or the recourse to petty and/or serious crime. Similarly, little has been revealed about the processes involved in the proactive development of these sub- and anti-employment subcultures, or the strategies and alternative transitions involved. Chapter Nine of my thesis provides a typology of the locally generated 'alternative career' options, supported by case studies and other ethnographic material, which provide an outline of the progressive development of such strategies by research participants.

For those participants involved in the development and pursuit of alternative transitions, such strategies were brought into being and articulated alongside the development of other subcultural concerns. Subcultural styles, for example, were often 'homologous' with alternative transitions and careers and provided a symbolic fit between the values and life style of the group, the subjective experience of its members, the recreational use of proscribed drugs, and the musical forms utilised to express or reinforce its focal concerns. In the Tenth and final Chapter of my study, I explore the development of innovative subcultural styles among study participants, and their peers, and examine how these gave meaning to, and reflected, an oppositional mode of consciousness, expressed through the relationship between alternative careers and subcultural style.

Of all the post-sixteen progression routes, the movement through cyclical transitions into long-term unemployment, the sub-economy, and acquisitive crime is the most under-researched. The noticeable gap in the existing literature may be partially explained by problems of access and the potentially controversial nature of research in this area. Nevertheless, through detailed exploration of these alternative transitions, I hope to have provided some contribution towards a more comprehensive knowledge of the 'career' points through which this progression occurs and to have lent greater overall

understanding of options available to, and 'choices' being made by, the long-term unemployed.

This study does not purport to be an authoritative, or definitive, examination of post-school transitions, or long-term unemployment, but is a descriptive account of a participant observation study of one specific group of unqualified, minimum age school leavers in a high unemployment Inner City area of Manchester. The study seeks to document how one particular group of young people have negotiated their transitions from school into adulthood against the backcloth of diminished opportunity during the Thatcher decade. My research has been unashamedly exploratory for, in many respects, what I encountered -

> " ... had never been presented with sufficient clarity and distinctness ... the sheer descriptive task had to come before all other considerations" (Laing 1960 : 18).

I have attempted to present an inevitably partial and fragmented glimpse of the realities which engaged the young people who became my research participants. At best my study has attempted to "interpret the world as it appears to them" (Matza 1969 : 25). Utilising a participatory method has, I hope, allowed me to give voice to participants' own attempts to understand their new social condition, as it has allowed me to record their endeavours to create meaning and sustain identities from the consistencies and contradictions they have encountered.

BEGGARS CAN'T BE CHOOSERS

VOLUME I

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

"An account of social reality must be provided which adequately comprehends the life-worlds of research subjects while firmly situating those worlds within their broader social context. I take it to be axiomatic that this broader social context includes the historical antecedents of the situation under study." (Jenkins 1983 : 22)

"Ragamuffin know ya 'istory know ya culture." (The Ruthless Rap Assassins - Hulme, Manchester 1990).

1.1 Hartingleigh : A Brief History

During the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), Manchester was an obscure township built at the confluence of the rivers Irwell and Irk ...

"with a wooden-towered church presiding over the fortunes of a small manor-house." [1]

The manor house was owned by Robert Gradeley, Lord of the Manor of Manchester. Hartingleigh formed part of the great forest which encircled Manchester at that time. There was woodland, oak, ash, and elm where Hartingleigh now lies; there is even record that the eagle nested there. Even to this day, nearly 700 years later, Hartingleigh Clough shows to the imaginative eye what Hartingleigh forest might have once looked like.

The forest, according to a return made on the death of Robert Gradeley, Lord of the Manor in 1291, extended for over seven miles, covering nearby suburbs in the Northern part of the city. A later survey, made in 1322, states that the forest was worth 53s. 4d. *pannage* (that is the actual 'produce' of the forest, such as mast, honey, etc.) and that the trees themselves were worth £133 6s. 8d. if they were cut up for timber. However, it would be inaccurate to imagine a picture of the medieval Hartingleigh peasantry gathering the honey and felling the trees of this great forest. For Hartingleigh forest was part of the demesne of the Lord of Manchester and "all the profits of the earth accrued unto him". The forest was also a deer warren and was capable of grazing two hundred fallow deer;

the hunting of these, which belonged by medieval law to the King, had been granted to the Gradeleys and, being a royal privilege, was very strictly preserved. The River Irk was subjected to the same restrictions, the fishing rights being strictly reserved to the Gradeleys.

The medieval history of Hartingleigh reflects the medieval history of England; a place of extensive forests gradually being cleared and small towns surrounded by narrow strips of cultivated land, tilled by the peasantry - a peasantry tied to the soil and surrounded by the fruits of a fertile earth to which they had no rights with a Lord of the Manor hiring out his rights to the man who could pay for them. In short, it was a highly organised feudal society where the greatest changes were to lay in the land itself; in the substitution of spacious forest and wild *deer leaps by rows of houses, new building estates and the tame* urbanisation of Hartingleigh Clough. Apart from 'the Clough', there is nothing in Hartingleigh which survives its medieval past. Hartingleigh, a village on the outskirts of a rapidly growing industrial city, was by the 19th century indistinguishable from its neighbouring suburbs. The settlement of villagers in Hartingleigh during the Middle Ages was chiefly pastoral, the exceptions being the wardens and foresters who were employed to guard the deer belonging to the Lord of the Manor. The community was engulfed by the industrialists who set up their textile and dyeing mills on the banks of the Irk, just as the ploughlands and pastures were engulfed by the tide of houses that followed. According to Beales (1958), the Industrial Revolution,

> "replaced one social system or one civilisation by another ... A civilisation based on the plough and the pasture perished - in its place stood a new order, resting ... on coal, iron and imported textile materials." (Beales 1958 : 30)

Cotton being the 'pacemaker' (Hobsbawm 1975 : 56) of this new industrial order saw Lancashire, and in particular Manchester, at the very centre of,

> "the most fundamental transformation of human life in the history of the world." (Hobsbawm 1975 : 13)

13

Not only the 'pacemaker' of industrial change, cotton was also the basis of the newly emerging urban conglomerations which could not have existed without industrialisation. They expressed a new form of society, industrial capitalism, based on a new system of technological production, the factory, embodying a new exploitative economic relationship, class society, and a new form of social organisation, the great industrial city. In short, the Industrial Revolution,

> "represented a new economic relationship ... a new system of production, a new rhythm
> of life, a new society, a new historical era." (Hobsbawm 1975 : 65)

Labour in this new age of industrial capitalism increasingly took place in the big cities. According to Hobsbawm:

> "In 1750 there had been only two cities in Britain with more than 50,000 inhabitants -
> London and Edinburgh." (Hobsbawm 1975 : 86).

This was at a time when the estimated total population of England & Wales was five and a half million. By 1801, the national population had almost doubled and there were eight towns and cities, including Manchester, with more than 50,000 inhabitants, although still only 33% of the total population lived in a town of any size. However, by 1851, this proportion had risen to 50%, and by 1891 nearly 75% of the national population lived in the urban industrial conurbations (Miller 1979 : 28). For the first time, the census in 1851 reported an aggregate 'urban' population which exceeded the rural population (Lampard 1973 : 4). Thus, at the mid-point of the nineteenth century, with a total population of eighteen million for England & Wales, more people were living in town than in the country. By 1861, there were 29 great industrial towns and cities with populations of over 50,000, eight of these with populations over 100,000 and four over 250,000 (Miller 1979 : 28). According to Lampard, "the distinctive achievement of Britain in the latter part of the eighteenth century was to inaugurate the Industrial Revolution, her no less remarkable feat in the first half of the nineteenth century was to accomplish the first urban transformation" (1973 : 4). Manchester vividly reflected both of these profound historical changes.

From 1760, the City of Manchester expanded from the area generally considered to be the City Centre to include the outlying towns and villages. These today form the districts of Manchester. Between 1760 and 1830, Manchester effectively multiplied tenfold in size, increasing its population from 17,000 to over 180,000 inhabitants during this period (Hobsbawm *op cit*). The rapidly expanding cotton industry, fired by coal, powered by steam, and concentrated largely in the mills of Lancashire, was increasingly concentrated in these rapidly expanding regions of population. By 1838, out of a total of 1,600 mills in England, 1,200 were in Lancashire (Mathias 1969 : 133). The mills were increasingly concentrated in the more populated regions, in places where roads and canals made it easier and cheaper for getting in raw materials. Other 'external economies' also developed as Manchester expanded as a marketing centre for cotton manufacture and sales. There were, for example, the specialised service industries such as the bleaching and dyeing firms to be found in Hartingleigh and later the machine-making shops and machine servicing facilities which grew up in the shadow of the great mills in the Irk Valley.

Rapid expansion in this period meant that the City of Manchester, like all the industrial towns and cities, grew unplanned, lacking even the most elementary public services such as water supply, sanitation, lighting, street cleaning, open spaces and so on. The response to the consequences of this rapid unplanned industrial urbanisation is captured in a series of what Williams (1963 : 99) has described as the 'industrial novels'. Written at the middle of the nineteenth century, these provide vivid descriptions of the conditions and circumstances of life in an unsettled newly industrialised society. Charles Dickens' famous description of 'Coketown' from the novel *Hard Times* (1854), for example, vividly evokes the human consequences of this rapid urbanisation based ultimately on utility and the quest for financial profit:

> "It was a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it ... It was a town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of buildings full of windows where there was a rattling and trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam-engine worked monotonously up and down,

like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness.   It contained several
large streets all very like one another, and many small streets still more like one another,
inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours,
with the same sound upon the same pavements, to do the same work, and to whom every
day was the same as yesterday and tomorrow, and every year the counterpart of the last
and the next ..." (Dickens : 1969 edition : 65).

Nor were the consequences of rapid industrial urbanisation merely a question of poor
architectural aesthetics, daily grind and impoverished living conditions. Air pollution from
the great factory chimneys and water pollution from sewage and industrial effluence
produced an appalling toll of deaths from respiratory and intestinal disease (Hobsbawm
1975 : 86).   Few towns had appropriate drainage systems; where sewers existed, they
were designed only for rainwater.   In the north of Manchester, for example in Oldham
Road and St. George's Road, a population of 7,095 had access to only 33 toilets (Miller
1979 : 156).   In the Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population
(1842), headed by the famous sanitary reform campaigner Edwin Chadwick, he said:

"The annual loss of life from filth and bad ventilation is greater than the loss from death
or wounds in any war in modern times." (quoted in Miller 1979 : 157)

After 1830, the mass migration into the City from the surrounding rural areas produced
recurring epidemics of typhoid, cholera and tuberculosis.   The latter did not in general
attract the great publicity attributed to 'King Cholera' or 'Irish Fever' (typhus) but,
according to Miller (*op cit*), it was almost exclusively an urban disease, the "captain of the
armies of death", accounting for one-third of all deaths in the early century.   It was the
increasingly documented and publicised nature of the social ills of the new industrial City
which led eventually to the rudiments of a Welfare State (Roberts 1960).   The early
'sanitary reform movements' being given impetus by, for example, the horrific symptoms
and apparent ignorance of class distinctions of 'King Cholera'.   According to Dorothy
Wordsworth:

"One visible blessing seems already to be coming upon us through the alarm of cholera.
Every rich man is now obliged to look into the miserablebye-lanes and corners inhabited
by the poor." (quoted in Miller 1979 : 157)

In 1845, Frederick Engels published a vigorous attack on the urban-industrial system, through a general analysis of the evolution of industrial capitalism, its social impact and its political and social consequences. His account of urban social conditions in 'The Great Towns' was based as much on personal field work, particularly in Manchester and Salford, as on documentary and statistical analysis. He argued, along with many other Victorian social observers, reformers and revolutionaries, that the appalling physical conditions in the great industrial cities were having severe effects on the health, physique, and moral and social relationships of the working population.

> "The cottages are old, dirty and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains or pavement; masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools ... the atmosphere is poisoned by the effluvia from these and laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys ... in each of these pens containing at most two rooms, a garret and perhaps a cellar, on the average twenty human beings live ... for each one hundred and twenty persons, one usually inaccessible privy is provided ... in the working-men's dwellings of Manchester, no cleanliness, no convenience and consequently no comfortable family life is possible; ... in such dwellings only a physically degenerate race, robbed of all humanity, degraded, reduced morally and physically to bestiality, could feel comfortable and at home." (Engels 1979 : 93; 94, 96)

However, historians do not all accept the typicality or extent of the conditions described by Engels, but the critics' objection to Engels is often only their reluctance to admit his facts. Many local contemporary observers, as well as those who visited Manchester from abroad in those years, including bourgeois liberals, expressed a sense of horror in language as inflammatory as Engels' own. The famous French liberal, Alexis de Tocqueville, for example, in 1835, wrote of Manchester in the following terms:

> "Civilization works its miracles and civilized man is turned back almost into a savage."
> (in Mayer (ed.) 1958 : 107-8)

Similarly, the American observer Henry Colman, writing about Manchester in 1845, expressed a deep sense of moral and personal outrage at what he witnessed:

> "Wretched, defrauded, oppressed, crushed human nature lying in bleeding fragments all over the face of society ... Every day that I live I thank Heaven that I am not a poor man with a family in England." (in Briggs 1963 :116)

17

As well as these observers from abroad, other local medical commentators, such as Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth (1832) whose statistical study of the "moral and physical condition of the working classes employed in the cotton manufacture of Manchester", provided further contemporary testimony of the appalling physical, social and working environments of those "impoverished artisans" in nineteenth-century Manchester.   Manchester, after London, being at that time a central site for the investigation and documentation of the early evolving structure and social consequences of the urban-industrial system.   Carlyle (1840; 1843), Disraeli (1844; 1845), Cook-Taylor (1842); Faucher (1844) and later Marx, among many others, visited Manchester in order to examine and investigate the discontinuities and disarticulations of the newly emerged urban-industrial system.   Each in their different ways critically appraising what they encountered.   Robert Southey, for example, as early as 1829 gave his verdict in the following terms:

> "The immediate and home effect of the manufacturing system carried on as it is now upon the great scale, is to produce physical and moral evil, in proportion to the wealth it creates." (quoted in Williams 1963 : 41)

By 1850, the area which now constitutes Hartingleigh Ward, my study area, contained two "small impoverished and overcrowded settlements" similar to those described by Engels.   In the north of the Ward, a settlement had developed at the junction of Rowmarch Road and Hartingleigh Road, associated with the textile and dyeing industries in the Irk Valley.   In the south of the Ward, an arm of development stretched along Newham Road from the city centre and some secondary service industry had developed in this area along the Rowmarch canal and the newly constructed railway system.   The beginnings of the Newmarch Heath brewery were also established by this time.   However, until 1885, Hartingleigh was a separate township from Manchester.   During the 1870s, the problems of pure water supply and sanitation (referred to by Engels earlier in the century) grew much worse during the next decade.   The impact of a growing population and unplanned, haphazard, urbanisation meant that houses in Hartingleigh were erected cheaply and quickly, often by 'small proprietors' to house their workers.   Again Dickens'

description of 'Coketown' in the 'industrial novel' *Hard Times* (1854) captures the inhumanities of Victorian civilisation embodied in the "piecemeal" construction of workers' dwellings, "fostered and sanctioned by a hard philosophy, the aggressive formulation of an inhumane spirit." (Leavis, quoted in Williams 1963 : 104):

> "In the hardest working part of Coketown; in the innermost fortifications of that ugly citadel, where Nature was as strongly bricked out as killing airs and gases were bricked in; ... the labyrinth of narrow courts upon courts and close streets upon streets, ... had come into existence piecemeal, every piece in a violent hurry for some man's purpose, and the whole an unnatural family, shouldering, and trampling and pressing one another to death." (Dickens 1969 edition : 102)

An article in *The Times* of 8 February 1871 on the problems of administering the census, further illustrated graphically the haphazard nature of urbanisation:

> "There are many towns containing long lines of cottaged streets, formed by the gradual coalescence of buildings erected by several small proprietors, and in such streets it's not uncommon for each proprietor to give his little road a distinctive name, and to number the houses it contains from one upwards, without the smallest regard to the numbers in the vicinity." (quoted in Pahl 1971 : 20)

Local Government barely existed, and there was no adequate provision for even basic services. Hartingleigh and the nearby townships of Newmarch Heath, Bradford, Rusholme, etc., were governed as District Boards of Health under the Public Health Act of 1848. The growing populations of these townships reflected the demographic trends of all the industrial cities, particularly in the Midlands and the North; the expanding populations creating problems too big for the limited powers of the District Boards of Health. Chief of these problems was the expense of laying down a proper system of sewage treatment; it was this factor which primarily impelled the districts contiguous to Manchester to seek entry into the city. In 1885, nearly fifty years after the incorporation of the original borough, the first extension of the boundary took place with the addition of Hartingleigh, Bradford and Rusholme.

During the later half of the nineteenth century, there was rapid development in Hartingleigh and by 1895 most of the Ward was urbanised. The industrial uses in the

south of the Ward expanded rapidly as the development of railway branch lines took place. The brewery had expanded and there were brickworks, quarries of red sandstone, chemical works and the railway carriage and wagonworks had been built. Alongside the Rowmarch canal, more industry had developed and housing built along Newham Road. The area west of King's Road and around Chicken Lane was completely built up by this time with rows of terraced housing, 'one up, one downs', and 'back to back' houses, and further housing development had taken place along Rowmarch Road, north of the original settlement. The development of the cotton weaving, spinning and dyeing mills had largely facilitated the rapid urbanisation of Hartingleigh in the early nineteenth century. After 1850, however, other specialised service industries based on machine making and machine servicing grew up, especially in the Irk Valley. One local historian recorded unfavourably the attendant changes which had taken place during his lifetime:

> "To a youth entering upon his teens, a century seems an age, but to a man looking back upon a long life it seems but the measure of a few months. And yet in these days of rapid motion and change a hundred years compresses more into its history than a thousand of those primeval periods when men and their dumb servants plod monotonously through all the days of their life, surrendering themselves to the sexton at the appointed time to make room for successors, who followed in their footsteps from the cradle to the grave ... But nature never pauses or slackens speed and so the famous oak trees of Hartingleigh, and the farmsteads that dotted the landscapes, disappear one by one, and the cultivated fields become barren, the hedgerows thinned and leafless. But of all men in the world James Watt has the most to answer, for when steam was applied to machinery, factories and the factory system took the place of domestic occupation. Small tradesmen were gradually absorbed into greater proprietorships. The pleasant noise of the handloom and the cheerful hum of the winding wheel almost drowned in the song of the caged lark were heard at further intervals, while the great factories made havoc of the old landmarks and became the sunless estates where willing slaves toiled with their last strength for scant supplies of bread and clothes." (Wentworth, *Middleton Guardian*, 29th January, 1885).

By 1914, additional housing in the northern part of the Ward, the building and expansion of Marton Hospital and the further development of housing and heavy industry (mainly engineering and chemical works) served to complete the development of most of Hartingleigh (see section 1.7). Very few houses were built during the period between the two world wars and it was not until after the Second World War that any significant change occurred. By 1960, much of the original terraced housing had become obsolete

and a programme of clearance and redevelopment was launched by the City Council to deal with this (see section 1.3). According to City Council documents, the majority (87%) of housing in present day Hartingleigh has been built within the twenty year period since 1964. Consequently, much of the housing is council owned. However, some of the older terraced housing was retained, particularly in two areas around Hartingleigh District Centre and in the extreme north and south of the Ward. There are also some small areas of inter-war privately-built dwellings dispersed throughout the Ward. Today much of the central and northern parts of the Ward contain relatively new council dwellings typical of most inner city areas. They take a variety of forms from multi-storey flats to low-rise housing developments.

1.2 Hartingleigh : The Roots of Community

Hartingleigh is one of nineteen Wards located within the inner city boundary as designated by the Manchester City Council. It is situated to the north and east of the City Centre, approximately two miles from the commercial centre of Manchester.

The Ward boundaries are predominantly formed by natural geographical features. The River Irk in the west, the remains of Hartingleigh Clough to the north and the railway system in the south. To the east, the Ward boundary runs along Hillington Street from Hartingleigh Clough and then follows the line of a small river known locally as Marton Brook to Rowmarch canal and the railway in the south. The Ward boundaries contain parts of several areas that are known more locally by their district names. The biggest of these districts are Marton on the eastern boundary, Collington and Moat Pitton to the north and Barkers Green in the south-west of the Ward.

For older residents, however, the real heart of Hartingleigh beats within a triangle of major roads in the centre of the Ward.

21

"This triangle of three roads once enclosed rows of clearly defined streets, with smaller back streets and entries. In them dwelt working class families, some very poor, some not very poor, and others tuppence ha'penny a week better off than most." (Kay 1987 : 40)

It is this area that contains many of the 1,100 or so remaining pre-1919 terraced houses surrounding Hartingleigh District Centre. These houses form an interlocking network of older style terraced streets, some with small garden frontage with brick or locally quarried red sandstone walls but mostly with front doors that open onto the pavement. These streets have retained the traditional rows of high walled backyards, many of which have been utilised, in the modernisations of recent years, to house single storey kitchen extensions. Beyond the backyard gates run the traditional 'entries and ginnels' parallel to the streets at the front of the houses.

The 'Old Market' of Hartingleigh can also be found in this part of the Ward. Dating back to the 1920s, the old market has a distinctly Dickensian air about it. The market consists of a small network of rickety stalls selling a hotch-potch of groceries, household goods, cheap children's toys, and vegetables. On Wednesdays, the stalls are rented by second-hand dealers who sell virtually anything from second-hand clothing to discarded household furniture. The 'Old Market', where 'bartering' retains a legitimate place in the business transaction, remains something of an anachronism in the high technology nineties, even more so when contrasted with the business practices and spatial structure of Hartingleigh's recently constructed superstore with its computerised checkout points and 'drive-in' parking facility.

During the course of my field work, conversations with the remaining older residents of Hartingleigh revealed how communities within these terraced streets, containing families that had lived for several generations in the area, had developed informal kinship and community ties and networks. As Willmott and Young noted in Bethnal Green in the 1950s: "Long residence by itself does something to create a sense of community with other people in the district." (Young and Willmott, 1957 : 105)

22

This sense of community in old Hartingleigh expressed itself in various ways - I was told for example of informal street 'collections' of money for funerals or marriages of residents. There were also the informal matrilocal support networks generated between female members of mother-centred extended families. These networks, involving grandmothers, mothers and daughters living in the same areas over several generations, facilitated the sharing of domestic and child care routines, as well a providing emotional/psychological support. There were stories of street parties and bonfire nights celebrated by residents building a huge bonfire in the centre of the cobbled street itself. 'Corner shops', unlike the new superstore, would provide free credit or 'tick' for street residents so that goods could be obtained and paid for at the end of the week when "the wages had been paid to the men".

Mrs. Pringle, a resident of the older part of Hartingleigh for over eighty years revealed the profound sense of pride that had evolved within the community over several generations but which she believed had been destroyed with the demolitions in the years of clearance and redevelopment. "You was proud to live here then, even though it was supposed to be rough ... You had good neighbours ... you knew everyone ... and we kept our houses clean, and the entries ... it used to be a good place to live." Joe Kay similarly recalled the street in old Hartingleigh where he was born and had grown up.

> "Like many other streets it was clean, and so were the back entries. The front doorsteps
> and backyards were washed, and the flags cream-stoned on Friday evenings or Saturday
> mornings." (Kay 1987 : 40)

Much of this sense of community pride referred to by Mrs. Pringle, Joe Kay, and the other older residents of Hartingleigh, appears to mark part of the divide between the 'rough' and 'respectable' working class. Symbolic markers of 'respectability' within the community developed out of the nineteenth century concern with hygiene and sanitation. 'Lime washing' backyards and entries, for example, was a hangover from the sanitary reform campaigns in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, particularly after 1842 when

Chadwick's 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population' conclusively established the relationship between insanitary conditions and infectious disease, particularly typhoid and cholera. Later, a frequently lime-washed backyard was an indicator of moral integrity and respectability within the community. 'Cream-stoning' or 'donkey-stoning' the front doorstep and surrounding pavement was a similar ritual frequently enacted by overworked working class women to signal cleanliness, moral hygiene, and therefore respectability.

> "If you didn't have a clean step, well, you were beyond the pale. And you swilled all your flags, didn't you? After you'd cleaned your steps and your windowsill and donkey-stoned them. And mostly the neighbours used to do them more or less together, 'cos they'd say, "Are you swilling Mrs?" And you all came out so all t'water run down gutter at same time." (Gatehouse 1985 : 22)

Sometimes domestic work was inherited from overworked mothers at a fairly young age by the daughters of the household serving an early apprenticeship in domestic labour. As Joe Kay's 'chronicles' recall:

> "My sister Irene - then only twelve years old - took over one of mam's regular Saturday morning jobs. With a bucketful of hot soapy water she washed the front and backyard steps and flags. She finished the cleaning with a rubbing stone, a cream stone. When it all dried it looked clean and spotless." (Kay 1987 : 83)

The nostalgia for the past clearly evident in Joe Kay's *Chronicles of a Hartingleigh Lad* (1987) is a nostalgia for <u>a lost sense of place, a lost sense of community and community pride</u>. However, it must be remembered that this sense of community pride was based largely on the domestic oppression of the women. Much of the civil and community pride (still evident in the traditional terraced areas of Hartingleigh) was at the cost of an endless round of domestic labour undertaken by the women within the community. Again, Joe Kay's chronicles provide a graphic illustration of the sheer physicality involved in maintaining 'decent standards' within the home thereby sustaining one's 'respectability' with the community:

> "She would get up at six in the morning and fill the big boiler in the kitchen with buckets of water. Then she would chop wood and get coal to make the boiler fire. When I got out of bed and came down the narrow stairway later in the morning the kitchen would be full of steam and she would be furiously swirling the 'dolly' in the tub washing like a human washing machine. After hours of washing and scrubbing with a

24

hard bristled brush, came the job of wringing the clothes. Overalls, bed sheets, the lot went through the large cast-iron framed wringing machine, appropriately called the mangle. The big wooden rollers would creak and grind as they were turned by hand; the work was hard enough to break the back of Hercules. The ironing was done using two large smoothing irons heated on the living room fire ... My mam was always on her hands and knees, scrubbing the floors and stairs. She did this every week with a bucket of hot soapy water and a large tough looking scrubbing brush." (Kay 1987 : 57; 82)

According to Oakley (1976), it was industrialisation that produced the domestic 'housewife' role, with the working man as a sort of 'absentee husband' (Dennis *et al* 1956). Men were increasingly separated from the intimate daily routines of domestic life as work was increasingly separated from the home.

"The burden of maintaining family life falls entirely upon the mother." (Bosanquet 1899, quoted in Young and Willmott 1957 : 18-19)

According to Oakley, industrialisation had the following lasting consequences for women:

"The economic dependence of women and children on men; the isolation of housework and child care from other work. Hence, through the allocation to women of housework and child care, through modern definitions of the role of housewife and the role of mother, industrialization has meant the restriction of the woman-housewife to the home." (Oakley 1976 : 59)

Thus feminist research has revealed how the unacknowledged labour of women in working-class communities sustained the sense of community pride and community identity referred to by Joe Kay. Much of this was a factor of the transition to industrialisation and the separation of male employment from the home and the daily round of domestic responsibilities. I examine the implications of contemporary unemployment on these traditional patterns later in my study. Here it is sufficient to note how most of the elderly residents, particularly the women, still living within the older terraced areas, to whom I spoke during my field work, regretted the passing of the old ways and the old sense of community pride and identity. The informal kinship and community ties were demolished along with the spatial structures that had sustained them.

"Most of it has been demolished ... leaving it stripped bare of life. I used to have friends and family all round here, now it's all been pulled down, they've gone ... it's lonely now, ... I don't half miss the old days". (Mrs. Pringle : Taped Interview)

25

However, in later years, it was these same remaining terraced areas that became the focus for the regeneration of a new sense of community identity in the period immediately following the extensive clearance and redevelopment programme of the 1960s and 1970s. A new community impetus developed which eventually led to the establishment of a locally defined and managed purpose-built youth and community centre in 1981. The background to this development in Hartingleigh's more recent history is examined in detail in section 1.8; here it is sufficient to point to the thread of history which connects the community pride and local networks of old Hartingleigh and the desire after clearance and redevelopment for a renewal of this lost sense of community identity. Hartingleigh in the 1980s and 1990s like the old Hartingleigh that evolved as a consequence of Manchester's urban-industrialisation is a 'stony desert' which its inhabitants have "had to make habitable by their own efforts." (Hobsbawm 1969 : 87)

1.3 Contemporary Hartingleigh

"The old neighbourhood of Hartingleigh has now disappeared, but I remember it well; I was born and grew up there. The cobbled sreets, the Jubilee Chapel, old Flod's Mill with its giant chimney - a permanent landmark, solid and unchangeable, or so it seemed in those days. I recall the cluttered rows of houses and lively corner shops with a bit of 'tick' at the ready - now gone forever, scattered by a changing world and charging bulldozers ..." (Kay 1987 : 4)

The period between 1971-1977 saw much of the old Hartingleigh District Centre, referred to by Joe Kay and Mrs. Pringle, demolished creating a huge crescent shaped area of land in the very centre of the Ward. It is bounded on one side by the main Rowmarch Road which runs from the centre of Manchester, through Hartingleigh, and then onto Rowmarch, a large old cotton town a dozen or so miles from the city centre.

Between 1977-1982 a large superstore was constructed on this vacant area of land, together with a shopping centre of sixteen new shops, some deck access council flats and an indoor and open-air market, locally called the 'new market' to distinguish it from the original or 'old market' site still situated in the remaining traditional terraced area of

Hartingleigh. This construction work was part of council planning in the post-1964 era of clearance and redevelopment and this same period also eventually saw the construction of Education, Welfare, Careers and Social Services and private offices in purpose-built blocks adjoining the superstore and markets. Other projects programmed for implementation on the same site have been shelved under the current public spending constraints imposed by central government on local government. These were to have included a Cultural Centre, a Health Centre, a Recreation Centre, additional shops and a new licensed club. A terse footnote in the City Council documents relating to these projects states that: "It is now unlikely that these proposals will be implemented in the short term."

Thus there remains a large area of cleared land to the rear and side of the superstore and shopping/market centres that has never been officially utilised since the demolition of the terraced streets that formerly stood there. However, this 'L'-shaped area of land, particularly the section to the rear of the superstore, has, over the years, provided an informal meeting and play space for the children and young people of Hartingleigh. This area locally known as 'the wreck' is one of several spaces within Hartingleigh that have been colonised by groups of children and young people. These sites are recognisable by their graffiti and permanently erected crude football areas. They provide a gathering space, a place for play and conversation; a space free from adult supervision, where 'doing nothing' is a creative, negotiated, imaginative exercise. (Corrigan 1976; 1979(a); 1979(b))

More than 1,100 pre-1919 terraced houses still exist in Hartingleigh. The largest number of these are concentrated in two areas around Hartingleigh District Centre. Approximately 60% of these houses were included in improvement programmes by the City Council. In the King's Road General Improvement Area scheme, home improvement grants were made available by the City Council in April 1976 to facilitate the modernisation and refurbishment of the properties. The majority of the 453 dwellings eligible for home improvement grants under the scheme were without inside WCs or

bathrooms. By March 1981, 35% were 'committed to improvement', mainly by the City Council and by Housing Associations. In addition, the City Council undertook general environmental improvements to the area, including traffic management schemes and the general landscaping of sites. Eventually, as a result of this process of 'gentrification', the King's Road area developed the local reputation of being the most 'respectable' district within the Ward.

In January 1979, phase 2 of the City Council's Housing Improvement Programme declared the area around Canton Street, a 'Housing Action Area'. This area contained 185 houses of which 177 required modernisation when the area was declared. By March 1981, 18% of these houses had been improved and a further 26% were committed to improvement.

Beyond Hartingleigh District Centre and the remaining terraced streets that surround it lies the bulk of the council houses that have been built since 1964. These are grouped into three officially designated estates called the Chicken Lane, Marton and Canton estates. However, local residents have over the years developed informal community sub-divisions within these estates and locally there are nine recognised areas, each with their district names and local affiliations.

Of particular note is the Chicken Lane estate which is comprised mostly of deck-access flats. Local authority housing allocation decisions at the time of rehousing tended to exaggerate distinctions between the 'rough' and 'respectable' working-class, thus reproducing the distinction on the council estates between the desirable and undesirable in residential patterns. This is a process that has been documented elsewhere (Baldwin and Bottoms 1976; Gill 1977; Jenkins 1983). As a result of this process, the Chicken Lane flats developed a reputation as being the 'roughest' part of Hartingleigh. Locally, it became known as 'the Jungle', "the place where all the animals live". The young from the estates however inverted this negative labelling process so that to be known as a person

from 'the Jungle' took on an affirmatory status identification that was particularly associated with young working-class male machismo.

Hartingleigh Ward contains over 3,000 council dwellings (around 70% of the total number of dwellings in the Ward), 87% of which were constructed since 1964 as part of the City Council's programme of clearance and redevelopment. City Council documents show that council housing in the Ward is fairly evenly divided between houses, flats and maisonettes. Council provision covers the variety of types of housing to be found throughout the city, including multi-storey, balcony access and deck access flats; walk-up, deck access and balcony access maisonettes; and over 1,000 council houses of one to six bedrooms.

The contrast between the familiarity, neighbourliness and appearance of the older terraced areas of Hartingleigh and the Council estates is extremely marked, the Council estates generally offering a more remote and impersonal environment for its inhabitants. Flats on the Chicken Lane estate, for example, offer the anonymous spatial structure of a windswept, litter-strewn amphitheatre. Harrison (1983) captures the atmosphere in his description of the Hackney housing estates in North London:

> "Quite apart from their structural faults many ... have a dirty down-at-heel feel about them: a scattering of refuse across courtyard, murals of graffiti, and a battered, stained look about brick and concrete, wood and metal. These things, common to most inner-city areas, are the outward sign of a house that is not in order. The causes are multiple: poor design, bad-management, worker-management conflicts in refuse and repair services, seven lean years of public spending restraint, community and family collapse." (Harrison 1983 : 210)

The deck-access facility on the Chicken Lane estate has produced a series of 'no-man's land' anonymous stair-wells and walkways. Most of these dead areas are unlit and hazardous for negotiating, especially at night. The women and elderly residents on the estate feel this as an acute problem that affects their neighbourliness and general mobility. According to Peter Willmott:

"The post-war programme of clearance and redevelopment in Britain's towns and cities not only broke up existing local networks but usually re-developed the old districts in physical forms which made it difficult for people to get to know their new neighbours."
(Willmott 1989 : 13)

1.4 Hartingleigh : Demographic Structure

In terms of total population, Hartingleigh is one of the smallest Wards within the inner City boundary. In 1985, a population survey carried out by the City Council showed the number of residents in Hartingleigh Ward to be just over 13,000.

In 1978, the City Council carried out a similar population survey of Manchester; this gave a total population figure of 9,822 for Hartingleigh Ward. This figure revealed a decrease in population of over 4,000 from that derived from the 1971 National Census. In 1981, numbers again derived from National Census data showed that the total population of the Ward had decreased by almost 42% between the years of these two National Censuses. This was part of a more general decline in population over the whole city of 17.5% Three major factors accounted for this reduction in Hartingleigh's population between 1971-81. Firstly, there was a general trend in population movement away from inner cities in this period. Secondly, there was a reduction in average household size, a fall which occurred nationally as well as locally. Thirdly, and most importantly, population decreased in Hartingleigh between these years as a feature of the clearance of large numbers of terraced housing during the main period of Council redevelopment, especially with the demolition of the pre-1919 terraced housing in the old Hartingleigh District Centre.

Between the years of 1981-85, the overall population in Hartingleigh increased by 2% from a figure of 12,878 to just over 13,000, whereas the number of people in the City fell by 2.5% from a figure of 437,663 in 1981 to 432,912 in 1985. Overall the figures reveal a great deal of movement in population especially out-migration between the years 1971-1981 when clearance and redevelopment were at their peak, thus providing a crucial

quantitative indicator of the perceived sense of social dislocation inhabitants claimed to have experienced at that time.

1.4.1 Age Distribution of the Population

In terms of the age distribution of the population, Table 1, derived from 1981 census data, shows that the age distribution of the Ward's population closely resembled that of the City as a whole, with only slight variations in the 0-15 and 60-65+ age groups, which were slightly higher than the City average.

TABLE 1 : HARTINGLEIGH - Age Distribution by Population

Age Group	Hartingleigh		Manchester	
		%		%
0-4	817	6.3	23,039	5.9
5-15	2,167	16.8	68,754	15.7
16.24	2,076	16.1	73,765	16.6
25-34	1,638	12.7	58,716	13.4
35-44	1,253	9.7	43,021	9.8
60/65+	2,585	20.1	82,518	18.9
TOTAL	12,878	100.0	437,663	100.0
Males 75+	220	1.7	7,489	1.7
Females 75+	606	4.7	18,461	4.2

Source: Hartingleigh Ward 1981 Census Information produced by   Manchester City Planning Department

In the years 1981-85, there was, however, a significant increase in the number of young children. The 0-4 age group increased by more than 38% compared to the City average rise of 20%. There was also an increase in the number of people aged 75 years or over of 5%.

1.4.2 Place of Birth of Residents

Figures derived from the 1981 Census reveal that a high percentage of residents in Hartingleigh were born in the United Kingdom compared to the City average. Of the

12,878 residents included in the Census, 93.8% (12,059) were born in the United

Kingdom. The Census also gives details of households according to the birthplace of the

'head of the household'. As would be expected, the majority of people in Hartingleigh

lived in households whose head was born in the United Kingdom. Only 0.2% of the

population in Hartingleigh lived in households where the head was born in either the New

Commonwealth (this includes Commonwealth countries in Africa, India, the Caribbean,

Bangladesh, the Far East, and parts of the Mediterranean) or Pakistan, compared to a City

average of 7.9%.

By comparison, some of Manchester's inner City wards contain very high percentages

of households headed by persons born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan; Longsight,

for example, contains over 30%, Hulme 28.4%, Moss Side 28.7% and Whalley Range

24.5%

TABLE 2 : HARTINGLEIGH - Place of Birth of Residents

Number of persons born in:	Hartingleigh		Manchester	
		%		%
UK	12,059	93.8	388,623	88.8
Irish Republic	441	3.4	18,135	4.1
Old Commonwealth	10	0.1	692	0.2
Caribbean	47	0.4	6,263	1.4
Indian Sub-Continent	28	0.2	3,349	0.8
Africa	38	0.3	2,811	0.6
Far East	45	0.3	2,380	0.5
Other New Common- wealth (1)	4	0.03	759	0.2
Pakistan	7	0.05	4,975	1.1
Other	180	1.4	9,676	2.2

Source: Hartingleigh Ward Area Information, City of Manchester, City Planning Office (no date)

My study therefore does not have to confront any of the profound problems experienced by ethnic minorities in the inner City. However, it is worth noting that in a decade of general high unemployment, it is black and Asian youth who have borne the severest brunt of the recession. In November 1982, for example, the Commission for Racial Equality reported that 60% of Afro-Caribbeans who were available for work in the 16-20 age group were without a job (*The Guardian*, 12th November, 1982). Various studies have documented the connections between the recession, race, structural inequality, crime and punishment. (Box 1987; Muncie 1984; MacLeod 1987; Pitts, 1988 : 121-134) According to Pitts: "Black children and young people are the victims of a predatory and unjust system of justice and punishment" (1988 : 134). The mechanisms of this are outlined by Box:

> "The police discriminate against those social groups who have become economically marginalised during the recent recession. In particular, the unemployed, among whom ethnic minorities are over-represented, are treated more harshly, and are arrested and referred to court more often." (Box 1987 : 168)

Once in a court, a black British male is eight times more likely to receive a custodial sentence and a black British female six times more likely than whites facing similar convictions. (Home Office, 1986)

1.5 Hartingleigh : Socio-Economic Structure

The following outline is derived from City Council documents relating to the 1981 Census. It also contains information from the 10% Small Area Statistics in the Census (i.e. those based on a 10% sample of households), which provides socio-economic information about Manchester's households, about the industrial and socio-economic structure of the City's resident population, and about means of travel to work.

The Census of 1981 classified the population into 17 socio-economic groups (SEGs) based on assumptions about social and economic status. For the sake of simplicity, these socio-economic groups have been aggregated into broader categories, as follows:

33

TABLE 3: Socio Economic Groups

Occupation of Household Head	SEG	
Professional and Managerial	1, 2, 3, 4, 13	Bank Managers and Accountants
Other Non-Manual	5, 6	Teachers
Skilled Manual	8, 9, 12, 14	Electricians
Semi-Skilled Manual	7, 10, 15	Assembly Line Workers
Unskilled Manual	11	Labourers
Armed Forces/inadequately described occupations	16, 17	

Source: Hartingleigh Ward 1981 Census - Information produced by Manchester City Planning Department

Socio-economic structure can be classified in a number of ways. The following section is based largely on just one of these. This method takes people in private households and classifies all persons in each household according to the occupation of the stated 'household head', regardless of the occupations of other people in the household. Where the head of the household is retired, the classification is made according to the previous occupation of the head. Where the head of the household has never worked, then the household is unclassified. This is a less than perfect method of categorising socio-economic features and has been extensively criticised in recent years (Goldthorpe 1983; Stanworth 1984; Duke and Edgell 1987). Most obviously, the method of locating married women's class position through male 'heads' of households has been criticised as "intellectual sexism" (Acker 1973). Critics have argued that the practice of making general claims about class from research focussed on 'male household heads' is not justified and that it closes off some of the more interesting aspects of the relationship between gender and class (Acker 1980; Delphy 1981; Allen 1982; Garnsey 1978; Britten and Heath 1983). Nevertheless, for the limited purposes of illustrating the basic contours of Hartingleigh's socio-economic structure, the method provides an adequate indicator of occupational class composition in the Ward prior to the severest period of the recession.

Table 4 below illustrates the occupational class structure of Hartingleigh according to the occupation of the stated head of household. These figures differed slightly from the City average, revealing the occupational class composition of the ward as biased towards manual occupations. For example, only 7.3% of the household heads in Hartingleigh fell within the professional and managerial category of occupations compared to a City average of 10.5%. The more affluent residential wards on the south side of Manchester show much higher percentages of persons in households where the head is classified as professional and managerial. Affluent Didsbury, for example, has 26.7% in this category, Withington 23.3% and Brooklands 17.6%. Similarly, there was in Hartingleigh a lower proportion of persons in the other non-manual category, 11% for Hartingleigh compared with the City average of 13.2%.

TABLE 4 : HARTINGLEIGH - Socio-Economic Structure of Households

	% of Persons in Households by Occupation of Head of Household	
	Hartingleigh	*Manchester*
Professional and Managerial	7.3	10.5
Other Non-Manual	11.0	13.2
Skilled Manual	29.9	28.7
Semi-Skilled Manual	19.9	17.0
Unskilled Manual	7.5	7.8
Armed Forces/Inadequately described occupations	3.0	2.9
Head of Household never active	21.3	19.9
	100.00	*100.00*

Source: Hartingleigh Ward 1981 Census Information produced by Manchester City Planning Department.

Conversely in 1981, there were slightly higher than average proportions in the skilled manual and semi-skilled manual categories for Hartingleigh as compared to the City averages. However, many of the skilled manual and semi-skilled manual occupations for Hartingleigh's workers existed at the time of the 1981 Census in the northern tip of the

more extensive manufacturing area of East Manchester (see Table 5; Section 1.7). This was an area that faced a series of closures and subsequent redundancies as the 1980s wore on, resulting in a contraction of employment prospects for Hartingleigh's skilled and semi-skilled workers (see Section 1.7).

1.5.1 Household Tenure

The socio-economic structure of Hartingleigh is reflected in other social indicators such as household tenure, car-ownership and mode of travelling to work. Figures derived both from 1981 Census data and the 1985 Population Survey carried out by Manchester City Council reveal a higher than average proportion of households in Hartingleigh in Council-rented property. Over 60% of the households in the Ward rented their accommodation from the Council compared for example to 4.6% in more affluent, residential Didsbury.

1.5.2 Car Ownership

Similarly, the overall car ownership rate in Hartingleigh was below average for the City. Over 72% of households in Hartingleigh, or 8,286 people, did not have access to the use of a motor car. Again, this figure can be unfavourably contrasted with the circumstances in other Manchester wards. In Didsbury, for example, over 65% of households enjoyed car ownership.

1.5.3 Travel to Work

Again utilising data from the 1981 Census and the 1985 Population Survey carried out by Manchester City Council, it was evident that the percentage of working residents in Hartingleigh, travelling to work by car was significantly less than in the more affluent wards in the south of the City. 28.2% of Hartingleigh's residents travelled to work by car compared with almost 60% of residents in Didsbury. Almost 43% of Hartingleigh's residents travelled to work by bus compared with just over 17% of the residents from Didsbury.

1. 6 Hartingleigh : An Economic and Social Problem Area?

The Greater Manchester Council (GMC) produced several surveys between 1971 and 1983 of its county structure in order to highlight and prioritise areas within the Greater Manchester County deserving of special assistance under various aid schemes directed by central government. In the early 1970s, for example, the GMC produced various surveys which ranked electoral wards according to socio-economic status as defined by multi-variate analysis of the 1971 Census data. A variety of other statistical analysis techniques were also utilised to produce a ranking of wards in order to define the county's "economic and social problem areas" (GMC Issue Report 10: The Definition of Economic and Social Problem Areas, no date). Overall, the Report highlighted the problems of "social deprivation" in the Inner City wards.

A number of physical and social characteristics were recognised as being typical of deprived or 'problem' urban areas. These included variables such as the percentage of households with more than 1.5 persons per room; percentage of households without exclusive use of hot water, bath and WC; percentage of single-parent families; and percentage of economically active persons not in employment, etc. In 1971, Hartingleigh (though its boundaries were different) fell within the highest category of wards defined as economic and social problem areas.

In 1983, the Planning Department of the GMC published a policy background paper (83/7 Economic and Social Problem Areas: GMC 1983) which examined the changes between 1971 and 1981, as shown by comparing the respective Census data for those years. Generally, it was found that most of the areas which were worse off in 1971 still had the worst problems in 1981, though the nature of the problems had changed in the ten year period. Housing conditions, for example, as measured by lack of basic amenities, had improved, a reflection of the wholesale clearance and redevelopment programmes undertaken in the inner-city wards since 1971. However, the major and most significant change in those indicators used to define the problem areas was the huge increase in the

proportion of people unemployed. The problem areas were found to have much higher levels of unemployment than other areas. Mainly because of this fact, Hartingleigh remained in the top 25% of wards characterised as being in the category of economic and social problem areas. Most of the inner-city wards of Manchester were similarly represented in the top 25%. The GMC Report concluded that: "The inner areas of Manchester continue to represent the largest concentration of problems in the County" (GMC 1983 : 18).

Almost ten years after the GMC Report was published, a new survey conducted by Peck and Emmerich (1992) at the University of Manchester's School of Geography revealed that Manchester was still locked in a "poverty trap" (Kelly : 1992). The survey argued that Greater Manchester will remain burdened by chronic long-term unemployment and a devastated manufacturing base because, "the city is locked in permanent economic and social decline". The report revealed that Manchester's pool of unemployed labour is equal to three-quarters of the size of the entire manufacturing workforce. Almost one in seven are out of work and more than a third of the City lives in poverty as defined by the Department of Social Security benefits take-up.

The survey illustrated how Manchester's manufacturing base only made a partial recovery from the recession, and, even at the peak of the recovery in 1989, the conurbation was still carrying two-thirds of the unemployment accumulated in the first half of the decade. Much of the vaunted recovery in the City in the second half of the 1980s was "illusory", and, as a result, the labour market has become divided into three tiers. The top tier consists of stable employment in the higher echelons of the business and financial community. The second is largely composed of manufacturing where long-term structural recession has been accelerated by large-scale labour shedding as a result of improved technology (see also Section 1.7.1). According to Peck and Emmerich, those workers remaining within the manufacturing sector, "are faced with stagnant or falling wage levels and an almost permanent state of underemployment". Finally, the report

continued, at the "bottom of the heap" are the victims of these processes - the unemployed (Recession, Restructuring and the Greater Manchester Labour Market, SPA Working Paper 17, School of Geography, University of Manchester 1992).

1.7 Hartingleigh : Employment and Unemployment

Greater Manchester is typical of many of the older industrial areas of the United Kingdom. Just as Manchester was one of the inaugural industrial cities, so it has been at the forefront of the economic recession. A recession which has moreover taken the greatest toll on those areas that were at the commencement of the industrial revolution.

There has been a severe contraction of Greater Manchester's industrial base resulting from the general processes of de-industrialisation, world economic depression, lack of competitiveness, recession in the UK, substitution of capital for labour, the rise of new industrial countries and the monetarist economic policies that were pursued after 1979 by the Thatcher-led Tory governments. These factors produced unprecedented levels of general unemployment, and a virtual collapse of the youth labour market. These latter developments have only been partially disguised by the thirty or so changes in the methods for calculating unemployment figures, or the inauguration of a plethora of government schemes and special programmes for the young and long-term jobless. The implications of these broad-based structural changes, including the general contraction of Manchester's industrial base and consequent employment prospects, are examined at a more local level in the following section.

According to Hartingleigh Ward Area Information, "there is no recent information where people in Hartingleigh work". However, by examining the range of employment possibilities that existed in and around the Ward, it is possible to build up a picture of the kind of jobs that have been available during the period covered by my study, and also to assess the implications of changes in the local economy in terms of their effects on local

employment.   At the time of the 1981 Census, Hartingleigh had a relatively high proportion of its working population employed in manufacturing. (Table 5)

TABLE 5 : HARTINGLEIGH - Sector of Employment

	% of population in employment	
	Hartingleigh	*Manchester*
Agriculture	0.0	0.2
Energy and Water	1.1	1.5
Manufacturing	33.5	26.9
Construction	9.1	7.7
Distribution & Catering	21.0	20.0
Transport	6.7	8.0
Other Services	28.6	35.6
	100.0	100.0

Source: Hartingleigh Ward: 1981 Census Information, produced by
Manchester City Planning Department

According to 1981 Census data, 33.5% of the available workforce of 4,426 were employed in manufacturing, compared with 26.9% in the City as a whole.   The distribution and catering industries were also important sources of employment for Hartingleigh's working population, though a lower than average proportion of Hartingleigh's resident working population were employed in 'other services', which include, for example, banking and insurance, sections of the City's employment base least affected overall by the recession.

The main industrial area for Hartingleigh was, in the early 1980s, located in the extreme south of the ward alongside the railway system and Rowmarch Canal.   This area represented the northern tip of the much more extensive manufacturing area of east Manchester, and it was this section of Hartingleigh Ward which, at the time of the 1981 Census, contained the main concentration of manufacturing industries.   In this area, there was a proliferation of light and heavy engineering works and chemical industries which had, since the 1940s at least, been the traditional work places for Hartingleigh's indigenous

working population. There was other industry located in the Irk Valley to the west of the Ward, most of which was actually situated in an adjoining ward but which, up until the early 1980s, nevertheless provided employment for Hartingleigh's working population. The industry in this area consisted mainly of small engineering works. However, there were also some other industries of which the major employers included CWS Biscuits, Phillips Rubber and the Northern Feather Works; these closed between 1985 and 1987 under the impact of the recession. These latter industries had, since the early 1980s, been commonly associated with the employment of Hartingleigh's young people and married women in fairly unskilled productive capacities.

1.7.1 Trends in Manufacturing Industry

The effect of "the worst recession for fifty years" (GMC, 85/10, 1985 : 1) on industry in Greater Manchester is reflected in the take-up of industrial land. A report from the Greater Manchester Council based on a survey of the supply of, and demand for, industrial land in Greater Manchester illustrated how the demand for land for new industrial premises had dramatically declined. In 1979, for example, 21.3 hectares of land was developed for new industrial use. In Manchester by 1984 only 3.7 hectares was under construction. (Table 6).

TABLE 6 : The Development of Industrial Land in Manchester and Salford

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
	HECTARES					
Manchester	21.3	17.7	12.9	6.1	8.1	3.7
Salford	21.8	14.6	15.2	13.9	6.8	4.0

Source: GMC County Planning Department, Policy Background Paper 84/13, Industrial Land Supply and Demand: 1984

This trend in the reduction of the development of new industry and therefore new employment in Manchester has been exacerbated by an overall decline in the City's existing manufacturing sector, traditionally a major source of employment for Hartingleigh's

41

working population. According to a report published by the Anti-Poverty sub-committee of the Manchester City Council Planning Department:

"There has been a dramatic decline in the number of jobs, with manufacturing, the traditional employment base of the City suffering the most severe decline. Between 1961 and 1983, 150,000 jobs were lost, a decline of 36%." (*Poverty in Manchester*, City Planning Department 1986 : 5)

The local decline in employment in manufacturing industry reflects a national trend in manufacturing as a whole. Between 1951 and 1981, the total number of women employed nationally in manufacturing fell by over 30%. This represents a loss of over 800,000 jobs in the thirty years between 1951 and 1981. In the same period, total male employment in manufacturing fell by 23%, representing a reduction of 1.34 million jobs between 1951 and 1981. (Hart, 1988 ; 50)

A report published by the Greater Manchester Council on manufacturing industry in Greater Manchester (Policy Background Paper 85/10, 1985) indicated that, although major closures and redundancies in manufacturing industry in Greater Manchester had steadied, employment available in manufacturing would continue to decline (GMC 1985 : 16). The report suggested that in recent years industrial retrenchment (including investment in capital stock and new computer-controlled manufacturing and administrative systems) had taken place. This had produced a levelling of the initial dramatic rate of closures and bankruptcies, but at an increased cost of labour shedding; indicating a divergence between the needs of the surviving industries and the supply of available labour. Of the twenty-five firms surveyed in the report, fifteen reported a downward trend in employee levels between 1980 and 1985, with eight firms anticipating further falls in staffing levels and an additional four expecting them to remain static. The report further indicated that in many cases the existing production levels could be maintained or increased without concomitant increases in employment levels. This appears to be a reflection of the national trend in manufacturing output and employment as reflected in the Graph. (Table 7)

Thus the overall picture to emerge from the report was that of investment in plant and machinery leading to increased productivity followed, paradoxically, by a reduction of the labour force. The report concluded that the local economy,

> "can now maintain high levels of production with much lower levels of employment than was the case in previous decades ... the Greater Manchester economy can no longer fully employ the local labour force and further increases in production will not enable a return to full employment ... This raises the possibility of an unemployed residue which may exist for the foreseeable future." (GMC 1985 : 2; 16) (my emphasis)

1.7.2 Unemployment

During the Thatcher decade unemployment increased from 1,447,000, or 5.5%, in July 1979, to a post-war peak recorded in January 1986 of 3,408,000, or 14.1% (GMBATU Facts and Figures : September 1986). Until 1990, the seasonally adjusted figures showed a fairly unbroken downward trend although unemployment began to climb as the end of the decade approached, reaching a new peak of over 3 million in February 1993. However, since 1982, thirty or more Government adjustments to the way unemployment figures are calculated have highlighted the scope for manipulating - or fiddling - the figures. Sir John Boreham, head of the Central Statistical Office until his retirement in 1985, admitted that: "Governments ... don't like publishing statistics that show their policies aren't working" (*New Society*, 28th February 1986 : 362). In October 1982, for example, attendance at Job Centres became voluntary and the count moved to unemployment benefit offices; this manoeuvre effectively removed 190,000 from the unemployment statistics (*New Society*, 5th February 1988).

The government manipulation of the figures has reduced the unemployment total by over 400,000 (GAMBATU Facts and Figures : September 1986). Similarly, the Unemployment Unit estimates that three-quarters of the 400,000 people on government schemes and programmes would be counted as unemployed if none of the changes in calculation had been made (*New Society*, 5th February 1988).

43

TABLE 7 : Graph of national manufacturing output with manufacturing employees in employment 1980 = 100
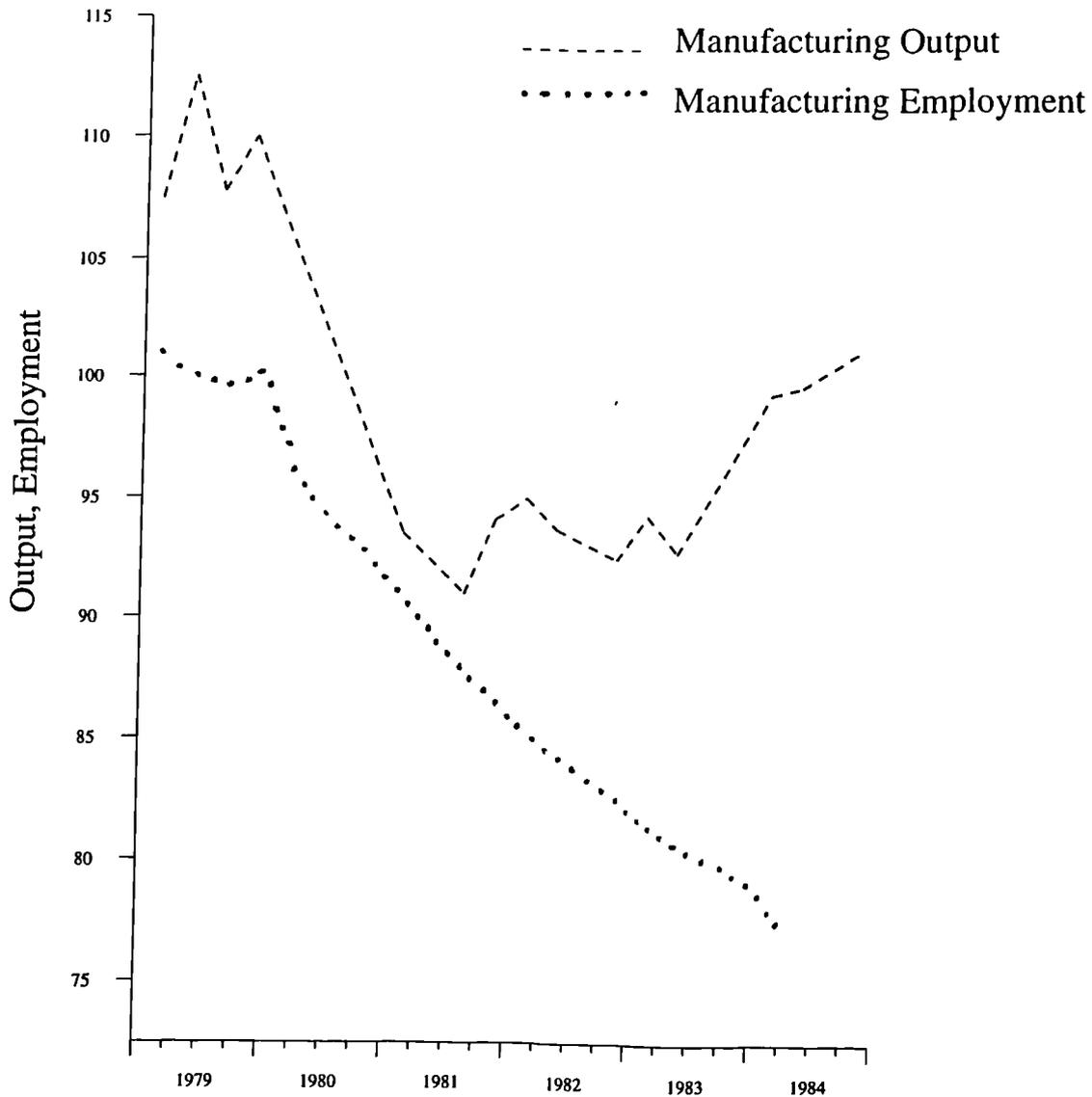
Sources: Employment Gazette, August 1984; Financial Times, 14th February, 1985.

Government figures are based on the 'claimant count'. This is the number of people claiming benefit on the second Thursday of each month. However, these figures exclude the long-term sick, early retired, the temporarily benefit-stopped, students, and those

44

people on Government schemes or programmes. In addition, since many women are not entitled to claim benefits if married, or cohabiting with a partner who claims or is in employment, or are not considered 'available for work' due to child care/domestic responsibilities, it is likely that the figures grossly underestimate the numbers of women who are unemployed. Figures quoted in the *Employment Gazette* (October 1986) indicate that unemployment amongst women may be underestimated by as much as 53%.

Figures published by the Planning Department of Manchester City Council show that unemployment rates in the City have consistently outstripped the national figures. The unemployment rates for Manchester between 1980-1989 have been almost double the national rates. For example, during the unemployment peak in January 1986, Manchester had 45,568 claimants, an unemployment rate of 24%, or almost one in four of the City's active workforce (*Unemployment in Manchester*, Manchester City Council, City Planning Department, February 1986 : 1). The overall unemployment rate for Manchester, though high, conceals large areas of the inner City where the unemployment figures are significantly above the City average. Monthly bulletins issued by the City Council Planning Department provide a breakdown of the unemployment statistics by electoral ward. These figures show, for example, that in January 1986 male unemployment in Hulme stood at 62.9%. Approximately two out of three of economically active males in this area were unemployed.

More than one in five of all economically active people in Manchester as a whole are unemployed, 48% have been unemployed for more than one year and 23% for three years or more. (Economic Studies Group, City Planning Department, *Unemployment Bulletin*, October 1987)

1.7.3 Young Persons Unemployment

The unemployment of young people is a dramatic feature of the Thatcher years. It is a decade that has witnessed an unprecedented rise in the rates of joblessness among the

45

young. National figures reveal that a third of all those unemployed in the last quarter of 1987 were aged under 25 (*Employment Gazette*, January/February 1988). Without the special training schemes and programmes, the overall unemployment rate for young people might well be nearer 50% (Hart 1988 : 1). In addition, changes in the rules for claiming benefit (the basis upon which unemployment rates are calculated), such as the abolition of unemployment benefits for 16 and 17 year olds, mean that most young people in this age group have been removed from inclusion in the statistics (Roll 1990 : 27). Unemployment of young people in the 1980s has been compounded by the rising numbers in this age group, reflecting the demographic 'baby boom' of the 1960s.

Employment accessible to young people has declined rapidly. In 1974, 61% of 16 year olds were in primary occupations such as manufacturing; almost ten years later this proportion had shrunk to only 18% (Ashton and Maguire 1983). A third of those aged under 25 and unemployed have been out of work for over a year (O'Donnell, 1985). In parts of Manchester's inner City, unemployment rates among the young exceed the national figures; for example almost three quarters of young people eligible for work in the Crescents, Hulme, are unemployed (GMC Policy Background Paper 85/1 1985 : 5). In other parts of the inner City, unemployment rates among the under 25s exceed 50%, particularly in Hulme, Rusholme, St. George's, Hartingleigh and Central Salford. Unemployment is not a temporary phenomenon in these areas; 36% of the inner City's young unemployed have been out of work for over a year (GMC County Planning Department, Local *Unemployment in Greater Manchester, Analysis by Age and Duration*, 1985 : 5).

1.8 HARTINGLEIGH : Youth and Community Project

"Repairing the damage the system does to people, that's only half the story. The other part is giving the community confidence in itself." (Powell, in Seabrook 1984 : 71)

"The Youth and Community Centre would consist of a building of approximately 6,000 square feet which would include a large hall capable of being used as a Saturday cinema,

kitchen, toilets, office, stores and meeting rooms. Two full-time Neighbourhood Workers would be employed to work from the Centre and directly with existing groups. The workers would be expected to offer support to tenants on the estates with the aim of helping them to identify their own needs and work towards the meeting of those needs.

> "The immediate neighbours of the proposed site are either involved in the Project or are fully behind our application. The mere fact of a locally defined and managed Project being able to attract funding on this scale, for a facility which would be used and managed by the community would really boost self-confidence and stimulate local activity in a way that no statutory provision could ever hope to."
>
> (From: Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project: 1980 Urban Programme Circular - Application for Funding, Section Eight, Section Fifteen) (my emphasis)

As I have outlined in the previous sections of this chapter, Hartingleigh is a predominantly white, working class area with high levels of unemployment. The catchment area for what became known as the 'Youth and Community Project' is made up of nine locally recognised districts within the three officially designated Council Estates of Hartingleigh, plus three small areas of terraced properties that are mostly owner-occupied though a small proportion are let by Housing Associations or private landlords. There is no local industry as such, though, until recent years, there were two or three small factories on the boundary such as the Northern Feather Works, CWS Biscuits and Phillips Rubber, all of which closed between 1985 and 1987 and which employed mainly women and young people. The four or five remaining engineering works situated in the extreme south of the Ward and in the Irk Valley have been steadily reducing their labour force since the late 1970s and it was these and other now defunct factories that were traditionally the work place for the indigenous population (section 1.7).

By 1977, the character of Hartingleigh had dramatically changed from a large collection of 19th century traditional terraced streets, housing working class families, who had in the main lived for several generations in the area, to a district dominated by Council-built estates (sections 1.2; 1.3). In the post-war period, industry based on medium and heavy engineering and manufacturing had been the main sources of local employment, but from

the 1970s onwards, these were badly affected by the recession with a dramatic effect on local employment (section 1.7). By 1977, most of the industry had gone or was shedding labour and three-quarters of the traditional housing stock had been demolished to be replaced by new Council properties. Many of the new intake of inhabitants were not indigenous to the area, and the scarcity of recreational and social facilities exacerbated the lack of community identity and homogeneity, particularly on the estates. Unemployment was by 1978 beginning to rise and there were among the case load of social service workers reports of problems of vandalism and isolation in certain sections of the estates.

In the older terraced areas of Hartingleigh, these problems led residents to form 'pressure' and 'provider' groups which eventually led to a series of meetings. At first, these took place informally in the homes of local residents but an impetus towards a more formal structure and organisation evolved. A local Day Centre, whose manifest function was to provide support for people recovering from mental illness, became the focus for the launching of an initial steering group for 'The Project', as it later became known.

Apart from concerned individuals who were attracted to meetings via leafletting and flyposting, seven groups and organisations formed the nucleus of the Project's steering group. They were:

1.   *Canton Street Action Group*: a pressure group originally organised to fight for improvements in the housing and environmental conditions in one of the three remaining terraced areas of Hartingleigh. Subsequently, this group emerged as one of the most well organised and influential groups in the struggle for both improved conditions in their immediate neighbourhoods and later in the formation of the steering group which eventually led to the funding and establishment of a purpose-built Youth and Community Centre in Hartingleigh.   The Canton Street group was led by Jim Donovan, an experienced Community activist, who later became the Project's Neighbourhood Worker.

2. *Queensbridge Court Tenants Group*: was originally formed around issues relating to the method of heating Council properties on the Chicken Lane Estate. This group was led by Marie Hulton, who became one of the Project's urban aid funded youth workers.

3. **Canton Estate Parents Group**: was originally formed around issues concerning the lack of general facilities for children and young people on their estate, and also because of difficulty with access for prams, etc. The main spokesperson for this group was Gail Hindle, who also became active within the Project as a Youth and Community Worker.

4. *The National Association of Women's Clubs*: opened a branch at the Hartingleigh Day Centre as a result of requests from local women.

5. *Gingerbread*: opened a local branch in 1977, again at the Day Centre, as a result of local demand.

6. *A Youth Club*: was formed by a group of people from the Canton Street area for physically handicapped and able-bodied young people in 1978 - again drawing on the already over-stretched resources of the Day Centre.

7. *Marton Lane Estate Residents*: came together to press demands for facilities for young people on their estate, sections of which were plagued by a spate of window breaking, harassment of the elderly, etc. between 1975 and 1977. This group was led by Tony Boyle, who was later similarly recruited as a Youth Worker by the Project's Management Committee.

It was apparent that the Day Centre was the only real physical resource in the area and this was inadequate because, housed in a rear section of the Old Hartingleigh Swimming Baths, it suffered from lack of adequate resources and space. The property generally was in a state of deterioration due to age. The primary function of the Day Centre was to provide support for people recovering from mental illness, and, as such, it lacked any real facilities for either youth work or community organisation.

1.8.1 Origins of the Project

Hartingleigh's resident Community Development Officer met representatives of the various provider and pressure groups in 1977 and an initial steering group was formed. The general conclusion that was reached at this and other subsequent meetings was that the area was in need of more and improved facilities for its residents. Coincidentally, at this time, Central Government announced proposals for directing extra finances, over a four year period, towards inner city areas. Manchester and Salford was one area chosen for special assistance. Eighteen of Manchester's Inner City Wards, including Hartingleigh, were targeted and subsequently various programmes, including self-help schemes by voluntary organisations, were financed.

The steering group for the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project was informed, through the Community Development Officer and a sympathetic local councillor, that funding would be available to local groups through the Urban Aid Programme. There were therefore several factors fundamental to the formation of the Project. These were: many people in Hartingleigh had identified areas of need and had begun to organise to meet those needs; there was a Community Development Officer resident in the area; the only available resource, the Day Centre, was not able to meet the demands for social and recreational facilities; funding had become available for local groups; the local Labour councillor was sympathetic to the needs and demands of the Project's steering group. Thus political, social and economic circumstances produced the impetus for local initiatives in the campaign for improved facilities. At the same time, politicians nationally as well as locally became aware of the need to support these initiatives and made available funding and other resources.

1.8.2 Formation of the Project

The individuals who came together to form the initial steering group were drawn to the Project with various motives and dispositions. An early Project memo reveals that:

"The initial steering group are not all representatives of local pressure groups, but some are people with a more holistic and perhaps political perspective. As a result, the project's aims are not purely the acquisition of physical resources for the area but a greater feeling of community belonging and identity."

The lack of social homogeneity which appears to have been manifest in Hartingleigh in this period of social dislocation during the latter stages of redevelopment provided a crucial impetus to the formation of the project. As one of the Canton Street Action Group representatives was later to explain: "What we wanted, as much as anything else, was to recreate the sense of Community that had existed before the bulldozers moved in".

The steering group began to meet on a weekly basis at the Day Centre; by late 1978, the group had become a registered charity, elected a Management Committee, and adopted a constitution embodying the various aims and objectives of the Project. A prioratisation of needs was developed, and it was decided by the Management Committee that the Project would aim to provide: a Neighbourhood Worker; a Community Centre; an Adventure Playground; and a Drop-In Centre for young people to be called the 'Indoor Street Corner' (in addition to the Community Centre).

An initial application was made under Phase 17 of the Urban Aid Programme and also to the Manpower Services Commission "in order to get the ball rolling".

In 1978, the constitution of the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project was accepted by the Charity Commissioners. In the same year, the Project's Management Committee appointed its first full-time paid employee, Jim Donovan, through Urban Aid Programme funding. The Neighbourhood Worker moved into the Project's newly acquired offices (a room in the house of a sympathetic resident on Rowmarch Road). The Project also acquired the defunct, single-storey, one-roomed Percy Street Police Station as the 'Indoor Street Corner' and started several part-time youth workers with Manpower Services Commission funding. This same period also saw the Project's first application to

the MSC for funding for an administrator refused.   It was at this point, later in 1979, that my involvement with the Project began.

The brief from Jim Donovan, the Project's Neighbourhood Worker at that time, was for three youth workers, including myself, to involve ourselves in an 'outreach' (Powley 1974; Marks 1977) capacity with the school leavers and young unemployed of the district.   We were to survey the area, establish contacts, and generally publicise and create an awareness of the aims of the Project.   Jim Donovan was also keen to involve potential young users in the creation of their own 'space' within the Project's evolving aims, so we were to periodically "feed back" what the young people wanted in terms of facilities, etc. to the regular Management Committee meetings.   It was also hoped that we could enlist support and practical help for the renovation of the 'Indoor Street corner' and with the organisation, building and staffing of the proposed Adventure Playground.

It was in this initial period of living and working in Hartingleigh as a 'detached youth worker' (Rogers 1981;   Goetschius and Tash 1967) that I became involved in the administration of a local questionnaire-based survey of the young people of the area. Although I did not realise it at the time, my involvement in these early contacts with Hartingleigh's young people was to provide the 'data base' and starting point for my subsequent research.   In those early days, I also established many contacts and personal as well as professional relationships.   These were to greatly facilitate my eventual fieldwork, and on occasions provide access to 'backstage' (Goffman 1959) areas of data acquisition which may well have eluded other types of researchers less involved in, or acquainted with, the community.

There were several 'community self-surveys' (Wormser and Selltiz 1951;   Weiner 1972; Lees 1975) undertaken by the Project at that time.   They were designed to highlight community needs and emphasise priorities.   There were surveys of, for example, the elderly, young people, 'toddlers and mums', and the disabled.   These surveys provided

information which was fed into the Project's evolving aims as well as providing background and support for the Project's campaigns for resources and facilities. On occasions, applications for funding for specific resources would be supported by reference to the survey results, thereby strengthening the case for funding. My own role and participation in the administration of a questionnaire-based survey of fifty prospective school leavers in the area is examined in more detail in Chapter 2. Here, it is sufficient to note that the survey was to be utilised by the Project's Management Committee in its application for Urban Aid funding.

Section Two of the Urban Programme Circular 17 application form asks: "What brief evidence is available of the social need in the area? Give statistical details if available". It was decided at a Management Committee meeting convened to discuss the Project's application for Urban Aid funding to utilise the local youth survey in support of the application for funding towards a purpose-built Youth and Community Centre. The qualitative and statistical detail of the survey were included in Section Two of the application and highlighted the high levels of youth unemployment in the Ward, the propensity towards drug and solvent abuse among the sample group, and the high level of self-reported truancy and criminality, particularly amongst the young males in the sample - providing evidence of the 'social need in the area'. The Project's surveys of the requirements of the elderly, 'toddlers and mums', and the disabled were also utilised to validate the 'social need' for a purpose-built Youth and Community Centre in Hartingleigh. The application was for £87,500 Capital Expenditure (land, building costs, furniture and equipment) and £14,090 per annum non-Capital Expenditure (employees' salaries, administrative expenses, rates, heating, lighting, etc.). The application, together with a supporting six thousand signature petition from local people, direct support from local political figures, and informal lobbying by the Community Development Officer, was eventually approved, finance was secured and building work began late in 1980. By 1982, when I left Hartingleigh to begin undergraduate studies as a mature student at the University of York, most of the Project's original aims with regard to physical resources

had been achieved. There was a permanently funded Neighbourhood Worker, a Youth and Community Centre, an Adventure Playground, and an 'Indoor Street Corner'. At this time, the Project, though still largely dependent on volunteer practical and administrative help, nevertheless boasted nine Urban Aid funded workers and seven MSC staff, drawn mainly from the local community.

1.8.3 Hartingleigh Youth and Community Centre

The Community Centre consists of a main hall/gymnasium, meeting room, lounge, dining room, three offices, shower rooms (now converted for graphics and dark room), toilets (including adaptions for the disabled and very young), a fully equipped kitchen, storage space and a viewing balcony. Outside there is a car park and fenced play area. Although very large (6,000 square feet), the Centre is badly built and unattractively decorated, the internal walls being unplastered breeze block. The roof is badly designed and constructed causing leaks that have had to be repeatedly repaired. The door and window frames have never been fully secure since the Centre opened, especially the huge set of Marley doors, fitted to divide the hall and lounge from the dining area - these have been virtually inoperable since the day of opening. To make matters worse, the Centre had a fire in January 1986 causing extensive damage. Though much of this damage was later rectified through the City Council's Direct Works Department, the major structural damage to the roof, windows, and walls of the Hall have not been rectified. The Centre was decorated in 1987 with the help of large numbers of volunteers but, because of the fire damage, the decorative work served only to highlight the structural inconsistencies. This creates a general air of decrepitude in the main area of the Centre; constraints by central government on local authority funding does not allow for the major structural refurbishment that is required and the situation remains unresolved. In essence the problems reflect the fact that the initial allocation of Urban Aid Funding for the construction of the building was 26% less than the amount originally applied for. Nevertheless, despite these handicaps, a great deal of valuable social and community work has taken place, and continues to take place, at the Centre.

The Centre has been instrumental in supporting many local groups and initiatives; from the local Angling Club's successful bid for control of the local reservoir, cleaning and stocking it and providing a facility for local anglers, to campaigns by local people over single issues such as landscaping, bus shelters and the cleaning of the area. The Centre has come to provide a meeting place for local people, organisations and groups and for some autonomous users who rent the premises for 'one-off' events such as wedding receptions, parties, discos, etc.

The Centre eventually evolved a formal structure and timetable involving a variety of 'user groups' and facilities. For example, there is the 'Luncheon Club' which in 1982 was providing a two course meal and cup of tea for seventy pence to any local person from Monday to Friday. There are also social clubs for the elderly; dance classes for children; a councillor's surgery; women's keep fit; a mothers and toddlers group; various martial arts classes; a support group for the families of alcoholics; a 'Junior Club' for the under elevens;' an 'Intermediate Club' for the eleven to fourteen age group; a 'Senior Club' for the over fourteen age group; a 'Whist Club' for the elderly; various art classes; a young unemployed club; the 'Hartingleigh Wurlitzer', a local magazine group; basic education classes for people with learning difficulties; and the regular Saturday fund raising Jumble Sale. The Centre is also the base for all Project staff meetings, working party meetings, for the Adventure Playground staff and facilities, as well as the community work undertaken by the Neighbourhood Workers.

Apart from the formal timetable of facilities offered to user groups by the Centre, there is a wide variety of informal or incidental community work and activity offered under the umbrella of the Project. In the years since the Centre opened, the management group, volunteers and other members of staff have increasingly become involved in offering advice and support to groups and individuals; consequently, there is much individual 'case work' undertaken in this way. Areas of advice and support can be sought and given on matters of housing, welfare and benefits rights, the law, drug and solvent abuse, and

women's health and welfare. There is other work undertaken by the Project as a whole which does not fall into any specific category but which is the result of combined effort. There is for example the subsidised annual holiday abroad organised for local young people and financed mainly by local fund raising. In recent years, the Centre has taken groups of between twenty and thirty young people to Ibiza, Benidorm, Torremolinos and Majorca on subsidised two-week holidays. There are also play schemes organised by the Project during each of the school holidays (except Christmas), where activities and events are organised for school age children between 10.00 a.m. and 4.00 p.m. with a free lunch provided. The local Summer Festival organised on a combined basis by Centre staff and volunteers was always my own particular favourite. It usually involved several days of *ad hoc* events culminating in a rock festival performed in the Adventure Playground by local bands, followed by a fancy dress parade around the area. These occasions were chaotic and exhausting but provided the perfect excuse for hours of semi-anarchic enjoyment by many sections of the community.

1.8.4 Hartingleigh : A Community?

"There are two contrasted views about the role of the local community in modern societies such as Britain. One is that the personal mobility and the geographical spread of people's lives make it an anachronism. The other is that on the contrary it is alive and healthy. The issue is relevant because attaching the community prefix often takes for granted a sense of common purpose, a capacity to come together to meet common ends or the existence of local networks available to provide help and support. It assumes in other words that despite the complexities of the modern world local communities are, or are capable of becoming attachment communities." (Willmott 1989 : 9)

The concept of 'community' is one I have drawn on extensively in these opening sections outlining the historical and social context of my research. It is for example a concept that underpinned the origins and formation of the steering group that mobilised support for the funding and construction of the Youth and Community Centre; just as it

is a concept which informs much of the work, social events and activities which take place within the boundaries of the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project. However, it is a term that is infuriatingly nebulous: Hillery (1955), for example, examines no fewer than 94 definitions. It seems appropriate then to examine more closely the concept of community and attempt to delineate its defining characteristics with particular reference to my study area.

According to Willmott (1989), community can refer to two dimensions, 'territorial/interest' and 'local/non-local'. The territorial community can vary in size from a few streets to a group of nation states such as the European Community, although in terms of official policy and indigenous recognitions the most frequent scale is small and local. The 'community of interest' - or what is sometimes called 'interest groups' - can refer to groups that share common characteristics or dispositions, as varied as ethnic origins (e.g. the Asian community) or sexual predilections (e.g. the 'Gay' community). The two dimensions of territoriality and interest need not be mutually exclusive; for example, although interest communities are often dispersed geographically, they can also exist within small local areas, for example the 'Gay' community in San Francisco. On the other hand, a local territorial community might contain several interest communities, for example an Asian community, a 'Gay' community and a Business community. The two dimensions territorial/interest and local/non-local refer to collectivities of people. However, there is, maintains Willmott (1989 : 4) a third notion contained within the common use of the word and this he calls the 'community of attachment'. It contains two key elements:

> "One has to do with the extent and density of social relationships, the second with perceptions, with the extent to which people feel a sense of identity with a place or a group and of solidarity with their fellows living in it or sharing its interests or characteristics." (Willmott 1989 : 4)

Willmott's definition of 'attachment community' containing the two main elements of interaction and perceived sense of identity comes very close to the sociological conception of neighbourhood as defined by Keller, which, like Willmott's definition:

"emphasises the notion of shared activities, experiences, and values, common loyalties and perspectives, and human networks that give to an area a sense of continuity and persistence over time." (Keller 1968 : 87).

Willmott acknowledges that the two terms are interchangeable at a local level (1989 : 5)

The contemporary trends in personal and residential mobility, communications, car-ownership, clearance and redevelopment work in favour of what Willmott describes as 'communities of dispersal', or 'dispersed social networks'. Thus, what Webber (1969) has similarly described as 'community without propinquity' (quoted in Cohen and Shinar 1985 : 16) mitigates against the development of the local attachment community. Paradoxically, other current social trends, including demographic changes increasing the proportion of older residents, plus the trend towards long-term unemployment, indicate that, in Hartingleigh at least, residents are spending more time in their immediate localities, thereby strengthening the sense of community attachment and neighbourliness. The architecture in parts of Hartingleigh's Council estates, particularly in the high-rise and deck-access flats and deck-access maisonettes, work against the informal neighbourly contact traditionally associated with the older terraced streets. Nevertheless, as well as the Youth and Community Centre, other sites in Hartingleigh offer potential landscapes within which regular interactions between residents can occur. The pubs, the three market sites of Hartingleigh, the formal and informal play areas, and the shopping centre which borders the 'new market', all provide areas within which a sense of neighbourliness is articulated.

"Regular residents ... inevitably get to know each other by sight. They meet shopping, standing at the bus-stop or walking in the street, and do learn, over time, the public habits and time-tables of people they do not know by name and probably never visit at home. Recognising and being recognised by others creates a sense of belonging." (Wallman in Willmott 1989 : 14)

In the past, in the traditional working-class communities, long-residence and having kinship ties have been the characteristics which have encouraged the growth of local attachments and loyalties. In the earlier sections of this chapter, I have explored some of these affiliations as they existed in the traditional areas of Hartingleigh and how these, in turn, gave impetus to the formation of the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project. In

the newer estates, however, this type of community identity is based largely on the regular, though superficial, contacts between residents. Nevertheless, according to Wallman (1984), even superficial interactions can engender a sense of 'belonging', identification with, or attachment to, the locality.

Moreover, Abrahams (1986) distinguishes between the traditional community or neighbourhood, based on long-residence, shared loyalties and kinship, and friendship ties, and a new 'neighbourhoodism' based on, "attempts to mobilise old and new residents alike in order to protect amenities, enhance resources and .. wrench control of the local milieu from outside authorities and vest it in local hands" (Abrahams, quoted in Willmott 1989 : 16). As I previously outlined in Section 1.8, the three council estates in Hartingleigh were significant in providing input into the formative stages of the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project *via* a tenants' group, a parents' group, and a residents' group, as well as the groups and individuals drawn from the estates who mobilised themselves in a variety of capacities on behalf of the evolving Project. Thus, much of what Willmott delineates in his analysis of community appears to be applicable to Hartingleigh, particularly his outline of the characteristics that are said to constitute a community of attachment. These characteristics appear to be especially manifest in the period when Hartingleigh's residents, both those who lived in the traditional terraced areas and those who were drawn into the Project's campaigns from the newer council estates, combined to press for local facilities and resources.

After redevelopment, Hartingleigh Ward evolved from a local territorial community to a community of interest *via* the focus provided by the Project's campaigns. The traditional bases of solidarity evident in the older Hartingleigh community in combination with the new neighbourhoodism of the estates provide clearly identifiable modes upon which communities of attachment are based. In this sense, Hartingleigh can be said to be an attachment community in the terms outlined by Willmott, with the Project and the

Centre providing a consistent focus and articulation of this perceived and experienced sense of community.

The Project and the Youth and Community Centre are now a firmly established and integral part of Hartingleigh's social life. Despite the periodic crises over funding under the continuing political and economic climate, the Centre, and the Project as a whole, continues to provide crucial services not only for the young people who form the basis of my study, but for the community as a whole. The very young, women, the elderly, the disabled, mothers, anglers, sports persons and tenants' groups, all continue to benefit from the services and facilities provided by the Project. The community has been strengthened and community ties and networks reinforced through the continued interaction between the Project and the residents of Hartingleigh. The ultimate aims of the Project, as set out in the constitution, remain the same as they did when the Project was originally founded by the community in 1978:

> "To promote for the benefit of the people of Hartingleigh Community in the City of Manchester, without distinction of race, sex, or political belief or religious or other opinions, by associating with the Local Authority, voluntary organisations and inhabitants in a common effort to advance education and provide facilities in the interests of social welfare for recreation and leisure time occupation with the object of improving the conditions of life of the said inhabitants." (Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project Constitution: Section Two: 1978)

Or, in the words of one of the residents, the Project "tries to get people together so that they can bring back some of the old neighbourliness and help each other" (*Hartingleigh Wurlitzer*, April 1987 : p.13).

For those who play an active part in the day to day working of the Project, for those who use the facilities and resources, and for those who may just occasionally drop in to the Centre for a 'brew and a chat', the Centre, embodying the Project's ideals of neighbourhoodism/community, remains both geographically and perceptually at the heart of Hartingleigh.

1.9   <u>University and Home :   Contrasts and Contacts</u>

"Every Saturday evening at around 5 o'clock a queue begins to form outside a north
Manchester bakery. Within an hour it is 30 deep. Whatever the weather young people,
women with children, and pensioners jostle for places. The bargain on offer? Stale
bread. By Monday it would be unfit for human consumption and have to be sold to pig-
breeders. But for the people in the queue, it will be made to last well into the following
week." (*Divided Times*, Child Poverty Action Group : Summer 1986)

During the period of the 'second phase' (Chapter Three) of my evolving research

project (1982-1985), I found myself leading an increasingly dichotomised socio-cultural

existence. My time was apportioned between my 'student life' as an undergraduate in the

Sociology Department at the University of York and my 'family life' with my wife and two

growing children in our terraced house in old Hartingleigh (see Section 1.2). Student life

consisted of lectures, seminars, essay deadlines and exams; family life of domestic

responsibilities and my continuing affiliations with the Youth and Community Project in

Hartingleigh.

Often, because of the flexible timetabling at York, my week could be equally divided

between home and University, between my 'family life' and my 'student life'. I soon

developed a weekly routine of train travel that allowed me to return home most weeks

from Thursday evening until Monday morning, the frequent train journeys allowing ample

opportunity for reflection, the preparation of essay plans, writing up lectures, and catching

up on essential reading. These weekly trips, together with the generous University

holidays, enabled me to maintain steady contract with the Project - which by this time had

established itself within the newly built Youth and Community Centre (see Section 1.8.3),

the Centre providing much of the youth and community work undertaken by the Project.

Through my continuing involvement with the Project, I was able to maintain frequent

contact with many of the young people with whom I had worked during my three years as

a youth worker (see Chapter Two). The Sunday soccer match continued to provide a

highlight to the week (Chapter Two, Section 2.4) along with frequent, sometimes

memorable, trips to Old Trafford to watch Manchester United. Though I kept no formal records of my contacts at this time, I maintained ongoing informal friendships with several groups of young people. My home, though now less of a central meeting place, was still open to callers and there were frequent visitors who would call individually or in small groups for a chat, to drink tea, or watch videos. My new status as a 'mature student' was generally accepted, and on occasions, like Parker (1974 : 216), I was congratulated on "having such a cushy number". By this time, my wife too was working part-time for the Project, and occasionally some of her 'group' of teenage girls would also drop in.

I was still strongly committed to the Project and would take most opportunities to 'help out' on a voluntary basis. My record collection, for example, was often called upon for fund raising discos, and there were youth nights at the Centre and young, unemployed 'drop-ins' to be staffed. The annual sponsored holidays to Spain also proved to be valuable in cementing friendships and informal contacts with many of the young people who would later participate in my study. By now the local pubs too had become important meeting and recreation sites for the young people of the area and, though less important in my detached youth working days, the move from being fifteen (in 1980) to early adulthood had taken many 'off the streets' and 'into the boozer'.

My student life occurred within the genteel atmosphere of a University campus situated in the picturesque rural outpost of the ancient walled City of York; my family life within the rapidly deteriorating social environment of the north side of Manchester's inner City. On my frequent visits home from the sedate atmosphere of campus life, I could not fail to notice the deleterious trend in social conditions within Hartingleigh's council estates. Apart from the Saturday night queues for stale bread noted by the Child Poverty Action Group's observer, quoted at the beginning of this section, the "most profound economic crisis that has been experienced in post-war Britain" (Bates *et al* 1984 : 1) was manifesting itself in a variety of forms on the streets and in the homes of Hartingleigh. According to Harrison (1983), the inner city is:

"Britain's most dramatic and intractable social problem ... here are concentrated the worst housing, the highest unemployment, the greatest density of poor people, the highest crime rates ... the inner city is the social antipodes of middle-class Britain ... devoid of almost every feature of an ideal environment." (1983 : 211)

Three closely related factors contributed to define the problems of Hartingleigh at this time. Firstly, as an area traditionally dependent on manufacturing industry for employing its indigenous population, the dramatic decline in Greater Manchester's industrial base in the 1980s resulted in unprecedented levels of general unemployment (see Section 1.7) and a virtual collapse of the youth labour market (see Section 1.7.3). Secondly, as an area of particularly poor housing containing a mixture of Victorian terraces and more modern council housing - some of which is considered locally to be of the worst possible design - the deteriorating conditions on the estates were exacerbated by the effects of cuts by central government in local authority spending. Essential repairs, maintenance, and modernisation projects were shelved in the period leading up to the mid-1980s, resulting in a spiral of decline and decay. Empty properties awaiting repair, particularly the flats on the Chicken Lane Estate (see Section 1.3) were badly vandalised, and many were burnt out completely, lending a general air of decrepitude to the area. Thirdly, Hartingleigh is an area of higher than average concentrations of manual workers - low-skilled, unskilled, or de-skilled - and, as industries which were formerly the area's traditional employers declined, this resulted in workers becoming effectively 'stranded' in their poverty. Lack of skills, transport or savings meant workers were unable to travel outside the district in the search for jobs (see Sections 1.5.2; 1.5.3).

As the recession deepened in the early 1980s, the social consequences were intensified by the monetarist economic policies pursued by successive Thatcher-led Conservative governments. From the outset, the first Thatcher administration asserted that: "Public expenditure is at the heart of Britain's economic difficulties" (HMSO 1979 : 1) The Tory government sought to reduce public spending in the interests of promoting growth in the private sector: "Higher public expenditure cannot any longer be allowed to precede, and thus prevent, growth in the private sector," (HMSO 1979 : 1-2)

63

As a consequence, the years from 1979 saw an unprecedented degree of central government interference in local government (Edgell and Duke 1991). The prime motive was an obsessive concern with monetary targets and the desire to make local government play a role in achieving them. Local authorities were, for example, required to cut the volume of their spending in 1981-82 to 5.6% less than the 1978-79 level, and by a further 4% in 1983. Councils which resisted these cuts were punished with financial penalties. At the same time, central government's overall contribution to local authority spending, the rate-support grant, was progressively cut, from 60% in 1980-81 to 56% in 1982-83. The successive Thatcher-led governments "imposed rate-capping, cuts in public expenditure, toughened up welfare benefit entitlements, and cracked down on 'scroungers' - all of which ... contributed to making life in the inner-city hellish." (Box 1987 : 121)

The social consequences of the recession coupled with the draconian Tory approach to local government finance were documented in various local publications and press reports in the mid-1980s. A study published in 1986 by Manchester City Council (*Poverty in Manchester*) revealed that nearly 50% of the Inner City's population were dependent on supplementary benefits or upon incomes below supplementary benefit level compared with 18% in 1972. The study highlighted the particular problems within the inner City wards, revealing, for example, that one man in three was unemployed, over 60% of all children of school age were receiving free school meals, and over 50% of council tenants were in receipt of certificated housing benefit (1986 : 10).

Other studies highlighted the connections between the new deprivations and ill-health (*Health Inequalities and Manchester 1985*; *Manchester: A Picture of Ill-Health* 1985). These studies showed that Manchester's population, particularly in the Inner City wards, now suffered the highest percentages of death rates in the country. The studies were widely publicised in articles in the national press on 13.11.85; *The Daily Telegraph* carried the story under the headline, "Illnesses have geographical link claim"; *The Daily Mail*, "City that's bad for your health"; *The Daily Express*, "Shock survey on misery

64

city"; *The Guardian*, "Premature death toll tells in Manchester". In contrast, Jeremy Laurance in *New Society* (11.7.86) sympathetically reviewed the studies under the heading, "Britain's poor face bigger death risk".

Other reports in the local press in this period of the mid-1980s highlighted the various consequences of unemployment and social deprivation, for example, unemployment and the increase in suicides amongst young people (*Metro News* 9.10.87; *Manchester Evening News* 16.10.86); poverty and tooth decay amongst toddlers and primary school children in North Manchester (*Manchester Evening News* 16.7.86); the increase in physical violence towards the children and wives of unemployed men (National Children's Home, North West Regional Office 23.9.86; *Manchester Evening News* 23.9.86); increases in local teenage pregnancies (*Manchester Evening News* 9.5.86; *Poverty in Manchester* 1986); increases in local prostitution (*A.M. Weekend* 8.8.86) and increases in local crime rates (*Manchester Evening News* 4.10.86; *Sale and Altrincham Messenger* 17.10.86; *The Daily Mirror* 10.7.86). The connection between long term youth unemployment and the increase in recorded crime rates in the Inner City wards was acknowledged by Manchester's Chief Constable, James Anderton, in his Chief Constable's Report (1985):

> "Burdens on police in Greater Manchester have grown against a background of alarming unemployment ... for all age groups throughout the area, but with a much larger problem in the inner city. Perhaps of more telling significance, from the standpoint of law and public order, is the fact that the figure for long term unemployment among the ... younger age groups in the worst affected parts of the conurbation ... ranges from 50% to a staggering 80% or more." (Chief Constable's Report 1985 : 3)

It was the stark contrast in socio-cultural environments I experienced in the journeys between my student life in picturesque York and my home life in north Manchester's declining Inner City, which provided my early impetus towards formulating a research project located in the local community. It was the community of Hartingleigh, the Project, the Adventure Playground, the 'Indoor Street Corner' and the Centre which provided me with the origins, the context, the substance, the sustenance and the early skills and self-confidence to formulate and undertake this research. It is for these reasons that I

have spent a good deal of this opening section in attempting to provide the reader with a glimpse, albeit an imperfect and fragmented one (*cf.* Hebdige : 1988) of the community of Hartingleigh and my involvement in it.

In the following Chapter, I will begin to outline the contexts and sources from which my study has been derived as well as the combination of methodological approaches utilised in order to acquire and accumulate the material upon which the study rests. This is of necessity a biographical as well as a methodological journey, beginning in 'Phase One' (1979-1982) with an exploration of my detached youth work practice for the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project. For it was youth work which provided the starting point, 'data base' and methodological orientation for my evolving study.

Footnote

(1) The brief outline of the mediaeval history of Hartingleigh is drawn from a series of articles written by Hilda M. McGill, who was Librarian of the Blackley Library on Rowmarch Road. They were published in the *Middleton and Blackley Guardian* between December 1938 and April 1939. Hilda McGill was Librarian at Blackley Library from 1938 until 1951; afterwards she was appointed organiser of "Work with Young People in Manchester", a socialist charitable organisaton which sponsored youthwork activities between 1950 and 1965. Later she was Librarian of the Great Hall in Manchester's Central Library. She died in December, 1984.

Information about Hartingleigh's post-mediaeval history is drawn from:
BARLOW, Allan D. *History of Collington and Hartingleigh*
(published by City of Manchester Cultural Services Department - no date)

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT
THE FIRST PHASE 1979 - 1982

2.1 Introduction

The approach utilised in my study of the young people of Hartingleigh is woven from a

variety of disparate theoretical and methodological strands. The weaving of these strands

took place in four distinct phases over an eleven year period between 1979 and 1990.

In the first phase, between September 1979, when my family and I originally moved to

Hartingleigh, and September 1982, when I began undergraduate study, it was youth work,

and, in particular, my early employment as a detached youth worker within the

Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project which provided the initial introduction to

many of the young people who would later participate in my research project. As well as

furnishing an early 'entrée into the field', a negotiable research identity, and a host of

invaluable contacts and resources, the role of detached youth worker also facilitated an

initial commitment towards a non-hierarchical research role and methodology. Similarly,

the community self-surveys initiated by the Project during the early days following its

formation provided another strand in the evolution of the approach, I was to later formally

adopt when my research 'officially' began in 1986. The community self-survey, like the

non-hierarchical youth work approach, is characterised by a commitment towards a

democratic educational process, a form of social investigation which involves the people as

co-workers and co-investigators (Freire, 1972 : 78). It was the survey of the young

people of the area, initiated by the Project in the early months of 1980, which was to

provide the 'data base' and starting point for my subsequent study.

Out of an early immersion into the radical trends and perspectives which had been

gathering pace during the 1970s in welfare, community politics, and particularly youth

work theory and practice, the latter following from the optimism of the social democratic vision enshrined in the Albermarle Report into the Youth Service in England & Wales (HMSO 1960), evolved my commitment towards a family of methodological approaches which have variously been described as collaborative dialogue (Mulkay 1985); co-operative inquiry (Reason and Heron 1986); experiential analysis (Reinharz 1983); citizen research (Beresford and Croft 1984; 1986); and participatory research (Hall 1981; Hall et al 1982; Maguire 1987; Stanton 1989). Each of these approaches seeks a reciprocity between researchers and researched, a dialogue or living process involving reciprocal sharing (Freire 1972). My evolving commitment towards a collaborative or participatory model of investigation has its origins in this period, in the inherently empathic, non-hierarchical principles and practice of detached youth work.

The increasingly significant role which youth has come to play in the industrially advanced societies has been examined in depth by social historians (Gillis 1974; Springhall 1977, Humphries 1981; Pearson 1983). However, we do not as yet have an adequate, much less a standard, history of the British Youth Work. This fact is magnified when analysis is made of the limited historical studies of youth groups, movements, and organisations that have been produced. These expressions of youth work activity are virtually without exception produced as interpretations by the adults who supervised or controlled it. This seems especially pernicious where, though most youth organisations have historically stipulated 'participation' in some form or other as a worthwhile objective, few appear to have achieved it. It seems important then to examine the practice of youth work from a specifically historical perspective in order to understand the sense of profound bad faith in which, arguably, a great many of us adults do our work with young people. There is a guilt involved in practising youth work and youth work methods from the ostensible aim of participation - whilst unwittingly perpetuating an historical emphasis on containment and control or the three Rs - "repression, rescue and rehabilitation" (Clarke 1975).

2.2 Youth Work : The Historical Context

Youth work has a long history throughout which "many distinguished men and women worked for social reform" (Evans 1965 : 3-4). Altruism here, as in other areas of social reform, being tempered by other motives:

> "to equip an industrial labour force with appropriate attitudes and habits, to introduce
> the young to responsible democratic behaviour ... to win rather than coerce their
> adherence to our society's dominant values and beliefs" (Davies 1986 : 92).

Youth organisations as we know them emerged in the latter part of the 19th century. Boys' and girls' clubs, the Boys Brigade, the Scouts and Guides, the YWCA, and the boys' sections of the YMCA, partly emerged in response to the "... hopes and fears of an apprehensive middle class struggling to consolidate its position against what were perceived as threats both at home and from abroad" (Springhall 1977 : 14). At home, the expanding influence of socialism, the growing strength of the Labour Party, and signs of deepening class division, coincided with an undermining of business confidence from the industrial competition of America and Germany. Moreover, there were renewed concerns about the developing military strength of Germany. The combination of internal and external threats led to a renewed social and cultural emphasis on the establishment of national unity. For Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scout Movement, this emphasis lay in the " ... hope for valuable results from scouting in the direction of ultimately solving the class differences" (Baden-Powell 1929 : 24-5).

The impetus towards national unity was informed by more general concerns with the problems of disciplining, monitoring, and incorporating the massive social and political presence of the urban working class, particularly after the extension of the franchise in the latter third of the 19th century (Pearson 1983 : 230-231). As one local community activist and former youth worker has asserted:

> "The values of the Youth Service going back to the industrial revolution have been from
> a middle class ideological base and basically from middle class fears of large groups of
> working class young people" (de Bariod, in Gillespie et al 1992 : 36).

69

From this perspective, Blanch (1979) has argued that the Boys Brigade and the Scout movement were consistently used to generate a commitment to empire and the restoration of imperial pride and effectiveness following the Boer War. The question of cementing national unity in the latter part of the 19th century is seen by some social historians as a question of establishing the hegemony of the dominant ideology over the rising generation (Gillis 1974 : 141-144; Springhall 1977 : 15; Blanch 1979 : 114). Early youth work, under the "humanitarian gaze of the reforming philanthropists" (Muncie 1984b: 2), sponsored almost exclusively by the middle and upper classes (Davies 1986 : 94), had an important and significant role to play in inculcating dominant values. Like many others, William Smith, founder of the Boys' Brigade, was overt in his intention of promoting " ... habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect and all that tends towards true Christian manliness" (quoted in Davies and Gibson 1967 : 38). These were habits that were to be secured through quasi-military uniforms, drilling and military manoeuvres. In the wake of the Boer War and the nationalistic fervour prior to the First World War, the Boys Brigade and the Boy Scout movement provided a model authority for 'organising' working class males. Nor were the girls neglected. Youth work, it was assumed, could help develop girls' 'essentially feminine characteristics', divert their social and especially their sexual precociousness and extend their skills in the home-based domestic arts (Dyhouse 1981 : 105-114; Bunt 1975 : 15-17).

These emphases were complemented by a welfaring tradition inherited from the various nineteenth century philanthropic reform movements whose general intention was to rehabilitate working class youth in the light of two specific and relatively new developments; the evolution of the concept of juvenile delinquency from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (May 1973; Gillis 1974; 1975) and in the latter part of the nineteenth century the socio-historical construction of 'adolescence' containing notions of various medical and psychological attributes (Gillis 1974 : 114; 1975).

2.2.1 Juvenile Delinquency and Adolescence

The concept of juvenile delinquency can be traced to the moral panic about juvenile gangs in the early nineteenth century. One of the earliest official panics being launched in 1816 when the Society for Investigating the Alarming Increase in Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis published its report (Muncie 1984 : 34). Whether the crime rate was increasing at this time remains statistically unsubstantiated, but it was a contemporary conviction that the number of 'street arabs' who sought a living in London's rookeries needed to be removed and retrained to conform to bourgeois notions of obedience, family dependency and factory discipline.

May (1973) has revealed that young people were only singled out from adults as a distinctive legal and criminal category following a number of reports on the insanitary conditions and over-crowding in prisons. In order to reduce the numbers in existing prisons, new forms of incarceration such as the 'hulks', the reformatories, and the Parkhurst Prison were constructed in order to provide additional forms of custody for the young. Any consideration of protecting the young was largely incidental at this stage. It was only through tackling the problem of a rising prison population that the apparently unique needs of the young were revealed. The major institutional control of the nineteenth century, the reformatories, was achieved through the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854. With it the concept of juvenile delinquency was established whereby it was argued that youth should be afforded different forms of punishment than their adult counterparts. The social construct of juvenile delinquency was thus given legal status (May 1973 : 7), youth now being viewed as neither child nor adult, comprised of vulnerable individuals in need both of care and control.

Philanthropic concern was directed not only towards 'delinquent youth' but was also able to encompass orphans, the illegitimate, and the abandoned. Because crime was believed to be generated from the conditions of working class life, these sections of youth were seen within a continuum of delinquency as pre-delinquent or near-delinquent. It was

71

no longer necessary to have a criminal act to justify intervention and control; all aspects of working class socialisation were now legitimately open to the "the humanitarian gaze of the reforming philanthropist". The view of working class youth as a potentially troublesome section of the population was more the result of bourgeois redefinition of what it meant to be young, rather than a reflection of any fundamental shift in the actual behaviour of young people (Muncie 1984 : 36; May 1973 : 16).

The highly influential work of Mary Carpenter (1851; 1853), for example, embodies the distinction made at the time between two classes of problem children; the 'dangerous classes' and the 'perishing classes'. The former were acknowledged offenders, the latter potentially so. As a result of these views, she recommended the establishment of reformatory schools for the former and industrial schools for the latter. Each were to supply bourgeois morality, religious influence, discipline, the inculcation of "industrious habits", and the creation of dependence which would secure the delinquent and pre-delinquent a return to the bourgeois notion of 'childhood'.

These developments remain vital for understanding the continuing contradictions in the status of young people and in the definitions of their potential delinquency. As 'juveniles', young people could not only be punished, but were also in need of continual surveillance, according to a model of dependency provided by the child-care routines of the bourgeois family. The mid-Victorian controversies of whether to control or care for the young of the 'labouring and criminal classes' still forms a major contour of the terrain in which the debate over juvenile justice policy takes place today. The designation of a separate 'juvenile' section of the population not only demarcated a particular period in life, but also defined it as problematic. The early theoretical formulations of the 'problem of youth' tended to be largely deterministic (Muncie 1984 : 38-40):

> "It was the failure of working class socialisation to nurture and discipline the child that was the root cause of what was seen as the progressive career of the delinquent child" (Muncie 1984 : 38).

72

Thus, rationality was denied to youthful behaviour, and delinquency was explained as an inevitable feature of the moral bankruptcy of working class standards of child-rearing. These views informed the philanthropic reformers in the mid-Victorian era, the "child-savers" (Platt 1969) who increasingly sought to intervene on behalf of the children of the "dangerous classes", because the -

> " ... conditions of existence, the independence and worldly knowledge of the young offender violated the images of childhood held by the social investigators and philanthropists" (Muncie 1984 : 37).

Such definitions of the 'problem of youth' were to make an equally significant shift at the turn of the century with the emergence of notions of <u>adolescence</u> (Gillis 1974 : 95-131; 1975). Adolescence was originally a 'discovery' of the professional middle classes. From the mid-nineteenth century, the children of the bourgeoisie found their independence undermined by extended periods of secondary education. With a fall in the rate of child mortality, the affluent middle classes began to limit the size of their families. Their investment in a long and expensive education for their children became carefully planned and protected. As Gillis (1974) argues, "What were historically evolved social norms of a particular class became enshrined in medical and psychological literature as the 'natural' attributes of adolescence" (1974 : 114). The "storm and stress" of adolescence was soon incorporated into explanations of delinquency and deviancy. Although historically related to the desire to regulate the increased period of dependency of middle class youth, the notion of turbulent adolescence was transposed onto all youthful behaviour. Young people were viewed as 'naturally' inclined towards idleness and depravity and consequently in need of supervision and control during these years of maturation. In 1904, the American child psychologist, G. Stanley Hall, influenced by social Darwinism and a medical model of child development that borrowed the imagery of pathology, infection and treatment, effectively secured the connection between youth and deviance by arguing that, "adolescence is pre-eminently the criminal age", a period characterised by "uncivilised savagery" (1904 : 325).

Aside from concerns over national unity and the restoration of imperial pride, preoccupation with the critical nature of the teen years contributed to the creation of youth movements such as the Boys Brigade and the Scout movement, designed to "inspire and preserve the health and idealism of the young" (Gillis 1975 : 97). The same concerns contributed to the fears of the "child savers" about the vulnerability of the adolescent, and the consequent desire to provide protective controls over this fourteen to eighteen year age group.

However, the concepts of adolescence and 'organised' youth had little or no connection with the actual conditions of life of most working class teenagers. They were needed in factories as soon as compulsory schooling was completed and the experience of secondary education that gave birth to the concept of adolescence rarely reached them. Gangs of working class youth identified by researchers such as Humphries (1981) and Pearson (1983), the 'Peaky-blinders' in Birmingham and the 'Scuttlers' in Manchester, for example, stood outside of the bourgeois consensus. The notion of adolescence and delinquency were displaced onto them and served to exaggerate their deviancy. At this time, many traditional forms of working class leisure, gambling, street trading, public bathing, street football, and general 'loitering', were increasingly subject to surveillance and criminalisation (E. and S. Yeo 1981). The unorganised and therefore independent young were stigmatised as delinquent (Gillis 1975 : 122). As Blanch notes, the principles of 'organised youth' were most popular with those who were already 'organised', i.e. middle-class youth and the children of skilled workers. A majority were excluded from youth organisations and youth clubs because membership fees could not be afforded, or, more importantly, because the principle of being organised was alien to their cultural background (Blanch 1979 : 116). As Gillis points out:

> "The contrast between the military style of the Brigades and Scouts on the one hand and the costuming of corner boys and girls on the other served only to create in the public mind an awareness of differences within the youth population, which, because they no longer followed class boundaries in an obvious manner, could be interpreted as moral in nature" (Gillis 1975 : 122).

Thus the end result of the move to organise youth was only to highlight the divisions within youth and make its 'delinquent' element more visible and detectable.

Changing perceptions of youth and the power of the moralistic "child-savers" to place their definitions into the public arena brought fears of a working class youth crime wave even though the actual behaviour of such young people had not really altered (Springhall 1985). Images of the 'innocent adolescent' and 'dangerous delinquent' were constructed which provided a framework in which the legitimate traditions of working class youth could be seen as delinquencies and middle class fears of youth unruliness could be substantiated. Indeed the early youth work sponsors were often 'realistic' and 'pessimistic' about what could be 'achieved' with the children of the dangerous classes. In the late 1870s, for example, the Girls Friendly Society maintained that it could not rescue young working class women after they had morally "fallen" (Dyhouse 1981 : 109). Davies (1986 : 94) argues that what guided the work of the ruling class sponsors of philanthropic youth work at the turn of the century was a conception of a "residual deviant section of the working class". They thus established within youth work a tradition of two of Clarke's (1975) three Rs mentioned earlier, namely, "rescue and rehabilitation", which, though its targets changed, persisted throughout the twentieth century. Philanthropically sponsored youth work was never challenged in any fundamental or organised way for at least half a century. Middle and upper class philanthropists were left to determine policies, making state intervention unnecessary until after the Second World War (Davies 1986).

2.2.2 The Era of Optimism

Youth work's philanthropic sponsors did not have complete control however. Springhall (1977 : 89-95), for example, notes various forms of resistance by the 'unorganised', and therefore implicitly 'deviant', sections of the young working class towards the organisation and quasi-militarianism of the Boys Brigade and Scout troops, often resulting in violent confrontations. Other forms of resistance included non-attendance and a refusal to participate in youth work facilities. Later these were the young who were targeted by the

Albermarle Report (HMSO 1960) as the "unattached". Using the same term, the same point had been made as early as 1950 by the Westhill College Study of Birmingham's youth (Reed 1950). Even when participation was evident "large numbers fall away" (Russell and Rigby 1908 : 367), especially where "a standard of discipline" was maintained (ibid : 91). In many cases, resistance through lack of voluntary participation was devalued by being defined as passivity, especially in the case of girls (Davies 1986 : 97). Even when working class young people did come in from the street, their actual use of facilities often diverged from what the sponsors intended:

> "We joined the Scouts, two weeks before the summer camp; we went to Brighton - it
> was brilliant, first time we'd been to Brighton. We packed it in soon as we got home
> though - I couldn't handle the uniforms and all that" (Maz - taped interview).

Eggleston (1978 : 117) has similarly noted that in their approach to youth service facilities, early school leavers, the "uncommitted members", adopted an instrumental attitude to the resources and facilities. According to Davies (1986 : 97) evidence suggests that young people did resist youth work's more ambitious attempts to remoralise them, demonstrating how:

> "Without fundamentally shifting the power relations in this policy area, they retained
> some real leverage on what was offered to them. Philanthropic and later state policy-
> makers thus had continually to tack to the changing winds of adolescent interests and
> styles - a fact which, in conditions of crisis, raised serious questions amongst state
> policy-makers about youth work's ability to achieve the wider economic, political and
> ideological purposes ascribed to it" (Davies 1986 : 97).

State provision for the young evolved slowly after the Second World War, and it was not until the Albermarle Report in 1960 that recommendations were made for greatly increased spending, a national building programme, more training and employment opportunities for full and part-time paid staff, and a greater Local Education Authority commitment. However, the importance of the Albermarle Report went beyond these recommendations in seeking to adapt youth work's image, style and philosophy to a new age and new post-war culture. The Albermarle Committee included such luminaries as Richard Hogart and Pearl Jephcott; the Report's recommendations and social democratic

tone suggesting that considerable input was provided by these people seeking to, "drag some of its most influential and philanthropically-inclined sponsors into the middle of the 20th century" (Davies 1986 : 99).

In the years following the Albermarle Report, hundreds of experimental projects were set up throughout the country. Highly contemporary activities were encouraged by the Report, including "skiffle and washboard groups" (Para. 193). Also instituted by the Report were drop-in centres, workshops and peripatetic (detached) workers catering for young people's "social needs in the unconstrained way which they appear to seek" (Para. 186). For the first time, state provision for youth sought to meet the needs of the young in their own terms. Space was created for newer progressive forms of practice, including the detached youth work projects which allowed for a distinctly radical break with the more patronising and moralising emphasis of youth work's past philanthropic sponsors.

Modern youth work and youth work projects owe a great deal of their character to the 'renaissance' of the early sixties when the youth services were responding to the Albermarle Report. In the post-Albermarle period, other significant influences began to enter the youth work arena exploiting the new space in emphasis and practice created by the more experimental approaches (Ewen 1974). Influences were derived from the critical theory and critical politics of the 'new left', the alternative vision of 'the counter culture', community politics, radical welfare, and the general heady optimism of the nineteen sixties. Pearson (1977) illustrates what was happening to welfare and social work generally during this period:

> "At this time ... we find the emergence of welfare client groups (or groups of potential clients), who pose traditional welfare problems as politics: Claimants' Unions, Gay Liberation, Women's Liberation, Mental Patients' Unions, Child Poverty Action Group, various community and neighbourhood control movements, squatters, Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners (PROP), and, in the United States the Mental Patients' Liberation Front and the Insane Liberation Front" (1977 : 95).

In youth work these trends were reflected in reports from the Youth Service Development Council in the late 1960s. The Report published by the Department of

Education and Science in 1969, for example, explicitly linked young people's generally negative attitude towards the youth service to (what appeared at times to teeter on the brink of) a radical analysis, indicating a (theoretical at least) break with the social democratic emphasis of the Albermarle Report. The Report argued that many youth clubs were run by "do-gooders" trying to, "indoctrinate (the young) into a particular way of thought". The paragraph continued by arguing that, "to the young adult the present service often becomes irrelevant" (1969 : Paras. 30-40). For the YSDC, the wider context of the problems of non-attendance and take-up of facilities and resources offered by the youth service in the 1960s was the young's "... frustrations ... often based on a feeling of helplessness in the face of a property owning society in whose values and priorities they do not share or indeed wish to share" (1969 : Para. 48). Later, the YSDC Report quoted approvingly the evidence of the National Union of Students:

> "However, much lip service may be paid to the idea of young people challenging the accepted values of the community; there is an underlying complacency that these values are, in themselves, absolute and beyond challenge" (1969 : Para 201).

It was clearly not the case that these newer, more radical emphases in youth work completely supplanted more traditional approaches derived from youth work's long history. New movements co-exist with traditional practices, and a single agency may contain practitioners, administrators, and others who understand their tasks and the problems they confront in completely different ways. What is notable is that, by the early 1970s, it was the ideas which emerged from new left politics and the counter culture, ideas brought to youth work by the influx of new workers who had been participants in the turbulent politics of the 1960s, which gave impetus to some of the most significant innovations in work with children and young people. In the ten years after 1969, the practice of youth work was largely influenced and shaped by political and professional movements beyond youth work. While some had a direct and obvious impact on the practice of youth work, others were more oblique, lending a way of perceiving and understanding young people rather than offering a direct prescription for action. What

78

they shared was an optimism about the possibility of effecting positive change as a result of participation in the lives and neighbourhoods within which they lived and found their working environment. For youth workers, a major strand in this developing optimism grew out of the principles and practice of detached youth work.

2.3 Detached Youth Work

Detached youth work started in this country in the early 1960s with a tacit admission of failure and the search for a remedy. What was implicitly admitted was the failure of the conventional systems of youth provision to 'reach', 'absorb' or to 'control' a substantial proportion of the youth population by existing means. This admissison of failure was closely linked to renewed contemporary concerns over the timeless problem of 'delinquency'. Those young people who rejected the conventional services and provisions available, or who were excluded because their attitudes and behaviour, were judged to be unacceptable, and were defined as "unreachable" or "unclubbable" (Davies 1986 : 96). Collectively labelled the "unattached" (Morse 1965), these were the 'non-conformist', 'asocial', 'anti-social', 'deviant' young.

To be unattached or unclubbable was, in the early youth work literature, more or less equated with being delinquent or, at least, pre-delinquent (Russell and Rigby 1908; Springhall 1977). Although, as previously discussed, concern with delinquent behaviour amongst young people has a long history, contemporary concern about delinquency was constructed partly from these historical antecedents, wherein the legitimate traditions of the working class young were perceived as 'delinquencies', and it was delinquency that was to provide a motivating factor in the creation of the youth work specialisation now known as detached youth work.

Concern with the specific forms of group or 'gang' delinquency (one of the motivating factors in the emergence of detached youth work, particularly in the United States) is somewhat recent, and is related to the rapid urbanisation of society and the growing

79

visibility of the problems of the inner city. In the United States, for example, juvenile crime became a significant political issue in the post-war period, and for the Kennedy administration it contained, in 1960, two of the most pressing political problems to be confronted. They were unemployment, especially amongst blacks and Puerto Ricans, and the endemic problem of the unequal position of black Americans which spawned the civil rights campaign. Out of concern for these problems, emerged the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime in 1961. One of the most influential members of the Committee was Lloyd Ohlin whose study with Richard Cloward (Cloward and Ohlin 1960) provided the intellectual rationale for a 'Mobilisation for Youth' programme that set a tone and provided the theoretical background for detached youth work in the States, and which, in turn, informed the politicians who developed the US youth and poverty programmes.

Detached youth work, originally known as 'gang work' or 'street club work' originated in the USA in the 1940s when youth clubs, settlement houses, and other agencies providing services and programmes for the young, 'detached' a worker to work with one or several groups of youngsters, in many cases with a particular local 'gang', outside the walls of the agency - in their territory, on the streets. Detached work methods were, for example, developed by the New York City Youth Board out of necessity in its work with street gangs in the city, as the more conventional youth work approaches had been tried without any measure of "success" (Galea 1982).

The mandates given to the youth workers thus employed, like the motives for their employment, were a mixed bag. Detached workers were told to 'reach out' to the unattached and unclubbable, to 'befriend' them in order to facilitate changes in socially undesirable behaviour. In some cases, the youth worker was charged with the task of changing attitudes and behaviour to the extent of making them acceptable to the structured programme of a youth centre. Other workers were given resources and facilities to enable them to provide street gangs with their own independent recreational or sports

programmes, to keep them permanently away from the conventional youth services in the area in order not to disturb their orderly conduct.

Some detached youth workers were specifically employed to prevent 'gang wars', others to combat drug addiction, vandalism, or muggings. Later, women workers were employed to work with the 'debs' of street gangs and eventually with girl gangs (Campbell : 1984). It was generally accepted that the target was a specific and often notorious group, and that the method was group work, combined with one or another form of individual counselling.

What was new and challenging about the new youth work approach was that the work had to be carried out in the territory of the target group, largely under conditions determined by them. Up to then, youth provisions and programmes offered their resources and facilities on conditions and according to rules laid down by the agencies themselves. Youth workers were held accountable by their employers for maintaining the prescribed conditions and for enforcing the rules. The young people who wished to make use of the services had to adapt to the conditions set by the agency. Objectives and methods of youth work in these settings were determined by the service agency and reflected conventional values, norms, and expectations. Detached youth work, in contrast, offered a service without a clearly structured setting. There were no club-rooms with opening and closing hours, age limits, admission procedures, membership cards, and a formal curriculum of activities, just as there was no clearly defined identity for the youth workers.

The detached youth worker had to seek out the 'target group' in their territory, establish contact, and repeatedly explain and demonstrate in a wide variety of situations their role, function, objectives and methods. The structure of the task could not depend on the visible support of buildings or equipment, providing a basis for rules, procedures, and accountability. The worker had to carry the structure of the task around in her/his head,

conveying the existence of any such structure to the target group in interaction. The condition for success was the ability of the youth worker to establish a working relationship with the target group. The development of a working relationship depended upon the worker's personal qualities and abilities. The worker had to establish a role and 'image' as a youth worker, to show an ability to act competently and effectively in difficult situations, as well as to relax, have fun, refrain from 'poking your nose in', interference or 'hassling'. The detached youth worker had to gain the confidence, trust, and respect of the target group, attaining their co-operation, whilst at the same time preserving a measure of personal autonomy.

All this had to be done, at least in the critical initial phase of early contact, with only one resource: the youth worker's own experience, values, and personality. Moreover, the detached youth worker's chances of survival and success depended upon an appreciation of any group's individual characteristics, potentialities, limitations, frustrations, and the group's 'life-style', social background and cultural milieu. The operative norms and values, attitudes and stereotypes, and the physical conditions and economic realities that dominated and shaped the lives of the young people, as well as their parents and neighbours, also had to form part of the internal appreciative resources of the detached youth worker.

In the early stages of the development of detached youth work in the United States, there was very little training available for this complex and demanding type of youth work. However, by the early 1960s, President Kennedy's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (1961), profoundly influenced by the persuasive presence of Lloyd Ohlin of the Columbia School of Social Work, set a tone and gave a theoretical background for training programmes for detached youth workers (Pitts 1988 : 64).

Cloward and Ohlin's study, *Delinquency and Opportunity* (1960), in particular was a great influence on the President's Committee. Their study, followed from pioneer work

82

in the sociology of delinquency by the Chicago School (e.g. Shaw and McKay 1929; Thrasher 1927). Cloward and Ohlin explained working class juvenile delinquency as a collective solution to discrepancies between culturally induced aspirations among lower class youth and the possibilities of achieving them by legitimate means (1960 : 82). The discrepancy between expectation and reality, argued Cloward and Ohlin, resulted in a collective alienation which in the delinquent gang is manifested as an alternative opportunity system for the achievement of status and/or gain. Cloward and Ohlin proposed a typology of differential responses via a criminal subculture, which was largely devoted to securing material gain through illegitimate opportunity structures, in order to achieve socially valued success goals; a conflict gang subculture, based on an alternative status system of toughness and violence; and a retreatist subculture, based on a withdrawal from socially ascribed goals into drug and alcohol abuse. Cloward and Ohlin's study of the association of delinquency with opportunity was partly based on their contacts with a lower East Side 'Settlement House' project in New York, designed as a delinquency prevention programme. This in turn developed into the far larger 'Mobilisation for Youth' project. Based on the assumed connection between delinquency and thwarted aspiration, it sought to expand job and educational opportunities for the young in the lower class slums. However, project workers with the Mobilisation for Youth programme quickly came into conflict with established power structures and, as a compromise, the emphasis was shifted to preventing delinquency through training programmes and the employment of detached youth workers.

In Britain, detached youth work made its 'debut' in the early 1960s following from recommendations in the Albermarle Report. Attempts to reach the 'unattached', to club the 'unclubbables' were often based in the informal drop-in 'Expresso' coffee bars of the early sixties. The popularity of these sites for youth culture did not extend much beyond 1965 and most projects were "unmonitored and unevaluated" (Ewen 1974). Although in some cases fairly elaborate monitoring and research did accompany the projects, and were

even their principal object (Spencer 1964; Morse 1965; Goetschius and Tash 1967; Smith et al 1972).

The same period saw the emergence of the new breed of youth worker, "... a brave, and often very young, missionary who went out alone into the streets, pubs, and inevitable coffee bars to meet and befriend the unclubbable youth" (Baldock 1982 : 2). Contemporary literature testifies to the difficulty of this new style of youth work and the enormous strain its demands put on the individual workers. Personalities like 'Jumbo' of the Paddington Project (Baldock 1982), Mary Andes of the Bristol Project (in Spencer 1964), the anonymous untrained twenty-two year old worker in the 'Seagate' experiment (in Morse 1965 : 15-72), and Paul Stepney's account of the Cavendish Youth Club in Swindon (Stepney 1978), provide vivid accounts of the dilemmas, confrontations, and successes in this early pioneer work with the unattached. When later these now older workers were absorbed into the mainstream of youth and community work, they had a stimulating and radicalising effect quite out of proportion to their relatively small numbers.

The growth of detached youth work in Britain shifted in the late 1960s post-Albermarle period from the voluntary to the statutory sector, from the settlement houses, churches, and other charitable organisations, to the Education Departments and Youth Service. The definition of the task, and appropriate training facilities, differed widely from place to place. Two major developments in the statutory sector broadened the scope of detached youth work and, if anything, added to the range and complexity of the task, without, however, doing much to define and circumscribe the role more clearly.

One such development was the impact of community work on youth work in general and the youth service in particular (Baldock 1980; Leissner 1975; Francis et al 1984). While it had for some time been understood that the detached youth worker is 'in the neighbourhood' or, if not that, at least wherever young people 'hang out', it gradually became accepted that detached, as well as other forms of youth work, should attempt to

work with, as well as in, the neighbourhood or the community (Cox 1970; Leissner 1972; Powley 1974). Implicit in this was a conflation of the idea of community with territorial neighbourhood which partly reflected something of the influence of the Chicago School's conception of a 'natural area'. It can be said that the full implications of the community work approach were neither fully understood, accepted, or applied in practice (Leissner 1980; Davies and Crousaz 1982).

The second more recent development was the adoption of Intermediate Treatment established by the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act (Pitts 1988 : 35-39). The concept of Intermediate Treatment (I.T.) in the so-called "era of rehabilitative optimism" (Adams et al 1981) anticipated an end to a custodial system for juveniles, and its replacement by care and treatment in the community (Leissner 1977). I.T. was linked to early youth work and community projects as part of an explicit agenda concerned with the reduction of delinquency. The Wincroft Youth Project (Smith et al 1972) which operated in North Manchester was one such delinquency prevention project.

Wincroft's rationale suggested that juvenile delinquency was associated with inner-city multiple deprivation. Using community work, community youth work, and detached youth work methods, Wincroft identified 54 boys most at risk, described them as 'participants', and maintained contact with them using 'detached work' methods developed in the street gang work undertaken by the New York City Youth Board. This involved using, in the three years of the Project, 156 students and volunteers as detached workers in order to contact the peer groups within which the 54 participants were located. The workers in the project maintained contact with 600 young people in order to be able to work with the 54 target clients in their peer groups. The project recognised the importance of the peer group and the more extensive local adolescent networks as a potential generating milieu for juvenile crime. The role of the worker was to identify the needs and wishes of the target groups and to facilitate problem solving, and the development of recreational and social/educational activities. The emphasis was on

85

opening up access to opportunities based on the assumption that much of the apparently 'delinquent' behaviour of the participants was based on lack of access to opportunity and hence 'normality'.

Wincroft's major achievement was that over a three year period sustained contact was maintained with those young people specifically selected because other more orthodox professionals had been unable to maintain contact. The project had operated 'on the streets', without premises, and to this day offers the most comprehensive description of British detached youth work available. Despite its success in making a significant impact on participants' offending (Smith *et al* 1972 : 255) and its influence on other projects adopting the detached work method, its effect on I.T. as a whole was muted (Pitts 1988 : 77-79).

Thus in Britain as well as the USA, early detached youth work projects tended to be more or less explicitly linked to 'delinquency' management and prevention. Later projects, influenced by the more sophisticated sociological critiques of juvenile crime developed, for example in labelling and deviancy amplification theories (Lemert 1951; Becker 1963; Schur 1971; Wilkins 1964) were far more circumspect about adopting such clear identifications with surveillance and social control. Despite their liberal appearance, community-based intervention and treatment programmes were criticised for "widening the net" for "potential delinquents" and justifying an expansion of social work surveillance and assessment of working class family socialisation (Thorpe *et al* 1980 : 16). According to Box (1987):

> "The majority of adolescents caught up in these programmes have not been judged guilty
> of any offence, but have been identified, by experts, as 'in need' or 'at risk' of committing
> offences. This form of preventive intervention sails very close to being soft, subtle
> socialisation by employees of the state" (1987 : 112-113).

As a result of these debates within youth work theory and practice, youth work has in recent years generally taken two forms (neither of which, in the actual practice of youth work, are mutually exclusive). The first following from Edwin Schur's (1971) 'radical non-interventionist' approach to delinquency has come to be known as 'non-directive youth work'. Non-directive youth work can be contrasted with a second, social democratic tradition within youth work practice. This second tradition espouses intervention out of 'concern' for working class youth. Within the social democratic traditions, youth 'policy' is viewed as the structural organisation of notions of welfare, with the aim of organisations being to encourage and provide opportunities, particularly for the working class young. Non-directive youth work poses itself against social democratic youth work practice in terms of the ways in which the worker interacts with the groups worked with:

> "It constructs a practice which listens more, and intervenes only in the terms and forms
> agreed by working class youth itself" (Corrigan 1982 : 2).

In its most extreme libertarian guise, particularly as manifested in the work and critiques developed in the early 1970s, this form of youth work was important in revealing power relationships within youth policy and youth practice. It drew on historical studies of the development of youth work practice which revealed the relationship between youth policy and the nature of the capitalist economy, exposing the need for social control in an otherwise liberal state (see Section 2.2). The theory of culture associated with the non-directive youth work strategy understands the nature of working class youth culture as a progressive force, a 'problem' for the capitalist cultural hegemony. Progressive youth workers thus informed became wary of interventions on behalf of national youth policy, since youth policy is viewed as part of the way capital interferes in working class youth culture in order to 'repress, reform or rehabilitate' it. In actual practice, non-intervention in youth work is difficult to sustain when, for example, confronted with the more recessive traits apparent in working class youth culture, the violence, racism and sexism of much of the encountered behaviour and beliefs. Radical non-intervention then becomes an excuse for inactivity, a negation of the detached worker's role. Thus in day to day practice,

intervention at certain points becomes inevitable with the guiding principles for the detached youth worker 'in the field' being adapted according to the task, goals, and mandates of particular workers in particular locations when confronted with specific problems.

This leaves a view of social democratic youth work as neither progressive nor oppressive but a terrain of class struggle which is, in day to day terms, full of contradictions. The worker within the social democratic mode views youth work practice as assisting in development. Youth work and social education grew hand in hand as active policies and practices, and recent examples include the introduction of anti-racism and anti-sexism programmes into youth work practice (Macken and Ritchie 1984; Taylor 1984). Moreover, social democratic youth work does at least attempt to challenge the subordinacy of working class youth through radical democratic notions of participation and self-determination. As Fuchs and Jones emphasise:

> "An acceptance of the right of young people to take part in all decision making processes
> is an essential pre-condition for any effective changes in the way that community
> organisations respond to the needs of their younger members and potential members"
> (1986 : 4).

The libertarianism that underlies a non-interventionist approach sees any form of intervention as in the interests of capital, painting a picture of a youth worker frightened to move in any strategic direction for fear of becoming an agent of social control. However, many of the more progressive elements within the practice of detached youth work have sought, in recent years, to intervene in communities to create the possibility for participation in youth practice and policy (Mark Smith 1981; Boaden et al 1982; Feek 1982; National Youth Bureau 1981; Foster and Shaw 1981; Fuchs and Jones 1986); thereby attempting to facilitate the empowerment of young people as "creators not consumers" (Mark Smith 1981). It is only through this kind of involvement and intervention, through such progressive developments as the 'enfranchisement' projects, advocated by the National Youth Bureau (1981 : 6), that youth workers may intervene to

involve target groups in practice that does at least attempt to challenge the structured subordinacy that is a social and political fact of life for many young working class people in high unemployment areas, such as Hartingleigh.

In immediately local terms, for example, the Greater Manchester Youth Service has been quite explicit in directing forms of youth and community work intervention that leads to the empowerment of young people. In the "philosophy and practice of the youth service", for example, specific guidelines are provided for youth work practice that facilitates -

> "... the maximum participation by young people in the management of the service ... boys and girls should participate fully in decision making about the organisation of youth provision;   ... young people should serve on area and district committees and be encouraged to participate in their deliberations ..,. [they] should be involved in the appointment of staff ... each club or organisation should be controlled primarily by members committees or through other arrangements which give young people substantial control" (Manchester Education Committee 1982 : 2).

This is the paradigm of delinquency prevention organised through participation, and enfranchisement; intervention through empowerment. Following the General Election of 1979, there was, however, a significant sea change in youth policy. Under the impact of radical-right ideology, 'law and order' returned to the political agenda and there was a profound 'moral' backlash against such 'permissive' youth work practice.

2.4 Detached Youth Work in Hartingleigh

In Hartingleigh in the early days of my employment by the embryonic Youth and Community Project, I was guided in my early encounters 'in the field' by the loose and unstructured brief offered by the Project's Neighbourhood Worker, Jim Donovan.   The early mandate given to me and my three co-workers was to "get out there", establish contacts with the school leavers and young unemployed and publicise and create an awareness of the developing aims of the Project as a whole.   We were to inform potential users of the possibilities for them to organise in order to win resources, and facilities such

as the proposed Youth Centre within the evolving Project. We were also encouraged to seek out practical help and support for the renovation of recently secured premises for an 'Indoor Street Corner' which, it was hoped, would develop into a self-managed 'drop-in centre' for the young unemployed of the area. Similarly, we were to enlist support, if possible, for the construction and eventual staffing of an urban-aid funded Adventure Playground, the site for which had already been negotiated from the Council by the Project's Management Committee.

What followed in these early days of my youth work practice was an easy routine of touring the district, initiating early contacts and gathering an increasingly informed cartography of the formal and informal sites where children and young people gathered for their social play and recreation. In this early period (Autumn 1979), my co-youth workers, Gail Hindle, Marie Hulton, Tony Boyle and I would, through local knowledge and information gathered from 'key informants', map out the major areas where young people gathered and 'hang-out with the kids', talking, 'having the crack' (a local expression for extreme sociability) and generally getting our faces known. For Gail and Marie, who had been born in Hartingleigh and lived there all their lives, this was less problematic than for Tony and myself. Tony in particular became the butt of much defamatory humour because of his beard, substantial girth, and pronounced Geordie accent. Nevertheless, Tony's physical presence and no-nonsense approach commanded a grudging respect, especially amongst 'the lads', and Gail and Marie's 'insider status' provided them with an easy command of most situations. My own acceptance in these early days was facilitated by a measure of footballing skill and a general 'street savvy' I had acquired from my own urban working class childhood in Manchester. Quick wits and a deft right foot were survival characteristics I had learned in my childhood on the Benchill Estate in Wythenshawe, at one time the largest municipal housing estate in Western Europe, in Salford Six, the "Classic Slum" (Roberts 1971) and later, when my parents were rehoused, during my adolescence on the Partington overspill estate in the extreme south of the Greater Manchester conurbation. As my outreach work progressed, I came to accept that

my background was a positive attribute, and I became increasingly confident in utilising aspects of style, linguistic constructs, and my knowledge of the culture and ecology of Mancunian urban working class life, in my 'face to face work' on the streets of Hartingleigh.

I spent many hours in these early days of working for the Project kicking a football and "having a laff" (Willis 1977), playing loose unstructured games on the streets and wastelands of Hartingleigh. The memorable Sunday 'kick-about' on 'The Wreck' (Chapter One, Section 1.3), one of several sites that I would regularly visit on my 'rounds' of the area, was a major point of contact. 'The Wreck' had, over the years since the demolition of the terraced houses which formerly stood there, become an important informal meeting and play space for the children and young people from the nearby council estates. On Sundays in particular, local young people from the estates would gather at around mid-day and gradually an informal soccer match would develop. This game would continue throughout the day and in the summer months into the evenings, new players joining in when the pubs closed, or when the televised highlight of 'Match of the Day' had finished, as others left when called home for meals, or to meet up with mates and girlfriends, etc. The age span of players would range from six to forty plus, the numbers playing varying from ten to twenty a side. These games, often lasting for six hours or more, would provide me with valuable opportunities to meet up with the extended networks of teenagers from the nearby estates, enabling me to consolidate or expand on contacts established earlier in the week.

The youth worker role has provided a ready research identity and notable access for participant observers seeking to investigate the social world of the urban young (Gill 1977; McRobbie 1978; Parker 1974; Jenkins 1983; MacLeod 1987). Jenkins (1983), for example, was able to construct his ethnographic study of working class youth life styles on a large housing estate in Belfast out of the initial role, identity, and contacts furnished by his previous employment as an outreach youth worker with the school leavers and young

unemployed on the 'Ballyhightown' estate (1983 : 16). Similarly, Howard Parker (1974) initially encountered the 'Roundhouse Boys' of his study of 'down town' adolescent male delinquency in Liverpool's inner city whilst working as "... a residential dog's body 'go and play with the kids' community youth worker at a country holiday centre for Liverpool 'street kids'" (1974 : 15). Parker's acceptance into the network of the 'Roundhouse' group would have been highly unlikely if his 'credentials' as an 'O.K. guy' had not been checked in these opportune early encounters at the 'Sandhills' holiday centre. Parker acknowledges the importance of the non-hierarchical philosophy adopted at the holiday centre in creating a 'highly favourable atmosphere' for the original contacts with the boys who would eventually form the basis of his study (1974 : 214).

In this initial period, 1979-1982 of living in Hartingleigh and working for the Project, myself and my co-workers successfully established street contacts, recruited help, organised and managed the 'Indoor Street Corner', and established a user-run Adventure Playground. Most importantly, from the point of view of my future research, I was able, in this early period of detached youth working, to establish my credentials as 'OK', that is, among other things, "as a stand up guy" (Polsky, in Becker 1963 : 171 : Note 7), "knowing the score about theft behaviour" (Parker 1974 : 16). This 'insider status' is crucial for any ethnographic research into the social world of the urban young, as once conferred and confirmed it allows the researcher relatively free access to 'backstage' situations (cf. Goffman) and information normally prohibited to the 'straight' adult outsider (Parker 1974 : 215).

One aspect of my own biography was extremely important in establishing my 'insider status', facilitating an easy acceptance by the 'unattached' from Hartingleigh's Council estates and, moreover, coincidentally furnishing me with the necessary 'credentials' with 'key informants' who were, or would later become, engaged in fringe or full time illegal activity, people who would later become important participants in my future research.

In 1979, prior to moving to Hartingleigh, I had been released under parole licence from a three years and three month prison sentence after serving almost two years imprisonment. Shortly before being released, I was assigned for parole supervision to Martin Bloxham, a probation officer from the area where I was to live. In my case, parole supervision was to last for two years. Martin was a good friend of Jim Donovan, the Project's neighbourhood worker, then a major figure in the Project's Management Committee, and it was this informal contact between my parole supervisor and Jim which had, to some extent, worked in my favour when I had originally applied for the youth work job. At this stage, apart from Jim Donovan, neither the Project's Management Committee, my co-workers, nor the young people I worked with, were aware of these details of my background. However, this situation was to change dramatically as a result of one of my fortnightly visits to see Martin at the Probation Offices in nearby Moat Pitton. Whilst waiting in the reception room to be called in for my appointment, four lads, Maz, Digger, Willie and Berksy, sauntered in smoking what smelled suspiciously like a 'joint'. I was, as they say, 'gobsmacked'. I had previously encountered the lads in my early weeks of street work for the Project and on several occasions played soccer with them and a larger group from the 'Jungle' estate (see Chapter One, Section 1.3), locally considered to be the 'roughest' estate (Marsden 1976) in Hartingleigh. Unbeknown to me, two of the lads were attending appointments with probation officers at the Moat Pitton offices under 'supervision orders' (Muncie 1984 : 159-161) imposed as a result of various juvenile court appearances. Before I had time to concoct a suitable story to 'front out' my presence in the probation offices, the receptionist in her cool, neutral, but efficient receptionist's voice, announced: "Mr. Craine, your probation officer will see you now".

My twenty minute interview with Martin in his ground floor office was punctuated by one or more of the lads peering in through the security mesh on the windows - winking and giving me the heavy duty 'thumbs up'. Later, when I met the lads outside, I swore them to secrecy, explaining that I was now 'straight' and desperate to hold on to my job

with the Project. They, in reply, issued veiled hints at blackmail: "It's going to cost you, Crainey".

Despite the attempts on my part to conceal my background, it quickly became apparent to me in my street work that 'the word was out' that I was an 'ex-con', although, in fairness to the lads, no one at the Project ever learned of my past history, and it was not until 1986 when my research was officially under way that I was obliged to reveal the details to the Project's Management Committee. Thus, there were key figures on the streets in Hartingleigh who now knew something of my background. Rather than diminishing my position as a youth worker, being a person who had experienced life in the 'big house' served instead to enhance my standing and reputation. At the ripe age of 29, I was now officially recognised as 'one of the crew'. Thus vetted by reliable sources, I found it progressively easier to move into a wider acceptance until I could casually knock on doors and gain entrance and acceptance into the extended domestic and social networks of the young people of Hartingleigh, many of whom would later play an important part in my future research.

By that time, my home too had become an established meeting point and often there would be up to twenty people of various ages crammed into my front room 'having a brew and the crack'. Again, the 'He's OK' epithet was important, particularly in terms of the accounts and discussions that took place of various illegal matters. Like Wallace (1987) I had to "... ignore some of the less officially sanctioned practices that were going on both in the so-called 'black' economy and elsewhere" (1987 : 8). Since my 'credentials' had been established by reliable sources, it was taken for granted that I could "be relied on to say nothing since I 'knew the score'" (Parker 1974 : 215). Inevitably, friendships became part of the logical development of youth working in such a loose, unstructured, and non-hierarchical way. The reciprocal nature of friendships forming a further strand in my developing commitment towards a participatory, collaborative research method.

Many participant observer studies have similarly been augmented by the developing friendships of field-workers with their research participants (Patrick 1973 : 13-17; Parker 1974 : 16; Ditton 1977 : 17; Wallace 1987 : 8; MacLeod 1987 : 6-7, 166-171; Hobbs 1988 : 10). The reciprocity involved allowing researchers access to 'backstage' settings, conversations, and information which might otherwise have not been available (Polsky 1971; Klockars 1975; Ditton 1977). In many cases, the development of personal involvement is a necessary precursory feature of entrée into and acceptance in 'the field':

> "I was already close friends with many Clarendon Heights residents prior to the beginning of my research. Without this entrée into the community ... I would have faced massive problems gaining the trust and respect of my subjects (MacLeod 1987 : 6-7).

Similarly, Whyte (1943) in his classic study found his acceptance with the 'Norton Street Gang' and within the 'Cornerville' community "depended on the personal relationships I developed far more than upon any explanations I might give" (1955 edition : 300)

Although I am now only an infrequent visitor to Hartingleigh, the friendships I formed during my youth work there have endured. It was these same friendships which were later to form the basis of my study by allowing me informal access to the material from which my research project would be constituted.

Detached youth working in Hartingleigh in this first phase (1979-1982) of my evolving study brought me into the lives and homes of many of the young people who would later become participants in my research in 1986. Much of my time in this early period between September 1979 and September 1982 was spent in a variety of capacities, liaising between young people on the street and the evolving Youth and Community Project, organising and running a football team, helping out with various projects connected to the Indoor Street Corner and Adventure Playground, and generally coaxing greater involvement and participation from the young people in the community.

However, the overriding impression I was left with at the end of this first phase of living and youth working in Hartingleigh was of the considerable alienation of the majority of young people from the wider society that surrounded them. Often I heard this expressed by older members of the community in terms of phrases that located manifestations of youthful social behaviour in psycho-pathological terms - 'everyone's going mad'. Later by the mid-1980s, the local youth sub-culture would gain national prominence and the notion of 'MADCHESTER' take on an affirmatory cultural significance that drew in affiliates from throughout the country in terms of its leading edge in music, fashion and sub-cultural style (*The Guardian* 21.4.90 : 24-25). The mass hedonistic escapism involving a mutated collectivism achieved through multi-drug use and 'trance'-dancing to a highly technologised musical form commonly labelled '*acid-house*' - later transmuted into 'rave culture' - had its original roots in the urban alienation of Manchester's young working class (See Chapter Seven, Section 7.86; Chapter Ten, Section 10.3).

However the alienation of the young working class of North Manchester cannot be understood in a vacuum. Theirs was a youth culture that evolved within a specific historical, economic and social context, a context that has its roots in the collectivist traditions of the parent culture but which was subsequently mutated, through urban dislocation, in the era of clearance and redevelopment, and through unemployment, at the end of the post war boom of the 1960s and early 1970s; coincidental, but nonetheless significant, socio-economic upheavals which have weighed most heavily on the youth of the economically disenfranchised urban working class.

Of necessity the changes outlined in Chapter One have to be restated throughout this study in order to give meaning to behaviours and interactions at an immediately local level. As the old industrial centres, such as the manufacturing area of East Manchester, lost investment and employment, so the traditional opportunities for both the indigenous adult and youth labour force evaporated. High inflation rates and dwindling productivity

produced closures and labour shedding on an unprecedented scale. These in turn affected public expenditure pressures at both a national and local level. Moreover, the structure of the welfare state which had been established in the post-war economic consensus came under increasing fiscal and ideological pressure.

By 1979 a new Conservative political regime had emerged under Thatcher with programmes of deregulation and privatisation which represented a fundamental break with the post-war Keynesian consensus (Edgell and Duke, 1991) As a result, the life-transitions of the young working class were no longer to be structured through employment opportunity but rather through containment and socialisation schemes under the 'new curriculum' for youth. The implications of post-1979 policy for youth are examined in Section 2.6; here it is sufficient to note that all of these factors form part of the social and historical context I outlined in my opening chapter, and which were to have profound implications for the life-course transitions of the young working class of my study area.

2.5 The Community Self Survey

From the point of view of my future research, its 'data base', and my evolving methodological disposition, the community self surveys initiated by the Youth and Community Project in this early period of detached youth working provided a further strand in what would later become my research project.

According to Van de Lest, the community self survey is defined as -

"... a form of social investigation carried out with the assistance of members of the public who are themselves the object of the investigation so that they may get to know and understand their own situation differently and better" (Van de Lest [no date] : 3).

Wormser (1949) emphasises the central role of members of the community in participating "in every phase of the investigation" (1949 : 5).

There were several community self surveys initiated by the Project in its early stages of development (see Chapter One 1.8.2). Designed to highlight needs, emphasise priorities and support various applications for funding, the community surveys provided valuable information that was fed into the Project's evolving aims as well as facilitating community participation in problem definition and solution. Hendriks (1968) argues that through the self survey, "a representative group in the community is confronted with the local situation and requirements" (1968 : 85). The community self survey thus differs from an ordinary survey in that, "the focus is on a democratic educational process" (Lambert and Cohen 1949 : 6). Writing explicitly about education and social change, Freire (1972) similarly argues for the rationale of the community self survey without actually using the term: "The methodology proposed requires the investigators and the people (who would normally be considered objects of that investigation) to act as co-investigators" (1972 : 78).

Early in 1980, it was decided at a Project Management committee meeting to undertake a survey of the young people in Hartingleigh. The survey was to serve a variety of purposes. Firstly, and most importantly, the survey was to furnish information to be utilised by the Project's youth workers and Management Committee in assessing needs and priorities for formulating policies for youth work activities in the area. Secondly, it was anticipated that the survey would enable youth workers to consolidate existing street work contacts as well as seeking out new prospective users of proposed facilities. Through the survey, we were to publicise the general aims of the Project as well as seeking out greater local participation in existing resources such as the Adventure Playground and Indoor Street Corner. We also hoped to encourage a measure of involvement in the planning of activities and facilities for the proposed Youth and Community Centre. Thirdly, the survey was to be included in the application to the Manchester Metropolitan District council for a grant, under the Urban Aid Programme, for funding towards the construction of the proposed Youth and Community Centre to be sited in the Canton Street area. Finally, the survey was also to form part of a (later aborted) assessment project by Gail

Hindle, one of the Project's youth workers, who at that time was engaged in part-time undergraduate studies at Manchester Polytechnic.

Initially, a sample group of one hundred and eighteen young people was drawn from the three secondary schools that serve Hartingleigh. This sample group was compiled on the basis of two criteria. Firstly, that the young people would be leaving school the following Spring or Summer (1980) without formal qualifications. This criteria was introduced out of a general ethos of 'positive discrimination' and on the basis of our street work experience, which revealed that over ninety percent of the young people we contacted were 'unqualified early leavers'. Secondly, the young people to be included in the sample group were to be residents within the boundaries of the electoral Ward of Hartingleigh, the district to be served by the Project's proposed Youth and Community Centre.

Eventually, after some lengthy discussions between my three co-youth workers, Gail, Marie, Tony, myself and the Project's neighbourhood worker, Jim Donovan, who was also to help out with the survey, it was decided to reduce the original sample group to a more manageable number of fifty on the basis of three new criteria: firstly, those who after initially being contacted by Gail and Marie had agreed to participate in the survey; secondly, those who lived within the closest geographical proximity to the proposed site for the Youth and Community Centre; and thirdly, on the basis of a prior commitment to achieve an equal representation of girls and boys in the final short-list. Between January and May 1980, the final short-list of fifty, consisting of twenty-five girls and twenty-five boys were 'formally' interviewed in a variety of locations of their choice, at home, in school, on the street, in the drop-in centre, or the homes of one or more of the youth workers and neighbourhood worker who had administered the survey. Apart from the 'formal' questionnaire-based interviews, there were a series of 'informal' unstructured interviews, subsequently followed by a variety of informal group meetings and discussions held with one or more of the youth workers and Jim Donovan at the Indoor Street Corner drop-in centre and in our homes.

Each of the five Project workers involved in the survey had selected ten young people from the short-list of fifty to work with, particularly in the first stage of questionnaire administration. My part in the administration of the questionnaires was an early informal introduction to the mechanics of quantitative information gathering, a task I intuitively disliked, providing a further early impetus towards a softer, more collaborative mode of researching. My practical task was to interview ten boys from the short-list of fifty. There was some choice in who we were to contact and work with as we were encouraged to utilise existing street work contacts in our selection of interviewees. My choice of participants was based on those boys with whom I had already developed some rapport in my street work, particularly through playing football. In fact seven of my group formed the nucleus of a football team that I had helped to form. After numerous hiccups and false starts, they had begun playing on a formal weekly basis against other local youth teams in the period leading up to Christmas 1979. Maz, Digger and Willie were three of the boys I had developed particularly good working relationships with (since September 1979 when my contract with the Project had begun) on the strength of our shared enthusiasm for both playing and watching football.

Apart from furnishing valuable background material for the Project's application for Urban Aid Funding, the survey also enabled the Project's workers to introduce new potential users to the Project and help them become acquainted with existing facilities. Out of our contacts with the survey group, developed a youth committee, the members of which elected two representatives (one female, one male) to join the Management Committee of the Project in order to feed the requirements of the youth group in to the Project's evolving policies. Representatives of the youth committee were also encouraged to attend Project staff and working party meetings in order to air their views and define their needs with Project workers. The survey had also enabled the Project's workers to introduce themselves to the 'unattached' in non-street work contexts, in the schools and in their homes. Also through attending interviews and meetings in the various homes of the Project's workers, barriers to participation were removed and the 'unattached' were

encouraged to contact us informally as they required. Input into the planning stage of the Youth and Community Centre was achieved *via* the youth committee and the later structured timetable of activities at the Centre for the 'Senior Club' of over-fourteen year olds was largely determined by the youth committee. These aspects of detached youth working policy were inspired by the notion of empowerment contained in the Greater Manchester Youth Service guidelines (Manchester Education Committee 1982; 1983; 1985).

The material generated by the questionnaire survey, apart from providing statistical (and qualitative) 'data' for the application for funding for the Centre, also served, in a more general way, to acquaint the youth workers with a partial view - a general social profile - of the young people with whom we were working on a daily basis. The questionnaires had been constructed by Gail Hindle in collaboration with Jim Donovan and were largely drawn from the Individual Questionnaire utilised in the third follow-up of the National Child Development Study undertaken by the National Children's Bureau in 1974 (Fogelman ed. 1976). The questions dealt with a variety of issues that could be broken down into six groups. The first group of questions were intended to furnish information about the participants themselves, such as involvement in spare time work, pocket money, leisure activities, trouble with the police and courts, drug taking, smoking and drinking, and political awareness. The second group of questions dealt with relationships within and attitudes to the family. The third group of questions dealt with neighbourhood amenities and home study. The fourth group was concerned with the child in school and examined sex education, educational self-ratings, and truancy. The fifth group of questions examined participants' attitudes to school, including attitudes to school punishment and school leaving. The sixth group of questions examined future education and employment, including reason for leaving school, future work, sources of information about jobs and desire for further/higher education (Appendix A).

In Phase Three of my evolving research project (1985-86) I sought to locate and examine the 1980 Youth Survey data through a search of Youth Centre documents. Unfortunately, I was unable to trace the coded data. However, I was able to dig out 44 of the original completed questionnaires and these, together with the contact addresses, provided me with a ready resource and starting point for my subsequent study. Manual coding of the 44 available questionnaires from the original sample of 50 reveals, for example, the high levels of drug abuse, school refusal, and significant involvement with the police and courts, amongst the group.

However, the twin notions of individual and community empowerment, enshrined both in the detached youth work role and in the community self survey with its emphasis on community problem definition and solution, were subsequently subjected to significant critical reappraisal. This was in the late 1970s which saw a new era of radical-right ideology, and an ideological assault on the so-called permissiveness of the 1960s ideas and institutions.

2.6 Permissive Youth Work : The Backlash
2.6.1. Law and Order
The paradigm of delinquency prevention organised around the principle of empowerment, as developed in youth work practice in the post-Albermarle period, was subsequently subjected to a scathing critique from the 'Moral Right Wing'. This was part of the moral backlash which accompanied the repoliticisation of crime and punishment in the period leading up to the 1979 general election campaign. Just before the election, a journalist asked Margaret Thatcher what would be the most important task to be undertaken by a Conservative government. Without hesitation, she replied that it would be, "the restoration of the rule of law". A Thatcher-led Conservative landslide produced an influx of right-wing backbench MPs who held profoundly reactionary views on 'law and order' issues. One example was Warren Hawksley who at the committee stage of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act sought to introduce 'flogging' for the 10-plus age group for an offence

he described as 'provocative language'. According to Pitts (1988), Margaret Thatcher inevitably chose law and order as "... the central motif with which to adorn the rich ideological tapestry of her right-wing populism. Within this rhetoric 'lawlessness' was presented as both a cause and a consequence of the contemporary social malaise" (1989 : 40).

What came to be known as the 'law and order campaign' was given further voice by Patrick Jenkin, then the Minister of State for Health and Social Security. At a conference in Sheffield on Intermediate Treatment (July 1979), paraphrasing the Duke of Edinburgh, he directed the attention of conference participants to: "The avalanche of lawlessness threatening to engulf our civilisation" (Jenkin 1979). Such apocalyptic visions served to generate public support for tougher penalties for juvenile crime. In the same period, James Anderton, Chief Constable for Greater Manchester, was quick to offer his own ideosyncratic solution:

> "Penal work camps where through hard labour and unrelenting discipline they [young offenders] should be made to sweat as they have never sweated before and remain until their violence has been vanquished by penitent humiliation and unqualified repentance" (Anderton 1979).

The Thatcher government and its right-wing supporters' sabre-rattling rhetoric about law and order, crime and punishment, drew heavily on ideas developed by an emergent right-wing intelligentsia in the 1970s. These were the "new realists" (Brewer and Lait 1980), the "intellectuals for law and order" (Platt and Takagi 1981). Patricia Morgan (1978), for example, warned of a delinquent syndrome of "New Barbarianism" -

> "... a conglomeration of behaviour, speech, appearance and attitudes, a frightening ugliness and hostility which pervades human interaction ... a delight in crudity, cruelty and violence" (1978 : 13).

The source of this New Barbarianism of increasing juvenile crime and diminishing moral values was, according to Morgan, located in a "New Establishment" of: social workers, the emergent social sciences, town hall planners, sociology departments,

educationalists, psychologists, teachers and other exponents of what she described as the "New Socio-Psychological Expertise" of child care and education. It was the failure of common sense and the triumph of liberal intellectual modes of child-rearing which, in her view, had led to a moral collapse and a "criminal and delinquent onslaught on public life" (*ibid* : 9); and was, furthermore, "the logical outcome of the theory and practice of the past couple of decades" (*ibid* : 191). Morgan's views were echoed by a letter to *The Daily Telegraph* (25 October 1979) in which an outraged Baroness similarly took issue with "... the theories of those false prophets of permissiveness at whose door must be laid a considerable part of the blame for the rise in crime over the last two decades" (Quoted in Pearson 1983 : 10).

The 'youth question' has provided a preoccupying focus for a number of social anxieties throughout the whole of the post-war era. One can immediately think of the 'moral panics' (S. Cohen 1973) which have surrounded the emergence of various working class youth groups - 'folk devils' - such as the 'Teds' of the 1950s, the 'Mods and Rockers' of the 1960s, the skinheads and football hooligans of the 1970s, the 'punks' and 'black muggers' of the 1980s, and the 'ravers' of the acid-house subculture of the 1990s. There is, however, a much longer history of attempts to arrest the feared 'new' and 'unprecedented' subcultural development among the young working class (Humphries 1981; Pearson 1983; E. and S. Yeo 1981). Various historical studies have documented how social preoccupations with 'mounting social disorder', especially among the artisan and labouring young have crystallised at moments of more general national anxiety (See Section 2.2; Gillis 1974; Springhall 1977; 1985). According to Pearson (1983), the preoccupation with the 'youth question' has served as: "A convenient metaphor for wider social tensions which attend the advance of democratisation" (1983 : 230).

Both Humphries (1981) and Pearson (1983) seek to question the 'nostalgic amnesia' through which contemporary manifestations of youthful disorder are reported and responded to as unprecedented events. Relevant to the arguments that emerged from the

'Moral Right' in the late 1970s is Pearson's 'twenty year rule'. He notes how the more abbreviated timescale of two decades, or 'Twenty Years Ago', is invoked to convey a largely fictionalised and romanticised past against which may be contrasted any contemporaneous manifestations of the 'descent into lawlessness'. In a series of backward glances through English social history, studies by Pearson (1983), Springhall (1985), and the collection of essays edited by E. and S. Yeo (1981), illustrate how forms of youth leisure in the earliest periods of emergent capitalism clashed with the moral demands of the emergent bourgeoisie. All three studies trace moral panics and the demonisation of working class youth to a long standing dispute between the materially disadvantaged and the privileged moral centre of society. As Pearson, in particular, has demonstrated, fears and anxieties about social ruin have been harnessed for ideological purposes for over three hundred years. From the 'black muggers' of recent times, through the 'skinheads' and football hooligans' of the 1970s, to the 'Teds' of the 1950s, the 'bag-snatchers' of the 1930s, the 'Irish hooligan' of the 1890s, the 'garotters', 'costermongers', 'street arabs' and so on back to the 1600s, Pearson examines and exposes the basis of 'respectable fears' concerning 'law and disorder'. At each historical moment, such factors as youth unemployment (and ironically in the 1950s and 1960s, the 'affluence' of youth), 'debasing amusements', the breakdown of family life and community controls, a 'permissive education' system, leisure provision accessible through greater freedom, affluence and mobility, and 'the demon drink' were feared to be causes of working class youth's increased hostility towards the wider society. This was in turn taken as evidence for a growing moral degeneration, an erosion of social discipline and a breakdown in the 'national character' (Springhall 1985).

2.6.2 Socialisation and Containment : The 'New Curriculum' for Youth

In more recent times, the mobilisation of a moral panic over the 'New Barbarianism' has provided the radical right with an ideological smokescreen behind which lay classicist social and economic doctrines - what Denis Healey, in 1983, described as "Sado-

Monetarism" - which began to challenge the left/liberal assumption that Keynesian economic intervention and a gradualist policy of wealth distribution were the ways in which liberal industrial democracies might be regulated (Pitts 1988 : 44). In terms of national youth policy, radical right 'anti-statist' ideology led to a fundamental reappraisal of state commitment to social democratic youth work. According to Davies (1986), following the Conservative election victory in 1979, the Youth Service was set a test "... in these hard times, contribute effectively to the socialisation and containment of the young or forfeit state endorsement and material support" (1986 : 110).

Indeed, withdrawal of funding *via* constraints on local authority spending was already under way. Some argued that the future of the Youth Service was profoundly at risk (D.I. Smith 1979 : para. 4.4); twelve months later, the same National Youth Bureau researcher argued that the service was becoming so 'threadbare' that it had little relevance to the young people who needed it most (D.I. Smith 1980). The post-1979 Conservative governments were uncompromisingly committed to 'rolling back' rather than increasing state responsibility for youth work provision. After all, the Youth Service continued to rely on those apparently 'permissive' approaches which the radical right generally saw as positively subversive (*Times Educational Supplement* 26.3.82).

Eventually a Review Committee was appointed, chaired by Alan Thompson (Thompson Report 1982). However, even before the Report had been delivered to him, Sir Keith Joseph, as the Secretary of State for Education at the time, was keen to lay stress on the 'socialisation and containment' roles for youth work, and had already issued a circular emphasising his "hope" that the "resources and skills of the Youth Service will be made available and incorporated effectively in YTS schemes" (Department of Education and Science, 1982). Eventually, through a process of financial starvation, some of the more pliant sections of the Youth Service were colonised by the Manpower Services Commission (Scott 1984).

The impact of radical right ideology was from the outset unmistakable. Baker, the

Senior Civil Servant for the Youth Service at the Department of Education and Science,

laid out the new ground rules as early as June 1978:

> "With so many competing claims on public expenditure ... any new look at the role of
> the Youth Service ... must inevitably involve an increased emphasis on social objectives.
> Society's needs may have to be defined in terms more or less unpalatable to young
> people" (Baker 1978).

Despite the resistance by youth workers through the tiny Community and Youth

Workers Union, the MSC broke through some previously rigid organisational boundaries,

especially in the early 1980s, through the Community Programme's temporary work

schemes. In Hartingleigh, however, the political experience of community activists on the

Youth and Community Project's Management Committee at least ensured a degree of

grass-roots control over the recruitment of MSC funded workers during the Project's early

period of organisation. As Jim Donovan explained:

> "At that time we didn't understand what was happening, but we knew we wanted to keep
> control over the direction the Project was moving in ... the money was being offered, it
> seemed pointless not to take it ... most of the people who ended up getting a wage out of
> the deal were working voluntarily anyway ... most of them were local ... and most of
> them knew what we were about and what we were trying to do ... Urban Aid and MSC
> money was useful .. we weren't in a position to turn it down."

In the early 1980s, the MSC sought to expand its influence across the board, not least

between the public (educational) and private (industrial) spheres (Coles 1988). Schools

and further education institutions as well as youth service facilities were most obviously

affected. Moreover, by investing heavily in an organisation such as the National

Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, for example, the MSC also

acquired considerable influence in the juvenile justice field (Somerville 1983; Morris

1983).

Primarily through education and vocational training initiatives (the 'new vocationalism')

the MSC sought to develop a 'new curriculum' for young people (Edwards 1984). This

large, centralised, and unaccountable state agency increasingly sought to define the specifics of programmes and practices, internal structures and administrative arrangements, as well as staff conditions of service (including their professional autonomy), salaries, and the terms of workers' relationships with young people (Davies 1986 : 117). However, the relative autonomy of grass-roots developed community structures, such as the Project in Hartingleigh, through a combination of political street wisdom, guile, and occasionally, outright duplicity, sought to maintain some control over these incursions, placing the MSC simply in the role of fund provider. Sometimes, this meant deliberately submitting false documentation about fictitious socialisation and containment projects which MSC funded workers were supposed to be involved in. Complementary strategies were also devised in tandem with other Youth and Community agencies in Greater Manchester to subvert the relatively minimal levels of accountability. However, in a more general sense, the MSC was succeeding - certainly by the mid 1980s - in defining for youth agencies generally such key problems and concepts as youth unemployment, skill shortages, and indeed skill itself. Thus, in this ideological sense - particularly in terms of redefining the curriculum of public education - the MSC was encroaching on some of the most resistant of organisational boundaries (Edwards 1984; Walker and Barton 1986). Indeed, its activities were threatening to undermine the very institution of schooling as handed down from the 19th century and to eliminate the grey areas of contradictory purposes and relatively relaxed forms of accountability built into these key state instruments for containing and socialising the young (Edwards 1984; Rees and Atkinson 1982; Walker and Barton 1986; Bates *et al* 1984; Coffield 1984).

Key decisions were taken at the highest levels - often with a minimum or no consultation. Examples include the launching of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) with an accompanying threat to set up MSC-funded technical schools if the Local Education Authorities did not comply; the transfer of funding for non-advanced further education from LEAs to the MSC; and the introduction, and then extension, of an 'employer-led' two-year Youth Training Scheme. Together, these initiatives suggested

that, despite the radical right's anti-statist rhetoric, a central state strategy was evolving to establish a new political consensus: "A consensus which involved a belief that education must be made more accountable to the needs of industry" (Coles 1988 : 2).

The full significance of the MSC as a central state strategy for youth provision (Davies 1986) emerged only gradually. The vocational training initiatives were developed during mass youth unemployment when the overall strategy of 'youth training' was perceived as a response to youth unemployment; since then, public conception has often been at variance with government assertions of the need to see the various schemes as "improving the start in working life of young people" (Coles 1988 : 183).

By the late 1980s, the MSC had financial control over TVEIs in schools. It had control of the YTS which offered two-year training to nearly half a million youngsters between the ages of 16 and 18. It controlled the budget of 25% of all non A-level post-16 education in the country, as well as directly funding a number of other initiatives which fell within the parameters of further education. David Young was once Chairman of the MSC and close confidante of ex-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; as Secretary of State for Employment until after the General Election of 1987, he was therefore technically in charge of the Manpower Services he once headed. Thus:

> "He was either directly or indirectly responsible for many, if not most, of the structures through which ... young people pass in the 1980s. As Chairman of the MSC and Secretary of State, he can ... be said to have presided over the restructuring of the transition from childhood to adulthood" (Coles 1988 : 6).

Apparently accidentally, the MSC moved in less than a decade from a quite limited role in labour planning and retraining to: "the pivotal responsibility for containing and remoralising the young" (Davies 1986 : 132).

2.6.3 The Police and the New Curriculum

Such strategic central planning not only sought to remodel the shape of long- established Youth Service and educational structures but also existed in other policy areas.

Deliberate attempts were made in the late 1970s and 1980s to promote the preventative role of the police. This extended its role well beyond a traditional concern with catching law-breakers into the domains of the school, youth service, and educational welfare (*Socialist Teacher* 1983; Department of Education and Science 1983; Davies 1986). During the 1980s, senior ministers and police officers frequently endorsed these efforts to increase police influence, particularly within the schools (*Times Educational Supplement* 2.4.82; Boseley 1985; Passmore 1985; Lodge 1983; Home Office 1980).

Youth work too was seen as a fruitful area for police involvement and attempts were made to colonise certain aspects of the Youth Service and its practice. It was revealed that in about 40% of Local Education Authorities, the police were running at least one youth club (Department of Education and Science 1983). They were also involved in the sponsorship of holiday play and activity schemes as well as weekly meetings and weekend camps which amongst other things provided <u>training in various aspects of police work</u>! This particular section of the DES Report was something of a standing joke at the Centre in Hartingleigh and, after photocopies of it were handed out at a Youth Group meeting, participants staged highly caricatured theatrical displays of: 'training to fall downstairs whilst resisting arrest'; 'training to concoct elaborate confessions'; 'training to kick the shit out of some poor bastard'; and so on, with Tony Boyle, one of my co-youth workers, taking on the role of Greater Manchester's Chief Constable and, 'training to receive messages of divine retribution from God'.

Youth workers at grass roots similarly expressed strong opposition to police involvement in Youth Service provision which was viewed as particularly insidious because police officers were often operating out of uniform in a voluntary capacity during their off-duty time (Sharron 1984). In Mancester there was strong opposition to these attempted incursions, youth workers' representatives demanded that police policies for youth work activity be made explicit and called upon youth and community workers in the field to refuse all co-operation with the Greater Manchester Police attempting youth work

(Greater Manchester Youth and Community Workers 1982). Their stand was subsequently endorsed by the Greater Manchester Council who established a Working Party of the Police Committee to investigate and report on police involvement in youth work (Greater Manchester Council 1984).

The Report of the Working Party revealed the lack of clearly stated police policy for youth work and highlighted a reply from James Anderton to the Police Committee in which the Chief Constable stated that: "Arguments between theory and practice should surely be settled by reference to results achieved" (1984 : Para.37). However, the Working Party raised the question; was the achievement of 'results' to be defined in terms of the clearly demarcated roles outlined for youth workers by the Manchester Education Committee's philosophy and practice of the youth service (1982) or in terms of that which "facilitates the achieving of policing objectives"? (ibid : Para 38). Clearly the Working Party took the latter view, defining the attempted involvement by the police in youth work practice as, "a dangerous extension of police functions"; viewing their responsibility for detecting and preventing law-breaking as seriously in conflict with any attempts at participation in youth and community work (ibid : Paras. 36-39).

Significantly, the Working Party also warned the police that, at a time when they were benefiting from the current political climate, they should not attempt to use their privileged position and resources to 'colonise' youth work activities which had suffered financial cuts (Sharron 1984). Subsequently, it was revealed by the Greater Manchester Police Monitoring Committee (28 January 1985) that the police had, for example, invested £100,282 expenditure in youth work provision between 1982 and 1984. Their report highlighted -

> "... the iniquity of the police having such resources available when LEAs with responsibility for the Youth Service are denied adequate resources by Central Government policies and action" (Quoted in Report of the Chief Education Officer to the Continuing Education Sub-Committee, 11 March 1985 : 2).

However, as a result of sustained efforts by youth work activists, there was virtually a 'blanket non-take-up' of the facilities and resources offered by the police (Greater Manchester Youth and Community Workers 1985). From July 1984, police expenditure on the Youth Service was consequently withdrawn (Report of the Chief Constable to the Police Committee, 6 July 1984).

From its overall tone and presentation, it is clear that the GMC Working Party Report into police involvement in youth work did not share the Greater Manchester Police's view of itself as politically neutral in respect of community involvement or policing (1984 : Para. 40). Furthermore, the Report sought to question the implicit and taken-for-granted notion of the police's essentially benign role in the lives of young people. Later, the recommendations of the Working Party were codified by Manchester Education Committee (1985) and distributed on plastic cards to be carried by youth and community workers in the field. The Code of Practice provided unambiguous guidelines for "youth workers in their dealings with the police" and served to strengthen their role as "friends and advocates" (Manchester Education Committee 1985 : 4).

The attempted incursions by the Manpower Services Commission and the police into education and youth work were inspired, in part, by the pervasive right-wing ideological climate and, also in part, by the renewed concerns over youthful lawlessness especially after the street riots and disturbances in 1981 and 1985 (S. Hall 1981; Solomos 1986). The inner-city 'uprising' (Kettle and Hodges 1982) made a profound and lasting impression on policy makers from the Prime Minister down (Solomos 1986). Although marginally alternative official perspectives on these events did struggle onto the agenda (Scarman 1981), the desire of central government to get a grip on 'youthful lawlessness' made the preventative role of the police in education and youth work just one element in an increasingly punitive and authoritarian law and order state that was being assembled (Scraton 1985). In most obvious terms, the police forces were re-equipped and retrained

for a much tougher 'quasi-military' response to all forms of public disruption (Lea and Young 1984).

Thus anti-statism was not the only defining characteristic of radical right policies in the 1980s (cf Gamble 1988); contradictorily, they also contained an authoritarianism which actually required major increases in state power. The expansion of the role of the police and the Manpower Services Commission being obvious examples of how, paradoxically, the increase in state intervention was shaped by those same economic forces which had so crucially accentuated the radical right's hostility to state activity. Given the fundamental threat to capitalism and ruling class privilege which the crisis in the economy was seen to pose, strong government, based on an authoritarian state, was essential to uphold existing economic and political order, and maintain dominant values and beliefs (Hall *et al* 1978; Pitts 1988).

The authoritarianism of the radical right's policy strategy inevitably focused on the young. Both the 1982 Criminal Justice Act and the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act were weighted heavily against them. According to Pitts (1982), the 1982 Act effectively demolished "... the remaining barriers which keep juveniles out of the mainstream of the penal system and ... abandons the notions that young people are sent to penal establishments for treatment or rehabilitation" (1982 : 12). The Act did encourage shorter Detention Centre sentences ('short, sharp, shocks') but now the emphasis was unambiguously upon 'retribution, punishment, control and crude deterrence' (Davies 1986 : 83).

The 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act provided the police with new and extended powers, providing them with greater scope for stopping, searching, detaining and arresting suspects on the streets, legitimising police intrusions into what traditionally had always been the social space of the male working class young. The Act also provided for the "detention ... and questioning of persons including juveniles aged ten to 17" (Smith 1986).

Moreover, the Act provided the police with extended powers of entry and search <u>without</u> <u>a warrant</u>, including the right to search and seize property and 'evidence' including personal files and records.   As a National Youth Bureau guide to the Act pointed out: "This will have direct implications for many youth workers and particularly those in charge of youth clubs" (Smith 1986).

Apart from these attempted incursions into education and youth work, a third and no less significant area in which the police increasingly took on a wider role was in dealing with young people refusing to attend school.   Only exceptionally has working class youth non-conformity expressed itself in serious disruption.   Specific examples have occurred such as pupil strikes (Humphries 1981) and street disturbances (Kettle and Hodges 1982). However, there is a long and largely unrecorded history of unorganised individualistic working class youthful resistance to the constraints of school attendance (Humphries 1981; Corrigan 1979).

By the time of the second Thatcher government in the mid-1980s, under the impact of radical right ideology and policy changes, the aspirations of the Seebohm Report (1968) for an unambiguously social work service for non-school attenders had long since receded. Coventry was one Authority which had acted on the Seebohm proposals (Payne 1983). However, changes there indicated that dominant policy preferences had radically shifted, not just from a social work model based on welfarism, but also from education welfare as a whole.   Partly this can be understood as one facet of the radical right's wider condemnation of welfarism in general and the social worker in particular (Morgan 1978; Brewer and Lait 1980).   The social worker had been specifically targeted by Morgan as the 'special practitioner' of the permissive, 'New Establishment' which was, in her view, responsible for moral collapse (1978 : 37).   In Coventry, resort was made to a school attendance service, often dependent on staff with police experience (Department of Education and Science 1985; Payne 1983).   According to Payne, the service had unmistakably 19th century overtones of 'kid-catching' (1983 : 90-110).   Here as elsewhere

social work was no longer to be trusted to achieve the degree of containment required for young people in the 1980s. This was one tiny part of a wider restructuring of youth provision which saw a move from welfarism towards punitive juvenile justice, from community based judicial responses to custodial measures (Tutt 1982; Pitts 1988). What Pitts characterises as the 'rise of vindictiveness' (1988 : 40-59) is best illustrated by Morgan's (1978) impassioned plea for the whole business of child care to be removed from permissive educationalists and social workers, and for a return to traditional moral values and common-sense. In this plea there is a sub-text, a greater emphasis on 'segregation and deterrence', with 'institutionalisation' a central plank in the strategy:

> "If we have to lock more children up in the future than in the recent past to cure them, then, cynically, we know that institutionalisation is a good way of knowing exactly where they are, what they are doing, and that one is temporarily safe from them provided they do not escape. In the last analysis custody - whether comfortable or not - is a good means of self defence" (1978 : 115).

A circular issued by the Home Office (1980) demonstrated how wide spread police pursuit of truants was. In North Yorkshire, for example, police co-operated at a local level "in respect of children suspended from school", while in a number of other areas, "a high degree of co-operation" was reported between the police, schools, and the education service in dealing with truancy. In Cheshire, it was reported that head teachers were co-operating with the police to identify truanting pupils; this included accompanying police visits to places where truanting pupils congregate. In North Wales, patrols of supermarkets, cinemas, and licensed premises were introduced in order, "where necessary, to return truants found in such places without authority from school". By 1982, 75% of Local Education Authorities reported that there was regular contact between the police and the education welfare service "probably due in part to the fact that some of its members were formerly police officers" (Home Office 1983).

By 1989, Manchester had its own pernicious version of policing 'school refusal': "plain clothes, undercover truancy patrols" which were operating primarily in defence of property

in the City centre. Manchester's Chief Education Welfare Officer, Brian Field, maintained that the truancy patrols, "do nothing to deal with the root causes of truancy or the problems of young people ... it would be better if the police called them crime prevention patrols, because that is clearly what they are" (*Manchester Evening News* 13.9.89). However, the police did not have complete control of the situation. Stockport Education Welfare Department revealed that four cases which had been referred to them had proven untraceable as "the youngsters had all given false names".

Non school attendance was by 1985 a sensitive issue for state policy makers, a draft circular issued by the Department of Education and Science (1985) explicitly acknowledged that school refusal was, "a matter of local and national concern". There were shifts in responsibility which sought to introduce new agencies and tougher legal procedures for dealing with truancy (Cross 1984; Lamb 1984; Baker 1985). In Leeds, for example, juvenile courts, utilising a non-social work use of discretionary power, pioneered an approach based on repeatedly adjourning cases involving persistent non-attenders. These procedures, accompanied by the threat of care orders which implied the removal of the child from the home, were used as a deliberate tactic to pressurise the non-attender into conformity (Cross 1984; Lamb 1984; Baker 1985).

In the criminalisation of truancy what was consistently, perhaps wilfully, overlooked were the internal deficiencies of the schools and education system: schools whose physical and institutional structures were crumbling; schools with high rates of teacher turn over; schools situated in those parts of the country where mass youth unemployment was further undermining an educational practice which, at its very best, held only a tenuous relevance and credibility for significant numbers of its pupils. Instead new strands in a much wider evolving system of punitive youth policy were implemented against school refusers.

An analysis developed which started from a view of the non-attender as in some way defective, the classic reactionary strategy of blaming the victim (Ling 1983; Mongon

1983; Walker 1990). Non-attendance became inexorably linked to the wider behavioural problems of disruption and of delinquency itself (Ling 1983; Department of Education and Science 1978). Central government funding was provided for the creation of withdrawal facilities - 'sin bins' - for pupils labelled disruptive, but significantly money was provided from non-education sources, the DHSS and MSC, even though what was being provided was supposed to be 'substitute schooling' (Youth Social Work Unit 1983; 1984). Statutory education provision was transferred to full-time intermediate treatment or day-care schemes for the persistent school refuser (Community Projects Foundation 1985). According to Edwards *et al* (1984), such Projects tended to slip into being educationally-based facilities and "full up with truants", whereas their design was to contain juvenile law breakers. In the last instance 'residential care' was resorted to for the habitual non-attender. In each of the 'remedies' applied, classification of the problem overwhelmingly depended on psychological perspectives. There was a gradual shift in focus from remedial education to 'treatment', largely based on behaviourist psychology such as 'behaviour modification'. Sometimes as a result of psychological labelling the return of pupils to mainstream education was prevented (Advisory Centre for Education 1980; 1981). One implication of the anti-educational approach was to inhibit any analysis of the schools' internal deficiencies (Mongon 1983) or indeed the deficiencies inherent in the wider socio-economic context, some of which are most crucially articulated and critically contested within the structures and practice of education (Bates *et al* 1984; Corrigan 1979; Humphries 1981; Willis 1977).

2.7 Permissive Youth Work in Hartingleigh

"Permissiveness as a technique ... mut be distinguished from permissivenes as an ideology. Permissiveness is a technique to keep open a relationship where the [participant] will break it off if subjected to the disciplines that normal adolescents would accept" (Smith *et al* 1972 : 264).

In Hartingleigh, Project youth workers evolved an informal policy of turning an increasingly blind-eye to the growing numbers of disaffected young 'school refusers' who availed themselves of day-time facilities at the Youth and Community Centre. The

Project's Indoor Street Corner was also similarly utilised as an informal resource centre by school non-attenders. The trend towards school-refusal was a familiar phenomenon during my youth work practice and one which gathered pace as the recession deepened, with the ages of those who refused school attendance dropping significantly between 1979 when I started youth work in Hartingleigh and September 1982 when I left. Examination of the 44 questionnaires from the Project's s 1980 school leavers survey traced from Project records during the Third Phase (1985-86) of preliminary sampling and field work, reveals, for example, that 32 participants in the survey (18 male and 14 female) had refused school, particularly in the final compulsory year. By 1982, it was noticeable that there was a significant drop in age of those utilising Project facilities during school hours, with one or two youngsters developing a pattern of persistent non-attendance whilst still in their first year of secondary education.

By the time they had reached their fourth and fifth year of secondary schooling non-attenders had usually evolved a variety of strategies with which to either conceal or validate school absenteeism. One common ploy was to attend only for registration - in the morning and again in the afternoon - allowing the school refuser to 'have it away', 'do one', or 'skive off' in between. Other strategies included the parental 'sick-note' written by a friend or compliant adult who would be recruited to act as a substitute parent to give the note the necessary degree of authoritative handwriting. Sometimes older unemployed users of the 'drop-in' or Centre facilities would be drawn into collusion with sick-note writing, or in more urgent circumstances non-attendance could be validated by the nominee parent telephoning the school on behalf of the school refuser. These 'phone calls were timed to coincide with teaching periods in order that teaching staff would be unable to answer them personally, enabling messages to be left *via* school secretaries, etc.

When school-refusal could no longer be sustained because of attendance agency, school, or occasionally parental, intervention, the subsequent attendance would be desultory and usually subversive. Researchers have documented a wide variety of

informal strategies utilised by recalcitrant pupils for 'winning space' within the framework

of formal school attendance. These include: "skipping the classes that you want to miss"

(Corrigan 1979 : 18); "expressive antagonism" (Willis 1977 : 124); "dossing, blagging

and wagging" (*ibid* : 26); "having a laff" (*ibid* : 29); "wearing jewellery and make-up, and

'winding up' teachers" (Griffin 1985 : 18-21); "smashing school desks" (Humphries 1981 :

81); "assaulting teachers" (Humphries 1981 : 86); "complex and elaborate graffiti"

(Coffield 1991); "arson" (Coffield 1991 : 78-83); even "rioting" (*Daily Mirror*, 24.2.82).

Rioting and arson in schools, though historically documented (Humphries 1981), are rare

occurrences, the most prevalent oppositional strategy is that of limiting educative demands

to a minimum:

> "By the time a counter-school culture is fully developed, its members have become adept
> at managing the formal system and limiting its demands to the absolute minimum ... in
> many cases this minimum is simply the act of registration" (Willis 1977 : 26-27).

Most of the habitual school refusers who used the Indoor Street Corner as a drop-in

centre were young teenage boys drawn mainly from the council estates in Hartingleigh.

Some girls did occasionally utilise the resources at the drop-in but their numbers were few

and their use minimal. The general pattern of school refusal among teenage girls in

Hartingleigh was instrumental or opportunist, taking a day or afternoon off now and again

for specific purposes, such as meeting friends or boyfriends who had already left school.

The female habitual school refusers were more usually to be found at the Centre which by

1982 had established a specifically 'girls only' resource within the Youth and Community

Project. This small room in the Centre was the base for the Project's four female youth

workers, two of whom were employed full-time, and two part-time. Nevertheless, the

overall number of teenage girl school absentees using the Project's resources at any given

time, perhaps five at most, were minimal compared with the fifteen or twenty teenage 'lads'

who could be described as habitual school-refusers. Although Gail and Marie, my co-

youth workers at the time, were aware of another four girls who systematically avoided

school in order to contribute to domestic and child-care routines in the parental home,

usually with the parents consent, or, as was the case with three of the girls, active parental encouragement. This was a more privatised form of school refusal and, because it was parentally sanctioned and relatively 'invisible', drew less official attention than the non-attendance of the 'lads'. Other researchers have similarly noted the underlying 'domestic apprenticeship' explanation for "girls having time off to help in the home" (Bates *et al* 1984 : 52). Humphries (1981 : 66) points to the historical continuities, though Bates *et al* emphasise the gender bias and inequality of the contemporary domestic division of labour: "The apprenticeship in the home of boys and girls, and the material tasks done are not shared evenly and prefigure their unequal futures" (1984 : 52).

Reasons for refusing school both in my face to face youth work in Hartingleigh and in the replies recorded in the Project's 1980 questionnaires cover the varieties outlined and explored by Humphries (1981), including "opportunist", retreatist", and "subsistence" truanting. "Opportunist truancy" is described by Humphries as an occasional form of resistance to the hidden educational curriculum of "compulsion and constraint". It involves infrequent absconding in order to enjoy the adventure and excitement of a day free from educational imposition. In terms of my youth work practice in Hartingleigh, these were the intermittent non-attenders who would occasionally take a day or part of a day 'off' simply to relieve the boredom, monotony and meaninglessness of school life; young people who nevertheless felt sufficiently intimidated by parental supervision or the invisible structure of school authority not to refuse school on a systematic basis; the "ordinary kids ... who neither simply accept or reject the school but nevertheless comply with it" (Brown 1986 : 4).

In contrast to the occasional and spontaneous nature of opportunist absenteeism, "retreatist truancy" tended to be incessant and deeply ingrained. These were the habitual school refusers whose motives appeared to be "inspired by a profound aversion to various aspects of school" (Humphries 1981 : 64). Some of the most important personal reasons influencing habitual school refusal were -

" ... a desire for independence and adventure, fear of a particular teacher or lesson, victimisation because of poverty, difficulties with learning, and a search for freedom ... away from the regimental school routine (*ibid*).

These motives could be significant in prompting intermittent or opportunistic non-attendance. However, while the opportunist is generally able to comply with school attendance, the retreatist, "experienced such deep-seated feelings of discontent that regular attendance became an intolerable constraint" (*ibid*). This antipathy may be reinforced by, "severe dislocations in the child's family life, arising from the separation or death of parents or unfair treatment at home" (*ibid*). Several of my research participants conform to the characteristics outlined by Humphries. 'David Lindsay', for example, through reference to his 1980 Project questionnaire provided the following explanation for his persistent school refusal: "I don't like some of the teachers who get at me ... when I'm at school I'm worried about getting into trouble." In contrast, 'Paul Skeman' emphasised the independence and adventure of his absenteeism: "I go drinking and 'toking' and having a laugh ... 'jumping' trains, going to the river, the graveyard, into the City Centre or just watch TV ... play pool in the Pub."

In the case of "subsistence truancy", non-attendance was provoked by poverty and deprivation. In writing about the period from 1889 to 1939, Humphries is emphasising a time in working class childhood before the minimal provision of the Welfare State. Subsistence truancy was therefore a feature of the profound necessity of able bodied working class children to participate in full or part -time work during school hours to supplement the family income. For school age girls, subsistence truancy involved domestic work, "helping overworked mothers with domestic chores and child-minding duties" (1981 : 66). As previously outlined, there are obvious historical continuities; several girls known to Project youth workers had regularly refused school in order to facilitate parental employment by 'looking after' younger siblings; in these cases ensuring the maintenance of their mother's part-time or full-time job, a vital source of family

income.　In part, the necessity of girls' school refusal in order to undertake child-care routines is a consequence of the 'new poverty' of the 1980s and 1990s and a further indictment of Government policy, certainly with regard to welfare benefits and pre-school child care provision.

Instead of formal education, approximately fifteen of the male school refusers known to Project youth workers had chosen 'careers' of unskilled part-time work or intermittent 'social' and 'acquisitive' crime.　Humphries (1981b) defines social crime as -

> "... the innumerable minor crimes against property committed by working class children
> and youth which were condoned by large sections of the youth and parent cultures as
> legitimate despite their illegality (1981b : 24).

In his discussion of 'crime and acquisitive mobility', Morris (1985) maintains that: "What acquisitiveness there is relates ... to the phenomenon of 'survival' crime within the welfare ghetto" (1985 : 14).

These 'careers' conducted during school hours were not intended to contribute in a direct sense to the family's living standards, although indirectly this is what they did; rather, they were pursued in order that individuals could earn money to spend on themselves and their friends.　Nevertheless, such careers can be understood as economic truanting in the terms outlined by Humphries (1981) for, under the conditions of the 'new poverty' of urban deprivation, the money earned from helping on milk rounds (2 cases), market retailing (one case), and other more socially proscribed modes of income acquisition such as petty theft (four cases), and shoplifting (6 cases), were the only sources of income for these young people.　They were youngsters with consumer aspirations just like as any other teenagers, perhaps even more so than most, in as much as expensive 'designer' sportswear and clothing, the dominant subcultural style at the time, offered compensatory routes to self-esteem and status amongst their peers.　However, what differentiated these young people were their domestic circumstances in which there were

no 'spends' or 'weekly allowances' enjoyed as a right by school aged children from more affluent families. 'Spends' or 'weekly allowances', or indeed Reebok trainers at £70 a pair, simply could not be provided from the overburdened and overstretched budgets of their typically unemployed and therefore state benefits dependent parents.

In Hartingleigh during this First Phase (1979-1982) of detached youth working, the developing manifestations of school refusal and 'social crime' on numerous occasions brought Project youth workers into conflict with the attendance agencies and the police. However, the various codes of practice issued by the Greater Manchester Youth Service provided unambiguous guidelines for dealing with these agencies of youth containment (Manchester Education Committee 1982; 1983; 1985). The progressive detached youth work role emphasised by the Project was informed by the codes of practice as well as a clear understanding that, in the circumstances in which most of the young people we were working with lived, school refusal and social crime represented: "A quite rational, ameliorative or even adaptive response to immediate frustrations and oppressions" (Davies 1986 : 143).

In terms of intervention by youth and community workers on behalf of young people in their dealings with the police, the directives from the Youth Service have been quite perspicuous:

> "The City Council have expressed their support for the role of youth workers as <u>friends</u>
> and as <u>advocates</u> on behalf of young people (Manchester Education Committee 1985 : 4)
> (my emphasis)

As such, youth and community workers were directed to when necessary, "act as an advocate when a young person comes into conflict with the law" (*ibid* : 1). This may involve among other things: asking the arresting officer why the arrest is taking place; taking note of the number or numbers of the officer or officers involved; finding out the police station to which the arrested person is being taken; making detailed notes of the

incident and circumstances surrounding the arrest; contacting possible witnesses; arranging legal representation; contacting parents, etc. (*ibid* : 2).

On numerous occasions during the course of my youth work practice in Hartingleigh, my co-workers and myself were able to intervene on behalf of youth group members or affiliates who found themselves in conflict with the police and courts. This is not an uncommon role for youth workers to take, but in terms of my future role, as a sociologist conducting research with the same young people in Hartingleigh, it was significant in cementing vital bonds of trust which in turn facilitated important aspects of 'data' acquisition. As Parker (1974) has similarly illustrated:

> "The message was always, "I'm on your side" ... If anybody was going to Court ... I
> would come along with them ... This ritual became well established, not least because I
> had a car, could help out with the technicalities and ... was willing to stand bail. Sitting
> for a couple of hours ... in an alien world was a great consolidator of my loyalty to
> [them]" (1974 : 216).

As well as providing refuge for young school refusers and providing assistance and support for young people in court cases, Project youth workers were also occasionally able to intervene to prevent apprehension and arrest. For example, a spate of 'joyriding' or 'burn outs' by the lads from the estates occurred spasmodically over a twelve month period during my final university year (1984-1985). These incidents frequently resulted in night-time car chases around the district, particularly in and around Hartingleigh district centre. The car-park of the superstore situated there was a readily convertible race track where young males would display their driving skills and prowess, practising 360 degree skids or 'wheelies' before eventually vandalising and setting fire to the stolen vehicles. Occasionally the police would attempt to pursue and apprehend joyriders in a variety of police vehicles and vans. On these occasions, a cat and mouse chase would result with the joyriders taunting the police into various blind alleys on the estates, where vehicles would be abandoned allowing the occupants to 'leg it' to the safety of numerous walkways and flats on the estates.

More than once, young males known to detached workers would appear at the Centre or outdoor street corner for refuge from the pursuing police. On such occasions, workers, whilst not condoning such activities, nevertheless, were again able to follow Youth Service guidelines established by the Greater Manchester Youth Service code of practice (Manchester Education Committee 1985):

> "The police can be refused entry to a club or centre (1985 : 3) ... Youth Centres are private premises to which the police do not have automatic right of entry. They should not expect ... to make contact with young people in connection with an offence unless they have a search warrant" (*ibid* : 2).

Moreover, should advocacy by Council employed youth workers on behalf of young people in their charge lead to the youth worker being prosecuted, and it appeared that the youth worker acted in a "reasonable and lawful manner", then the Council: "... will assist in obtaining legal advice and ... provide financial help" (*ibid* : 4).

The directives from the Greater Manchester Youth Service were not designed as an open invitation to collaborate in urban lawlessness, but were premised on a sympathetic understanding of the realities of life as it is to be found in a rapidly deteriorating inner-city urban environment such as Hartingleigh. Formal youth provision under present economic constraints can only tentatively attempt to recreate the values and integrity of traditional working class communities. Youth work cannot realistically hope to adequately compensate for the glaring lack of basic necessities of life such as jobs, money, meaningful education, and a pleasant environment. Every day in my detached youth work, I would encounter the whole gamut of manifestations of urban malaise and alienation among the young working class. Multi-drug, alcohol and solvent abuse, racism, sexism, violence, and petty crime in isolation from other considerations may appear contradictory, senseless and incoherent and of course, as in any other social domain, there are contradictions, illogicalities and incoherence. However, when framed within the broader sweep of history, ideology, and political economy, the culture of working class youth in North Manchester is rendered more comprehensible.

Crime and social dissent are an indictment of a social order which is unequal, unjust and criminogenic. Some sociologists have phrased this in terms of the "egoistic imperatives" of "possessive individualism" which characterises capitalist market philosophy (Taylor 1981). To the young people I worked with the contradictions lie in a society that preaches the virtues of individualism, democracy, self-advancement, and equality of opportunity, whilst presenting them with a wholly different material and cultural reality. There is no equality of opportunity or real democracy for the young people of Hartingleigh and precious little scope for creative, meaningful, individual expression in terms familiar to middle-class observers. In this context, school refusal, social disorder, and criminality can be related to social distress, to slum conditions, unemployment, and a poverty that is exacerbated by the glitter and sparkle of consumer Xanadus and nightmare shopping malls whose contents are largely unobtainable except through illegality.

As youth workers in such a context, the guidelines and directives issued by the Greater Manchester Youth Service, apart from validating intervention on the basis of friendship and advocacy, further served to facilitate intervention under the rubric of community education. As such, the youth worker's task was to "... help young people to understand the nature of society by providing political education" (Manchester Education Committee 1982), and "... community education must contribute to the creation of an equal society" (Manchester Education Committee 1983 : 1). These directives extend the complexity of the task for progressive youth and community workers to one of, "agitator, advocate, broker, and informant" (Street 1984 : 16). For, as Corrigan has argued in his defence of progressive youth work:

> "It is not possible to 'hold' all of the social relations that construct subordinacy and transform them through the intervention of youth work ... instead we can ... challenge that subordinacy through the intervention of youth work" (1982 : 3). (My emphasis)

The starting point for any challenge to subordinacy through youth work intervention is respect for the validity of the understanding the urban young have of their own situations

and circumstances.   This above all else guided my youth work practice in Hartingleigh, just as it would later guide my research orientation, in order to: "... comprehend and illuminate their view and to interpret the world as it appears to them" (Matza 1969 : 25).

'Knowing the score' is the main self-affirming asset the urban young possess in the face of an often alienating and increasingly authoritarian social structure.   In the world as it appears to these young people, their indigenous understandings, qualities, and capacities are often more authentic to them than those of the adults attempting to work with them. In Hartingleigh rather than relating to the young people in terms of their academic labelling processes: the new underclass, the excluded, the marginal or peripheral, or even as the most stigmatised of their generation, a youth work practice developed at the Project which operated within, and was organised around a different hypothesis -

> "... that they already knew a great deal, had some sharp understandings and explanations
> of how and why things happened to them as they did, and possessed some quite
> sophisticated skills for applying this knowledge and these insights" (Davies 1986 : 142).

For even at quite a young age the people I worked with in Hartingleigh had developed their own "survival strategies" for avoiding "hassle" (Roberts *et al* 1982a), and negotiating constraint, as well as winning free-space and status.   Though sometimes different from, alien to, and often in open conflict with, those of the adult or professional outsider - including their teachers, the school attendance agencies, the police, and the probation officers - these strategies were not necessarily any less valid or meaningful in the world as it appeared to them.   Nor, as was sometimes suggested by those professional agencies they encountered, was this disproved by the tendency of such strategies to lead them into greater conflict with the schools or the law.   On the contrary, in my experience, many were never caught, or were caught infrequently enough to justify the overall efficacy of a particular strategy for survival.   Coming out 'ahead of the game', having 'done one', was good enough reason for 'staying in the game'.   Given how the balance of power was weighted so heavily against them, what was remarkable was how comparatively rarely

things did seriously 'come on top' - that they were apprehended or punished for rule-violations of one kind or another; further justifying to them just how expediential were their autochthonous analyses and survival strategies.

Aside from the constant problems over funding and despite its obvious appeal to right-wing elements within successive Conservative governments, the reactionary theorising and policy formation of the past decade or so have made little impact on the theory and practice of detached youth work in the field. Face to face work in Hartingleigh indicated that, despite the ideological and policy shifts of the post-1979 election period, at the grass roots of youth and community work considerable leverage could still be exercised, not only on behalf of young people, but perhaps more importantly, by young people themselves.

Thus, these were just some of the ideas and influences that would form important strands in my future research orientations. The emphasis on participation and empowerment, both as an inherent feature of detached youth work, and in the community self-survey with its focus on community problem definition and solution, provided significant strands in my early disposition towards that broad family of research approaches that have come to be known as "participatory research" (Stanton 1989).

Later, in the Second Phase (1982-1985) of my study, during my years as a sociology undergraduate, I was to receive a systematic introduction into the theoretical and empirical bases of the qualitative tradition within social research, a tradition that has been revived since the 1960s ferment within sociology and which is manifested in the utilisation of ethnographic research methods such as participant observation. As a result of these undergraduate studies, participant observation would provide another strand in the tapestry of my evolving methodological commitments. Participant observation is itself a "sociological subculture" within the mainstream of sociological research methods (Roberts

1976 : 252), an empathic perhaps even 'permissive' approach which has, in some forms, much in common with the non-hierarchical principles and practice of detached youth work.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVOLUTION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT

THE SECOND PHASE 1982-1985

3.1 Participant Observation

In September 1982 I left Hartingleigh, after three years of outreach work with the Project, to begin studying at York University as a sociology undergraduate. This excursion into the heady heights of higher education followed partly as the result of a good A-Level result in Sociology, which I had studied part-time at my local further education college the previous year, but, most importantly, as a result of considerable encouragement from Jim Donovan and Gail Hindle at the Project. It was during these three years as a 'mature' student in the Sociology Department at York that I was to encounter a more formal and systematic introduction to the theory and practice of 'qualitative methods' in general and participant observation in particular.

The principal method utilised by anthropologists and sociologists to conduct research in natural settings is participant observation. The method -

> "... was forged in the study of small homogeneous societies in which the anthropologists lived for an extended period of time, participated in them, learned the language, interviewed and constantly observed" (Powdermaker 1966 : 285).

Sociologists have similarly utilised the method to study situations within their own societies by taking on an authentic social role and identity as a member of the social group or organisation being studied. Participant observation is characterised by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the researched when data are systematically collected. Participant observation is not merely a method of conducting field research, but is also a role utilised by the researcher who is the "main instrument of data collection" (Burgess 1982 : 45). According to Becker's often cited definition, the task of the participant observer is to gather data by -

"... participating in the daily life of the group or organisation [s/he] studies. [S/he] watches the people [s/he] is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. [S/he] enters into conversations with some or all of the participants in these situations and discovers their interpretations of the events [s/he] has observed" (1958 : 652). (My inserts).

The 'Chicago School' of the 1920s and early 1930s is generally credited with having originated the participant observation tradition within sociology. W.F. Whyte's study of 'street corner society' marks a continuation of the tradition into a 'second phase', with a major expansion in the 1950s and 1960s heralded by the 'naturalist revolt' within the work of the neo-Chicagoans such as Becker, Geer, Strauss, Polsky and others. The work of this 'third wave' was taken up in Britain by Downes's (1966) study of delinquency, and Cohen's work on deviance (1971; 1973), and is particularly associated with the 'sceptical revolution' (Willis 1980), institutionalised by the National Deviancy Conferences (see for example: S. Cohen (ed) 1971; Taylor and Taylor (eds) 1973; Rock and McIntosh (eds) 1974). Other participant observation studies in Britain in this period include Plant's (1974) examination of drug-taking in an English town; Patrick's (1973) in depth, covert study of Glasgow gangs; and Parker's (1974) study of adolescent male criminality in inner-City Liverpool. By the mid-1970s, participant observation studies in Britain can generally be associated with work on subcultures, deviancy labelling and amplification theory and the overall agenda of the National Deviancy Conferences.

Phil Cohen's influential study of working class culture and youth culture (1972) set the terms for much subsequent participant observation work in Britain in the areas of youth, youth culture and youth subcultures (Mungham and Pearson (eds) 1976; Hall and Jefferson (eds) 1976). Dubbed by Brake (1980) as the 'British New Wave', the work produced by researchers such as McRobbie, Willis, Hebdige, and Corrigan at Birmingham University's Centre for Cultural Studies set a new agenda for the sociology of youth, linking theories of social structure derived from aspects of contemporary Western Marxist theory to a transactional/interactional model of deviance imported from American interpretivist sociology. By the end of the 1970s, however, changes in the situations of

working class teenagers came to preoccupy sociological investigations and participant observation studies in the area of youth culture/subculture dried to a trickle. Researchers in the 1980s were concerned more with the effects of changes in employment, vocational training, and education, and recent ethnographies have sought to examine the effects of youth unemployment on the transitions to adult roles and statuses; see, for example, Jenkins's study of young people in a housing estate on the outskirts of Belfast (1983); Wallace's study of the effects of employment and unemployment upon young people's transitions to adulthood on the Isle of Sheppey (1984; 1987); Griffin's study of young working class women's transitions from school into the job market, with particular reference to the influences of gender and family life on their experiences after leaving school in Birmingham (1985); Coffield *et al*'s research examining the lives of young people in 'shit jobs' and on 'Govvy schemes' in the North East of England (1986); and, more recently, Stafford's study of working class teenagers in Scotland taking part in an MSC training workshop with particular reference to gender (1991).

At University, I found myself increasingly drawn to participant observation because the studies I read which utilised the method provided rich and colourful contrast to the grey tomes dealing with abstract social theory which I was also to unavoidably encounter during my three years as a sociology undergraduate. In one particularly frenetic period, for example, I vividly remember avidly consuming Humphreys's (1975) covert study of male homosexual encounters in public toilets, Patrick's (1973) covert study of the male subculture of Glasgow gangs, and Klockars's (1975) study of the 'Professional Fence', as relief reading when grappling with a project dealing with esoteric aspects of Pasonian Functionalism (Parsons's four function (LIGA) framework for functional analysis).

As a former state-defined, prosecuted and incarcerated 'deviant', I also delighted in the irony of my new role - actually being encouraged (and paid) to study the lives and social situations of other 'deviants' such as the 'Marihuana User' (Becker 1963; Young 1971); mental inmates (Goffman 1961); working class anti-school subcultures (Hargreaves 1967;

Lacey 1970; Willis 1977; Corrigan 1979); pool hall and ethnic minority 'hustlers' (Polsky 1967; Pryce 1979); the professional criminal 'underworld' (L. Taylor 1984); the fiddlers of the 'informal economy' (Ditton 1977; Henry 1978; Mars 1982); and the social world of the inner-city adolescent (Patrick 1973; Parker 1974; Gill 1977). Although I was not to realise it at the time, these and the many other participant observation studies I would subsequently read during, and after, my excursion into higher education, would provide strands in my evolving commitment towards a participatory research method for my future study in Hartingleigh. Of particular relevance, in view of the way my own project emerged in parallel with my reading, were the various forms of 'naturalistic research into subcultures and deviance' (Roberts 1976 : 243) produced by the 'Chicago School' (e.g. Anderson 1923; Cressey 1932; Thrasher 1927; Shaw and McKay 1942; Shaw 1930; Zorburgh 1929), the later 'neo-Chicagoans' (Becker 1963; Goffman 1959; 1961; Irwin and Cressey 1962; Lemert 1967) and the studies in the late 1970s of youth, youth culture, and youth subcultures produced by the 'British New Wave' of participant observers (e.g. Hall and Jefferson 1976; Mungham and Pearson 1976; Willis 1977; 1978; Corrigan 1979; McRobbie 1978; Hebdige 1979). The emphasis on a humanistic and empathic research encounter fitted predilections I had acquired from my youthwork practice in Hartingleigh (Chapter Two, Sections 2.4; 2.7). Participant observation studies offer a rich tradition of providing depth analyses of social worlds from the perspectives of research participants - in contrast to the traditional quantitative approach of the sociological research literature, which has, according to Mulkay (1985) -

"... become unnecessarily dominated by a particular kind of empiricist monologue, derived from the natural sciences" (1985 : 9).

3.2   Participant Observation: Involvement and Detachment
A Brief History

The history of participant observation is interdisciplinary and multifaceted. Arising out of sociology and anthropology, it has seen the development of a range of interests, modes

and orientations. In many respects, participant observation is the most basic form of social researching with a history "almost as old as writing itself" (Wax 1971 : 21).

One of the major contours of debate within the method involves the balance between subjectivity and objectivity or, more generally, between involvement and detachment. The origins of systematic field research within the social disciplines occurred against a background of a dominant insistence on objectivity and detachment as the newly emerged social disciplines sought, in the 19th century, to emulate the methodology of the established natural sciences (Von Wright 1971). The social and humanistic disciplines were primarily theoretical (detached), and where they had made empirical inroads, these were either quantitative (experimental, statistical) or religious (missionary) in nature. This made the methodology seemingly external to the research subjects (Wax 1971; Adler and Adler 1988).

3.2.1 Anthropological Fieldwork Roots

In anthropology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, researchers began venturing 'into the field' to gather data personally. Boas, for example, initiated visits to field sites for the collection of natural language texts, surveying a broad area by spending about a week in each location. Although he did not live among his 'subjects' or learn their language, he advocated these practices for his students (Rohner 1966; Wax 1971). Malinowski originated the contemporary anthropological practice of making extended visits to single research sites. He lived in native villages and spoke their dialects, although he did so in the manner of a 'petty European lord;' descending into their midst. Despite his residential location and use of 'native language', he did little to achieve parity, to participate in the activities of his 'subjects', or to explore their subjective perspectives (M. Wax 1972).

During the same era as the Chicago School of participant observers were producing their spate of innovative work, anthropologists were making far greater strides in forging their contemporary version of ethnography. Students of Boas and Malinowski went out

into the field to study a variety of cultures by residing amongst the 'natives', speaking their language, and generally remaining less aloof. Malinowski's students followed his immersion/detachment/immersion *dictum* of spending a year or more in the field, withdrawing for some months, and returning for another extended period, whereas Boas's students had no such formula. What they had in common, however, was the establishment of long-term field relations with a single group. This was the period in anthropology during the early part of the 20th century in which the movement to discover and document the cultures of isolated tribes - before they were transformed or destroyed by the onset of Western technological culture - first originated (Harris 1968). Much of the work produced by European anthropologists in this period has, however, been subsequently subjected to critical reappraisal. Critiques have pointed to the ways in which anthropological ethnographies have been distorted by 'cultural bias', 'European colonialism', and 'ethnocentrism'. Malinowski's depiction of the 'savage society' and the 'savages' (1926; 1927; 1929), and Boas's 'Primitives' (1911), for example, were refuted by the spate of anthropological critiques developed by nationalist writers after the political independence of colonial nations (e.g. Asad (ed) : 1973).

3.2.2   Sociological Fieldwork Roots

Sociological fieldwork roots can be traced back to the mid-19th century and the intrepid 'social explorers' who began to venture into the "unknown continents", "the jungles", "the Africa's" of the slums of Salford, Manchester, and East London (Keating 1976). Special attention was drawn to the wretched mental and physical condition of the young 'nomads' and 'street urchins'. The most celebrated sighting of a working class youth subculture in this period occurs in Mayhew (1851) in a section devoted to the quasi-criminal 'costermongers'. The costers were street traders who made a precarious living selling goods from barrows. These original 'barrow-boys' were distinguished by their elaborate style of dress - beaver skin hats, long jackets with moleskin collars, vivid patterned waistcoats, cable cord trousers, "made to fit tightly at the knee and swell gradually until they reached the boot, which they nearly cover". Their boots were an object of special

pride often, "tastily ornamented ... with a heart or thistle surrounded by a wreath of roses, worked below the instep". They wore a distinctive red, "King's Man" neck scarf knotted at the throat (Mayhew 1969 edition : 51). This style was known in the coster idiom as looking 'flash', or 'stunning flash'.

The mass of detailed observations of urban street life assembled and collated by the 'social explorers' led to the British social reform movement and eventually formed the basis for philanthropic and legislative action. Charles Booth's study of the social conditions of the urban poor drew on a combination of statistical data, direct observation, and extensive interviewing. In gathering his data, Booth lived for extended periods in the lodging houses shared by his subjects (Emerson 1983; Keating 1976). Beatrice Webb and her husband, Sidney, also wrote on the living and working conditions of the poor of London, making frequent forays into the everyday lives of the urban working class. Although they did not live with them, Beatrice Webb took employment in a 'sweatshop' to experience first hand the conditions (Bulmer 1984; Emerson 1983), leaving, "a most interesting description of her experiences as a participant and observer" (Wax 1971 : 26).

In America, DuBois, under the sponsorship of the University of Pennsylvania, where he was an Assistant Professor of Sociology, undertook fieldwork in the black slums of Philadelphia in the late 1890s. His 'fieldwork' consisted of living, with his new bride, in the heart of the slum although he utilised structured interview schedules for collecting data. The outcome of his research was the monograph, *The Philadelphia Slum* (1899). These early fieldworkers did not practice participant observation as it is conceived of today. Although they ventured into 'the field', their involvement and parity with research participants was limited and they only touched the surface of the subjective perspectives of the groups studied.

3.2.3   The Chicago School

The flowering of fieldwork in the 1920s and 1930s was accompanied by the first real introduction of, and explorations into, subjectivity and involvement. Sociologists and criminologists at the University of Chicago under the influence and inspiration of Robert Park and a variety of intellectual exemplars sought to develop a distinct and eclectic research orientation. A research orientation now recognised for its focus on urban culture and its analysis of disorganising aspects of urban life, and their impact on rates of 'deviant behaviour' within large urban areas (Rich 1979 : 16-17; Smith 1988). When A.W. Small became one of the founding faculty at the University of Chicago, he introduced a separate sociology department and was joined either as staff or students by G.H. Mead (1894), W.I. Thomas (1895), R.E. Park (1914), Ellsworth Faris (1915), E.W. Burgess (1919), Harvey Zorbaugh (1923), Everett Hughes (1923), Herbert Blumer (1925), Lois Wirth (1926), and W.F. Ogburn (1927). Despite these prominent intellectual antecedents, the creative source for what has come to be known as the 'Chicago School' is difficult to trace. Park is credited with the early research into urban settings and introducing the European, particularly German, tradition of social thought into the curriculum (Faris 1967; Bulmer 1984). Philosophy and anthropology, respectively, were the fields from which practitioners acknowledge cognitive and intellectual influences, and graduate students most frequently indicated Mead (in philosophy) Merriam (political science) and Sapir (anthropology) as influential (Carey 1975 : 160-161). The location of the University in the rapidly growing and changing urban milieu of industrial Chicago was also influential in the development of Park's human ecology (Turner 1967) and Burgess's later systematised ecological communities (Cottrell *et al* 1973). Park and Burgess's influence engendered a host of studies by their graduate students in the inter-war years, concerned with the ecological analysis of deviance and of community, ethnic, and family life, which focused especially on social disorganisation and cultural transmission.

The sociologists active in research at the University of Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s sought to plumb the experiences, outlooks, and social worlds of their research participants.

The distinctive method of the Chicago style was, as Short (1971 : xliv) has noted, based on "... a continuous or monitoring of unfolding events in their natural setting, in contrast both to discrete samplings of opinion or other relevant data by means of surveys". Park, who had studied under Simmel in Berlin, is generally credited with pioneering the method of participant observation, and it was Park who invited his graduate students to get the seats of their pants dirty in "real research":

> "Go and sit ... on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns; sit in the ... Star and Garter Burlesque. In short ... go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research (In McKinney 1966 : 71). (My emphasis).

The methods utilised by the Chicago sociologists in this period varied; the life history, or case study, approach was the primary means they used to strive for empathy and an imaginative participation in the lives of others. This included a mixture of methods, such as formal or depth interviews, informal interviews, casual conversations, observation, the collection of documentary evidence, and some naturalistic 'hanging out' and interaction (Bulmer 1984; Burgess 1927). Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), for example, employed human documents as an ethnographic data source and attempted to lay the foundation for an inductive, comparative, and conceptual framework which would provide theoretical insights into the transformation of a society when subjected to tensions between the former traditional society and the new urban environment.

Considerable contemporary debate exists as to whether the work carried out by Chicago sociologists in the inter-war years can truly be called participant observation, whether it was precursor, or if it was focused on something else (Platt 1981; 1983). Although lacking in the methodological specificity and reflexivity characteristic of later participant observation studies, the work produced by the Chicago School, particularly in the inter-war years can, nevertheless, be regarded as a crucial developmental stage in the evolution of the method (Adler and Adler 1988).

Nels Anderson's study of 'The Hobo' (1923), for example, involved him arriving in Chicago, "almost penniless", by freight train, buying a suit from a, "pawn shop", and securing part-time work as a male nurse in a, "Chicago home for incurables", prior to registering as a graduate student under Park and Burgess (Anderson 1983 : 396-406). It was Anderson's part-time work that provided the introductory contacts with, "men who were or had been hobo (that is, migrant workers)" (1983 : 402). Later, when his research was under way, Anderson took a room in a, "workingman's hotel", in the slum area of the city he identified as, "Hobohemia", which facilitated further contacts with the migrant workers of his study (1983 : 403). Anderson declares in the inroduction to the 1961 reissue of his book that, when he began his study, he had, "never heard of the term 'participant observation'" (1961 : 13). However, despite this fact, his willingness to approximate the life worlds of his research subjects in 'Hobohemia', the collection in a, "natural and informal way" (1961 : 28) the life-histories of 60 hobo's, together with the study of 400 tramps, "met on the road" (Platt 1983 : 382), appears to constitute some of the features of the method, as it is contemporarily recognised.

In sociology, the Chicago School's influence and methodological challenge to, "the then dominant positivism and social determinism" (Thomas 1983 ; 478), gave way, after Park's retirement in 1934, to functionalism and the increasingly sophisticated forms of positivism developed by Parsons at Harvard University and Merton and Lazarsfeld at Columbia University. The Chicago style of urban ethnography consequently declined both in popularity and influence:

> "By the end of the 1950s, it would have appeared to the intellecutal historian that the Chicago School of urban sociology had exhausted itself. Even at the University of Chicago, the intense and humanistically oriented study of the social worlds of the metropolis had come to an end. The older figures had disappeared one by one, and a new generation of sociologists were interested in quantitative methodology and systematic theory" (Janowitz, in Preface to Suttles, 1968 : ix).

Throughout the period following the Second World War, there was little public debate by sociologists in the Chicago tradition with the detractors of observation *in situ* (see for

example Shils 1948). Their most influential advocate, Blumer, spent less time defending fieldwork than pointing out the weaknesses in research based on questionnaire surveys and standardised interviews. Behind Blumer's criticisms, which rested on the illusory nature of standardisation; on the arbirtrariness of the categories used as variables, and on the uncertain nature of behaviour and responses gathered in artificial interview situations, it is possible to glimpse a defence of fieldwork methods. However it was not until 1969, in the introduction to his volume on Symbolic Interactionism, that he provided a cogent defence of participant observation. As restrospective testimony suggests, arguments mounted by the critics of questionnaire surveys carried less weight in the 1940s and 1950s than arguments by the critics of participant observation (Deutscher 1966; LaPiere 1969). Under the impact of the dominance of Parsonian Functionalism and the mathematically sophisticated quantitative survey methodology developed by Lazarsfeld, observational data, considered suggestive at best, were relegated to the initial states of research when researchers, "prepare to gather the kind of data susceptible to statistical treatment" (Barton and Lazarsfeld 1955). According to Wax:

> "The disciples of the new survey sample research, with their emphasis on statistical techniques, formal experimental designs and mechanical data processing, argued that theirs was the scientific sociology" (1971 : 40). (My emphasis)

Thus by 1960, the early Chicagoan emphasis on subjectivity gave way to a new balance between subjectivity and objectivity. Beginning in the mid-1950s, fieldwork researchers began to publish detailed accounts of the conditions and circumstances in which they carried out their observations, and of the practical problems they encountered in getting access to and gathering of their data. These provided readers with estimates of the validity of their analyses. Whyte's appendix to the 1955 edition of _Street Corner Society_ is one of the best and most often cited; although Malinowski (1922) was the first professional anthropologist to give his readers a detailed account of how he accumulated data, and what was involved in intensive ethnography. In many respects, the trend towards systematisation of fieldwork practices occurred in response to the critiques and

methodological challenge of positivism within sociology (Wax 1971 : 40; Chapoulie 1987 : 270).

A new generation of fieldworkers had emerged by the early 1960s, once again centered around the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago (Adler and Adler 1988; Emerson 1983; Platt 1983). Here under the tutorship of Blumer, Hughes, Warner, Redfield, Strauss and Riesman, influenced by the anthropological model of research (sociology and anthropology were a unified department for part of this time), an intellectual climate developed which fostered many, now classical, participant-observation studies (see, for example, Becker *et al* 1961; Becker 1963; Davis 1963; Gusfield 1963; Goffman 1959; Roth 1963) and a spate of doctoral and masters' theses, too numerous to mention. The renewed interest in participant observation and qualitative methods generally was partially spawned by Blumer's reconception of the theories of Mead and Cooley which offered a systematic refutation to positivist research in 'social science'. In an article first published in 1962 and often cited, Blumer asserts, for example:

> "To catch the process [of interpretation], the student must take the role of the acting unit whose behaviour [s/he] is studying. Since the interpretation is being made by the acting unit in terms of the objects designated and appraised, meanings acquired, and decisions made, the process has to be seen from the standpoint of the acting unit ... To try to catch the interpretive process by remaining aloof as a so-called 'objective' observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism - the objective observer is likely to fill in the process of interpretation with their own surmises in place of catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit which uses it" (Blumer 1969 : 36).

The practitioners of participant observation at Chicago during this later period, together with those who were influenced by them, have been dubbed the 'neo-Chicagoans':

> "I will call them neo-Chicagoans because they have revived the Chicago School's stress on direct observation and fieldwork, have maintained and extended the relevance of the subject's view, and in a variety of other ways have indicated their appreciation of deviant phenomena and their connected enterprises" (Matza 1969 : 37).

As indicated earlier, most significantly this was an era in which participant-observers became reflective about their methodology, leading to the refinement and codification of

prcoedures. Not only did their monographs begin to carry the now standard methods, appendices, and chapters, but a variety of articles, then monographs, and, finally, sets of readings, appeared which explicitly discussed the principles, practice, and problems of participant observation (Becker *et al* 1961; Becker and Geer 1960; 1957; Becker 1958; Miller 1952; Vidich and Bensman 1954; Vidich 1955; Gusfield 1955; Filstead 1970; Gold 1958; Habenstein 1970; Junker 1960; McCall and Simmons 1969; Schwartz and Schwartz 1955; Webb 1966; see also the contributions and research notes published in *Human Organisation*, some of which are reprinted in Adams and Preiss 1960). These articles and readings examined three groups of problems that confront prospective fieldworkers: firstly, the appropriate mode of relations with the population studied at the beginning, during, or at the end, of research; secondly, the problems posed by the construction of analytic categories; and finally, the problems of the validity of the data gathered.

Although the participant observer method comprised a variety of roles having different degrees of involvement with research participants, these all balanced the pulls of objectivity and subjectivity. Ideally participant observers were to get close to participants, share some of their activities, gain trust and confidence, and discover their subjective perspectives and interpretations. At the same time, they were to retain a detached vantage in order to analyse and codify the observations and accounts. In effect they were to strive for marginal roles in their field-settings (Freilich 1970), poised between familiarity and strangeness or friend and stranger (Everhart 1977; Powdermaker 1966). This balancing act was due in part to the pervasive influence of positivistic criteria, such that field researchers sought to enhance the validity and reliability of their methodology (Kirk and Miller 1986).

3.2.4 Involvement and Detachment - Contemporary Fieldwork Practice

Within anthropology, a much broader range of data gathering had been defined as falling within the domain of ethnography. At one end of the spectrum, allied most closely with

the Chicago School in their balancing of subjectivity and objectivity and the use of unstructured depth interviews and participant observation, are the 'immersion' fieldworkers. These researchers attempt to balance the involvement of the friendly visitor with the detachment of the foreigner in the interpretive analyses of native cultures (Rosaldo 1980; Turner 1985), self-consciously reflecting on their research roles and experiences. The immersion anthropologists' epistemology is best enunciated by Geertz (1973) and Wax (1971). Although anthropologists at this time became reflexive about their methodology, it was a decade or more after sociologists had done so. It is widely acknowledged that methodology within anthropology was an underdeveloped non-reflexive area, following a, "conspiracy of silence" (Berreman 1962; Cohen and Naroll 1970; Ellen 1984; Diamond 1980). As a result, each generation of anthropologists had to relearn the experiences of the previous one and there was little accumulation of methodological knowledge (Cohen and Naroll 1970).

Moving in the direction of scientific objectivity, there has been an anthropological trend towards a structured and formalistic approach. Advocating strict scientific controls in the fieldwork process, adherents have utilised quantitative mathematical devices and techniques for kinship analysis, the construction of 'layered taxonomies' and the collection of 'census data' through structured interviews (Naroll 1962; Pelto and Pelto 1973; Werner 1986). The most extreme objectivists are the ethnoscientists who have utilised highly formalised, "elicitation frames" and, "systematic fieldwork" (Werner and Schoepfle 1986a; 1986b). Werner (1983) advocates the use of, "microcomputers in cultural anthropology" for the mathematical analysis of, "data". The ethnoscientists seek to establish precise linguistic boundaries, to parallel, to draw on, and to complement the sociolinguistic movement predominant in ethnomethodological sociology. In so doing, they narrow the focus of fieldwork to a concentration on denotive meanings. Through structured interviews, they seek to elicit taxonomies (Frake 1964), "componential analyses" (Goodenough 1956), "folk definitions", (Keen 1985); reducing rich cultural traditions to a matter of semantics (Casagrande and Hale 1967; Lounsbury 1956).

Within sociology in the period following the spate of participant observation studies by the 'neo-Chicagoans' in the early 1960s, there was a massive upsurge in interest in social theories and methodologies concerned with the 'micro-processes' of social life (Knorr-Cetina 1981 : 1; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983 : 1; Fielding 1988 : 1). Renewed interest in Verstehen (Truzzi 1974); Germanic (idealist) theorists such as Simmel, Dilthey, Webber, Husserl and Schutz; social phenomenology (Berger and Luckman 1967); symbolic interactionism especially through Blumer's reconception of the theories of Mead and Cooley (Blumer 1969), and manifested in the ethnographic work of Becker and other subcultural and labelling theorists; ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967); cognitive sociology (Cicourel 1973); and existential sociology (Douglas and Johnson 1977), manifested in the 'everyday-life' sociological fieldwork of Douglas (1976) and Johnson (1975), resulted in an advancement of the frontiers of sociological subjectivity.

Although the subjectivist movements did not replace the more balanced epistemology as the dominant mainstream in sociological participant observation, they nevertheless pulled the classical approach in that direction. Many now acknowledge, for example, that the objectivist goal of not influencing the setting is more ideal than real and should be modified to a relativistic scale (Jarvie 1969):

> A detached, objective attitude is unsatisfactory as way of getting data; it puts an impossible strain on the researcher and limits the kind of knowledge that can be thus gained" (Clarke 1975 : 114).

Some researchers influenced by feminist methodological critiques have advocated a move "beyond subjectivity", and for, "the use of the self in Social Science" (Kreiger 1985). This stance parallels the radical hermeneutical branch of anthropologists who also focus on studying themselves and their feelings and experiences as well as the research setting and their relations with informants (Crapanzano 1985; Dumont 1978; Rabinow 1977). Similarly existential sociologists have urged participant observers to supplement observations and the accounts of participants with the feelings and experiences accumulated in the field (Douglas 1976; Johnson 1975). As a result of this general trend,

the test of validity within participant observation studies has come to rely less on objectivity and detachment and more on the researchers' closeness to the data (Manning 1982). It is now a convention amongst sociological participant observers to include personal reflections on the researchers' roles and relationships in the field in order to demonstrate the degree of involvement with the setting and with participants (Stafford 1991; Warren 1988).

In reflecting on this sociological tendency towards involvement and subjectivity, it is ironic to note that, as previously examined, some anthropologists have been involved in a corresponding trend towards quantification (Agar 1980), although some anthropologists regard their discipline as the one most likely to ethnographically bridge the quantitative, qualitative, divide (Ellen 1984). In some respects, it is not surprising to note how contemporary sociological participant observers are embracing a more subjectivist stance, since its earlier practitioners grew out of an objectivist base and even in their divergence modelled themselves upon, or were at least influenced by, their dominant hypothetico-deductive ancestry. Even the Chicago School is not exempt from such critical scrutiny; Harvey (1987) for example has traced an empirical "quantitative tradition" in the Chicago School of Sociology between 1900 and 1950. More recently, Martin Hammersley has argued for "... the feasibility of the positivist model of theory, the model which ... gives us the best hope of producing effective explanations for social phenomena" (1985 : 250). In contrast, the subjectivist trend within sociological participant observation since the late 1960s has been interpreted as, "one of progressive liberation from these early fetters" (Adler and Adler 1987 : 13).

This is not to imply that the mainstream research orientation and funding power within sociology as a whole has shifted. On the contrary, despite the challenge to the 'normative paradigm' from the 'interpretive paradigm' (Wilson 1970); the methodological critique of 'anti-positivism' (Kitsuse and Cicourel 1963; Cicourel 1964; 1968); the subsequent trend towards 'naturalism' (Denzin 1971); the adoption of qualitative methodologies (Van

Maanen 1983; Burgess 1984; Walker 1985; and the utilisation of a 'social definitionist' as opposed to a 'social factist' approach (Ritzer 1975; Troyer and Markle 1982); participant observation remains a "... sociological subculture ... a more humanistic and empathic enclave within the mainstream" (Roberts 1976 : 252).

The most recent trends within the practice of ethnography derive partly from this self-conscious rejection of positivist assumptions and imageries, and also, on a more elusive level, from the attempt to enunciate explicitly interpretive methodological procedures. In part this derives from a deepening appreciation of the unavoidably reflexive character of field research.

Several themes have contributed to this increasingly self-conscious attention to the reflexive nature of the participant observer method. Firstly, analyses of the actual interactional processes of being 'in the field' have taken on a more close-grained, self-aware character. Thus some participant observers now not only recognise but display and celebrate the essentially "in-the-world, no-time-out" (Emerson 1987) character of participant observation, as of all social interaction (Berger 1981). Secondly, a number of scholars, drawing out the full implications of Geertz's (1973) insistence that ethnography is essentially "inscription", have begun to examine in detail the rhetorical structure of the text, paying close attention to the ways in which interpretive dominance, and authorial authority, are established within the text (Marcus and Cushman 1982; Clifford 1983a; 1983b; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Stoddart 1986).

Anthropology, writes Crick (1987), is now in the midst of a reflexive phase thinking about the 'representation of the representation and the writing about writing'. The phase is described as post-modernist; in which there is ...

> "... no magisterial author setting out his or her hard data but, with a new (or perhaps better still 'collapsed') sense of 'subject' and 'object', reflexivity, pluralism, a suspicion of authorial authority, and even heteroglossia. We have a new genre" (Crick 1987 : 270).

The social and interactional processes involved in carrying out participant observation research as a 'practical accomplishment' (*cf.* Garfinkel 1967) constitute one topic in the post-modernist project. Thus, Stoddart (1986), for example, in analysing accounts of fieldwork methods, has highlighted the common use of textual strategies which, "display the features of a domain as they exist independently of the techniques employed to assemble them" (1986 : 15). As Mishler has similarly argued:

> "The perspective of the observer is intertwined with the phenomenon which does not have objective characteristics independent of the observer's perspective and methods" (1979 : 10).

Some analysts have effectively demonstrated the variety of ways in which, for example, classical anthropological accounts suppress the presence of the observer as an active force in recounted events or incidents (Strathern 1987). Rabinow (1983) has similarly demonstrated how anthropological accounts invoke the field experiences of the ethnographer to validate knowledge claims and then obscure the presence and interpretive work of the observer through textual devices such as the third person narrative form:

> "From Malinowski on, anthropological authority has rested on two textual legs. An experiential 'I was there' element establishes the unique authority of the anthropologist; its suppression in the text establishes the anthropologist's scientific authority (1983 : 204).

Although reflexive concern with "ethnographies as texts" (Marcus and Cushman 1982) might seem an indulgence, the post-modernist critique has raised fundamental epistemological problems and highlighted processes of generic interest, a point made by Cicourel in his earliest work (1964). The post-modernist anthropological critique sensitises the fieldworker to problems concerning field roles, the construction of accounts, and the processes of interpretation and categorisation. Post-modern remedial strategies include, "complex collaboration between ethnographer and informant" (Young 1983 : 170). This has been described by Mulkay (1985) as, "collaborative dialogue" -

> "... only by changing and extending the scope of our analytic discourse can we create new forms of interpretative rationality which are designed for and appropriate for the study by human actors of meaningful human action ... through such collaborative dialogue it may be possible for analyst and participant to converse together and to learn from each other, with neither party claiming interpretative dominance .. I suspect that

this kind of collaboration lies partly hidden behind the text of many sociological studies. I've always thought, for example, that the gang leader Doc should have been given much of the credit for Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1955); but that, of course, would have been to contravene the supposedly essential distinction between analyst and participant" (1985 : 12 and 15).

The reference to dialogue is also a reference to reciprocity, of recognising relationships (as between participant observer and informant), not, "flattening" them (*cf.* Clifford 1980). In some respects, this viewpoint echoes the notions of empowerment and participation which I outlined in Chapter 2 as characterising a "progressive" youthwork practice (Corrigan and Leonard 1978), which "prefigures the future" (Davis and Cook 1981), and which challenges, "the traditional boundaries between clients and workers" (Mitchell *et al* 1980 : 8). For Taylor, Walton and Young (1975), these issues are inextricably linked to questions of power:

"For radical researchers, the point about attempting to remain faithful to the researched population is that [s/he] has already taken sides; in the sense that [s/he] is concerned to feed back [the] results, not to the powerful, but to those immediately and directly affected (1975 : 26). (My inserts)

The broad family of participatory research methods (Reason and Rowan 1981) offer something in the way of an escape from the epistemological impasse posed by the post-modernist critique. The are characterised by a commitment to reciprocity, collective and co-operative ways of working, and an emphasis upon empowerment. Co-research with people begins by respecting and valuing their accounts and meanings. People's experiences are frequently presented as 'life-history'; in a more radical form, participants have become co-authors, enabling them to remain the knowing, communicating participants in their own accounts (Carlen *et al* 1985). The 'personal' is also valued in participatory research, rather than as a dangerous bias or contamination of 'data'; personal involvement is recognised as, "the condition under which people come to know each other and admit others to their lives" (Oakley 1981 : 58).

These were ideas I sought to employ in my research in the fourth phase (1986-1990), for example through an approach based on careful, "editing of first-person sociology"

(Blauner 1987). Thus, much of the empirical material in my study is based on utilising taped transcripts which were collaboratively edited and organised by participants, and through which I was able to include participants in the construction of their own accounts. I asked participants to check, alter, and re-order transcripts to make their meanings accurate and clear. In transcribing and punctuating, I attempted to follow the speaker's speech patterns and sought to strike a balance between the strong 'preservationist' impulse in oral history (Painter 1979) and translating into standard middle class English (Coles 1975). Arguably, to strike such a balance is to preserve the reality of participants' world-view To translate, as Coles (1975) has advocated, into "clear-cut, distilled, comprehensible English", would be to separate participants from their reality. Nevertheless, more often than not, transcripts are not presented *verbatim*, but have been collaboratively 'worked up' into a form which was acceptable both to the participants and to myself. This was one element in a general orientation that was informed by an empathic, collaborative mode of conducting field relations, strongly influenced by my youthwork practice; in a general sense, informed by the concerns of participatory research outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, and influenced by the subjectivist trend in social researching examined in this section (3.2).

3.2.5 The Two Traditions

Crucial leverage into the renewed interest in a more subjectivist mode for participant observers was provided by the 1960s ferment in sociology and the "creative disintegration from within of sociology itself in its mainstream form" (Hall *et al* 1980 : 26). In the wake of a sustained theoretical and methodological critical assault, the then dominant, normative, epistemologically positivist approach inherited from Comte, Durkheim and later Parsons, gave way to a "naturalist revolt ... directed against positivism's inability to understand and record human subjectivity" (Willis 1980 : 88). The subsequent "epistemological chasm" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983 : 3) between what became known as the "two sociological traditions" (Bendix 1971; Von Wright 1971; Dawe 1970) can, according to Von Wright (1971) and Levy (1981), be traced as far back as differences

between the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. Each of the 'two traditions' embodies distinct assumptions about human nature, ontology and epistemology. According to Dawe (1970), for example, there are ...

"... two sociologies: a sociology of social system and a sociology of social action ... They posit antithetical views of human nature, of society, and of the relationship between the social and the individual (1970 : 214).

The two traditions have in recent years been characterised and counterposed in the following ways: positivism versus naturalism; sociological positivism versus German idealism; positivism versus anti-positivism; the normative paradigm versus the interpretive paradigm; a 'social factist' approach versus a 'social definitionist' approach; structuralism versus interactionism; 'macro' sociology versus 'micro' sociology; and quantitative methods versus qualitative methods. According to the framework outlined by Burrell and Morgan (1979), the assumptions about human nature, ontology and epistemology inherent in each of the 'two traditions' have direct implications in terms of methodology:

"Different ontologies, epistemologies, and models of human nature are likely to incline social scientists towards different methodologies" (Burrell and Morgan 1979 : 2).

Thus the sociological tradition concerned with social system is said to rest on a realist (Footnote 1) as opposed to a nominalist ontology (Footnote 2); a positivist as opposed to an anti-positivist epistemology (Footnote 3); a determinist as opposed to a voluntarist view of human nature (Footnote 4); and a nomothetic as opposed to an ideographic methodology (Footnote 5)•

3.2.6 Critical Ethnography

Marx, it has been argued, holds a rather special place in terms of the epistemological chasm between the two sociological traditions; (Footnote 6) thus, Benton (1977) discusses the philosophical foundations of the 'three sociologies'. Knorr-Cetina (1981) similarly accords Marx a special place in the discussion, maintaining that the upsurge in

'micro sociological orientations' in the last thirty years or so has to be viewed as a reaction against the positivism of the 'normative paradigm' (Wilson 1970); that is, the 'interpretive paradigm' (Wilson *op cit*) is viewed as a reaction against structural functionalism, and ' integration theory' (Dahrendorf 1959) and not the Marxist or 'coercion theory of society' (Dahrendorf *op cit*):

> "The founders of the normative-functional integration model are of course seen to be Durkheim and Parsons. Needless to say, in the American tradition of sociological thought in which most recent micro-sociological approaches have originated, the normative model of social order has dominated. Hence, the recent upsurge in micro-sociological orientations must be seen against the contrast of the normative model of order, and not against the contrast of a conflict model informed by Marx"(Knorr-Cetina 1981 : 2).

The categorisation of Marxist theory to a special place in terms of the epistemological chasm between the two traditions in sociology is crucial for a critical ethnography. The task for Marxism-informed interactionists is to develop the <u>critical component</u> inherent in the Chicago tradition of participant observation research (Carey 1975) - a critical component often ignored by contemporary practitioners. As Thomas has argued:

> "By overemphasising the given and not rising above the immediacy of the situation being examined, by accepting as unproblematic the social features observed in a particular situation, and by presenting these descriptions in an often formulistic discursive style, many ethnographers operate from the perspective of naive realism in that there is an assumed correspondence between the categories of analysis and the objects they reflect (Thomas 1982 : 129).

Chicago sociology in the 1920s evolved as a challenge to the then dominant positivism and social determinism It was also a challenge to existing social conditions and policies (Carey 1975). The task for Marxist-informed participant observers is to retain the critical element of Chicago Sociology in order to help display the structural, ideological, and related issues that pattern and shape human social behaviour (Cohen 1972; Willis 1977; Takagi 1982; Young 1980); as Takagi (1982 : 36) has suggested, to display the relationship between individually lived experience and the generative structures of social life. One major criticism of participant observation is that it is a method that is incapable of addressing the broader issues of social structure (Thomas 1982), just as a corresponding criticism of Marxist research is its inattention to issues of social interaction (Giddens

1976). Participant observation, as practised by the 'British New Wave' in the 1970s offered a means of bridging the two positions and correcting at least some of the problems identified in both (Grimshaw *et al* 1980; Willis 1980). I discuss the work of the 'British New Wave' of participant observers in the following section - here it is sufficient to note that the notion of a critical ethnography is crucial for the development of my own study, and that, historically, the possibility for a critical ethnography was created out of the 1960s ferment in sociology and the space created by the declining dominance of an orthodoxy based on structural functionalism, integration theory, the normative paradigm, and quantitative methods (Hall and Jefferson 1976).

3.3 The Sociology of Youth and the British New Wave

The sociology of youth was born between the wars when Mead (1935) and Reuter (1937) and their contemporaries claimed youth as a social phenomenon, a product of specific types of society rather than an inevitable state in bio-psychological maturation. In post-Second World War American sociology, it was Parsons (1942), following from the pioneer work of the Chicago School, who popularised notions of youth and 'Youth Culture' as peculiarly male phenomena. He isolated the, "unique and highly distinctive combination of age-grading and sex-role elements" (Parsons : 1964 : 91) supposedly emerging among American (male) adolescents, and coined the term 'Youth Culture' to describe them.

Sociologists and social commentators in the post-war period conflated youth culture as a social issue and a social problem, so that delinquency research and the investigation of youth culture became virtually synonymous. Sociologists in this period began to view the breakdown of generational relations and the development of 'autonomous' peer group cultures as features of contemporary society in general and not, as the Chicago School's work had implied, a response to the social disorganisation of the urban slum (Thrasher 1927; Shaw and McKay 1942).

Parsons suggested that these developing peer group cultures were local expressions of a distinctive, more broadly-based, generational consciousness which was solidifying around a distinctive 'Youth Culture'. In the 1950s, the main issue pre-occupying youth research was the extent to which the youth culture was rebellious or even 'at war' with mainstream society (Coleman 1961). Functionalist writers in this period viewed the 'Youth Culture' as a homogeneous, functionally mediating, classless, male phenomena which, despite surface appearances of adolescent rebellion and dissent, was essentially adaptive for the maintenance and continuity of the social system and the transition of young people to adult roles and status (David M. Smith 1983). The 'Youth Culture' was said to provide a process of continuing socialisation from childhood roles and family values, and taught independence and the qualities required for adulthood. The 'Youth Culture' was said to functionally reconcile the inconsistencies between values inculcated during childhood (ascription, particularism, community orientation, role diffuseness, affectivity) and the different values, reflecting the more complex needs of the social system, associated with adulthood (achievement, affective neutrality, universalism, role specificity, and self-orientation) (Eisenstadt 1956 : pp. 43-45); Elkin and Westley 1955; Smith 1962).

As outlined in the previous section, functionalism had declined as sociology's dominant orthodoxy by the early 1960s and youth research gained a fresh impetus alongside a new ascendant brand of American deviancy theories. Youth and delinquency research remained intimately related and the broad theoretical influences of phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology became important sources of inspiration for British research in this period. The period of the early 1960s was also important in establishing the pre-eminence of sociological studies within British criminology (Wiles 1976 : 14); studies which can be recognised for their broad attempt to 'humanise' deviance by granting meaning and purpose to delinquent behaviour (Muncie and Fitzgerald 1981). In developing interactional, transactional (labelling), and amplification theories within the

new perspectives on deviancy, attention was redirected away from causal questions (why did s/he do it?) to questions of definition and consequence:

> "How the meaning of deviant activity is built up through complex processes of interaction between deviant and controllers: how ... the moral and political authenticity of deviant action is elided by the interpretive schemes deployed by the agents of social control: and how the creation ... of particular identities for the deviant can have the effect of committing [them] more firmly to [the] deviant role" (Wiles 1976 : 10).

Participant observation became the most common methodological approach, enabling researchers to analyse the deviant's perspective with empathy in contrast to established criminology's model of individualised pathology. Indeed, the strength of the new deviancy theory was the recovery of a human dignity and rationality previously denied to actors by the positivist domination of traditional criminology:

> "New deviancy theory was primarily a radical response to positivist domination of criminology and attempted to recover the 'meaning' in human behaviour denied ... in positivism" (Young 1981 : 286-7).

New deviancy theory was not however without its own problems. Whilst rationalising deviancy, new deviancy theorists provided non-judgmental analysis of young people's behaviour which seemed particularly inappropriate in assessing the more extreme forms of violence and its effect on victims (Carrington 1975; Phipps 1986). This problem was more acute when youth violence was celebrated as a primitive form of political warfare (Piven and Cloward 1982). Moreover, the phenomenological input into the new studies of youth and deviance led to an abandonment, not just of functionalism, but the entire vocabulary of social structure. Labelling theory had located a set of political problems in the analysis of deviance but failed to develop a theory which could adequately deal with them. The political conceptions utilised by labelling theorists were crude. They amounted to little more than a conflict between deviants with one perspective and 'controllers' with a different perspective. Out of the ensuing debates, a 'new criminology' emerged (Taylor, Walton and Young 1973) which resurrected society, arguing for the necessity of situating processes of social action and societal reaction in their precise material (historical, economic, and political) circumstances (Hall *et al* 1978). Analyses of

'crime', for example, attempted to examine the structural constitution of the law, the state, and class relations, at particular historical moments. These connections have been examined in detail in relation to the moral panics concerning 'mugging' (Hall *et al* 1978) and football hooliganism (Ingham *et al* 1978; Taylor 1982).

Since the Second World War, Britain has produced a number of deviant youth groups which, although not necessarily delinquent, have attracted a similar, if not more intense, degree of adult concern and reaction. This more generalised concern about youth was intricately related to the emergence of a 'teenage' culture in the 1950s and a youth culture in the 1960s. While 'teenager' was a term attached specifically to working class youth, the notion of a youth culture suggested that all young people belonged to a homogeneous culture that transcended all other cultural affiliations. Abrams, for example, asserted that:

> "... under the conditions of general prosperity, the social study of society in class terms is
> less and less illuminating. And its place is taken by differences related to age" (1964 :
> 57-58).

Such argument was supported by a corresponding trend in sociological theorising which emphasised embourgeoisement and political and social consensus:

> "The conventional wisdom was that 'affluence' and 'consensus' together were promoting
> the rapid 'bourgeoisification' of the working classes (Clarke *et al* 1976 : 21).

Thus, the notions of a distinctive, homogeneous functionally mediating, classless youth culture emerged most strongly during the period of post-war industrial expansion. Youth was believed to have developed on autonomy expressed not through crime, but through leisure. The accounts produced in the 1950s and 1960s suggested that all young people were suspended -without other points of identity (or division) - in a classless world of consumption, leisure pursuits, and irresponsibility (Parsons 1964; Abrams 1959). Parson's 'youth culture' centered on the conception of a generation who consumed without producing, and whose confinement in age-specific educational institutions was said to remove young people from both the productive system and the class relations rooted in that system. The emphasis on the centrality of age divisions and the stress on

consumption led to a concealment or devaluation of the political dimension (see Murdock and McRon 1976a):

> "The corresponding irrelevance of class inequalities, coupled with the stress on consumption and leisure as the pivots of youth consciousness, was destined to dominate the sociology of youth for the next three decades (Murdock and McRon 1976 : 197).

Not only were class inequalities marginalised in the earlier analyses of youth, but also gender and ethnic inequalities. The subsequent functionalist accounts alongside the more popularised commentaries regarded the concept of 'Youth Culture' as expressing the activities and experiences of all young people. But, for almost 40 years, the presence of women and ethnic groupings in the analyses were absent. The functionalist analysis dealing with a formulation of youth as a homogeneous, classless, phenomenon, subsequently became the target of critical appraisal (Murdock and McRon 1976a). The invisibility of women became a focus of concern much later (McRobbie 1981) with the advent of a specifically feminist input into the sociological enterprise generally.

In the early 1970s under the impact of a revival of interest in newer forms of Marxist theory, there developed within sociology a concerted critique of existing orthodoxy in the area of youth studies:

> "Behind all the talk of 'generation' and 'generation gap', there is the forgotten question of the class structure of society. It is as if, when youth are discussed, social class goes on holiday. But youth are not a classless tribe" (Mungham and Pearson 1976 : 2-3).

The key concern of the subsequent studies by the 'New Wave' was not one of simply, "substituting class for age at the centre of the analysis, but of examining the relations between class and age and more particularly the way in which 'age acts as a mediation of class' (Murdock and McRon 1976a : 24).

In Britain, the emergence in the 1950s and 1960s of a variety of highly visible youth subcultures - Teds, mods, rockers, hippies, skinheads and student dissenters - led to a series of ethnographic studies of subcultural leisure pursuits and styles. It is significant

that the most sophisticated analyses emerged not from studies of 'delinquency' but from ethnographies of leisure and style. In contrast to American research, British subcultural theory is not primarily concerned with delinquency, the main reason being that post-war research in Britain has been unable to discover the existence of 'structured' gangs identified in America by Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960).

The first British application of American subcultural theory was provided by Downes's study of working class youth in East London (1966). He found little evidence of Cohen's 'status frustration'. Rather, the boys of his study disassociated themselves from the dominant values and aspirations enshrined in school or work and deflected their interests, achievements, and aspirations, to leisure pursuits. Thus, working class boys were distinguished from the middle class boys by the excessive demands they made on their leisure time. The connection between leisure and delinquency, however, only became apparent when leisure aspirations also remained unfulfilled. In Downes's formulation, there was clear continuation between conventional 'teenage culture' and delinquency. This point is significant because it partially explains the processes whereby aspects of subcultural behaviour have been subject to surveillance and criminalisation. Indeed, Downes's study was influential in various respects. Not only did it explore how youth subcultures rely on leisure and entertainment to secure 'cultural space', but it also recognised how experiences and opportunities are structured by the material conditions of class location.

These twin concerns were further elaborated by the various ethnographic studies produced by the 'British New Wave' of subcultural ethnographers and theorists, most notably the sociologists operating within, or influenced by, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University in the early 1970s (Hall and Jefferson 1976). Their work is characterised by an examination of the 'meaning' of subcultural style through various ethnographic (and semiological) analyses; as well as a theoretical exploration of the political implications and ramifications of deviance through an examination of the

structural and class position of the various subcultures investigated. Clarke *et al* (1976), for example, sought to reinstate class analysis as the fundamental key to unlocking the meanings held to be present in the succession of spectacularly visible manifestations of post-war youth subcultures. They argued that: "Youth subcultures are related to class relations, to the division of labour and to the productive relations of the society" (1976 : 16).

For these 'New Wave' sociologists of youth, the Marxian conception of class relations was central to the analysis. Notions of class and class domination gave rise to conceptions of dominant and subordinate cultures and thereby to ideological or hegemonic domination. The struggle between classes assumes the pattern of a continuous struggle over the distribution of "cultural power". Clarke *et al* (1976) proposed a redefinition of culture, replacing it with the more historically specific conception of cultures; a redefinition that brings into focus the notion that, "cultures always stand in relations of domination and subordination to one another, are always ... in struggle with one another" (1976 : 12-13). Subcultures as a replacement for the functionalist conception of 'youth culture' embodies the idea that cultural groups, mediated through social classes become 'class cultures'; subcultures can then be analysed as 'sub-sets' of these class cultures. Subcultures are therefore "... smaller, more localised and differentiated structures within one or other of the larger cultural networks (Hall and Jefferson 1976 : 13). Subcultures thus have to be viewed in relation to, or as a distinctive part of, the wider class cultural networks:

> "Subcultures must first be related to the parent cultures of which they are a sub-set ...
> They must also be analysed in terms of their relation to the dominant culture (1976 : 13).

Although youth share certain disadvantages and are accorded minority group status, their opportunities are markedly unequal, differentiating them more fundamentally than any supposed 'unity of youth'. The differences in access to life's chances minimises any likelihood of a common sense of identity and the power of the New Wave's critique of the

existing orthodoxies emphasised the need to abandon the 'mainstream' writing that had largely evolved from functionalism's previous theoretical dominance in youth studies.

The New Wave sought to explore the basic importance of class inequalities in 'shaping' subcultural responses.   It sought to replace the concept of youth culture with the more specific notion of subcultures.   Subcultures could then be analysed in terms of their relation to parent cultures and, through that, to the tensions with, and accommodations to, the dominant culture.   In the formation of subcultural styles, the group is likely to draw upon the cultural resources provided by the parent culture.   Sets of traditions, habits and values, provided and established by the adult sections of the class, are passed on to its young people through the family, neighbourhood, and community.   Thus, for example, the concern of the self-proclaimed 'Northside Jungle Crew' from Hartingleigh's Chicken Lane Estate for local identity, territory, and toughness involved a re-working in subcultural form of inherited traditions acquired from the parent culture.   Believing that they came from the toughest estate in Manchester held great value for those who were dispossessed of other perhaps more legitimate modes of acquiring, "dignity stature, and a sense of importance" (Parker 1974 : 33).   Moreover, denied the traditional means of asserting working class masculinity, i.e. industrial labour, some participants reinvented the valorisation of manual labour, 'grafting', into a deviant activity, petty crime.   Placing these elements together, Clarke *et al* argue -

> "... to locate youth subculture in this kind of analysis, we must first situate youth in the dialectic between a 'hegemonic' dominant culture and the subordinate working class 'parent' culture, of which youth is a fraction" (1976 : 38).

The development of a complex Hegelianised 'Western Marxism' informed by the writings of Luckacs, Gramsci, the Frankfurt School, and the publication in English of Marx's early writings, particularly the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, and the *1987 Inttoduction of the 'Grundrisse'* provided the theoretical possibility for a cultural analysis within the Marxist tradition.   An analysis which did not lapse into an over-deterministic reductionism overly dependent on the base/superstructure, metaphor

(Hall 1977). By re-examining the key issues within Marxist thought, particularly questions about the relative autonomy of culture and ideology and their material, social, and historical conditions of existence, the 'New Wave' proposed that the dynamics of class struggle could be 'read' in the semi-autonomous terrain of culture and particularly within sub-cultural style. According to Clarke and Jefferson (1976):

> "Class conflict has increasingly shifted to the terrain of a struggle for the control of cultural as well as material resources. It is within this location that we see the symbolism of working class youth cultures as representing ... a signification of the struggle for cultural hegemony" (1976 : 157).

The meaning of subcultures and 'subcultural style' and its oppositional implications can be located and, in Hebdige's (1979) terms, 'read' in the terrain of cultural struggle and subcultural stylistic 'resistance'. The version of subcultural analysis that evolved from this position (and which can be successfully counterposed to the theoretically and empirically deficient functionalist accounts of the post-war period) emphasised ways in which the shared experiences of (predominantly male) adolescents in particular class locations were collectively expressed and negotiated through the active 'construction' and 'reconstruction' of distinctive leisure and entertainment based 'life-styles'. Subcultural styles are made up of an amalgam of elements drawn from two main sources -

> "... the situated class cultures ... [of the family and neighbourhood] and the 'mediated' symbol systems sponsored by the youth orientated sectors of the entertainment industry" (Murdock and McRon 1976 : 203).

As Hebdige's (1979) work illustrates, these elements are not taken over 'raw'; on the contrary, subcultural styles are the product of a cumulative process of transformation through selection and redefinition, within which objects, symbols, and activities are stripped of some, or all, of their conventional connotations and reworked, "by members of the group into a new and coherent whole with its own special significance" (Clarke and Jefferson 1976 : 157).

In Hartingleigh, for example, up to the mid-1980s, the dominant subcultural style was the "cult of the casual" (Allen 1984), reflected in the thoughtfully matched combinations

160

of designer clothes and sportswear: Pringle and Pierre Cardin sweaters; LaCoste shirts; Farrah trousers; Gabicci jumpers; or Tachini tracksuits, items of clothing that were conspicuously displayed to enhance social standing and peer group status. This has been described as the "struggle to keep up appearances" (Veblen 1919 : 399 - See also Veblen 1970). The casuals were the young wearers of these expensive designer clothes whose labels indicated finely graded degrees of being 'sound' or 'sorted' which offered psychological compensation for the multiple deprivations of the council estates. The style represented an exaggerated response to economic stringency and the dominant Thatcherite 'spiv' ideology of yuppie mobility. The expenditure necessary to sustain the style *à la mode* was often met illegally through hoisting (shoplifting) or grafting (petty theft). Thus, to possess the genuine articles with their all important labels and logos verified both their enormously high price and the degree of the wearer's success in one of the various alternative careers available within the local sub- or anti- employment subcultures. Designer clothes were a sartorial demonstration of one's success as a 'grafter', 'hustler', or 'hoister' (see Chapter Four), and thus provided compensatory routes to self-esteem and status.

The 'new wave' contributors to the sociology of youth in the 1970s were similarly concerned with subcultures as the expressive forms and rituals of subordinate groups; with the dialectics of image and self-image construction. Youth was said to construct its own images within the relatively autonomous cultural space of subcultures. These images became recognised, distorted, stereotyped and appropriated, by the market, the media, popular social commentary, and sociologists. Youth in turn, and in response, changed that image in order to recover symbolic, and actual, space, territory, self-image and self-esteem - but always against the "fundamental base-rhythms" of class conflict (Clarke *et al* 1976 : 41).

Since subcultural styles are viewed as 'coded' expressions of consciousness, the major act of analysis, according to Hebdige (1979) for example, is 'decoding' or 'reading the

style'. This is based on a notion of uncovering the meanings attached to the constituent elements of subcultural style and mapping the relations between them; providing a method for understanding the embedded defiance, contempt, and resistance in which "... experienced contradictions and objections to ... ruling ideology are obliquely represented in style" (Hebdige 1979 : 133). Hebdige, by drawing on Barthes's (1972) application of semiotics, a method rooted in linguistics (Hawkes 1977), attempts to 'deconstruct' and demystify the phenomenal forms of subcultural style.

The emergence of spectacular male working class youth subcultures during the post-war period was 'read' as signalling an end to notions of consensus; representing an 'oblique' gesture of 'contempt or defiance', a form of 'semiotic guerrilla warfare' (Hebdige 1979). This challenge was not pitched at the level of material resources or control of the means of production but was articulated in the form of class struggle in a cultural terrain, and may be interpreted in terms of a struggle over the rights of consumption and consumption identity versus class identity. Various studies chartered the nature of capitalist economic and social reorganisation in the post-war period (Clarke et al 1976 : 20-24). These changes in economic and social arrangements produced transformations in the nature of working class culture generally and, specifically, on the youth of the class.

"Aspects of these changes and the responses of the young to them became crystallised into distinctive styles of youth culture (Clarke and Jefferson 1976 : 139).

Phil Cohen (1972) established a mode of interpretation in this tradition when he proposed an original formulation of how the emergence of a succession of youth subcultures in the East End of London in the late 1960s was linked to the disintegration of working class communality in the period of post-war social and economic upheaval. Cohen's work took as its starting point the insight that "... mods, parkers, skinheads, crombies all represent in their different ways an attempt to retrieve some of the socially cohesive elements destroyed in the parent culture" (1972 : 23). For Cohen, the youth of the parent culture affected by the socio-economic transformations in the post-war period

attempt to resolve the shifts in working class cultural forms in order to regain communal solidarity and cultural consistency. Cohen noted the interplay between youth's efforts to participate in affluence, and the new hedonism of consumption, and the traditional puritanism of the working class community. Cohen places the subcultural responses in their cultural context, raises the influence of material contradictions, and proposes an 'ideological resolution' of an imaginary or 'magical' kind. Subcultures because they operate in the terrain of cultural struggle cannot confront the economic source of these contradictions; instead they attempt to relocate in an 'imaginary relation' the real relations which their members cannot transcend.

Cohen views the mods' 'subversive overconformity', for example, as an attempt to realise the conditions of life of the socially mobile white collar worker, whose recruitment from the working classes had increased during post-war bureaucratic expansion. 'Skinheads', on the other hand, were viewed by Cohen as a reaction against the contamination of the parent culture by middle class values and a reassertion of the integral values of working class culture, "through its most recessive traits - its puritanism and chauvinism" (1980 : 84). Reviewing Cohen's work, Hebdige maintains that:

> "Here at last was a reading which took into account the full interplay of ideological, economic, and cultural factors, which bear upon subculture. By grounding his theory in ethnographic detail, Cohen was able to insert class into his analysis at a far more sophisticated level than had previously been possible. Rather than presenting class an as abstract set of external determinations, he showed it working out in practice as a material force dressed up, as it were, in experience and exhibited in style" (1979 : 78)

As Hebdige's observations reveal, the commitment to a Marxist conception of the essential role of class in the analysis, developed alongside the utilisation of participant observation by the New Wave in its subcultural studies. The evocative ethnographic accounts contained in the work of Cohen (1972), Willis (1977, 1978), Hebdige (1979), and Corrigan (1979), for example, reveal a rich variety of responses. Paul Corrigan's exquisite three pages on 'Doing Nothing' (in *Resistance Through Rituals,* Hall and Jefferson (1976 : 103-106), for example, is perhaps the most evocative of all. The

banality and boredom of wet pavements in the inner city on a Saturday night are transfigured by all the excitement of 'doing nothing'. Doing nothing becomes packed full if incident shaped by the transforming implementation of "weird ideas", which cannot be understood from their intrinsic properties. The 'something in nothing' takes its meaning from its context; the reality is socially constructed and contrived. Nevertheless, the wider context informs the situation in as much as 'doing nothing' becomes a major activity because, "the alternative activities are usually expensive or controlled by someone else". In fact, the implementation of weird ideas emerges from, "one of the most material experiences of working class male youth - nothing" (Corrigan 1979a : 7).

The contributions of the British New Wave to the sociology of youth were characterised by an analysis which, whilst recognising the central importance of a Marxian conception of class relations, at the same time fully acknowledged the lived values and meanings which differentiated members of youth subcultures from their parent culture and the dominant culture to which they frequently stood opposed. The critical and philosophical tensions which exist between the experiential accounts produced by the participant observation method and the macroscopic analysis of historical and other external determinants provided a significant area for theorising and debate. Willis's attempt to provide a rounded explanation of why working class kids get working class jobs (1977), for example, is in many respects close to Giddens's (1976) theoretical attempt to explore the dialectical relationship between 'structure and action' via his theory of 'structuration'. Giddens's approach acknowledges that the most pressing theoretical task for sociologists is a theory of social life that simultaneously embodies social action and social structure. Giddens has expressed this notion through his conception of the 'duality of structure':

> "In the theory of structuration, 'structure' is conceptualised as the generative rules and resources drawn upon by actors in the production and reproduction of systems of interaction. The key idea linking production and reproduction is that of duality of structure, by which I mean that structure is both the medium of generating interaction ... and the reproduced outcome of it" (1977 : 14).

Willis's study, whilst taking account of the more or less determining impact of wider sets of relations, nevertheless remains rooted in a critical ethnography which offers an opportunity to examine how participants in a given social setting actively create meanings which generate the human practices out of which social structures emerge. Willis's study recognises that whilst specific features of capitalist society work to restrict the educational and occupational aspirations of working class boys, to quote these structural determinants does not identify the ways in which the boys actively use such features as sources of meaning to create and recreate working class culture and life-chances; Willis's utilisation of a participant observation method 'softening' the determinism associated with traditional Marxist analysis. Willis's study reveals that there is a qualified voluntarism at work by which the boys actively 'choose' to go towards an 'impoverished future'. The 'oppositional' school counter culture voluntarily accomplishes the induction of manpower into the unskilled levels of the productive process. The importance of Willis's study is that it has stressed the continuity of the school culture with the wider class culture, and drawn attention to the deep moving processes of regeneration among the class, the most important of which occur at the site of the school.

3.4   The British New Wave : A Critique

As long ago as 1976, Murdock and McRon pointed out that the 'new' subcultural analyses perpetuated a tradition rooted in deviancy and delinquency research by -

> "... focusing on the deviant rather than the conventional, on working class adolescents rather than those from the intermediate or middle classes, and most crucial of all, on boys rather than girls" (1976 : 204).

Despite the acknowledged sensitivity of much of the work produced by the New Wave, and the innovative dual commitment to both agency and structure, their accounts can be shown to be deficient in several respects (David M. Smith 1981, 1983, 1984; Brake 1980, 1985; Roberts 1983; McRobbie 1981; Cohen 1980; Dorn and South 1984). In the main, the empirical explorations of the New Wave have subordinated ethnographic detail to a prioristic and occasionally vulgarised explanatory formulae.

3.4.1 Determinism

Male working class subcultures were interpreted by the New Wave ethnographers as systems of resistance to dominant ideologies without due regard to the question of the 'meaning' of the subcultural group for participants. Theories were established *a priori* and not really 'risked' in the ethnographic encounter, the established theoretical formulae preventing any independent discovery of meaning that might flow from fieldwork. By taking subcultural styles as symptomatic evidence of structural contradictions within capitalism, the work of the New Wave reveals a tendency towards determinism and reductionism. Motivational accounts are interpreted in ways that may bear no relation to the sense intended by those who provide them. As Rock (1978) has similarly argued: "Life worlds have been translated into little more than the surface manifestation of a deep grammar which is known *ab initio*" (1978 : 605-6).

Similarly, Jenkins (1983 : 5-15) in a brief critique of the Marxist informed theories of cultural reproduction contained in the work of Bourdieu (1979) and Willis (1977) traces the source determinism he discerns in Willis's (1977) study to a "deterministic materialist epistemology" (1983 : 8). Jenkins argues that, despite the attempt by Willis to restore a degree of voluntaristic autonomy to the practice of working class youth within the framework of class analysis, ultimately both Willis and Bourdieu are trapped by "... the determinacy of their philosophical framework and inevitably they reproduce that determinism within their ... analyses" (Jenkins 1983 : 8).

3.4.2 Middle Class Subculture

Although the New Wave attempted to reinstate class oppression as the key to understanding subcultures, the most visible and arguably counter-hegemonic manifestation of youth culture in modern times was the largely middle class 'counter-culture' of the 1960s, essentially a product of affluence and social privilege. The counter-culture can be said to have offered a more direct and explicit challenge to the values of the dominant culture than the mods, Teds, or skinheads. Despite conceding that it may not be possible

to examine middle class youth culture in the same theoretical framework as used for the working class (Hall and Jefferson 1976 : 60), the following fourteen pages are then taken up with just such an attempt. The challenge to dominant values presented by the counter culture is rendered illusory and ultimately "profoundly adaptive to the system's productive base" (1976 : 65).

The counter-culture is said to represent just the type of precursory social forms that a healthy post-Protestant capitalism needs. Analysis in terms of the dialectics of class conflict is, according to Musgrove (1978 : 162), quietly abandoned in favour of a primitive variety of (left-) functionalism (Young 1981a). The recent emergence of youth groups based on an affirmatory stance towards dominant values, the 'Sloanes' and their various factions and splinter-groups, would be equally difficult to accommodate within an explanatory framework based on class conflict (Brake 1990). According to Toby Young for example (writing in 1985):

> "Today's teenager is no longer promiscuous, no longer takes drugs ... designer labels have replaced the protest badge as a symbol of peer group recognition ... Today's teenager has discovered something a little more pleasant than poring over the garbled philosophy of third-rate continental novelists ... It's dinner for two at the Chelsea Wharf, a Porsche, and an American Express card, even if ... [they] ... can only gaze at them in the pages of Harpers and Queen" (1985 : 246-247).

3.4.3 Race

The separate nature of racial oppression, of race as a focus for the articulation of subcultural response, is similarly 'glossed over' in the attempt to render all responses as manifestations of class tensions. Hebdige's treatment is annoyingly elusive. The major part of his study (1979) is taken up by a 'reading' of punk style, though perhaps his most important observation is that white, post-war youth subcultures involve a kind of shadow-boxing with issues of race. Hebdige views punk as "connected at a deep structural level" with the roughly simultaneous emergence of a popular form of Rastafarianism among urban black British youth. It remains as one of the more perplexing features of white, male working class youth subcultures that, though they are sometimes aggressively chauvinistic

(for example, the Teds' involvement in the 1950s race disturbances or the 'paki-bashing' tendency among skinheads), the appropriation of black cultural forms (music, for example) is often a central aspect of their stylistic equipment. Hebdige suggests that white, working class subcultures have been involved in an oblique exchange between the host community and the black presence in Britain, which has accommodated or expunged black style through a succession of different 'subcultural moments': "Played out on the loaded surfaces of British working class youth cultures, [we can watch] a phantom history of race relations since the War" (1979 : 45). However, Hebdige does not really develop this intriguing observation on the questions of youth and race, nor attempt to explain it more explicitly.

Later publications from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies have argued that race and racism, as it exists and functions today, "cannot be treated simply from a sociological perspective" (CCCS 1982). Brittan and Maynard (1984) similarly doubt whether it can be treated from a Marxist perspective, pointing to the possible inadequacies of analyses that reduce racial oppression to class oppression:

> "In maintaining racism ... cannot be reduced to another ... primary level of causation ...
> we are pointing to serious absences, lacunae, in the traditional accounts of oppression"
> (1984 : 210).

The dangers of reducing issues of racism to a Marxian explanatory formula are highlighted clearly in some of the contributions of the New Wave. *Paki-bashing in a North East Lancashire Cotton Town* (Pearson 1976) is explained as the response of people who feel their jobs (and women) might be taken by migrant workers. It is not even clear why this 'threat' is responded too most keenly by working class youth. Formerly, the cotton workers of Accrington bashed the new machinery that was threatening their livelihood, now they bash the new workers: "What their action signified, in both instances, was the most rudimentary form of resistance from below to the forces which they imagined were changing their lives" (1976 : 73). The machine-breakers of the 1820s were not

hooligans but class heroes and so - the implication can scarcely be resisted - are their counterparts today (Cohen 1980 : xiii; Musgrove 1978 : 163).

3.4.4 'Ordinary Kids'

Research by the New Wave subcultural theorists and ethnographers has also been criticised for its concentration on -

> "... unconventional fractions of youth, especially working class youth. The fascination for the bizarre, esoteric, the pathological, the marginal elements of youth behaviour and ideology has ... tended to underwrite popular notions about the uniqueness ... separateness and abnormality of youth" (Parker 1976 : 27).

The respectable, orderly, non-deviant and unspectacular elements of working and middle class youth are almost totally ignored within the New Wave's explorations. Subsequent research has sought to remedy this theoretical and empirical lacunae by asserting the presence of 'ordinary kids' in the analysis (Jenkins 1983; Brown 1987). In contrast to Willis's (1977) bi-polar model of oppositional or accommodative responses ('lads' and 'ear'oles'), both Jenkins and Brown offer a more complex, tripartite typology of class cultural responses to the transition between adolescence and adulthood, education and the labour market.

Jenkins's study (1983), for example, presents three 'folk models' of working class youth 'life-styles': the 'lads, citizens, and ordinary kids' of his study title. The 'lads' embody the exaggerated valorisation of masculinity described by Willis (1977). They often come from single parent families and tend to have criminal records. They have attained few, if any, educational qualifications and tend to be in unskilled work or unemployed. They also marry relatively early, and, in the context of 'Ballyhightown', a largely Protestant housing estate in Northern Ireland where the study is based, tend to be militant loyalists. In contrast, 'citizens' are more likely to come from church-oriented 'respectable' families and to have some educational qualifications which enables them to have found skilled manual or white-collar occupations. Unlike the 'lads', the 'citizens' do not have criminal records,

and tend to marry later. The 'ordinary kids' are more like the lads but, unlike the lads, spend more time with females. They are less likely to be unemployed, less likely to have been in trouble with the law, and more likely to marry later.

The significance of Jenkins's study for my critique of the New Wave is the emphasis he places on investigating some of the divisions within the young working class, together with an empathic appreciation of their political and cultural diversity. In contrast to Willis's (1977) implicitly 'lumpen' model of class tensions, Jenkins directs attention away from determinate conformity to a situation in which a predictable future is implicated, towards, "an appreciation of the differing social constructions of reality in which the working class participate" (1983 : 8).

Brown's research (1984, 1985, 1986, 1987) into the 'informal pupil culture' of three working class comprehensive schools in South Wales is similarly critical of Willis's (1977) bi-polar model of pupil conformity/non-conformity. Brown maintains that a simple bi-polar distinction between those who accept or reject the school is a misleading oversimplification of classroom life (1985). Brown's research within the 'informal pupil culture' revealed that pupils recognise at least three different ways of <u>being</u> 'a working class kid in school'. These were commonly recognised in terms of the 'Rems, Ordinary Kids, and Swots':

> "Despite the fact that it may be legitimate to identify the Rems as those pupils who reject the school, and the Swots as those who accept the school, the Ordinary Kids (who comprise the largest category of pupils ...) neither simply accept or reject the school, but nevertheless comply with it. The Ordinary Kids' compliance to school was not based on the premise that if they worked hard at school they could 'get out' of the working class, seduced by the knowledge that a few do succeed, but on their own class cultural desire to become a working class adult in a respectable fashion" (Brown 1986 : 4).

The ways in which the ordinary kids of Brown's study respond to school contrasts with Willis's (1977) depiction of the 'counter-school culture' as being the 'normal' working class response. Willis conflates all other possible articulations and responses as conformist, which leads to an explanation in terms of the success of the school in ideologically incorporating the ordinary kids into bourgeois modes of thought and orientation. Both

Brown and Jenkins's studies show that ordinary kids are not necessarily ideologically duped, revealing such accounts as deterministic, 'over socialised' (Wrong 1967), and inadequate for understanding the ways in which the orientation of the ordinary kids is as much a class cultural response, as the oppositional one which leads to an anti-school subculture. Brown's work reveals that many ordinary kids adopt an 'alienated instrumental' attitude and orientation, characterised by the ways in which -

> "... individuals' 'identities' are divorced from much of what is taught. Their involvement in the school, in terms of identification with its perceived aims, and what teachers 'stand for' is fairly limited ... much of what is taught is perceived as 'irrelevant', and undertaken with a minimum level of personal investment" (Brown 1984 : 4-5).

Thus, for the majority of 'ordinary kids', adopting an 'alienated instrumental orientation' to the school, limited compliance is maintained 'simply to get qualifications'. Their willingness to make a minimum effort is part of an authentic attempt to maintain some command over their own lives, "... to maintain a sense of personal dignity and respect ... and, on their own terms, to enhance their chances of making a working class career when they left school" (1987 : 3).

The ordinary kids of Brown's study believed that modest levels of endeavour and attainment (usually leading to CSEs) would enable them to 'get on' which, in the working class districts of his study area, typically meant boys entering craft apprenticeships and girls low-level clerical and service occupations. Despite these instrumental attitudes which, to some extent, incorporated ordinary kids into the school, they were, "alienated from much of the academic curriculum which was believed to be irrelevant to their present and future lives" (1986 : 5). However, Brown also recognises that the 'vanishing youth labour market' (Ashton and Maguire 1983) has resulted in a, "growing uncertainty and ambiguity in their reasons for working for qualifications" (1984 : 8).

The major decline in youth employment possibilities occurred in 1985 after his research participants had completed their period in secondary education. It was only as they approached school leaving age that they began to understand the problems they would

face. Instrumental attitudes persisted on the basis of educational credentials providing, "legitimate claim to those occupational opportunities which are available" (1984 : 9). However, among younger working class pupils entering secondary education with a clear understanding of their future prospects, 'making an effort' will refer to a much longer time span than for Brown's research participants. Brown acknowledges that, were working class pupils to calculate the value of five years of effort in secondary education with little prospect of securing employment at the end, then there would be the likelihood of increased disaffection. With the possibility of a majority of ordinary kids exchanging an 'alienated instrumental orientation' towards school for the fully alienated orientation characteristic of the anti-school subculture, there is, maintains Brown, likely to be a "... fundamental change in the attitude of even junior school pupils in the direction of an alienated orientation" (1986 : 7).

The final point made by Brown is particularly germane to my study participants. Within my study group, the ordinary kids, who in 1980, though unqualified, could nevertheless be identified with the, "invisible majority" ('who neither leave their names on the school's honours board nor gouge them on the top of their desks'), the process of increasing alienation occurred as a result of their post-school experiences in the labour market. Post-school traditional transitions directly into full-time employment were the outcome for three study participants. Protracted transitions to work, which sometimes took up to seven years, were the outcome for another small minority. Cyclical transitions that produced a "Black-Magic Roundabout" of repetitive patterns of employment training schemes, unemployment, secondary and part-time work, more schemes, more unemployment, and eventually labour market withdrawal, were the outcome for most study participants. Thus, for the majority of young adults in my study group, long-term joblessness, disillusionment, and smouldering resentment were the product of ten years of post-school transitions in a declining labour market (Chapter Four, Section 4.8)

Several participants who could be categorised as 'ordinary kids' in 1980 were, by 1990, fully embarked on alternative 'careers' and survival strategies within the local sub- and anti-employment subcultures, strategies more characteristic of the oppositional, anti-authority orientation of the school counter-culture. For some, who were closer to the 'lads' of the studies by Willis and Jenkins, and the 'Rems' of Brown's research, this oppositionality, the 'alienated orientation', was a logical extension of an oppositional apprenticeship served in education. For the majority, alienated orientations were the consequence of labour market experiences. It does not take a massive leap of imagination to conceive of ordinary kids reorienting their orientations as a result of ten years of, 'shit jobs, Govvy schemes' (Coffield *et al* 1986) and social security hassles (See Chapter Eight).

My study cannot lay claim to exhaustive representativeness, thus these speculative comments will have to be settled empirically, although recent ethnographic enquiries by the massive ESRC 16-19 Initiative does lend some support to the notion of the increasing disposition of 'ordinary kids' towards fully alienated oppositional orientations, especially when linked to parental unemployment -

> "... where there was parental unemployment, the group member could be a significant breadwinner, making a major contribution to the household economy. Somehow or other, in such a situation of tight finances, money was additionally made, begged, borrowed or stolen. Opportunistic theft was routine. All tended to be members of informal local networks which bought and sold televisions, videos, hi-fis and so on, at significantly reduced rates, 'no questions asked'. In such a money-making situation, one could either be a 'principal' or a 'middle man' (Banks *et al* 1992 : 85).

Moreover, evidence submitted by the TUC to the Department of Trade and Industry Select Committee on unemployment (1992) similarly argued that the increases in unemployment recorded in the final months of 1992 were producing damaging long-term social costs:

> "The increasing alienation of groups within society is a symptom of a wider malaise, one caused by the breakdown of the implied social contract between individuals and the State" (quoted in *The Observer* 17.1.93 : 2).

3.4.5 Invisible Women

The absence of women, girls, the domestic sphere, and gender divisions generally constitutes another 'screaming silence' in the New Wave youth studies of the 1970s. The relatively recent studies by Jenkins (1983) and Brown (1987) seek to reinstate girls in their analyses of youth. Almost one half of the 'ordinary kids' and 'citizens' in Jenkins's study sample, for example, are girls (Footnote 7), though Jenkins does acknowledge the difficulties involved for male participant observers seeking to gain access to the day-to-day experiences of girls (1983 : 19-20). In contrast, the studies produced by the New Wave in the 1970s can be shown to be theoretically and empirically deficient in respect of their failure to address the domestic sphere and the role and position of women and girls in the analyses of youth sub-cultural forms (Millman 1975). As a result of these imbalances, the impressive range of studies produced by the New Wave remains relatively restricted, with the 'invisibility' of women and girls in the literature seriously challenging the claim that subcultures represent the 'expressive forms' of all those, "condemned to subordinate positions and second class lives" (Hebdige 1979 : 132). As McRobbie (1981) has similarly asserted:

> "Although 'youth culture' and the 'sociology of youth' - and particularly critical and
> Marxist perspectives on them - have been central strands in the development of Cultural
> Studies over the past fifteen years, the emphasis ... has remained consistently on male
> youth cultural forms ... women and the whole question of sexual division have been
> marginalised" (1981 : 111).

Thus in the New Wave studies of youth, women and girls remain "invisible, peripheral, or stereotyped" (Brake 1980 : 137).

Until relatively recently little seems to have been written about the role of girls in youth subcultures (McRobbie 1981, 1982; McRobbie and Nava 1984; Griffin 1985; Skeggs 1985; Wallace 1987). Some of the more recent studies have served to counteract the bias. Female youth has been 'discovered' and, moreover, discovered to be conscious, subcultured and sometimes 'resisting' (Griffin 1985 : 19-21; 192-3), rather than the passive, isolated and unsubcultured entities sterotypically portrayed in the majority of

previous studies. The continued 'invisibility' of women and girls in the majority of studies produced by the New Wave in the 1970s was compounded by the fundamental preoccupation with youth as a -

"... peculiarly and unproblematically male genus - involved in the culture of the street, playground and shop floor, but absent from the domestic sphere and from personal and intergenerational relationships" (McRobbie and Nava 1984 : ix).

This is ironical in as much as the New Wave sociology of youth developed, in part, as a critical reaction to the empirical absences and theoretical deficiencies of the 'mainstream' writing on youth in the 1950s and early 1960s. Whilst the New Wave succeeded in restoring notions of inequality and class based oppression to the theoretical and empirical agenda, at the same time they perpetuated the continued invisibility of women and girls. As Rowbotham (1973) has observed:

"It is as if everything that relates [to women] ... comes out in the footnotes to the main text ... We come on the agenda somewhere between 'Youth' and 'Any Other Business'. We encounter ourselves in men's cultures as 'by the way' and peripheral. According to all the reflections we are not really there" (1973 : 35).

The invisibility of women in youth culture studies, social research, and sociology generally, has a long history (Abbott and Wallace 1990). It was Montague who, in 1904, first pointed out the, "girl in the background". In an important early paper, Heidensohn (1968) noted the similar absence of women in the sociology of deviance. She argued that:

"The deviance of women is a non-problem both to the social scientist and to society in general, because so little effort has been devoted to studying it" (1968 : 162).

Whenever public concern is focused on the 'deviant' behaviour of women, as was the case with *The Wolfenden Report* (1956), the Committee established to investigate it recommended that the 'social visibility' of the activities should be reduced, so that public concern could be assuaged. The 'problem' was redefined by rendering it 'invisible'. Heidensohn maintains that the stability and ubiquity of gender differences in crime rates and other records of socially visible deviance have meant that sociologists have uncritically

developed explanatory theories based on, "the male and on masculine forms of acting out behaviour in a social frame" (1968 : 165). (my emphasis)

For Heidensohn, a more meaningful approach would take account of female deviance as an aspect of the female gender role and its articulation with social structure rather than "... trying to make it conform to patterns apparently observed in the male role and its particular articulation with social structure" (1968 : 170). Heidensohn bemoans the lack of past documentation and research, arguing that the literature on deviance contains profound 'blind spots' produced by an overly masculinist theoretical and empirical focus. This essentially masculinist orientation or 'world view' (Glennon 1979; Mackinnon 1982) was built not only into the studies of youth and deviance but, until relatively recently, the whole of the sociological enterprise generally, the unacknowledged sexism of sociology providing the main explanation for the absence of women in the New Wave's studies of youth. The critique that emerged in the late 1970s, emanating from a practical and theoretical engagement with feminism within youth studies, fundamentally challenged the male oriented theoretical models and assumptions as well as the predominating focus on masculine subject matter and topics which, for so long, "have constituted the assumed terrain of Cultural Studies (in a profoundly unconscious and unreflexive way)" (Hall et al 1980 : 38).

McRobbie (1981) has pointed to the idea that the male accounts of youth subcultures produced by the New Wave may have been a form of 'displaced autobiography' or 'wish fulfilment' on the part of sociologists such as Hebdige or Willis. She has also raised the question of the experiences that produced or influenced a particular choice of subject matter; what she has described as, "the politics of selection", remained more or less taboo in the participant observation studies of the New Wave. The 'absence of self' and invalidation of 'the personal' runs contrary, not only to a central tenet of the Women's Movement, but also the trend towards reflexivity developed in ethnography since the mid-1950s.

176

The masculinist focus of research and the concentration on the spectacular and visible forms of subcultural response resulted in the family, gender relationships, and domestic life generally, being overlooked. This tendency has been explained by Frith (1981) as a question of funding:

"The various groups attracted media interest - and, *via* the media, public interest - as well as attention from police and social workers. Sociologists shared this interest and were encouraged - by publishers, by the availability of research funds - to concentrate their attention on the most deviant youth groups. The most obvious consequence of this has been the absence of girls from most studies of youth culture. Because the most visible examples of delinquency have been found in gangs of boys, the concept of youth culture has become synonymous with assertive expressions of 'masculinity' - hooliganism, violence, etc. It has attained another invisible prefix: (male) (delinquent) youth culture" (1981 : 7) (my emphasis)

However, this argument is inadequate, as Dorn and South proclaim: "Attention was ... concentrated by and where the majority of sociologists -who were male - bothered to look" (1984 : 17).

Most youth groups included girls, but, as Frith notes, the time boys spent with their girlfriends was not regarded as significant (1981 : 7). The relative absence of women 'on the street', where the action was, was not questioned or addressed by the New Wave participant observers. Recent studies cast doubt on the assumption that women really were absent (Shacklady-Smith 1978; Campbell 1981; Griffin 1985). Campbell and Shacklady-Smith in particular demonstrate the routine and full involvement of girls in the 'whole' of youth culture activities, including the part where they seek privacy from the boys. They also participate in the mundane (hanging around) as well as the spectacular (fighting and delinquency - Campbell 1981; crime - Carlen *et al* 1985). The women described in the studies by Griffin (1985) and Skeggs (1985) are not the feminised 'cultural dopes' described by Willis (1978) and Corrigan (1979), into which "Jackie-ideology" (McRobbie 1982) is unreflexively poured, but are just as much subcultural members as the 'lads'. They may appear less 'troublesome' than the boys to those in authority, but often that too is a case of misrecognition:

"Where the deviance of women is concerned, there may be a syndrome of 'modification' of female deviance within the social system, rather than the 'amplification' of deviance as

amongst adolescent males, due perhaps to certain factors of the female role in society and social perceptions of it" (Heidensohn 1968 : 172).

Both Griffin and Skeggs draw attention to distinctive sub-groups of girls with their own value and status systems, but these were largely unexplored by the New Wave participant observers who perhaps failed to 'see' them except in terms that uncritically adopted masculinist definitions of gender roles. Willis (1978), for example, reinforced the 'peripheral' nature of girls' participation in subcultures by failing to interrogate the silence or apparent marginality, and uncritically reproducing the gender bias of the subcultures he examined:

"Women were usually accompanied by a man and they did not speak anything like as much as the men. There was a small group of unattached females, but they were allowed no real dignity or identity" (1978 : 28).

The notion of the minimal participation of girls in subcultures is reinforced by a neglect of their contributions and articulations in other social arenas, such as the home or within the family, a point forcefully made by McRobbie, "The lads may get by with ... each other alone on the streets, but they did not eat, sleep or make love there (1981 : 114).

Some work produced in the 1970s indicated that girls were not peripheral or marginal, but located in a different structural position, articulated at the intersection of class and gender (McRobbie and Garber 1976). This work suggested that working class girls were pushed by male dominance to the edges of visible social activity and, because their activities were ideologically different, they were articulated in domains that were less accessible to male investigators. According to Barker (1972), Crichton *et al* (1962) and McRobbie (1978), girls spent more time within the domestic sphere. Frith (1978) suggests three reasons for the absence of girls from subcultures: greater parental control; an emphasis on a 'domestic apprenticeship' as preparation for the life of 'domestic labour'; and a 'leisure career' involving the attraction of a man, marriage, and future domesticity.

In terms of the stylistic appropriation of cultural artefacts discussed by Hebdige (1979), McRobbie (1978, 1981, 1982) argues that the 'cult of femininity' constrains the choice of artefacts in a possible female 'subcultural artillery'. What is available to girls is socially and ideologically constrained by the 'cult of femininity' articulated, for example, through the magazines of teenage girls. It is for this reason, McRobbie argues, girls play little, if any, role in shaping a counter-hegemonic subcultural response: "Their choice in consumption is materially extremely narrow. And indeed the forms made available to them make re-appropriation difficult" (1982 : 267).

One of the most important manifestations of a subculture amongst girls in the 1970s was the 'Teeny Bopper' phenomenon (McRobbie and Garber 1976). However, it too remained largely unexplored because it was confined to the private sphere of the bedroom. Frith (1978) has similarly argued that -

> "Girl culture becomes a culture of the bedroom, the place where girls meet, listen to music and teach each other make-up skills, practice their dancing, compare sexual notes, criticise each other's clothes and gossip" (1978 : 66). (my emphasis)

Here Frith presents an intriguing take on the 'structured absence' of women from the New Wave ethnographies, in that the private domain of girls' bedrooms is largely inaccessible to male researchers. However, he undermines his observations by devaluing women's talk as "gossip", a further indication of the unreflexive discrimination in male sociology in the 1970s.

The position of girls specifically in terms of their position within subcultural analysis seems to imply or reflect a much wider subordination, and more recent studies have attempted to make 'visible' the alternative network of responses and activities through which girls negotiate their relation to male culture and subcultures (McRobbie and Nava 1984). An overall review of the position of girls within the New Wave ethnographies reveals a picture of their minimal participation, of their presence as 'chicks', 'slags', 'hangers-on', or 'side-kicks', at the margins, in the background, but rarely in the subcultural

spotlight. Their activities, when at all highlighted in terms of a specific female response, are considered to be 'privatised' and 'individualised', present only as a result of a relationship with a male or involved in the less accessible 'bedroom culture'. In no case, do their activities imply collective identity, group solidarity, or oppositionality. However, there is now a good deal of evidence to suggest that some girls do articulate a measure of defiance and opposition, drawing on the resources of 'femininity' to do so (Brittan and Maynard 1984; Anyon 1983; Davies 1983; Hemmings (ed) 1986; Coffield *et al* 1986). Researchers suggest that in the educational sphere most working class girls (except the 'successful') find school a dull and irrelevant institution.

The expectations on the part of both the girls and their teachers focus on the inevitability of marriage and the domestic sphere. Since educational achievement is secondary to the popular ideology of femininity, opposition is developed in the context of what they have defined as significant (romance, attractiveness, etc.). According to Brittan and Maynard (1984), 'exaggerated' feminine behaviour within the classroom may not simply indicate conformity to social expectations, but can also signify, "opposition to school which continually tries to control expressions of femaleness in the interests of management and discipline" (1984 : 176).

Thus, girls may utilise ploys such as 'flirtatious' and 'suggestive' behaviour to undermine male authority (Anyon 1983; Davies 1979, 1983, 1984), or seek to diminish the power of the male teacher's presence by addressing him as if he were a 'little boy', or exchange 'good behaviour' for an acknowledgement of 'the personal', that is, for information about the teacher's private life (Davies 1983, 1984). Thus the girls draw on resources that are available to them *via* the culture of femininity in order to construct and reconstruct their identities, thereby challenging the 'decorum and etiquette' of female behaviour expectations (Maynard and Brittan 1984 : 176; Anyon 1983). Other researchers have investigated the 'counter school culture' as developed by girls (Thomas 1980; Walkerdine 1981), which

similarly involves a reappropriation of femininity in order to subvert the conventional frameworks of male authority.

A wealth of factual documentation has been assembled illustrating women's under-representation in all public positions of privilege, influence, power, and authority. Alongside this can be set the absence of material on women's position and 'world view' within sociology (Abbott and Wallace 1990). These two situations are, of course, connected. As Delamont (1980) has argued, there is insufficient research on the public places where women congregate:

> "We have ethnographies of bars, street corners and billiard halls, but not of shops, beauty parlours, coffee or tea rooms, or bingo halls" (1980 : 156).

However, until there is a reorientation of concerns, greater funding, and more women sociologists, this lack will not be easily remedied. The impact of the feminist critique not only of the New Wave studies of youth conducted in the 1970s but of sociology in general is profound. The sociology of youth, like many areas of sociological research and theory construction, has suffered from an over concentration on male concerns and situations. An acceptance of untested assumptions about the social world has informed many areas of sociological research including, as I have tried to show, the New Wave ethnographies of youth. As Hall *et al* (1980) have been forced to concede, the impact of feminism has -

> "... redrawn the map of Cultural Studies, as it is slowly redesigning every area of critical intellectual life. The transformations it has provoked are profound and unstoppable" (1980 : 39).

The validity of experiential data as part of any understanding of social phenomena has been demonstrated by the increasing presence of feminist concerns in the ethnographic approach (Griffin 1985; Stafford 1991; Warren 1988). As Lorna Warren has argued:

> "The fieldwork methods I had chosen were appropriate for feminism since they rejected the objective approach typical of a masculine culture which gives status to science, rationality and an instrumental orientation to one's task (1988 : 22)

This movement has not originated from an idealist concern with subjective experience for its own sake, but rather from an explicit interest with the historical and socio-economic determinations associated with patriarchy:

> "Feminist perspectives helped my understanding of the experiences of home helps and elderly people by placing them in relation to gender and age divisions within a context of oppression and subordination"(Warren 1988 : 22).

Because accounts produced within both functionalist and Marxist sociology could not deal with the specificity of women's experience - particularly in its oppressed form as revealed in the ethnographic moment (e.g. Stafford 1991) - the necessity of a return to the personal, subjective arena (i.e. lived experience) was highlighted.

Part of the ethnographic project for feminists in recent years has been to record and articulate the realities of women's subordination and oppression through the personal, lived experiences of women and girls (e.g. Carlen 1983; Carlen *et al* 1985; Cook 1987b; Coyle 1984; Griffin 1985; Stafford 1991). As such, these studies have counteracted the relative invisibility of women in youth studies in particular and sociology in general.

3.5 Summary and Conclusions

In an earlier section of this Chapter (3.2), I have attempted to discern and trace the contours of the historical development of a subjectivist tradition and orientation for participant observers. The emphasis on a more, "humanistic and empathic approach" (Roberts 1976 : 244), attracted my attention because it meshed neatly with participatory dispositions I had acquired as a result of my detached youth work and community self-survey practice in Hartingleigh (see Chapter Two). Participant observation studies offered a rich tradition of providing depth analyses of numerous social domains from the perspectives of research participants, in contrast to the traditional objectivist approach of the dominant research tradition within sociology largely informed by positivism. Although, as Jenkins has observed:

"It would be misleading to pretend that there is any such thing as a theoretically innocent ethnography (1983 : 1).

Thus, much of the foregoing material in this Chapter is an attempt to make explicit the theoretical scaffolding within which my study would be constructed. The subjectivist participant observation mode, inherited from phenomenological and symbolic interactionist roots, and based on implicit philosophical assumptions of nominalism, voluntarism and naturalism (anti-positivism), in the light of the obviously overarching influences of gender or other such 'external' determinations as, for example, youth poverty (Kirk *et al* 1991) or 'recession led' (Raffe 1984) or 'structural' (Ashton and Maguire 1983), youth unemployment has to be situated within a more or less determinate social context. Subjectivist accounts of post-school transitions in a high unemployment area such as Hartingleigh cannot be understood without reference to, "the determining matrix of conditions and experiences which shape the life of [the] class as a whole" (Hall and Jefferson 1976 : 14-15). Moreover contemporary youth research provides confirmation that: "Class is still the dominant force shaping ... the nature of transition to adulthood" (Bynner 1991 : 645).

Thus, the post-school transitions from youthful dependence to adult independence remain rooted in structural inequalities associated with social class, gender, and ethnic background and are, moreover, conditioned by other structural factors such as local labour market opportunity (Banks *et al* 1992). The value of the Marxist informed critical ethnography of the British New Wave is that it -

"... extended the use of qualitative ethnographic methods; highlighted the relatively powerless position of most young people in legal, economic, and social terms; challenged many of the existing assumptions about 'delinquent' and 'non-delinquent' youth; and developed a critical analysis of class" (Griffin 1986a : 21).

The significance of the critical ethnography of the New Wave for my study is that it allows for a subjectivist mode of participatory social investigation whilst at the same time retaining a notion of social structure informed by Sociology's conflict tradition; a notion of social structure which, moreover, shapes and sometimes constrains the voluntaristic

choices of individual actors (Cohen 1972; Willis 1977; McRobbie 1978). Thus, while the individual must be viewed as free to shape actions, destiny, and consciousness, a theoretical orientation derived from the subjectivist traditions of participant observation, these processes take place within a pre-determined historical, economic, ideological and political context which precedes individual volition (Marx and Engels 1935 : 241). Richard Johnson, for example, provides the crucial orienting insight that:

> "It is only through the conscious, social and more or less creative activity of individual men, women and children that the systems of class-cultural relations are reproduced. It is they who within given conditions reinforce in their lives the cultural patterns or make breaks with them. The histories of intention and consciousness (and also of emotional economy and the only-partially-conscious) are necessary components in any explanatory history" (1980 : 48).

Thus, the work produced by the New Wave was characterised by an analysis of youth subcultures which, whilst recognising the central significance of class relationships in shaping a sub-cultural response, at the same time acknowledged the 'lived values' and meanings which differentiated working class youth subcultures from the parent culture within which they were located and the dominant culture to which they frequently stood opposed. The critical and philosophical tension which exists between these subjectivist experiential accounts and the macroscopic analyses of historical and other determinants continues to provide significant areas for sociological theorising and debate (cf Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Giroux 1983; Giddens 1976; Johnson et al 1984; Jenkins 1983; Wallace 1987; Willis 1977). The main theoretical context within which the debates are set is that of social and cultural reproduction. Willis (1981) has elaborated the distinction between cultural and social reproduction, and here I am drawing on similar definitions provided by the New Wave's theoretical work. Hall and Jefferson (1976), for example, argue that social reproduction is the reproduction of the social relations of production (cf Althusser 1971), whilst culture refers to the ways in which people make sense of this through 'lived experience'. Cultural reproduction refers to the ways in which such meanings are transmitted over time.

Willis, for example, insists that the cultural sphere has a relative autonomy (1977 : 171), and that the cultural attitudes and practices of working class groups are not necessarily reflective of, or even traceable to, structural determinations or dominant ideologies. Although the mode of production wields a powerful influence on the attitudes and actions of individuals, people do not simply respond with passivity or indifference to the socio-economic pressures bearing down on them. The cultural level is marked by contestation, resistance and compromise. Culture itself implies, "the active, collective use and explorations of received symbolic, ideological, and cultural resources to explain, make sense of and positively respond to 'inherited' structural and material conditions" (Willis 1983 : 112).

Willis's work shows that subordinate groups may produce alternative cultural forms containing meanings endemic to the parent culture. Termed 'cultural production' by Willis, this is viewed as an active and transformative process although, despite their behavioural and attitudinal innovativeness, such cultural resistance is also reproductive. As Gordon has commented in her review of Willis's study, it may seem contradictory to refer to cultural production as both transformative and reproductive, but -

> "... Willis wishes to move away from an over simplistic either/or model. He points out that there is no clear separation between agency and structure; these cannot be understood in isolation from one another" (Gordon 1985 : 113).

According to Cohen (1968) most sociological theory deals with one of two levels of social reality. The first of social action and interaction, and the second of social structure or system, have remained relatively autonomous spheres in the history of social theorising. There have been few attempts to bring them together:

> "Durkheim was concerned with the second. Simmel tried both, but scarcely succeeded in bring them in relation with one another. Pareto succeeded in bringing them together but his synthesis was a poor one. Marx, who did not really set himself this task, actually succeeded in performing it quite well (1968 : 236).

Bridging the division between structure and agency, resolving the debates between the 'two sociologies', and occupying the space within the 'epistemological chasm' is a task that faces the sociological enterprise and one that is beyond my remedy. Recent attempts include Giddens's theory of structuration and Giroux's theory of resistance. Giddens seeks to explain how, "it comes about that structures are constituted through action, and reciprocally how action is constituted structurally" (1976 : 161). Giddens's theoretical solution is "the duality of structure" -

> "... the essential recursiveness of social life, as constituted in social practices: structure is both the medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices and 'exists' in the generating moments of this constitution" (1979 : 4-5).

Social action, the everyday practice of knowing participants, is thus given a prominent position within the analytical architecture.

Similarly, Giroux (1983) seeks a complex theoretical bridging operation between structure and agency, an artificial cleavage which has, he argues, been maintained within theories of social reproduction. Giroux contends that separation of human agency and structural analysis either suppresses the significance of individual autonomy or ignores the structural determinants that lie outside the immediate experience of individual participants (1983 : 119). Giroux insists on the need to admit, "wider structural and ideological determinations, while recognising that human beings never represent simply a reflex of such constraints" (1983 : 38). Structuralist theories which stress that history is made "behind the backs" of the members of society overlook the significance and relative autonomy of the cultural level and the human experiences of domination and resistance:

> "In the structuralist perspective, human agents are registered simply as the effects of structural determinants that appear to work with the certainty of biological processes. In this grimly mechanistic approach, human subjects simply act as role-bearers" (1983 : 136).

Culturalist theories, on the other hand, pay too little attention to how structurally embedded material and economic forces weigh down and shape human experience.

"Culturalism beings at the right place but does not go far enough theoretically - it does not dig into subjectivity in order to find its objective elements" (1983 : 135).

Giroux argues for a rigorous treatment of ideology, consciousness and culture in order to move reproduction theorisations beyond the *impasse* posed by the structure-agency dualism. He proposes a dialectical treatment of subjectivity and structure in which structure and human action are viewed as mutually constituting each other.

In exploring these issues, Giroux, drawing on the ethnographic explorations of Willis, Hebdige, and Corrigan, develops a theory of resistance. He follows the lead of the New Wave ethnographers in examining nonconformity and oppositionality for their socio-political significance. Giroux considers such responses rooted in, "moral and political indignation" (1983a : 289). He acknowledges that not all forms of oppositionality stem from an implicit critique of ideologies of domination, but insists that oppositionality be scrutinised and the resistance mined for its broader cultural significance. In so doing, Giroux sets an agenda for future studies in social reproduction (1983a : 290).

Resistance theory examines the ongoing active experiences of individuals whilst simultaneously perceiving in oppositional attitudes and practices a response to structures of constraint and domination. Giroux suggests that working class subordination is not a simple reaction to the logic of capitalism or capitalist rationality, but rather oppositional cultural patterns draw on elements of working class culture in a creative and potentially transformative fashion. The task is to link oppositionality to participants' explanations and understandings which are contextualised within the nexus of peer, family and work relations out of which resistance emerges (1983a : 291).

In the critique I developed, in Section 3.4.1, of the ethnographic explorations of the British New Wave of participant observers, I argued that one of the flaws in the accounts produced was an over reliance on a deterministic and prioristic materialist epistemology

which often subordinated ethnographic detail and discovery. In contrast, the theoretical explorations of both Giroux and Giddens lay stress on the centrality of understanding possessed by social agents and research participants. Giddens, for example, takes it to be axiomatic to his theoretical model that "every social actor knows a great deal about the conditions of reproduction of the society of which he or she is a member" (1979 : 5).

A further critique of the New Wave of participant observation was its notable neglect of women and girls within the analysis. As my study emerged in parallel with such queries, I evolved participatory strategies to ensure that the women of my study were not marginalised. In recent years, there has been a great deal of debate about the personal relations involved in fieldwork. Feminist researchers in particular have urged ethnographers to stop treating people as 'data' (Reinharz 1983; Stanley and Wise 1983). Similarly, according to Stanton, "there's an understanding that, to people on the receiving end of a survey or questionnaire, distance and objectivity often feel like alienation and intrusion" (1989 : 330). Instead of the objectification of people as 'data' or 'response units', some writers have urged reciprocity between researchers and research participants (Oakley 1981 : 30; Finch 1981 : 70; Mulkay 1985 : 12). Mutuality in research has, moreover, enabled some researchers to move beyond the distinction between analyst and participant. Thus, instead of merely utilising participants' accounts as illustrative material, researchers have actively engaged participants in the process of reproducing that material within the text (Carlen *et al* 1985; Gatehouse Project 1985, 1987; Glasgow Women's Studies Group 1983). Carlen *et al*'s co-authored book, *Criminal Women* (1985), for example, crosses the boundary between empirical research in the interactionist tradition and autobiography. It has the rare characteristic of allowing the, 'objects' of its analysis - in this case, women who break the law - to go beyond the mere provision of illustrative material for the researcher's own thesis, and to actively engage in the process of reproducing that material. Carlen placed her professional expertise at the service of her four co-authors, professional women criminals, thus enabling them to remain the knowing participants in their own accounts. At the same time, she was able to provoke theoretical

violence by husbands/boyfriends, for example, Anni's genuine warmth and support provided a favourable framework for the unforced responses of research participants.

The 1980s brought many fundamental changes in the lives of the young people of Hartingleigh - in education, training, and the labour market. There was a rapid expansion of the Manpower Services Commission as part of an evolving state strategy for youth which involved the institution of a plethora of educational, vocational, youth training initiatives. There were tougher policing strategies, particularly in the inner city areas and a prominent law and order lobby; repeated disturbances in all of Britain's major inner cities and 'copy-cat' disturbances in many of the smaller towns with increasingly hysterical representations of these events in the predominantly right-wing media. All of these changes affected the lives of my study participants and have been connected with rising youth unemployment levels and diminishing opportunity.

Until the years of the Thatcher Decade, much of the ethnographic work in the subcultural/deviancy tradition was concerned with the complex adaptations of the working class young to structural inequalities at a time of relatively full employment. Since then, the semiotically inclined style analyses of Willis and Hebdige, for example, have been replaced by sobering descriptions and analyses of the nature and consequences of youth unemployment. Part of the change in focus may be attributed to the fact that the cohort of youth researchers is steadily ageing:

> "We have to recognise the dynamism of youth studies in the seventies and early eighties
> came from people who themselves were close to, and had been personally attached to,
> youth culture and subcultures" (Chisholm 1990 : 93).

Since Hebdige's innovative study of subculture (1979), there has been little work generated in this tradition. Contemporary youth research has concerned itself with post-school transitions and an examination of a prospective workless or even 'workfare' future for young people in which welfare benefits may have to be earned. The key significance of my proposed study is that it was to address sub-cultural formation at a time of mass

youth unemployment. Because most of the previously examined research on youth was conducted in conditions of almost full employment, it tended to rely on specific concepts of 'work' and 'leisure'. Youth studies in the 1960s and 1970s used 'work' to refer to paid employment and 'leisure' was usually time outside of school or waged work. The entry to adulthood was tied to the post-school transition to a full-time job. In the mid 1980s, some sociologists raised the question:

> "What happens when the transition from school to work becomes a move from the classroom to the dole queue? It is no longer possible to define 'work' simply in terms of paid labour or 'leisure' as 'free time' ... The conditions which produced the youth sub-cultures of the past three decades are rapidly disappearing" (Griffin 1986a : 29).

Both Griffin (1985a) and Willis (1984d) suggest that the traditional transition from school to waged employment has all but disappeared for significant sections of the young working class, as a result of which, they have become trapped in a social, cultural, and economic, "twilight zone" (Presdee 1984), unable to attain traditional conceptions of adult status associated with paid employment.

Similarly, the stark contrast in socio-cultural contexts I outlined in Chapter One (Section 1.9), and which I experienced in these years during the journeys between 'student life' in picturesque York and 'home life' in North Manchester, provided fertile ground within which the seeds of my research project were to germinate. The stark social contrasts provided the opportunity within which, almost unwittingly, I began testing my newly acquired sociological perception. Participant observation was a significant facilitator in this evolution, not only of my ideas about the social world, but of ways of applying these ideas to the social world in order to more fully explore and understand it. Despite its relatively marginal status in terms of the mainstream sociological research tradition, participant observation studies provided valuable depictions of numerous 'unorthodox' social arenas which were instructive and occasionally inspirational in the formative stages of my own work. They highlighted the impact of grand social forces on the everyday level; the processural unfolding of events over time; and the ways in which

social participants impute meanings and negotiate social structure within the situated complexity of their natural settings.

Participant observation's great strength lies in its deep exploration of a topic or area of study.   It can yield explanatory insights into the reasons why individuals, groups and organisations act as they do, and how conflicting social forces are resolved.   In so doing, it brings these insights and descriptions to the reader with a vividness unattainable with other approaches.   It is therefore not surprising that the studies I remember most clearly from my undergraduate years are the vivid ethnographic depictions of youth, youth culture and subcultures, deviance, and urban social life;   studies that mirrored my experiences of life in North Manchester and touched most closely my own feelings and emotions.

Before graduating from University in 1985, I had only half-formed the idea of possibly conducting research amongst the young people of Hartingleigh.   Encouraged by my established contacts and a measure of academic success, I began to conceive of an ethnographic/participatory study examining the lives and social circumstances of the 'unqualified early leavers' of my home community;   many of whom appeared to be making the transition to adulthood without any formal experience of the major structuring influence of primary employment.

In Phase Three of my evolving study (1985-1986), after leaving university and returning to Hartingleigh, I began to undertake preliminary fieldwork with a view to submitting an application for research funding to the ESRC.   In this period, I began to trace the original participants in the school leavers survey conducted by the Project in 1980, and also to systematically keep records of my contacts.

Footnotes

1. I realise such definitional terms are the subject of much discussion and there are great areas of controversy surrounding their application. Without wishing to become embroiled in these debates, my use of the terms are by way of overview and generalisation; included in the text to signal my awareness of the parameters of philosophical controversies which are, perhaps, destined to remain unresolved. However, for a comprehensive review of realism, see Keat and Urry (1975 : 27-45) and Levy (1981). According to Burrell and Morgan (1979 : 45): "Realism .. postulates that the social world external to individual cognition is a real world made up of hard, tangible and relatively immutable structures. Whether or not we perceive and label these structures ... they still exist as empirical entities ... the social world exists independently of an individual's appreciation of it".

2. For discussions of the nominalism-realism debates, see, for example, Kolakowski (1972 : 15-16) and Johnson *et al* (1984 : 15-19). According to Burrell and Morgan (1979 : 4), the nominalist position revolves around the assumption that the social world external to individual cognition is made up of nothing more than the names, concepts and labels which are used to structure reality. They are "regarded as artificial creations whose utility is based on their convenience as tools for describing, making sense of, and negotiating the external world."

3. For discussions of the positivism/anti-positivism debates, see, for example, Giddens (1974); Halfpenny (1982); Walsh (1972). A polemical introduction to the anti-positivist view of the scientific method can be found in Douglas (1970 : 3-44).

4. "At one extreme, we can identify a determinist view which regards ... [human] ... activities as being completely determined by the situation or 'environment' ... At another extreme, we can identify the voluntarist view that ... [human activity] ... is completely autonomous and free-willed" (Burrell and Morgan 1979 : 6). In psychology, for example, debate has continued since the 1940s about the model of human nature to be adopted. At one extreme can be located the determinism of Behaviourist Psychology as identified with B. F. Skinner, who has argued: "If we are to use the methods of science in the field of human affairs, we must assume that behaviour is lawful and determined. We must expect to discover that what a man does is the result of specifiable conditions and once these conditions have been discovered, we can anticipate and, to some extent, determine his actions" (1953 : 6). On the other hand, Existential Psychology, as represented in the work of Carl Rogers's "client-centred therapy" emphasises the voluntarism essential for "self-creation": "Man does not simply have the characteristics of a machine ... he is a person in the process of creating himself, a person who creates meaning in life" (quoted in Shlien 1963 : 307).

5. According to Burrell and Morgan (1979 : 6), "The ideographic method stresses the importance of letting one's subject unfold its nature and characteristics during the process of investigation". Blumer (1969 : Chapter 1) provides an excellent discussion of the nature of the ideographic approach to social research. On the other hand, the nomothetic approach to social research is characterised by systematic scientific protocol. It is epitomised in the approach and methods of the natural sciences, which focus on the process of testing hypotheses in accordance with the canons of scientific rigour. B. F. Skinner's Behaviourist

Psychology represents just such an extreme, empiricist, approach. He advocates a functional analysis of the behaviour of organisms (including rats and pigeons) in laboratory contexts, in order to establish exact and specifiable relationships between the organism's observable behaviour (responses) and the environmental conditions (stimuli) that control, affect, or determine it. The variables employed are external, visible, and defined in quantifiable terms. It is the cause-effect relationship emerging from a functional analysis which become the 'laws' of Behaviourism. The practical goal is to be able to manipulate the environmental variables from which predictions are made and then to measure the resulting changes in an organism's behaviour (See Johnson *et al*, 1984 : 32-34; Burrell and Morgan 1979 : 102-105).

6.   Whilst not arguing that Marx provided solutions to the essential philosophical dualisms outlined above, in attempting to displace material/ideal, subject/object, he pointed to the possibilities of theoretical advance. Thus, Marx's theoretical strategy involved a rejection of the basic tenets of empiricism and subjectivism, whilst retaining within a critical method, a continuous dialogue with their positive contributions. According to Johnson *et al* (1984 : 145), Marx "accepts the empiricist characterisation of reality as a material objective set of events, while rejecting its associated nominalism and the claim that knowledge is rooted in experience. He aligns himself with subjectivism in viewing the social as a project of human constructive activity whilst rejecting the assumption that such activity is entirely reducible to an interpretative process. Finally, he accepts the constructivist position of the rationalist, Hegel, while rejecting what he regarded as his abstract idealism".

7.   Although Griffin (1985a : 6) argues that Jenkins merely fits the girls into "gender specific male categories".

194

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EVOLUTION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT :
THE THIRD PHASE
1985-1986

4.1   Preliminary Sampling - Fieldwork

In the summer of 1985, after a formal University Graduation Ceremony, attended by no less than three generations of my family, I finally left York with my degree to return home to Hartingleigh.   By this time, I had discussed my future prospects with various members of the Sociology Department and had tentatively decided to formulate a research project based on my existing contacts with the young people and Youth and Community Project in Hartingleigh.   Bob Coles, one of my tutors at York, was particularly influential at this time.   It was Bob who initially proposed the idea of utilising my contacts in the local community to conduct research amongst the young unemployed.   Bob was involved in a study of youth unemployment in a rural shire county (Coles 1986; 1988) and as such was able to provide early knowledgeable encouragement, support, and background literature for my embryonic project.

Another influential figure at this stage of my evolving study was Jim Donovan at the Centre.   Jim was also to provide a good deal of practical support as I began to lay the foundations for my research.   With Jim's help, I decided to begin by methodically examining the documents and records held by the Project.   These were stored in ten old fashioned, metal army surplus filing cabinets located in a small back room annexe to the Centre's main 'office'.   After three weeks of systematic search, I was able to locate various documents pertaining to the formation of the Project (Chapter One,. Section 1.8), together with the original contact addresses and 44 of the completed questionnaires from the Project's 1980 School Leavers Survey (Chapter Two, Section 2.5).   In the months that followed, I undertook the task of tracing as many of the

1980 survey group of fifty as possible in order to establish a data base for my embryonic research project.

4.1.1 Preliminary Sampling

Through the contacts I had established in the First Phase (1979-1982) of living and youth working in Hartingleigh, and consolidated during the University years of the Second Phase (1982-1985), I was able to draw up an initial shortlist of eighteen members of the original 1980 Youth Project Survey Group. These were young adults I knew I had immediate access to as fifteen were still living in Hartingleigh and were known to Project staff and youth workers, six of whom had been among my group of ten interviewees in the 1980 survey. The six were Dilly, Mick Kenney, Mick Kent, Coggs, Maz and Digger. Both Maz and Digger had been significant figures during my youth work practice and had played an important role in establishing my credibility with the young unemployed on the streets of Hartingleigh (Chapter Two, Section 2.4). I had maintained regular informal contact both with them and their extended peer group network during the three years of travelling backwards and forwards, between home and university, during the Second Phase of my evolving study. Similarly, during this period, I had also maintained frequent contact with Willie, Tex and Berksy, three other members of my ten 1980 survey group interviewees; also key figures from my period of youth working for the Project. Both Tex and Willie were living in privately rented flats in nearby Collington but remained part of the wider network of Hartingleigh youth who shared entertainment and leisure time in and around the local community and who also went out together as a 'crew' to City Centre pubs and discos.

Berksy was also a prominent member of the 'lads culture' in Hartingleigh during my early youth work. In the year following school leaving, however, he had twice narrowly escaped custodial sentencing as a result of prosecution for various juvenile offences. In 1981, whilst on bail awaiting sentencing for one of these offences, he

made the decision to follow the example of his father and twin brother and enlisted to join the armed forces. In part, this was a somewhat misguided strategy for providing the Court dealing with his case the option for a non-custodial sentence. As a result of army enlistment, he did manage to avoid incarceration; although whether or not the strategy can be considered to have been successful is open to debate for, following his initial army training, Berksy was sent firstly to Germany , then Africa, and then to the troubled province of Northern Ireland. However, he fortunately emerged unscathed from his tour of duty in Ireland and was eventually stationed in York where he subsequently met and married a local girl and, as a result, had, in his own words, "settled down". After completing his period of army service, Berksy found employment in York in a builders merchants. The savings he accumulated during army service, together with his army discharge payment, enabled him to take out a mortgage on a small terraced house where, in October 1986, his wife gave birth to their first child. I was able to maintain frequent contacts with Berksy, especially during my final year at University, when he was still in the army and living in married quarters at Fulford Barracks close the University campus.

The missing member of my ten 1980 interviewees, Charlie Dougan, I was able to trace quickly through his mother who still lived in Hartingleigh. Charlie had also been a prominent member of the 'lads culture' on the streets of Hartingleigh during my early youth work practice. Like Berksy and several of the other 'lads', he had also found himself in a good deal of trouble with the police and courts during his post-school teenage years and, as a result, had been sent to Borstal in 1983. After serving just over a year, he had, following his release, gone to live "down South" in Wandsworth, London, with his cousin Mo. Through workplace contacts supplied by his cousin, Charlie had managed to secure well-paid employment with a major road haulage company and had been working full-time since May 1984. I eventually travelled to London twice to re-meet and subsequently interview Charlie, coinciding

one of these visits with an expedition arranged through the Youth and Community Centre taking the Northside Jungle Crew to Wembley in the Centre's mini-bus.

The Hartingleigh Six, Dilly, Mick Kenney, Mick Kent, Coggs, Maz and Digger, together with Willie and Tex, who now lived in nearby Collington, formed the nucleus of a 'natural group' (Coffield *et al* 1986 : 35) of 'lads' who were originally drawn into the Youth and Community Project from Hartingleigh's notorious Chicken Lane estate, known locally as the Jungle (Chapter One, Section 1.3). This social group of young males, together with associates and affiliates from Hartingleigh's two other council estates, formed the core of the self-proclaimed Northside Jungle Crew. During my detached youth work practice for the Project, the Crew was a loose interlocking network of predominantly adolescent males who had grown up and gone to school together. Although as a social group they did not possess the clearly identifiable rigidity of structure of the American adolescent gangs, identified by researchers such as Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960), they nevertheless collectively shared entertainment, leisure, and opportunistic theft routines. In the First Phase they had hung out together on the streets before eventually establishing a base both within the Adventure Playground (during the Summer months) and at the unemployed 'drop-in' within the Project's Indoor Street Corner (Chapter Two, Section 2.7).

Now they had reached their early twenties, the Crew maintained a wide ranging network of informal contacts in each other's homes; in the two local pubs which serviced the Chicken Lane estate, the 'Vic' and the 'Crown'; or within their main daytime meeting ground at the 'drop-in'. The flat Willie shared with his girlfriend in Collington was also at the heart of the social network of the Crew, in part due to Willie's anti-employment career of dope dealing. Similarly, Tex's organisation of the hoisting (shoplifting) expeditions which provided alternative careers for several members of the Crew ensured that his flat too was a significant port of call in their social networks.

Aside from the rapport and friendships I had established with the Crew and their associates in the First Phase of detached youth working for the Project, the traditional working class male bonding rituals organised around both playing and watching football enabled me to maintain and consolidate ongoing friendships with this group. Most of the Crew were also part of a much wider network of Manchester United supporters drawn not only from Hartingleigh's council estates but also the large overspill estates ranged throughout the north of Manchester. During the Second Phase (1982-1985), in my free time from academia, part of my own leisure routine involved regular expeditions to Old Trafford, often organised in concert with the Crew, to watch Manchester United's home games. These trips often involved the appropriation of the Project's mini-bus which whenever the transport was available was ostensibly utilised by one of my co-youth workers, Tony Boyle, and myself for "community use". On such occasions, we would fill up the mini-bus with the Crew and their associates and avail ourselves of the opportunity for some "voluntary youth work" at the match. During the football season, this ritualised fortnightly occurrence was one of the minor perks of my continuing affiliation with the Youth and Community Project and one which enabled me to maintain informal contacts with a wide circle of Hartingleigh's young male unemployed and their peers.

Thus within a few months of arriving back in Hartingleigh from University, I had established a reasonable foundation for my research. By December 1985, I had re-contacted and conducted preliminary interviews with nineteen members of the Project's original 1980 survey group. Fifteen of these young people were immediately accessible as they were still living within the local community. I had particularly strong affiliations with six members of this group as they had constituted part of my group of ten interviewees during the 1980 survey. These six young males, together with Willie and Tex in Collington, Berksy in York and Charlie in London, meant that I had re-contacted all ten of my group of interviewees from the 1980 survey. It was now time to widen my range of contacts.

With the assistance of the existing contacts, particularly Maz, Digger, Willie and Tex, and with the help of staff and youth workers at the Centre, I was quickly able to re-contact a further ten members of the 1980 group who, like Willie and Tex, were now living in the Inner City wards immediately surrounding Hartingleigh. These districts included Moat Pitton, Collington, Newmarch Heath, and Marton, areas that were within walking distance of my house and the Centre (Table 8).

TABLE 8 : Residential Location and Sex of Traceable Members of the 1980 SchoolLeavers Survey

Residential Location	Total	Female	Male
Hartingleigh	(15)	6	9
Surrounding Districts (including Moat Pitton, Collington, Newmarch Heath, Marton)	(12)	7	5
Greater Manchester (including Prestwich, Didsbury, Rusholme, Sale, Hulme, Stretford)	(8)	5	3
Outside Manchester (York, London, Oldham, Blackburn)	(4)	1	3
Totals:	39	19	20

Over the next two months, as my detective work improved, I was able to trace and contact a further eight members of the original 1980 survey group who were now dispersed throughout the various districts of the Greater Manchester conurbation, plus two others who were living outside the City in the nearby towns of Oldham and Blackburn. By the end of February 1985, I had traced and contacted thirty-nine members of the 1980 group of fifty. The missing eleven members I could not trace. It was strongly rumoured within the community that two of the eleven had tragically died, one in a car accident and the other as a result of a heroin overdose. However, I was unable to confirm with any degree of certainty whether this was the case. By this time, I was keeping a field diary of my contacts and also utilising the questionnaires

from the 1980 School Leavers Survey as a basis for exploring events and changing circumstances in the lives of these young adults who were now 'participants' in my study.

4.2   Preliminary Fieldwork in Hartingleigh

'Entering the field' in the early months of 1986 was unproblematic. I lived there. My house in old Hartingleigh was just a few minutes walk from the Community Centre and making early contacts and conducting exploratory interviews simply became a question of selecting an appropriate 'venue'.   Although there has been at least one rather dramatic recorded failure of an attempt to establish contact with deprived inner city youth (Coffield and Borrill 1983), the literature is generally replete with examples of successful attempts by researchers to establish 'field-relations' with so-called "difficult to reach" young people (e.g. Spencer 1964; Farrant and Merchant 1970; Holman 1981; Gill 1977; Jenkins 1983; Coffield, Borrill and Marshall 1986; MacLeod 1987, etc.).   As I examined earlier (Chapter Two, Section 2.4), the youth worker role has provided a ready research identity and notable access for participant observers seeking an entrée into the social world of the urban young.   My ease of acceptance and movement within the social networks of the majority of my study participants had been established during the First Phase of detached youth working in Hartingleigh.   This entrée into the field had been maintained and consolidated during the Second Phase when I was able to perpetuate ongoing informal friendships with several groups of young people in the community, in part due to my continuing affiliation with the Youth and Community Project.

From February 1986 until May 1986 when I made my application to the E.S.R.C. for research funding, I initiated preliminary 'formal' contacts with all the traceable members of the original 1980 Survey Group.   Of the thirty-nine traceable participants, twenty male and nineteen female (Table 8), the most immediately accessible were the fifteen participants (six female; nine male) who were still living in Hartingleigh;

together with the group of twelve (seven female; five male) whom I had traced to the immediately surrounding districts. My field work contacts with the males of this latter group were made easier by their participation in the wider extended network of Hartingleigh 'lads' and I frequently encountered tham as part of the social and recreational 'lads culture' on the estates and in the pubs of Hartingleigh.

4.2.1 Localism

Other writers have noted this sense of 'parochial attachment' amongst working class male informal groups (Willis 1977; Jenkins 1983; Brown 1987). The sentiments expressed by one of 'The Boys' in Parker's (1974) study captures the depth of this sense of attachment:

> "If my family have to move ... I'll refuse to go. I'll never leave round here. I'll always come back ... You can't explain it good enough with words, it's a sort of feeling inside" (1974 : 34)

The parochial outlook of well defined attachment horizons, both geographical and mental, was not restricted to the male informal group. As Stella proclaimed when explaining her attachment to the Marton estate:

> "I love it here ... yeah I know its rough and its got a bad name but I don't care ... I feel safe here; I know everyone and you can get around with no trouble; and there's always someone who'll let on ... Do you know what I'm saying? It makes you feel safe, like you're part of the place or something."

According to Cohen and Shinar (1985 : 14), local neighbourhoods can be classified or defined according to one or more basic elements including an area with specific physical characteristics, especially certain types of housing and clear geographical boundaries; an area with a sense of "psychological unity with shared values, loyalties and perspectives"; an area of particular cultural character that is sufficient to differentiate it from other parts of the city. Fried (1973) emphasises the social relationships as a crucial component in explaining attachment to urban working class neighbourhoods:

"In this sense the close knit network, locally based within an urban working class community provides the framework of social organisation and the basis of interpersonal commitment and stability in the working class world. This framework establishes the link between localism and close relationships whether they are sustained primarily with kin, neighbours of friends." (Fried 1973 : 114)

My fieldwork in this Third Phase suggested that participants operated at a variety of local scales, larger or smaller depending on the context of the discussion or the person who was seeking the information. Thus within Hartingleigh, participants from the Chicken Lane, Marton, and Canton estates operated at an immediately local level when discussing, or being asked to define, territorial boundaries and psychological attachments. Tracy Smith, for example, who, during the course of my preliminary fieldwork, left the family home on Hartingleigh's Canton estate to live in a privately rented flat in nearby Newmarch Heath, nevertheless continued to define herself in terms of a sub-section of the local community:

"Well, I live in Newmarch [Heath] now but I still think of myself as coming from the Canton ... well no that's not right. What I mean is I think of myself as being from 'Tavvi Square', ... it's where I grew up."

Tavvi(stone) Square is a sub-section of the Canton council estate. Over the years Hartingleigh's three council estates have evolved nine such locally recognised sub-divisions. These areas represent finely graded degrees of ranking along the rough-respectable continuum. The Canton estate is considered to be the most respectable, with four areas within the estate having the reputation of slightly differing shades of respectability of being: "quite a good area" (Tavvistone Square); "slightly rough but not too bad" (Bevan Close); "a bit posh but not hoity-toity (Atlee Court); and "fairly decent" (Wilson Walk).

Marton estate on the other hand is locally considered to be "rougher than the Canton, but nowhere near as bad as the Jungle". The Marton estate is organised around three squares that are, in contrast to the Canton estate, graded towards the rough end of the continuum. In 1985-1986, the three local areas on the Marton

estate did not contain the empty, boarded up, derelict or burnt out flats which characterised the two main focal areas within the Chicken Lane estate, ensuring a local reputation mid-way between that of the Canton estate and the Chicken Lane estate. However in more recent years, partially as a consequence of the inability of the local authority to maintain its programme of repairs and improvements, and partially as a result of housing allocation decisions, the Marton estate has increasingly developed the kind of moral stigma traditionally reserved for inhabitants of the Chicken Lane estate. To this day, the Jungle is universally considered to be the worst or roughest estate in Hartingleigh, though even here residents distinguish between the two main focal areas within the estate in terms of "dog rough" as opposed to simply "rough". In Chapter One (Section 1.3) I explained the developing reputation of the Jungle as a consequence of local authority housing allocation decisions, which reproduced within the estates a distinction between the desirable and undesirable in residential patterns (cf Baldwin and Bottoms 1976; Gill 1977). This process has recently been described by one community activist in the following terms:

> "There was a concentration of problem families that were moved in at the same time and there was no back up resources. There was no proper social service facilities or home help or community nursery, or any proper facilities to support families and the idea seemed to be just create a so-called 'second-class' status - dump all your problem families in one area." (de Bariod in Gillespie *et al* 1992 : 20)

During the Third Phase, for the young women participants who still lived on the three council estates in Hartingleigh, their immediate local affiliations appeared to be oriented towards the smaller sub-sections within the estates, rather than the estate, or Hartingleigh ward, as a whole. As Tracy Smith revealed, even those women from the Canton estate, which has a respectable reputation, defined their locality in terms of one of the focal areas around which the estate is organised. The two young women who were living on the Chicken Lane estate sought to further restrict the definition of their residential location by addressing it in terms of the walkway on which they lived rather than the nearest square, the complete estate, or the totality of Hartingleigh. In part, this was an attempt to distance themselves from the estate's 'rough' reputation,

but also reflected something of the restricted geographical mobility of the young women, as compared with the young men, in my study group.

Domestic and child care routines provided part of the explanation for the home-centred life styles of many of the unemployed women study participants; in broad terms, most of the young women were absorbed into family life. As girls, the domestic commitments became their primary concern.

> "SC: 'So who does the housework?'
> **Lynn Chapman:** It's sort of half between me and me mam. I'll do all the cleaning up and she does the cooking, though I do it sometimes. It's only fair 'cause she helps me out with the baby, so I help her.'
> SC: 'What about your Tony [Lynn's older brother] and your dad?'
> Lynn Chapman: 'Well, me dad's working and our Tony's always out with his mates.'
> SC: 'So they don't do much ...?'
> Lynn Chapman: 'Don't be daft, Tony's useless ... and my dad won't help, he just sits there and only moans if we ask him; anyway he works all day so it's not right really'. "

In contrast, the young men in my study were more likely to spend a large part of their day away from the family home, involved in routines which were generally reflected in a wider sense of territorial and psychological horizons. However, this is not to imply that it was all child care and home-centred domesticity for the young women and street hustling and resistance for the predominantly male 'Crew' This would be to fall into the trap of reproducing the theoretical and empirical silence which characterised the New Wave studies of subculture examined earlier (Chapter Three, Section 3.4.5). The silence has been mistaken for the absence of girls from the cultural spaces of young people but some young women did participate in the street life of Hartingleigh and were also involved in the creation of their own autonomous cultural spaces. Moreover, the girls and young women were not automatically locked into domestic roles or the 'Jackie ideology' of 'romance' which often preceded it. On the contrary, individual biographies revealed how relationships were broken, males were 'wound up' and 'chucked', and young women developed a repertoire of defences for resisting, rejecting, and sometimes even caricaturing, male sexual advances:

205

"He asked me if I wanted to dance. I told him I'd rather eat lightbulbs" (Julie)

"He said I'll drive you home. So I says, 'does that mean you'll want a shag? 'Cause it should be alright - I've been putting this cream on an' the rash 'as nearly gone'. He didn't bother after that" (Stella)

One example of the autonomous social life developed by the women in Hartingleigh is provided by the 'Girls Night Out'.

4.2.2 The Girls Night Out

There were numerous examples of solidarity, mutual support and even resistance amongst the young women in my study during this phase of preliminary fieldwork. Often this was articulated in the home, but the domestic arena was not the only location for mutual support and resistance. Aside from the informal support networks, particularly distinguishable amongst the women on the estates, there also developed within the Project the phenomenon of the 'Girls Night Out'.

During the course of my fieldwork, the 'Girls Night Out' evolved into a monthly institution and involved a variety of female Centre users and staff of various ages. After the obligatory 'pub crawl', the women would usually find their final port of call at 'Foo Foo's Palace' in the City Centre. 'Foo Foo's' is generally recognised as a 'gay' club and is owned and organised by Frank 'Foo Foo' Lamarr, a northern working class 'drag artist' in the mould of a downmarket 'Danny La Rue': "Not so much diamonds and mink dear as rhinestones and rabbit".

One explanation for the evolution of 'Foo Foo's' as a popular venue for the 'Girls Night Out' and 'Hen Parties' for working class women from all parts of the City is that it offers a club atmosphere relatively free from the predatory sexual hassles encountered by groups of women in 'straight' clubs.

'Foo Foo', who provides the focus for the cabaret spots in his club, learnt his trade on the tough 'pub' and working mens' club circuit in the North of England during the 1960s and 1970s. With the growth in popularity of the club as a venue for the working class 'Girls Night Out', he draws on this past experience to modify and finely tune his act in accordance with the new requirements of his now predominantly female audiences., As he confided:

> "Eighty per cent of my business comes from women and I quickly learned exactly
> what hits the button ... they want me to cut their old man's, or boyfriend's, bollocks
> off ... it's as simple as that."

In the past, the focus for the comedy in his 'drag' act was geared towards a predominantly 'straight' male audience and was located in humour which articulated the subordination of women - "you know the business, wife and mother-in-law gags, that sort of thing". Whereas in recent years it has been redirected towards a discourse concerned with the objectification of male hetero-sexuality; a coarse satirical treatment of male sexual stereotypes; and a parody of male hetero-sexual insecurities.

Thus 'Foo Foo's' provides a safe context within which sexual oppression is reversed. Men are sexually objectified and ridiculed, for example through the phenomenon of male strippers. Within the club there is also a policy of table waiter service in order to avoid congestion in the tiny bar area. Like the 'cocktail waitress' (Spradley and Mann 1976) in a 'straight' bar, the waiters are specifically employed on the basis of a stereotypical model of (male) sexual attractiveness ('Butch and Beefy', for example - see below). A parody of masculine sexual attractiveness is usually highlighted which appears to playfully explore the interface of 'gay' male and heterosexual male definitions. The waiters are dressed in order to highlight their physical characteristics (tiny leather shorts); to parody masculinist stereotypes (leopard print 'Tarzan' leotard); and to ridicule masculinity, or possibly invert orthodox stereotyping, through a schoolboy (rather than a schoolgirl) outfit, complete with school tie, cap, and short trousers. Apart from the role reversal of 'captive' male

sex objects for the predominantly all women crowd, the waiters also literally 'serve' the women and also serve to provide part of the focus for 'Foo Foo's' cabaret act. Much to the delight of his largely female audiences, 'Foo Foo' utilises 'camp' homosexuality as a searchlight with which to illuminate, exploit, and ridicule the arrogance or insecurity of male heterosexuality:

"Here come my latest ... two beautiful young boys [spotlights pick out two of the waiters, accompanied by appreciative shouts, whistles and applause from the crowd] ... calm down girls, calm down, you'll only get 'em all worked up ...we don't want any spillage ... haven't you seen a pair of pecs [pectoral muscles] before [shouts to one of the waiters] ... go on Tiger clench your pecs ... lovely ... now do a little twirl for the ladies ... lovely. Aren't they cute ... I used to keep poodles, but have you seen how much a tin of Chappie is? ... Now remember ladies, they're my pets, aren't you dears? [nods to the waiters, then turns and in confidential tones addresses the audience] ... Butch and bleedin' Beefy ... like a pair of bloody bookends ... and just as fuckin' bright [smiles in the direction of the waiters who smile and nod back] ... Don't be fooled ladies [spotlight on the genital area of one of the waiters] ... it's all window dressing ... leotards and leather liederhosen ... I saw that one in the dressing room stuffing a bloody cucumber down his pants, he's all hammer and no nail [nods to the waiters and again addresses the crowd in confidential tones] ... thick as pigshit and common as muck ... where's the Hartingleigh crowd [shouts from the audience] [pouts] ... Oh hello ... [confidential tones] ... Beefy's the bright boy from Hartingleigh ... you can see where he gets it from ... Oh [camp tone] hello there! [waves to the Hartingleigh contingent] ... [confidential tones to the rest of the audience] ... I used to go shoplifting in Mothercare with her mam ... dead common ... [looks at one of the waiters] ... Be gentle with that one girls, he only started yesterday, I had to give him an interview, didn't I dear ... [nod from the waiter] ... checked his references and examined his qualifications ... didn't I Tiger ... [sighs] ... he got the job. That one [points in the direction of a third waiter] ... 'Bernard Beefy Buttocks Barlow' ...asked me if I wanted to see his meat and two veg ... Cheeky sod ... I told him I'm a vegetarian. Bugger the meat, eh girls? ... Just give us the two veg ... Mine're cucumbers and carrots ... [points to a woman in the crowd convulsed with laughter] ... She knows what I'm talkin' about ... don't you love? ... Half an hour in the bleedin' greengrocers trying to make up your mind ... Carrots? ... Cucumbers? ... Courgettes? ... Bugger it, give us ten pounds of each, I'm staying in this weekend ...

... It's time to give up the meat girls ... carrots and cucumbers, nature's own. An' the thing about vegetables ... you don't have to cook their breakfast in the morning ... They don't get you pregnant, or knock you about and you don't have to wash their bleedin' underpants ... You don't have to marry the buggers or live with 'em for the rest of your bleedin' lives ... though I can tell some of you lot have married some right old turnips ... An' the thing about vegetables is you can choose the size to match your appetite an' eat 'em when you've finished ... So next time he asks you if you fancy a bit, you tell him, no chance, I'm off to the greengrocers" (Taped, December, 1985).

The phenomenon of the 'Girls Night Out' encompasses all ages and reinforces a strong sense of solidarity and mutual identification. As Pollert (1981) has revealed,

women in collective industrial situations often refer to themselves as 'the girls'. The 'Girls Night Out' usually takes place on quiet nights in midweek when babysitters can be arranged and there are few men about. The collective taxis home, dancing around the circles of handbags, staying overnight with friends and the communal sing-songs involved in the 'Girls Night Out' indicate that an autonomous and supportive working class women's culture is part of the social fabric of life in Hartingleigh.

4.2.3 Northside

For the fourteen young men in my study group who still lived in Hartingleigh, or the immediately surrounding districts, a sense of territoriality was of great significance in defining their internal as well as external horizons and was tied into working class masculine notions of 'hardness', of having 'bottle', of being able to 'handle' oneself, of being able to fight, or 'face out', or 'front out', threatening situations. Thus, for those drawn from the Chicken Lane Estate, the 'rough' and 'tough' reputation of the Jungle contained positive attachment connotations in the world as the lads perceived it. Believing they came from "the most lawless estate in the north-west", where "violence and crime is rife" (*Hartingleigh Wurlitzer* 13.7.86), held great status affirming significance, particularly for those such as the Crew, who were denied status in more legitimate social domains:

> "If it comes to a battle and say the lads from Newmarch or Colly [Collington] are getting out of order, then you know who's gonna get it sorted ... There's some real 'nutters' round here, top boys ... Everyone's scared of messin' with us". (Dilly)

The phenomenon of status inversion, of inverting a negative labelling process, such as coming from the Jungle, to render it an affirmatory status identification can also be seen in the following examples drawn from the local football supporters' wider cultural traditions.

Male study participants would often describe themselves as being from the "Northside" (of Manchester). The notion of Northside has wide cultural significance

for the lads from the estates, largely derived from football supporters' cultural traditions. Amongst the national culture of football supporters, North Manchester has developed the reputation for producing 'hard cases', or 'terrace nutters' - Manchester United supporters with a distinct reputation for exaggerated acts of football ground defiance and violence. This reputation can be traced from the mid-1960s onwards when the mythology of the Northside evolved as a consequence of its dominance as the "hardest" section within Manchester United's popular Stretford End terrace:

> "At its height in the mid-seventies, the 25,000 strong Stretford End was generally agreed by players, managers, police and television commentators alike, to be the most fearsome sight in football ... if you were out of work, a school failure with little to do or nowhere to go in your area, there was great appeal in joining up with the Red Army" (Robins 1984 : 85).

Within the folklore of national football supporters, there is the myth that the origins of soccer warfare can be traced to Manchester United supporters burning down the main stand at Carrow Road, the home of Norwich City football club, reported in Robins (1984 : 86). What Robins neglects to mention is that popular cultural mythology claims that the fire was started by the Northside in retaliation for a home F.A. cup defeat by the then second division Norwich City in the late 1960s. The Northside is also held responsible for leading numerous riots and violent confrontations on football grounds throughout the country (Redhead 1987 : 106; Robins 1984 : 84-86; Crick and Smith 1990 : 156-165). Moreover, the Northside section of the Stretford End carried the reputation into and throughout Europe (Crick and Smith 1990 : 160). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Red Army, particularly the Northside section of the Stretford End, perpetuated a reputation for being "the most violent [football supporters] in Britain" (Crick and Smith 1990 : 156); as United followers went on the rampage at away matches, cars were overturned, shops looted, and battles fought in the street with the police and opposing fans. The violence was often so extensive that the police could not cope and many serious incidents were unattended and took place outside grounds, and were therefore

unreported by the press (Crick and Smith 1990 : 157). Nevertheless, the Stretford End did gain media notoriety and in response to being labelled as "animals" by the press and media, the Red Army took up a new chant: "We Hate Humans" (Robins 1984 : 13; Redhead 1987 : 106).

Amongst the almost mythologised tales recounted amongst Manchester football supporters are stories of the Northside "taking" popular terraces at Millwall, the Kop at Liverpool, and even successfully challenging the notorious football fans of the Glasgow clubs, Celtic and Rangers. These latter confrontations were the result of several visits by the Glasgow clubs and their supporters to play commemorative, testimonial, or friendly games at Old Trafford. After a visit by Glasgow Celtic during the 1984-85 season, for a testimonial game, a friendly played on behalf of ex-Celtic and Manchester United favourite, Lou Macari, a new fashion style was noted on the terraces: "Unless they were ball-watching, even those who sit cosseted in the press box could observe the proliferation of Celtic ski-hats in the North West following the Glasgow club's visit to Old Trafford" (Redhead 1987 : 19).

What Redhead overlooked, or was not aware of, is that these Celtic ski-hats, the terrace chic of the mid-80s, were originally acquired from their owners as a result of violent skirmishes and battles waged by supporters throughout the City for twenty-four hours both before and after the match. In the early afternoon on the day of the game, after word had gone round that large numbers of Celtic supporters were causing trouble in the City Centre, I witnessed research participants and their associates congregating in the superstore car park, eventually to be picked up in a small convoy of stolen cars and vans. Armed with a frightening assortment of home made weapons, they left to scour the City in the search for Celtic supporters. Later that evening, after local news reports of disturbances thought the City, they returned with their wounds and trophies from their battles: Celtic ski-hats as well as scarves,

badges, flags and assorted footballs fans' paraphernalia snatched from their victims. "Taking Celtic" thus became another stand in the tapestry of the Northside mythology.

In some respects, what the boys from the estates were responding to was the mythology of and status identification with the Northside tradition of hardness and territoriality. This tradition can be directly related to the cultural traditions of the parent culture, to working class masculinity, its codes and public honours. Their mobilisation was a defence of psychic and geographical boundaries, a defence of personal as well as social space. The status identification with the Northside tradition can be noted as reflected in the popular Stretford End terrace chant heard form the mid-1970s onwards:

> "We've taken the [Millwall] Flyers,
> we've taken the Kop.
> Fucked Celtic and Rangers,
> we've taken the lot.
> We are the Northside,
> fuck the Southside.
> We are the Northside - Stretford End"

The chant remains the vocal signature of a mass grouping of supporters on the Stretford End terrace at Old Trafford, and is reflective of the territorial network which in the late 1960s, throughout the 1970s, and into the 1980s, encompassed supporters from many of the large overspill estates on the northern side of the City. There has long been an intra-City rivalry between this group and youths drawn from the housing estates in the south, the "Southside", of the City, most notably Wythenshawe, whose young residents traditionally supported Manchester's other football team, Manchester City.

Thus to describe oneself as being from the Northside is not only to locate oneself geographically but also to lay claim to an historical conception of working class male machismo which articulates itself through Mancunian football supporters' culture and traditions. The Northside thus provides a reference point which embodies both

internal and external dimensions. It links the parent cultural tradition of masculinity

and hardness to psychological territoriality and local area affiliations, hence the

"Northside Jungle Crew".

> "It's not just about football, it's about where you live ... where you come from, an'
> who you are, an' how you act ... it's not just about football." (Jimmy Bee)

> "Northside? ... It's something in here [points to head] and something in here [points
> to heart]." (Digger)

> "I wouldn't be me without it." (J.W.)

According to Hopcraft (1971):

> "The point about football in Britain is that it is not just a sport people take to, like
> cricket or tennis or running long distances ... It is built into the urban psyche ... It
> has not been only a game for 80 years: not since the working classes saw it as an
> escape route out of drudgery and claimed it as their own" (quoted in Redhead 1987 :
> 116).

However, this is not to romanticise or glorify, the repellent values and dangerous,

unacceptable levels of violence of the Crew. Within working class male culture, such

values help to reproduce a certain kind of masculinity. This has particular

implications for women in the home where symbolic, territorial disputes can all too

easily be resolved by male aggression and violence. It can, moreover, have

implications for (re)producing a threatening, intimidatory quality to areas of common

cultural space, making them unsafe for all, but especially for women. But such

masculine values also contain a desperate form of courage; a distorted reverence for

the territorial boundaries, surrounding an attempt at dignity, or some mad honour,

which faces helplessness, despair and alienation with a real live drama. According to

Willis (1990), outside condemnation of the working class young's propensity towards

violence without such understanding points up the limits of the "observer as well as

the observed".

> "Alternatives to and ideas and plans for the safer resolutions of the compelling
> dramas of violence should be what exercise our imaginations" (1990 : 109).

4.2.4 Localism : A Concluding Discussion

The young adults' understanding of and loyalty to their home areas has been described as "localism" (Coffield *et al* 1986 : 142-144). It is a perception of clearly demarcated boundaries, psychological as well as territorial horizons which define external space and internal status or security. What was considered to be a participant's locality could vary from a small area within an estate, "Tavvi Square", to a whole estate, "The Jungle", or to a more general notion of coming from or belonging to North Manchester, "Northside". Whatever the exact size of the geographical boundaries, their district, they intimately understood its social and cultural ecology: the markets, shops, clubs and pubs, as well as their self-defined social spaces, such as "the Wreck" (Chapter One, Section 1.3), the superstore car park (Chapter Two, Section 2.7), or the unemployed "drop-in" (Chapter Two, Section 2.7). They also knew the quickest routes through the interlocking maze of walkways, squares, and streets of the council estates; occasionally useful knowledge when, for example, fleeing from pursuing police (Chapter Two, Section 2.7), rival groups, or transporting stolen goods on foot from one location to another. They also understood who were useful contacts, where to "score", who was buying or selling what commodity; and where to go for a cheap colour television or pair of "snide" (stolen) trainers. They also knew who not to offend, who to, or not to, involve, and who should be strictly avoided.

Parochial attachment or localism consists of various contrasting strengths and restrictive features. One weakness of localism is that it can result in a narrow, blinkered, or defensive reaction against those deemed, in some way, to be outsiders. On occasions, this process could result in violent confrontation such as the Northside's defence of territory from invading Celtic supporters. Intra-class conflict highlights the negative face of localism, another example of which occured during the course of my early, detached youth work practice when the young people who were drawn into the developing Youth and Community Project from Hartingleigh's more 'respectable' areas, notably those from the Kings Road district of owner-occupied terraced houses,

214

were systematically subjected to stigmatisation and exclusion by the majority of young people drawn from the council estates. The exclusion of the 'snobs' and 'shirtlifters' - as the King's Road boys were homophobically called - eventually resulted in serious physical assault in which, notably, the girls from the estates participated (Chapter Six, Section 6.6.2).

Localism can also be seen to inhibit oportunities by locking social identities into restrictive cultural attitudes which limit growth and the capacity for change. Coggs, for example, had developed a marvellous self-taught skill of spray painting in the tradition of the "graffiti artists" of the New York subways (Mailer 1974). These "tags" (elaborate signatures) or "pieces" (from 'masterpieces' or complex wall murals), could transform a mundane and anonymous piece of urban landscape into: "Something wonderful and beautiful for others to enjoy (Prosecuted 18 year old graffiti artist, quoted in *The Guardian*, 21.1.91).

In very recent years, 'Graffiti Art' has taken on an aura of cultural respectability and numerous books (e.g. Cooper and Chalfont 1984; Coffield 1991; Heyne 1987), articles (Sloan-Howitt and Kelling 1990; May 1989; *The Times* 24.8.91), and even a gallery exhibition (Holloway 1989), have been produced on the subject. Such is the respectability of what was once considered to be "Filth Sprouting on the Walls" (New York's Mayor Lindsay, quoted in Mailer 1974) that Charles Saatchi is reported to have purchased "pieces" from New York graffiti artists (Coffield 1991 : 65). Coggs, on the other hand, could not be encouraged to develop his skills by attending Art College: "Fuck that, I've done my school bit, thanks very much". Nor would he consider the alternative option of producing "pieces" on canvas, or board, for submission to gallery exhibitions: "Bollocks, who do you think I am fuckin' Leonardo da fuckin' Vinci. I just spray on walls ... let's leave it at that".

According to Coffield *et al* (1986), localism may operate to restrict possibilities or the chance for alternatives to develop: "Localism operated sometimes as a fortification behind which new ideas ... could be ignored and parochialism flourish" (1986 : 144). However, these restrictive features of localism are balanced by some significant positive characteristics. The young women and men in Hartingleigh and the surrounding districts generally felt psychologically 'at home' within their local neighbourhoods and social milieu. Their expressions of attachment were tangible and heartfelt. Having lived in the same districts for much of their lives meant they were able to draw on a complex web of social relationships and familiar boundaries with which to provide "a ready made system for understanding the world which infused their lives with meaning and coherence" (Coffield *et al* 1986 : 144).

4.3   Friendship and Formality - Contrasting Field Work Roles

During this period of preliminary field work, my field work contacts with the two most immediately accessible groups of participants were characterised by a high degree of informality and spontaneity. Day to day contact was frequent and extensive and I had recourse to a variety of formal and informal sites and locations for observation, participation and depth interviewing. My research role and identity with the participants from Hartingleigh and surrounding districts were relatively unproblematic as I was a familiar face both from my time of youth working for the Project and during the Second Phase when I had often been encountered in and around the Community Centre. The general response from participants to being included in my study group was positive, making my 'hanging about' and various degrees of involvement, largely unquestioned. As I outlined in an earlier section (Chapter Two, Section 2.4), the friendships I developed in the First Phase of living and youth working in Hartingleigh had already established for me a relatively secure position within the informal social networks of Hartingleigh's social and cultural ecology. I had on numerous occasions, for example, been witness to events and situations of illegality, and had been reliably vetted, as a former 'ex-con', to "keep it

buttoned" and not "grass"; the ethical implications of adopting such a non-judgemental field-role are examined in Chapter Five (Section 5.3). The important component in this general acceptance by my study participants was friendship:

> "To some, talking about friendship in relation to social research may seem misplaced. Perhaps to those who have attempted a depth participant observation study such sentiments will seem less irrelevant. All I can say is that this study would not have survived without such reciprocity" (Parker 1974 : 16) (my emphasis)

In contrast to the immediately accessible participants from Hartingleigh and surrounding areas, maintaining regular informal contacts with the eight (five female, three male) traceable members of the 1980 survey group now scattered throughout the various districts of Greater Manchester was more problematic. Several of these participants in my evolving study now lived in areas to the extreme south of the conurbation, such as Rusholme, Didsbury, Stretford, and Sale. Maintaining informal contacts was, therefore, more difficult as it required pre-arrangement by telephone or letter as well as a journey across City which by public transport could take over an hour in each direction. In contrast to the Hartingleigh participants, spontaneity and informality in the conduct of 'field relations' with the dispersed group was difficult to sustain. It became inexpedient to 'improvise' in following up leads, inclinations and intuitions, partly because of their relative geographical inaccessibility but also, perhaps more importantly, as a result of my lack of familiarity, and therefore informality and reciprocity, with the individual members of this group. Unlike the more immediately accessible participants from Hartingleigh and surrounding wards, I had not sustained contacts with the majority of the dispersed group during the Second Phase of my evolving study, as most of them had left Hartingleigh by the time I was at University. During this preliminary stage of field working, my contacts with the dispersed group of eight were, therefore, characterised by their semi-structured formality.

The most inaccessible group, the four individuals who had 'migrated' from Greater Manchester, were the most problematic of all in terms of regular informal contacts.

217

In the period from Christmas 1985 until Summer 1986, I was, for example, only able to visit Charlie in London twice for long weekends. Berksy I saw four times in this period, three times in York, and once when he travelled to Hartingleigh to visit his parents. However, my relationships with both Charlie and Berksy were friendly and informal, based on our association during the First Phase, and I was therefore able to conduct depth interviews in an unstructured way. They were both also available by telephone which made it easier to maintain contact and fill in gaps, or elaborate on points that had arisen during our meetings.

The remaining two migrant participants, Georgie B. in Oldham and Julie Birchall in Blackburn, I only managed to visit twice each for an evening during this phase of exploratory fieldwork. Nevertheless, these preliminary meetings were of value in enabling me to chart the events and circumstances of their lives since the Project's 1980 survey. My meetings with Julie and Georgie were, however, characterised by a relatively formal and semi-structured approach, again due to my lack of prior contact and familiarity which mitigated against the informality and spontaneity characteristic of my encounters with the Hartingleigh participants. Overall, my contacts with the four 'migrants' from the 1980 survey group were minimal, distinguished by the need for forethought and planning.

During this phase of preliminary fieldworking, I had no fixed routine for conducting interviews, or recording my meetings. My approach was flexible, guided by a desire to put participants at ease in order to ensure relaxed and unforced responses. Apart from my field diary and notes of contacts and appointments, I was now also keeping extensive field notes of my meetings. Day to day contacts with the Hartingleigh-based participants were so frequent, however, that I quickly learned that a process of selection was inevitable, in order not to expend unnecessary time and energy recording every mundane contact or incident. My note-taking would vary according to the participant(s) being interviewed and the context in which the meeting

occurred.   After a night in the pub, for example, I would try and write up my impressions the same evening, or some time the following day.   In my one-to-one meetings, in individuals' homes, at the Centre, the Indoor Street Corner, or my house, I would either record conversations on a mini-tape for transcribing later, or, if I felt participants' were uncomfortable with this, I would take notes manually, unless I felt it was inhibiting to the person being interviewed;   in which case, I would record my impressions sometime later.   Generally, the participants I was most familiar with had no objection to being taped, although on those occasions when the conversation drifted into discussion of matters of profound illegality, I was sometimes firmly requested to "switch the fucking machine off".

Apart from providing valuable background material, the questionnaires completed by participants six years earlier, as part of the School Leavers Survey conducted by the Project, served a variety of useful functions in this phase of exploratory field working.   For those participants with whom I had had little or no contact in the previous years, or with whom I was less familiar, their 1980 questionnaire not only provided a means for 'breaking the ice', but also served as a vehicle for (re)introducing both myself and my research project.   The 1980 questionnaires also provided a focus or starting point from which to elicit information that enabled me to sketch a biographical reconstruction of events and circumstances in the lives of participants since school leaving.   During preliminary interviewing, especially with participants I knew less well, the 1980 questionnaires also gave me some semblance of an 'interview schedule' for those occasions when the conversation dried up or a different 'tack' was required.

By the Spring of 1986 I was able to make application to the ESRC for postgraduate research funding on the basis of my "established data base" and the exploratory field work I had undertaken since returning to Hartingleigh in the Summer of 1985.

4.4 Broken Transitions

The series of one-to-one exploratory meetings I held with all thirty-nine participants during the year of preliminary fieldwork enabled me to begin the task of reconstructing and documenting the main incidents, events, and circumstances of their lives in the period from their participation in the 1980 youth survey to the end of this phase of preliminary fieldwork in the Summer of 1986. The years 1980 to 1986 were vital years for my study participants in terms of their personal development and career trajectories. These years encompassed the crucial periods of transition from school leaving to early adulthood, from childhood dependency to adult roles and status. As a result of the information gathered during this twelve month period of exploratory fieldwork, I was able to confirm the impression, largely derived from my familiarity with the lives of the Hartingleigh participants, that the majority of my study group were making the transition from school to adulthood in the absence of the major 'structuring' influence of full-time paid employment (Table 9).

TABLE 9:   Employment/Unemployment Amongst Study Participants by Sex (1985-1986)

	Female	Male	Total
Employed	3	6	9
Part-Time Employed	3	-	3
Unemployed-*	11	14	25
Full-Time Education	2	-	2
TOTAL:	**19**	**20**	**39**

(* - includes those participating in Government Schemes)

Structural changes in the economy and in education have greatly transformed the routes followed by young people as they leave school and enter the job market. The traditional routes forged in the post-war Keynesian consensus and relative prosperity held until the mid-1970s. During the 1970s, the levels of school leaver unemployment rose dramatically and the proportion of young people entering full-time employment on leaving school steadily declined. Youth unemployment grew more in

220

one year, 1980, the year my study participants left school, than in the whole of the previous decade (Raffe 1987). During the twelve month period of my preliminary fieldwork, twenty-five out of the thirty-nine study participants were unemployed. Of the nineteen young women, eleven were unemployed, three were in part-time work, three were in full-time work, and two were at College. Of the twenty young men, fourteen were unemployed, with eleven of this group having been without work for at least twelve months prior to Summer 1985 when I began preliminary sampling. Moreover, a sizeable number had never 'officially' been employed since school leaving in 1980. By Summer 1986, only six of the twenty young men in the study group had found full-time employment. As bad as these figures may seem, however, concealed within the numbers is a gloomier picture of what has been described as "broken" (Griffin 1986a) or "fractured" (Wallace 1987) transitions.

4.4.1 Traditional Transitions

The traditional transition from school directly into primary (adult) employment was largely the norm for most school leavers in Britain until the mid-1970s. Of the nine employed participants in my study group, only three, two female (Denise Weldon and Deirdre Sharp) and one male (John Conleigh) had taken this traditional post-school transition route into primary occupations.

Denise Weldon, for example, had started work as a trainee dental nurse assistant immediately upon school leaving, and, though she had changed employers twice in the intervening years, had remained within her chosen occupation, the successive moves taking her to larger dental practices, better conditions, and higher pay. Deirdre Sharp had similarly taken the traditional route from school into primary employment as a "trainee hair stylist" in an "internationally famous" City Centre, 'unisex' hair studio ... "don't call it a hairdressers." After four years of "on the job" training, she had qualified as a stylist and was at the time of my preliminary fieldwork, earning, with overtime and tips, in excess of £190 per week (gross). In the Summer of 1984, it was

reported that "a low pay target of two-thirds average earnings (i.e. £106.20) is being increasingly adopted in wage bargaining" (*The Guardian* 30.7.84). Both Deirdre's and Denise's earnings compared favourably with this figure, and even more so with the £25 weekly "training allowance" paid in 1983 on the Youth Opportunities Programme. This latter figure was the average weekly sum received by many of their contemporaries in Hartingleigh, whose post-school transitions had typically placed them onto MSC training schemes.

John Conleigh was the only one, of six employed young males in my study group, who had taken this traditional route into primary adult occupations following school leaving. John had secured work as an apprentice within a large footwear manufacturing and retailing concern, situated some twenty-five miles from Hartingleigh in the extreme south of the Greater Manchester conurbation. His brother, who worked in the same factory in a supervisory role, assisted John's post-school transition to work. John's apprenticeship lasted for four years, and at the time of my preliminary fieldwork he was, with overtime, earning wages that were comparable to the national average adult earnings of £159.30 a week (in April 1984).

This broken traditional transition route to employment for Hartingleigh's unqualified school leavers was essentially a feature of the decline in craft and industrial (engineering) apprenticeships, due to the dramatic demise in Manchester's industrial base, from the mid-1970s onwards. Moreover, during the same period, this trend was exacerbated by the unprecedented collapse of manufacturing industry which had traditionally provided semi-skilled and unskilled work for Hartingleigh's indigenous population (see Chapter One, Sections 1.7; 1.7.1). A recent study has revealed that Manchester's pool of unemployed is now equal to three quarters of the size of the entire manufacturing workforce (Peck and Emmerich 1992).

4.4.2 Protracted Transitions

Of the nine employed participants in my study group, six, five male and one female, had made the more common protracted transition into primary occupations *via* various combinations of government training schemes and special programmes, youth jobs, part-time and casual work, and repeated bouts of unemployment. Mick Kent's career trajectory provides a typical example of this protracted route into primary employment.

After leaving school in the Spring of 1980, Mick was unable to find work and was unemployed for seven months before securing a job as a "tea-boy and general skivvy" in a small engineering works. After a dispute with the foreman, he "walked out" of the job in March 1981 because it was "bobbins" (a local expression that embodies deeply-felt, negatively-evaluated connotations). As Mick went on to explain: "The job was fucking boring, the wages was shite and the gaffer was a nutter!"

From March 1981 until January 1982, Mick was again unemployed until he eventually managed to find part-time work as a barman in a local pub. However, after sixteen months, he left the job due to a dispute with the pub landlord over wages and holiday pay entitlement. Mick was again unemployed for eight months until February 1984 when he secured temporary work as a hospital porter through a private job agency. This job only lasted for three months, after which Mick again found himself on the "rock and roll" (dole). Between June and August 1984, Mick was placed on an employment training course in basic office skills. However this did not, as Mick had anticipated, lead into work placement, and Mick was again unemployed until February 1985 when he finally managed to secure permanent employment as a Clerical Assistant in a local government department. He has since been provided with on the job training in basic computing which he believes will provide the basis for a future career. Thus, it had taken Mick over five years of enduring "shit jobs, shit wages, 'monkey' schemes and social security" before he was finally able to secure a

"proper job" with some future potential. Mick's story was repeated in a variety of guises by the other five participants who had similarly made the protracted transition into adult employment, indicating that, for the unqualified early leavers in Hartingleigh at least, protracted transitions had replaced traditional transitions as the normal progression route into adult jobs, and adult independence.

Although, as Roberts (1986) has pointed out, for the minority of young people who pursue further and higher education, economic independence and the transition to adult roles and status has for a long time been the final stage of a protracted transition, a transition delayed by the planned career objective of deferring family formation and entry into the labour market in order to pursue salary-enhancing academic credentials. By the late 1980s, this pattern of delayed economic independence had become a mass phenomenon. In 1974, for example, 38% of 16 year olds were in full-time education or involved in training; by 1989-90, this figure had risen to 75%, with over a third of all 16 year olds entering Youth Training Schemes (DES 1991; Wallace and Cross 1990). Whilst mass youth unemployment has produced an explosion in educational credential seeking, described by one sociologist as a "qualifications inflation" (Furlong 1992), the tendency for many young people to stay on at school, or undertake post-school training, cannot necessarily be taken as evidence for a newly discovered enthusiasm for education. Education and youth training are often viewed as "the best of some rather limited alternatives" (Gray and Sime 1989 : 18). Moreover, options such as Youth Training would be "deserted rapidly if economic and demographic trends restored the option of regular employment to 16 year olds" (Roberts *et al* 1989 : 2).

Schooling has traditionally entailed the twin objectives of personal discipline as well as the accumulation of knowledge. The same can be said of the development of vocational training. It is striking, however that, faced with the massive rise in youth unemployment in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the former was perceived as being

required by those who had traditionally left school at 16. The rise in youth unemployment has produced a massive increase in state policy intervention. In a previous section (Chapter Two, Section 2.6), I argued, following Davies (1986), that these interventions have amounted to an implicit "national youth policy", concerned with the containment and socialisation of the young working class. In the following section, I will argue that these state policy interventions are based on an ideological smokescreen located in a pedagogical model of rectifying deficiency, remedying skill shortages, and instilling work discipline. These interventions have substantially transformed the transitions to work and firmly established vocational training as a central state strategy for youth containment (Massey 1986; Davies 1986).

4.5 Cyclical Transitions

A third discernable mode of career progression from school leaving amongst study participants involves a cyclical transition from school into a variety of government employment training schemes and special programmes, punctuated by periods of employment in youth jobs, secondary labour markets, repeated bouts of unemployment, and back into the training schemes and programmes. The cyclical repetition of training possibilities under the expansion of what has come to be known as 'the new vocationalism' (Bates *et al* 1984; Dale 1985) often precedes the slide into disillusionment, cynicism, and long-term unemployment. People who have endured the cyle of schemes and special programmes and yet return for more have been rather uncharitably described as "MSC junkies":

> "... waiting for their next fix of job search skills and enterprise training with which
> to conjur up illusions of real and permanent employment" (Coles 1988 : 192).

4.5.1 Youth Training

The provision of a plethora of government inspired training schemes and special programmes - under the management of the Manpower Services Commission - have been extensively criticised since their inception over fifteen years ago, most recently

by, for example, Ainley and Corney (1990); Coles (1988); Dale (1985); Finn (1987); and Maclagen (1992). When the special measures were first introduced in 1975 in response to rising youth unemployment, they were designed to cater for a minority. With youth unemployment continuing to increase, the original Job Creation Projects (JCPs) had by 1976 developed into the Work Experience Programme (WEP). In 1978, the Manpower Services Commission launched the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) to rationalise and oversee provision and training for unemployed youth. The JCPs and WEP were absorbed into YOP which was created out of recommendations contained in the Holland Report (1977). YOP was designed to "enable the individual to do more things, achieve a higher level of skills, knowledge and performance, and adapt more readily to changing circumstances or job requirements" (Holland Report 1977 : 34).

However, in the context of a declining local labour market where there is little requirement for higher skill levels, knowledge and performance, it is difficult to see how YOP could fulfil such goals in an area like Hartingleigh. In part, the scheme developed out of fears of increasing levels of "hooliganism and delinquency" (Sinfield 1981), as well as from motives of concern that young people were becoming "frustrated and disillusioned" (Furlong 1992 : 55), or from fears that, if work habits were not instilled early enough, they would not be developed at all:

> "The state's fear (evident in every MSC report) is that the more successfully the young do survive nonwork, the less they'll ever be willing to do 'real' work" (Frith, quoted in Clarke 1982 : 32).

However, when the special measures under YOP were first introduced, the training and work experience initially overcame some of the disadvantages associated with lack of qualifications. Over 80% of the early YOP trainees found work within eight months of entering the programme (Hirsch 1983 : 36), but the YOP initiative was undercut by the continued rapid rise in youth unemployment. By 1982, YOP was handling 550,000 trainees, well over twice the numbers originally envisaged, and most

226

of these trainees, over 70% nationally, returned to the unemployment register after completing the programme (Rees and Atkinson 1982 : 7).

As a result of oversubscription, YOP came to focus on the most disadvantaged young people and provided a six or twelve month scheme with dual components. The better component provided work experience on employers' premises. The inferior component supplied remedial education and social and life skills training, in which the emphasis was placed upon the 'employability' of the young unemployed. Both components were extensively criticised, the work component for providing little in the way of training and supplying employers with 'slave labour', the remedial component for blaming the victims.

In 1981, the MSC launched a government-supported consultative document, entitled *A New Training Initiative*, which was a response to the over-subscription of trainees on YOP. In 1983, the Youth Training Scheme, which grew out of the government's initiative, signalled a new direction. As youth unemployment continued to rise, it became less tenable to tackle the problem as one of employability and YTS was designed to provide a "permanent bridge" between school leaving and employment. YTS was at least comprehensive in that it offered all 16 year olds some education and preparation for employment. In 1983-84, for example, most school leavers entered YTS which significantly reduced the national statistics for youth unemployment (Chapter One, Section 1.7).

However, YTS reflected an implicit dual theory of training inherited from its YOP predecessor. On the one hand it sought to instil work discipline, whilst at the same time remedying skill shortages (Wallace and Cross 1990). This provided a bridge with dual carriageways, and it was no surprise to discover that those typically edged towards the inferior streams were ill-served by these developments (T.U.R.C. 1986; Wilpert 1988). The scheme was extended to two years in 1986 and was reinforced by

the removal of benefits entitlement (income support) for those under 18. In this way, in April 1988, 100,000 16 to 18 year olds were compulsorily conscripted on to Youth Training and simultaneously removed from the unemployment register (Stewart and Stewart 1988).

The expansion of Youth Training into a compulsory post-school containment programme for young people meant that, for many, schemes became the normal prelude to (un)employment. Contemporary research indicates that in the process the schemes have ceased to provide their original compensatory function. Class, gender, and ethnic stratification and inequality are simply reproduced within the schemes (Cockburn 1986, 1987; Cross 1987, 1988; West Midlands YTS Research Project 1986; Gayton *et al* 1986; Jones and Wallace 1990). Certainly YTS generated its own internal stratification and inequality originally between Mode A (work experience with employers) and the inferior Mode B schemes (special programmes for those deemed hard to employ). Gayton *et al* (1986) and Cockburn (1986, 1987) have revealed the gender stratification evident within YTS allocation procedures. More recently, the Training Agency's (formerly the MSC) *Youth Training News* (February 1989) showed that the picture of sex segregation presented by Cockburn (1987) had actually worsened, with over 60% of females being allocated just two 'female' types of training (office work and community health 'caring') compared to 10% of male trainees.

There is also strong evidence of racism in terms of scheme allocation procedures (Gayton *et al* 1986; Cross 1987, 1988; West Midlands Research Project 1986). Most ethnic trainees have been allocated the inferior Mode B types of schemes, whilst the majority of trainees on Mode A schemes were white and generally from skilled or professional backgrounds (Gayton *et al* 1986), findings echoed by the West Midlands Research Project (1986) and the studies by Cross (1987, 1988) of ethnic minorities and training policy (see also Jenkins and Solomos 1987). More recently, gender,

ethnic, and class divisions have been evident in the provision of "basic" and "premium" funding of training places (Cross 1988). The inferior schemes completely bypass the "academic track" and are intended for the containment of educational low achievers who are the most vulnerable to rising unemployment (Wallace and Cross 1990).

In the context of massive rises in youth unemployment in the late 1970s, and throughout the 1980s, the various training schemes and special programmes can be seen as serving a variety of implicitly political and ideological functions which have little connection to the provision of opportunity or employment. One of the main functions of the "New Curriculum for Youth" (Edwards 1984) is to conceal the true level of unemployment by reducing the numbers of those officially required to register. The majority of those undertaking one or other form of employment training whilst actually seeking permanent employment, "proper jobs", are not required to register as unemployed for the duration of the scheme. This sleight of hand has effectively removed hundreds of thousands from the officially recorded statistics. For example, in March 1982, there were 348,000 people involved in some form of employment training; by March 1987, this figure had increased to 843,000 (National Institute Review : 1987). According to Gleeson, "YTS is designed to remove large sections of sixteen and seventeen year olds from the labour market, thereby reducing the statistical level of unemployment" (1986 : 383).

Employment training schemes and special programmes have been propagated on the basis of a "deficiency model" (Davies 1986 : 54) of the skills and attitudes of young potential workers. Early schemes, particularly YOPs, offered a wide variety of compensatory programmes, such as "social and life skills training", to combat the so-called, lack of training, skills, efficiency, or "motivation" of young workers. YOP consisted of four different elements: work experience on employers' premises (the appropriately named WEEP); community projects (CPs); the community-oriented Project Based Work Experience (PBWE); and Training Workshops (TWs). Apart

from WEEP, which was eventually absorbed into the Youth Training Initiative as the Mode A option, the other YOP elements concentrated on programmes that were related to work discipline, work preparation, appearance, and punctuality. The aim of YOP could not be to realistically expand employment opportunities, as these depended on factors in the economy which were obviously beyond its control. In this sense, YOP could be seen to be serving an ideological purpose:

> "To present youth unemployment as a problem of faulty supply rather than demand; a failure of the educational system rather than capitalism; a personal problem of joblessness due to lack of motivation, experience or skill, rather than the position youth occupies in the labour market" (Cohen 1982 : 45).

The MSC's booklet, *Instructional Guide to Social and Life Skills*, emphasised the need to "adjust trainees to normal working conditions"; for instructors to check for "alienation in matters of timekeeping, discipline, etc.", and "any unsatisfactory relationships" (quoted in Morgan 1981 : 105-106). Essentially, the young unemployed were viewed as deficient and in need of remedial "treatment" in the form of work discipline, regulation, and surveillance.

> "The Youth Opportunities Programme offers a chance to experience the discipline of work without being allowed any of the advantages that go with it ... (young people) ... are, through the 'training programme', encouraged to believe that it is their personal inadequacies which create unemployment. They are, in effect, less powerful and more atomised on the programme than off it" (Morgan 1981 : 109).

Thus the blame for youth unemployment was shifted to the victims rather than government policy, or the wider effects of the restructuring of industrial capital (Cohen 1982; Morgan 1981; Bates *et al* 1984; Finn 1987; Gleeson 1986).

The schemes and programmes, apart from serving the above implicitly ideological functions, can also be seen to have been designed to preserve young people's labour power as a potential "reserve army of labour" whilst simultaneously deflating their aspirations and wage expectations in accordance with their limited future prospects (Gleeson 1983; Rees and Atkinson 1982; Finn 1984, 1987; Stafford 1981). Some writers have argued that the compulsory component introduced in 1986 can best be

understood in terms of "youth conscription" (Jeffs 1982, 1984; Davies 1986 : 122-128), the schemes and programmes providing cheaply available reserves of vulnerable, non-unionised, labour which has frequently been exploited in low-skilled, dirty, and occasionally dangerous, employment. Between 1979 and 1984, for example, there were twenty-seven fatalities and 979 serious injuries amongst employment trainees (Youthaid Bulletin: October 1984).

Under the varieties of "work experience" training, trainees worked a 40 hour week, for up to a year, with a single employee whilst receiving, in 1981, £23.50 a week training allowance. There was strong evidence that unscrupulous employees were using the schemes as a means of subsidising their recruitment procedures, whilst simultaneously exploiting young trainees (Morgan 1981; Finn 1984). There was further evidence of employers replacing fully-paid employees with a succession of trainees (Morgan 1981 : 102), a fact conceded by the MSC in 1981, when it was acknowledged that one in three employment training positions created had cost a permanent worker a job (Short and Taylor 1982 : 30; Finn 1984 : 21).

The main reasons why the training schemes were introduced is complex. The story began in the late 1970s when unemployment was rising and assumptions about full employment in a mixed economy, based on a post-war Keynesian consensus, were beginning to evaporate. Within the general problem of unemployment, youth unemployment became a particular concern. It had risen dramatically from 1974. In July of that year, there were only 80,000 under-20 year olds unemployed in Britain. Two years later, there were 390,000 (Loney 1983 : 27). Between 1972 and 1977, the number of unemployed 16 and 17 year olds rose by 120% (Frith 1980 : 25). A number of factors pertaining to young people can help to explain the massive state policy interventions that were developed.

> "The threat of political and social unrest by idle, bored, young people was undoubtedly a major theme structuring the nature of the provision" (Stafford 1991: 5).

As I examined in earlier sections (Chapter Two, Sections 2.2, 2.6), the concern with workless youth, particularly the young working class, has long historical roots. Mungham (1982), for example, has argued that from the nineteenth century the connections between workless youth, crime and moral degeneration have gone hand in hand. Examples from the literature of the time are provided by Mungham which express sentiments that have a very contemporary ring (1982 : 30).

Thus the implicit agenda of the New Curriculum for the young working class, especially the unqualified, may best be understood in terms of the containment, socialisation, and social control of a section of the population which has found itself excluded from the labour market, a population that has been characterised using a variety of terms such as the new "underclass" (Dahrendorf 1987; Field 1989; Giddens 1973; Jordan and Jones 1988; MacNicol 1987; Morris and Irwin 1992; Murray 1990); a "Stagnant Reserve Army" of labour (Byrne and Parson 1983 : 136); the "relative surplus population" (Marx 1976 : 797); a population currently surplus to the requirements of capital during the long wave of economic stagnation (Friend and Metcalf 1982 : 23-26); or the "lapilli" of the "Social Division of Welfare" (Mann 1992 : 160). Whichever term is used, it is the young of this section of the population which has been especially targeted for containment under the masquerade of special programmes and (un)employment training schemes (cf Loney 1979; Cohen 1982; Stafford 1981, 1991; Rees and Atkinson 1982; Bates et al 1984; Finn 1987; Maclagan 1992).

During the Thatcher decade, successive Tory governments pursued economic policies which exacerbated the demise of employment possibilities whilst simultaneously implementing training policies which presupposed their existence. In this context, the implicit ideological agenda can be viewed as resting on the age old concern with the problem of youth (Mungham 1982; Pearson 1983), especially the potentially "threatening" young unemployed working class (Davies 1986; Muncie

1984).   As a consequence, the young unemployed working class have been increasingly conscripted onto schemes and special programmes, and kept off the streets, with the provision of "training for jobs" ensuring some relative compliance. Social control is effected through time and work discipline; "containment" (Massey 1986) secured through regulation, surveillance and "schooling for the social order" (Gleeson 1986: 393):

> "The push towards training reform may have little to do with equipping labour with specific technical skills to make it more employable, but perhaps more to do with establishing 'substitute criteria' (vocational preparation, work experience, further education, and so forth) for controlling the aspirations of disaffected people" (Gleeson 1983 : 1).

4.5.2   Youth Training: A Case Study

Almost all of the long-term unemployed participants in my study group had experiences of at least two varieties of training scheme or special programme.   In the main, they were left with feeling of profound cynicism about the real purposes of the training initiatives which, in the majority of cases, did not lead to "proper jobs". Their stories show that, even when the search for work was frustrated by exploitation and broken promises by employers within the schemes, and even when the limited employment available was low-paid, dirty, insecure, and sometimes even dangerous, work initially still held a strong grip on their expectations and ambitions.   This initial commitment to the spirit of paid employment, even in the face of duplicity on the part of her employers was eloquently summarised by Wendy Fisher whose first YOP placement was in a small regional department store under the Work Experience on Employers Premises (WEEP) component:

> "... YOPs ... At first I thought it was brilliant.   After nearly two years on the dole and six interviews, just to get on [the programme], I was chuffed.   I liked most of the work we had to do except having to be a cleaner when I wanted to do training as a sales girl.   The thing that really pissed me off though was the [department store] manager.   He said he'd take me on full-time when I'd finished [the programme] ... but he didn't.   Then he said he'd fix me up with another work experience at their other place, but [again] he didn't.   In the end, he gave me a part-time job which meant I worked say twelve hours one week and seventeen hours the next.   I worked over Christmas full-time, but that was working the dish-washer in the café.

It was alright but you used to come home ever night stinking of grease ... when I was on part-time I only got £4 plus my social security. Anyway, I did this for a few months but then the DHSS said he [the employer] would have to give me £1.50 an hour, or I'd have to finish or they'd say he was [paying £1.50 an hour] and take it out of my dole. I told him this and he said he'd get me another scheme which he'd already said anyway ... Well I thought as I'd only worked there [since leaving school] and all my mates were on he dole, I'd do it. But he never got me another [scheme]. By now I was really fed up and I just left ... though I had to really or they [the DHSS] would have stopped my money. I enjoyed it there all the same and even though I've finished I know that its me that's lost out really because he's [the manager] just got another [YOP] girl in."

After a further period of unemployment lasting almost a year (from February 1983 to December 1983), Wendy was provided with another MSC programme designed, "to help the long-term unemployed". This was a twelve month work placement secured through the Job Centre in which she was employed as a care assistant in a privately-run nursing home for the elderly:

"When I started [in the nursing home], first of all I was just cleaning and helping with the dinners. But after a bit they gave me some responsibility and I was working with the old people. It was really hard work 'cause it was shifts ... one week I'd be getting up at five [a.m.] and the next I'd be lying in 'til dinner time. The wages were rubbish but it was more than my dole and there was a free dinner and no bus fares ... I liked working with the old people though some of them were a 'bit gone'. [They] used to mess themselves or throw their food about, so you'd be cleaning up all the time. The woman who ran the place was a right 'grabber'. It was disgusting how she used to rob the old people by taking their pension books. Anyway I got on alright there and I thought they'd keep me on when I'd finished [the work placement]. But in the end, the woman who ran the place said I'd been 'robbing' from the kitchens ... It wasn't true. They used it as an excuse to finish me. But they just didn't want me to be full-time because they [would have] had to put my money up. In the end, I had to leave ... they've just got another girl in ..."

Wendy's response was a deepening sense of disillusionment which prompted an angry response on the next occasion she was offered the opportunity for an employment training scheme: "I was really fed up with it all by then. So next time they offered me a bloody scheme, I told them to stick it." However, after another fourteen month period of unemployment, Wendy was forced to accept a place on an MSC training scheme, this time a community-based scheme concerned with 'urban renewal', which, among other things, involved clearing derelict land, canals and graveyards. Wendy had undertaken the scheme reluctantly under the threat of benefit withdrawal by the "careers bloke at the Job Centre".

Roberts and Parsell (1989) have identified three distinct sectors of training scheme: the sponsored sector; the contest sector; and 'sink schemes'. At the top of the hierarchy, trainees in the sponsored sector have 'employee status' or the possibility of permanent work at the end of the scheme's duration. Many of the better qualified entrants are allocated these training places. The contest sector is less certain, and employers make routine decisions on retention when trainees are nearing the end of the scheme's duration. At the bottom of the hierarchy are those schemes labelled 'sink schemes'. In the main these are community schemes where the chances of employment are virtually non-existent. These placements have also been described as the "detached sector" (Raffe 1987), as they are detached from the process of selection and recruitment within the labour market. Their function has been described as "warehousing" (Roberts *et al* 1988 : 35) or "mopping up" (Wallace 1987 : 23) unqualified early leavers before returning them to the dole queue. Again, Wendy provided eloquent testimony to the futility of the 'sink schemes'.

> "Me and Angela [Wendy's friend] started at the same time. It was terrible, the middle of winter and they wanted us to clean up Marton cemetery. We had to get all this broken glass and bricks and old wood and that and carry it to a skip. There were no gloves or anything and it was freezing. Anyway when the supervisor went away, we all [the twelve members of the community scheme] used to go to the café on the market and play pool."

By now Wendy was thoroughly disillusioned with the whole idea of training schemes and quickly left using 'local knowledge' to preserve her state benefit entitlement, a necessary "tactic for survival", as scheme refusal constitutes the grounds for benefit suspension.

> "In the end me an' Angela [Wendy's friend] stopped going and signed 'on the sick' 'til they forgot about us ... see that way we still got our social and we didn't 'ave to carry on pratting about in Marton cemetery."

The community-based schemes provided numerous "opportunities" for my study participants. Apart from clearing local graveyards, participants were also involved in projects such as clearing derelict land, renovating a boy scouts hut, cleaning and

235

decorating an old person's home, clearing debris from canals and rebuilding canal walls, demolishing and clearing away redundant boundary walls from the old market, tree planting and grass cutting, and, within a Training Workshop, building, then demolishing and rebuilding a wall. Generally, these schemes were allocated to male study participants under the Youth Opportunities Programme. Wendy's placement along with her friend, Angela, on the community-based scheme was unusual; generally, the girls were more likely to be allocated "feminised caring work" (Wallace 1987 : 24) such as Wendy's second placement in an old persons' home. Other examples drawn from female study participants include helping in pre-school nurseries, office skills and typing workshops organised within the social services department; and "cleaning" placements, such as Wendy's first scheme in a regional department store.

Wendy's experiences of cyclical transition through unemployment and the varieties of employment training provide evidence of the ways in which employers were using YOP as a means of subsiding recruitment, and using trainees as 'slave labour'; directly exploiting the schemes (and naive trainees) to provide cheap and disposable sources of labour. Moreover, the arbitrary discipline procedure employed by the owner of the nursing home where Wendy was placed on her second YOP reflects the point made by Youthaid (1984) that the majority of Work Experience trainees were being concentrated in "small, low-paying, non-unionised workplaces". The lack of recourse to basic employee entitlements, including Union support, in her dispute with the nursing home owner weakened her position. As a consequence, she was unable to defend herself against the accusations that were made, and which eventually provided a pretext for her dismissal and replacement.

Wendy's experiences were not exceptional. Her subsequent outrage was echoed in a variety of forms and in varying degrees by the majority of the twenty-five unemployed participants in my study who had experienced the Youth Opportunities

Programme. Even those who had gained placements on the WEEP component were critical of the exploitative training allowance for doing full-time work, often alongside workers who were paid more than twice as much for the same job.

Training workshops too do not escape criticism. Trainees complained of inadequate supervision and facilities, lack of real training, pointless and repetitive tasks, and of being treated "like shit", "like some sort of moron", "like dirt", by the training supervisors. Maz and Dilly, for example, built a brick wall within their training workshop; after a month's work, they were told to carefully demolish it and clean the mortar from the bricks. After the task was completed, they were again "told" to rebuild the wall, at which point the pair remonstrated with their training supervisor who, in turn, became abusive. The conflict attracted trainees and staff from other parts of the workshop and, when one of the supervisors sought to physically restrain Maz, a fight broke out which resulted in the hospitalisation of two of the training supervisors. Both Maz and Dilly appeared in Magistrates' Court as a result of this incident, but, with the help of a sympathetic solicitor, and a host of witnesses to the incident, recruited from amongst the trainees, they were able to secure "a result", and were found not guilty.

Moreover, aside from complaints and criticisms of the form, nature, and content of the YOP components which actually involved "work" in some form or another, study participants reserved their most derisory comments for the social and life skills training. Often this was a component of the training workshops, and can be seen as an alternative form of minimalist working class education, "secondary schools with ashtrays" (Bynner 1991 : 650). Social and life skills training can be seen as no more than an extended form of personal and social education with no clear relevance to the requirements of any particular form of employment:

> "Inadequate facilities, largely untrained teachers, weak educational structures and low aims, produced an educational outcome that was worth little to most young people involved" (Bynner 1991 : 652).

237

Most participants who had experiences of this component of YOP complained of the irrelevant and patronising content of the instruction. J.W., for example, left the workshop after spending three days being taught "how to answer the 'phone". Others complained of the "weird" games and psychologically oriented tasks they were required to take seriously:

> "Like games about answering the door to a salesman who wants you to buy an Atom Bomb! What the fuck's that all about?" (Tracy Smith).

> "He said like, what would you do if you saw a battleship coming down Market Street? ... So I says, well I'd sink it with me torpedoes ... so he says 'aah', where would you get your torpedoes from? So I says the same fuckin' place you got your battleship from! ... It was fuckin' mad there" (Davvo).

For the majority of study participants, an embittered and fundamental cynicism was the consequence of their cyclical transitions through the schemes and special programmes. In Wendy's case: "No way will they get me on one again. I don't care how hard up I am, or what they say ... I'd rather go beggin'. I'm tellin' you, on my life, I mean it, I'm never doin' another bloody scheme".

It was primarily the Youth Opportunities Programme which provided the majority of employment training places for my study participants. In addition, the Community Programme introduced in October 1982 had provided the opportunity to experience paid employment for up to twelve months. Only a few of the study participants had entered training programmes under the Youth Training Scheme introduced in September 1983, although many believed that YTS was in fact one of the schemes they had undertaken. Confusion over the naming of schemes was widespread, partly reflecting the "alphabet soup" (Sinfield 1981 : 98) nature of the abbreviated titles of the various schemes. In the main, discussion with participants of their experiences on the schemes and special programmes produced reactions which were ranged on a continuum from unfavourable to bitterly hostile. References were made to the poor working conditions, the failure to provide the amount and type of training promised, the derisory 'training allowances', and various expressions concerned with the sense of

being patronised by trainers or exploited by employers. However, the most common complaint was that 'proper jobs' had failed to follow their participation in the schemes undertaken.

Here it is important to stress the selectivity of their views. The young people in my study were generally those for whom participation in the various training schemes had not been successful, in the sense that secure employment had generally failed to follow their participation. It is likely that, had they been successful in gaining employment, their views about government schemes would probably have been different.

4.6 Transitions and Unemployment

By far the largest grouping amongst my study participants in 1985-86 were those who had made the transition from school into <u>long-term unemployment</u>. Of the twenty-five unemployed participants contacted in 1985-86 (Table 9), seventeen had been unemployed for twelve months or more, six of these being young women. However, it is important to note that defining unemployment amongst women is more difficult than for men because of the complex nature of their relationship to the world of paid employment and the ways in which partnerships with men, care of dependent children, and the assumption of dependency in their partnerships cuts across any clear identification of their employment status (Cragg and Dawson 1984); and I examine the implications of these factors in Section 4.7

Although the government's special measures, examined in the previous section, have sought to reduce unemployment amongst the 16 to 18 year age group (most recently by the introduction of a compulsory two-year Youth Training Scheme), in the years up to 1986, this was accompanied by a steady increase in unemployment amongst the 19 to 24 year olds. During the preliminary stage of my study (1985-

1986), the 19 to 24 year age grouping was that of my study participants and their

peers:

> "By April 1986, more than one-third of men and women in registered
> unemployment were under the age of 25, comprising some 1.37 million would-be
> workers. Over 900,000 of these young people were aged 18-24 years; one in three
> of them had been without work for more than one year, and one in twelve for more
> than three years" (McRae 1987 : 1-2).

My preliminary fieldwork together with regional and national statistics on youth

unemployment (Chapter One, Section 1.7) support claims that substantial numbers of

the unqualified young are proceeding from school, through youth training, and are

then entering the ranks of the long-term unemployed. The areas dependent upon

traditional industry appear to be worst affected. According to Willis's (1985) study in

Wolverhampton, for example

> "About 90 per cent of last year's 16 year old school leavers who were looking for
> work could not find it. They have been offered a year on the Youth Training
> Scheme varieties of work experience plus some off the job training. But they will
> be tipped back on the dole one year later. Many of them will not find work again
> before their mid-twenties. Many may never work" (1984a : 475).

By their early twenties, with little work experience, many of these young adults

have joined the "hardcore" (Roberts 1987 : 18), as careers officers and Department of

Employment training staff often describe them. Evidence suggests that employers

prefer young school leavers because, under the MSC sponsorship of employment

training, it is financially more advantageous to employ them than young adults who

may have grown accustomed to unemployment and "settled into claimant roles"

(Roberts 1987 : 18).

4.6.1   The Underclass?

In sociological and political terms, this "hardcore" of the young adult unemployed has

been analysed, and categorised using a variety of theoretical models and terms. These

broadly seek to locate the young long-term unemployed within a sub-section of the

working class. Mann (1992 : 2) has identified and examined no less than twelve such

terms including: the new underclass; marginalised groups or stratum; excluded groups; the reserve army of labour; the relative surplus population; the relative stagnant population; housing classes; the pauper class; the residuum; and more obviously, the poor. These are terms which have all been used to describe a section of society which exists within and yet at the base of the working class. However, according to Mann: "Few of the terms used are located within any coherent theory of social divisions and most are, even descriptively, rather vague" (1992 : 22).

The idea of an underclass is currently the most fashionable term It has recently gained popular currency as a result of prominent dissemination in the national media (see for example: Charles Murray, *Sunday Times Colour Supplement* 26.11.89; Melanie Phillips, *The Guardian* 4.12.92, *The Guardian* 11.12.92; and her similar exploration of "the dangers of ignoring the growth of a British underclass", transmitted on Radio 4, 4.00 p.m., 6.12.92). Gerald Kaufman, Labour Party Shadow Home Secretary at the time, also referred to a "bitter, resentful and angry" underclass in a BBC Television programme broadcast three days before the 1987 General Election (cited in Mann 1992 : 1). Another prominent Labour politician, Frank Field, has produced a book on the emergence of Britain's underclass (1989), in which he argues (like Phillips and Kaufman) that the erosion of citizenship coupled with exacerbated class differences - both products of Thatcherite economic policies - have produced an emergent underclass. These more sympathetic analyses of the aetiology of the underclass make uncomfortable bedfellows with Murray's more widely publicised views. Murray's version of the underclass (1989; 1990) takes marital status, particularly 'illegitimacy' and lone parenthood, violent crime and "voluntary unemployment" as the definitive indicators. According to Mann: "It is tempting to suggest that he sees the underclass as criminally violent bastards who refuse to work" (1992 : 106).

In an earlier section, I have argued that the historical development of youthwork and youthwork practice from its philanthropic roots (Chapter Two, Section 2.2) can best be understood in terms of middle class fears about the children of the "dangerous classes". Moreover, I have argued that the more recent evolution of an implicit "national youth policy" of containment and socialisation, *via* the interventions of the MSC as a "central state strategy" for youth, also reflects middle class fears concerning the young unemployed working class (Chapter Two, Section 2.6; Chapter Four, Section 4.5.1). Similarly, in the context of his research funding and sponsorship by Rupert Murdoch's News International Group and the wide platform for the dissemination of his views through Murdoch's *Sunday Times* colour supplement, Murray's interpretation of the underclass can be seen to be pandering to, and once again reflecting, this well established historical tradition of middle class fears of the 'lower orders', the 'contaminating class'. Murray's view of the underclass as those, "whose values are now contaminating the life of entire neighbourhoods" (1989 : 27) contains the same language of medical pathology as was used by the Victorian Social Darwinists. This same language was later invoked against sections of the working class by policy makers informed by eugenicist theories of social pathology (MacNicol 1987). Not only does Murray's analysis invoke the medical models of the past, "disease", "plague", "contamination" (1989 : 27), but also seeks to draw the same moral distinction, made by his Victorian forebears, between the deserving and ("depraved", "disreputable", "debased", "feckless") undeserving poor.

The essence of Murray's argument is that an underclass exists not necessarily of the poorest but of a different type of poor who are locked into welfare dependency with generous welfare provision a principal reason for the growth in their numbers. Contained within this view is the notion that the underclass chooses and perpetuates its own poverty. This fits neatly with an ideological and theoretical legacy that can, according to Walker (1990), be traced from the repression of vagrancy under the Elizabethan Poor Law, to the workhouse test of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act,

to the 1930s genuinely-seeking-work test, to the more recent 1980s versions contained in the Department of Social Security's "voluntary unemployment rules" regarding non-take up of placements offered on YTS, Employment Training, or the so-called Restart Programme. This latter version in the historical harassment of the undeserving poor is designed to put pressure on the long-term unemployed by compelling them to attend "Mickey Mouse" training (such as "job search skills") under the threat of benefit suspension (contained in the voluntary unemployment rules) if schemes are refused. Murray's analysis blames the victim (Walker 1990) whilst implicitly condemning the state for perpetuating the problem by undermining the ethics of self-help. As MacNichol has noted, the concept of an underclass is periodically resurrected because it has "enormous symbolic importance as part of a broader reformist strategy within conservative social thought" (1987 : 300), and tends to be invoked and supported by those who "wish to constrain the redistributive potential of state welfare" (1987 : 316). Thus, despite its descriptive appeal, the concept of an underclass has to be challenged because it invokes historical notions of personal inadequacy, behavioural defects and inter-generational welfare dependency which neatly meshes with conservative views of the aetiology of social problems and their solutions (see for example, Joseph 1974).

What Murray's work highlights is the danger of moving from the identification of a section of society who are enduring social hardship into regarding social hardship as a phenomenon produced by those forced to endure it. As MacNichol, above, points out, such an analysis contains reactionary policy implications such as a reduction of welfare benefits and authoritarian measures to re-educate and remoralise the undeserving poor. Mann's (1992) analysis on the other hand seeks to locate intra-class divisions within the Social Division of Welfare. Mann shows how such divisions evolved as a paradoxical by-product of working class struggles to avoid the debilitating consequences of capitalism, and how exclusionary practices by organised labour were significant in this process. Exclusionary practices among the emergent

trade unions enabled sections of the organised working class to maintain some control over the labour process as a means of collectively avoiding poverty. However, such practices have promoted intra-class divisions which are reflected in the Social Division of Welfare. Mann's historical analysis reveals how the intra-class social divisions were subsequently embodied in social legislation which institutionalised the Social Division of Welfare. According to Mann:

> "Capitalism encourages sectional competition and economistic class struggles. These, in turn, promote intra-class divisions which the Social Division of Welfare comes both to reflect and at the same time enhance" (1992 : 11).

The strongest sections of the organised working class, through gaining access to occupational and fiscal (private) welfare, have reinforced the widening differentials within the Social Division of Welfare. For the weakest sections, excluded from the labour process and access to occupational welfare and pension schemes (or profit-sharing, transport allowances and cheap mortgages), their only recourse is to the most visible and stigmatised provisions of public welfare. Welfare state benefits which provide the least security provide the minimum standard of living for those stranded at the bottom reaches of the class structure and the Social Division of Welfare -

> "all those who are long-term unemployed; most of those for whom periods of unemployment alternate with dependence on casual or part-time work; those participating in the bottom reaches of the 'black economy' outside the tax system; all those who are totally dependent on state benefits ... single parent families on social security; and those people who ... live in households where the standard of living only exceeds the minimum poverty level because of the receipt of means tested benefits" (Friend and Metcalf 1982 : 118-119).

The most notable feature of the changing terrain of welfare provision in recent years has been the profound cleavage between sections of the working class at the upper reaches of the Social Division of Welfare and those at the bottom. Those at the upper reaches have benefited from Conservative policy in the areas of tax and occupationally related private welfare and fiscal benefits. Those at the bottom have been excluded from the newer patterns of working class consumption (associated

with, for example, home ownership and private welfare) as a consequence of their dependence on public welfare. As the gap becomes more visible -

"there is a temptation for middle class observers to identify an 'underclass'. It is a temptation which has to be resisted if the process of 'making' an underclass is not to be built into new state policies. Otherwise the impact on intra-class divisions and the Social Division of Welfare could well be to recreate the sort of distinctions, between those at the top and those at the bottom of the working class, which existed in Victorian Britain (Mann 1990 : 165).

The cleavage in the Social Division of Welfare and the dependence of increasing numbers on the stigmatised provisions of public welfare has produced a growth industry in "scrounger bashing and scrounger phobia" (Golding and Middleton 1982).

4.6.2 Social Security : Scroungers, Scrounger Bashing and Scrounger Phobia

In 1982-83, there were more than three and a half million people in Britain dependent upon unemployment and supplementary benefits (Parker 1982 : 32). Benefits, which are barely sufficient to maintain "poverty line" living standards (Child Poverty Action Group 1987) have become the main sources of income for 50% of people living in the Inner City wards of Manchester (Chapter One, Section 1.9). Those in receipt of benefits are subjected to the most stringent and arbitrary investigations and limitations on earning. Thus, the unemployed in my sample group were extremely discreet about their "jobs on the side" for fear of "grassers" whose 'phone calls or letters to the "social" can lead to "snoopers" being sent to investigate. The motive of informers was assumed to be "jealousy". This has been vividly described in Seabrook's (1982) impressionistic accounts of 'Unemployment'.

Social security abuse is generally regarded by the state as being more blameworthy than income tax evasion or avoidance, and there have been frequent periodic outbursts (moral panics) by the mass media and populist right-wing politicians about "dole scroungers" and the like (see for example: Seaton 1986; Box 1987 : 150-51;

245

Golding and Middleton 1982; *Daily Telegraph* 14.5.86, "Crackdown on Dole Scroungers"; *Today* 5.12.86, "The Moonlighters who Cost Britain Millions"; *Manchester Evening News* 29.8.86, "Bid to Beat Dole Cheats"; *Marketeer and Discount Trader* 1.4.88, "Swoop on Dole Fiddlers"). In October 1985, Sir Michael Edwardes, former Chairman of British Leyland, Jeffrey Archer, former Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Party, and Lord Young, then the Employment Secretary, all made widely publicised claims (reported in *The Guardian* on 15 and 31 October 1985) with the implication that there were perhaps nearly a million "dole scroungers" who "artificially inflated" the unemployment statistics.

A further 'moral panic' was the 'discovery' of a "Costa del Dole" in the mid-1980s -

" ... seaside resorts to which, it was said, unemployed young people living on social security were flocking. To discipline what was at most a tiny minority of claimants - none of whom were breaking any law - board and lodging allowance for all claimants under 26 years old not living with their parents were ... withdrawn" (Davies 1986 : 126).

Taking benefits without real entitlement seems tantamount to stealing, whereas tax evasion is regarded as more like not paying the government's bill. This popular attitude is embodied in the disproportionate emphasis placed by Tory governments on anti-fraud investigation by the Department of Social Security as compared with the Inland Revenue. In 1981-82, for example, there were 2,250 fraud investigators in the Social Security compared with 1,870 in the Inland Revenue (Parker 1982 : 33). This, despite the fact that: "Illicit gains from white-collar crime far exceed those of all other crime combined" (Ramsay Clark quoted in Box 1987 : 35).

The income tax system is not heavily geared towards criminalisation in the way that social security fraud is (Cook 1991; McBarnet 1991a, b). Within the income tax fraud investigation system, there is a preference for settlement, or for the use of decriminalising sanctions. There is, according to McBarnet, "an institutional tendency to 'decriminalise' tax violations" (1991a : 34). Dee Cook (1991) has

246

similarly shown how public discourse and popular ideology surrounding tax assist in the decriminalisation of the law breaking activities of "valuable citizens" (1991 : 7). Popular discourse is based on the different histories of taxation and public welfare and the ideological construction of taxpayers as 'givers' and benefit claimants as 'takers'. Tax evasion enters public discourse as a justifiable fiddle or shrewd business practice, benefit fraud as a despicable form of 'scrounging'. Moreover, As McBarnet (1988; 1991a, b) has demonstrated, activities can be actively decriminalised by the strategies adopted by tax payers and their financial advisers, who manipulate the enforcement of the law towards their own ends. Sometimes these processes occur following detection (Mann 1985), but also pre-emptively by the "management of legitimation" and disclosure of information, in such a way as to both minimise investigation and avoid any danger of invoking criminal procedures at all (McBarnet 1991a, b). According to McBarnet, "economic elites actively use the methods of law to secure immunity from legal control" (1991a : 342).

Supplementary benefit fraud investigations take place within a social context shaped by a Welfare State pulled in contradictory directions. In one respect, the function of welfare benefits may be viewed as an entitlement for the relief of need, a poverty safety-net. On the other hand, the Welfare State's primary function has been seen in terms of protecting the public purse and discouraging dependency. In terms of the latter view, Patrick Jenkin, one-time Conservative Minister for Social Security, argued:

> "The honest and the innocent have nothing to fear from the enquiries of our officials ... Helping genuine claimants ... remains the main function of the Social Security" (Quoted in Cook 1991 : 143).

Thus, the pursuit of supplementary benefit fraud reproduces notions of the dishonest claimant and the nineteenth century distinctions between the ("honest and innocent") deserving poor and the undeserving poor.

Social security for the unemployed was not designed to cope either with large scale or long-term unemployment and evidence indicates that changes in social security policy have actually reduced the living standards of benefit-dependent families, especially the long-term unemployed (Bradshaw *et al* 1983, 1987). According to a study by Piachaud (1991) of the London School of Economics, benefits have been cut by twenty per cent in real terms during the period 1979-1987, with the result that at least three times more people are living in poverty because of unemployment than when the Conservatives came to power in 1979. According to Mack and Lansley (1985):

> "There have been many government policies that have contributed to these trends, the most important being the changes in taxation and social security. Since 1979, the national level of taxes on incomes has ... risen. However, while the low-paid have had to hand over an increased proportion of their wages to the state, the burden of tax on those on the highest incomes ... has fallen. Overall, the well-off and the rich have gained about £2,600 million between 1979 and 1984 from tax concessions. At the same time, there have been several changes in social security that have made those dependent on benefits poorer ... All in all, benefit cuts over the life of Mrs. Thatcher's first term in office amounted to some £1,600 million, most of which represented a cut in the incomes of the poorest sections of the community" (1985 : 5-6).

More recently, figures released on the eve of the parliamentary recess in July 1992 revealed a huge cut in real incomes for all the poorest sections of society (*Households Below Average Income*, HMSO 1992). According to these official figures, in 1988-89, over twelve million people were living on below half-average incomes (the nearest thing to a poverty line). In 1979, when the Conservatives took office, the equivalent total was under five million. The data also showed that 25% of the nation's children were living in families below the poverty line (compared 10% in 1979) indicating that 3.2 million children were now living in poverty. Michael Meacher, Labour's social security spokesperson, argued that the Government had refused to release the report for almost two years as part of a cynical political manoeuvre: "The Government sat on this report until after the general election and published it [on the eve of the parliamentary recess] too late for parliamentary scrutiny" (quoted in *The Guardian* 16.7.92).

248

Moreover, in April 1993, Donald Dewer (the shadow Social Security Secretary), in answer to a Commons written question, obtained figures which showed that the numbers living on income support, the "safety-net benefit", had more than doubled (to over eight million) from the 1979 figures.   In 1979, when the Conservatives took power, there were 4.4 million living on the equivalent supplementary benefit.   In 1992, the total was 8.7 million.   In the same Commons reply, further estimated projections by the Department of Social Security revealed that 5.7 million people would claim income support in 1993-94 on behalf of themselves and a further 4.6 million dependants;   making a total of 10.3 million, or one in six of the entire population, dependent on the minimal provisions of the welfare benefits system (reported in *The Guardian* 17.4.93).

The "hardcore" of young unemployed can be located within the lower reaches of the Social Division of Labour.   They are dependent upon the most visible and stigmatised provisions of public welfare to provide the minimum standard of living. Within the inner city, the hardcore can be said to occupy a geographical and psychological "twilight zone" (Presdee 1984).   It is a twilight zone between school leaving and adulthood, devoid of any of the material and psychological benefits of waged work.   Within the twilight zone, it has been argued that crucial aspects of identity formation, and psycho-social development and functioning are "stunted". This analysis has been caricatured by Buss and Redburn (1983) as, "you lost your job, now you're losing your mind".

4.6.3 You lost your job, now you're losing your mind : The Psychology of Unemployment

Social-psychological research has indicated that employment status remains a crucial aid and symbolic reference point in the post-school transition to adult roles, status, and identities (see for example, Jahoda *et al* 1933;   Jahoda 1979a, b, 1981, 1982;

Gurney 1980; Kelvin 1981; Donovan and Oddy 1982; Donovan *et al* 1985; Storey 1982; Breakwell 1985; Hendry 1984; Layton 1986; etc.).

The transition from dependent statuses associated with residence in the parental home, and reliance on parents for material support, to an adult status has in general been closely correlated, at least among working class youth, with getting a job, earning a wage, courtship, leaving home, getting married, and starting a family. Without a job or wage, this process of transition is disrupted. As Wallace (1987) has similarly argued:

> "One of the founding principles of British society between 1945 and the 1970s has been that of 'full employment'. *During this period, it was thought that employment* was available to everyone who wanted it, and this view served to fashion the way in which people left school, started work, and began families. Employment has traditionally been one of the determinants of adult status and citizenship, and it also serves to determine social identities in other respects - which class an individual belongs to, their life styles, and their status as 'men' or 'women', are all determined by the kind of jobs they find" (1987 : 1).

The absence of paid employment appears to have profound implications, not only for the traditional post-school transition routes to adult roles and status, but also for 'crucial' aspects of social identity formation. According to Donovan and Oddy for example:

> "The transition from school to work may well represent a crucial stage in the formation of an adult identity. If an adolescent is denied the chance to take an adult role at this stage in ... development, the adverse effects may be far more serious than when unemployment occurs after an adult identity has been established" (Donovan and Oddy 1982 : 25).

Or, as Breakwell has similarly argued:

> "A person's identity is fundamentally influenced by his or her position in the labour market: attitudes, attributions, and actions which constitute identity can be predicted from that position ... So, no matter how one chooses to define work, it seems to be vital to a person's identity, their sense of self and its evaluation. If one's working life is fraught with difficulties, it can be predicted that identity will be threatened" (Breakwell 1985 501 and 491). (my emphasis)

There is, moreover, a vast social-psychological literature relating to the deleterious effects of unemployment on the psycho-social well-being of the unemployed (see Fryer and Payne (1986) for a comprehensive overview). Many studies embody the highly

250

influential conclusions of Jahoda *et al's* famous (1933) study of unemployment in Marienthal, Austria. The conclusions have been summarised by the main author as follows:

> "The study showed that being unemployed is something very different from having leisure time. The unemployed decreased their attendance of clubs and voluntary organisations, their use of the free library, their reading habits. Their sense of time disintegrated, having nothing to do meant they became less able to be punctual ... Budgeting, so much more necessary than before, was progressively abandoned. While family relations continued in established patterns, longer than other relations and activities, there was some evidence that they, too, deteriorated and family quarrels increased" (1979a : 309).

Jahoda has developed a systematic framework for analysing the consequences of unemployment in psycho-social terms. She argues that employment embodies a "manifest function" or "consequence" which is the provision of money; the reduction of income is of course a primary source of the harm that unemployment brings about. There are also a range of other "latent functions" or "consequences" of employment that are, according to Jahoda, linked to psychological well-being, status, and identity formation. Thus employment provides:

> "A time structure on the waking day; it enlarges the scope of social relations beyond ... family relations; by virtue of the division of labour, it demonstrates that the purposes and achievements of a collectivity transcend those for which an individual can aim; it assigns social status and clarifies personal identity; it requires regular activity" (Jahoda 1982 : 83).

The five "'latent functions" or "consequences" of employment are, according to Jahoda: an imposed time structure; regular shared experience and contacts outside the family; links to transcending goals and purposes; a framework for the definition of status and identity; and a framework of enforced activity. Unemployment thus results in a deprivation of access to these five important "categories of experience" (Miles 1983) which, it is argued, inevitably connects to the impaired psychological well-being of the unemployed.

Large scale systematic surveys utilising a variety of measures, scales, and inventories largely derived from Jahoda's original work have indicated unambiguously

that the young unemployed suffer a loss of psychological well-being and functioning manifested in, for example, depression, diminished sense of self, anxiety and other psycho-social disturbances (see for example: Banks *et al* 1980; Banks and Jackson 1982; Jackson and Warr 1983; Jackson *et al* 1983; Stafford 1982; Warr 1982; Banks *et al* 1984; Ullah and Banks 1985; Ullah *et al* 1983; Ullah *et al* 1985; Banks and Ullah 1986; Fryer and Warr 1984; Warr 1987).

However, the 'Deprivation Theory', which has been derived from Jahoda's pioneer work and which is embodied in much of the social psychology of unemployment, has been challenged for its implicit determinism (Fryer and Payne 1984; Fryer 1986a, b), and psychological positivism (Taylor and Jamieson 1983 : 28-34). There is within the 'Deprivation' literature a characteristic search for a given, universal, and historical pattern; a causal relationship between job-loss, *loss of access to the socio-psychologically* important categories of meaning and experience provided by the five latent functions or consequences of employment, resulting in a loss of psycho-social well-being and functioning. In extreme cases, the psychological deprivation of employment structures may result in instances of "minor psychiatric morbidity" (Fryer and Payne 1986 : 247-249), unsympathetically interpreted by Buss and Redburn (1983) as being "you lost your job, now you're losing your mind".

Taylor and Jamieson (1983) argue that one of the major weaknesses of psychological positivism is its attempt to impose sequences of personal adaptations to unemployment originally observed in the 'gemeinschaft' working class communities of the 1930s on to the experiences of young people who are unemployed in the 1980s. Pahl (1982) has similarly argued that: "attempts by ... psychologists to argue that context does not matter and that extrapolation from studies undertaken 50 years ago can illuminate the present may be dismissed as intellectually unworthy" (1982 : 91).

A variety of studies have underlined and emphasised the special character of the 'new' unemployment of youth. Roberts *et al*, for example, argue that: "Youth unemployment is often less than a calamity for those most seriously affected ... the young unemployed have never anchored their identities to particular occupations" (1982b : 1 and 3). They maintain that the social and economic pressures which produced "job dependence" in the 1920s and 1930s have weakened and that young people are earning renown for their "occupational marginality", preferring independence and novelty to commitment to particular occupations. Roberts *et al* (1982a) go on to cite a 1978 EEC survey among member nations which reports that unemployed 15-24 year olds display exceptional occupational "intransigence".

> "They prove less willing than other age groups to lower their expectations, learn fresh skills and move to different towns, and are more likely to regard it as sound advice to refuse unsatisfying work ... to seek jobs in the black economy" (1982a : 175).

In contrast to 'Deprivation' theories of unemployment, Fryer (1986a) proposes an alternative "theory of agency", the underlying assumption of which is that people are "agents" who -

> "strive to assert themselves, initiate and influence events, are intrinsically motivated and live in a perceived world in which what is attempted depends on their view of the future as well as memories of the past. They try to make sense of what goes on and to act in accordance with these interpretations in line with values and purposes and in the light of estimations of possible scenarios and outcomes" (1986a : 17).

Fryer (1986b) goes to some lengths to point out that agency theory is not a "reductionist, cognitive, psychology which refrains from systematic analysis of social institutions" (1986b ; 31). Fryer maintains that an account of unemployment based on agency theory "emphasises the psychological burdens of material relative poverty and hardship which the employment deprivation theory allows little or no explanatory role" (1986b : 31)

Fryer wishes to separate two claims about the psychological consequences of unemployment which are confused by researchers operating with a deprivation hypothesis. The first claim, with which he can agree, is that unemployment may bring about psychological distress and deterioration. The second claim is that deprivation of the 'latent consequences of employment' causes psychological distress. For Fryer, these are independent claims, the latter view leads to a conception of people as -

> "... dependent beings reliant upon the supportive latent functions of employment for their functioning. When these supports are removed ... their very humanity is diminished" (1986a : 19).

The former view allows for a conception of the person as an 'active social agent' striving to make sense of his or her situation, an active social agent who may well suffer psychologically, not because of the removal of the supportive structures of employment, but rather due to the nature, extent, and effects of material deprivations associated with prolonged unemployment. Evidence suggests, moreover, that rather than promoting physical and psychological health and well-being, some forms of employment may actually diminish it - irrevocably in the case of industrial injuries, disease, and fatalities (McKenna and McEwan 1987).

Ultimately, deprivation theories imply a commitment to "social determinism" (Fryer 1986a : 21) containing a view of the person as -

> "... passive, reactive, extrinsically motivated ... dependent upon an essentially benevolent, supportive though authoritarian employment situation to structure time and goals, dictate purposes, impose social contact and activity, supply ... self-image and provide an external reinforcement schedule to reward the employee-subject's reactions positively or negatively in line with the employers' transcending goals and purposes" (1986a : 21).

Fryer wishes to challenge the deterministic view of the person within deprivation theory, with a voluntaristic view of the person as an active social agent. Empirical work by Fryer and Payne (1984) challenges the deprivation theorists' pessimistic assumption of "the homogeneously negative impact of unemployment" (1984 : 293), by examining instances of "proactive" behaviour which can mitigate against the inevitability of psychological deprivation associated with unemployment.

Proactivity is characterised by "a person choosing to initiate, intervene in or reperceive situations in a way which allows the person ... to act in valued directions rather than respond passively to imposed change" (1984 : 273).

My work in Hartingleigh has similarly indicated that, for those to whom formal employment is a distant and diminishing possibility, alternative status systems, alternative routes to self-esteem (Stager *et al* 1983; Shamir 1986) and, as a consequence, alternative modes of identity formation are proactively explored, constructed and pursued, my preliminary fieldwork serving to confirm the impressions I had formed as a result of informal access to, and familiarity with, the life-styles of the majority of unemployed males in my study group. During Phase One and Phase Two of my evolving study, I progressively became aware of the significantly large numbers of (predominantly, but not exclusively, male) unqualified early leavers who were seeking out and developing sub-employment and anti-employment sub-cultures. These non-conventional routes to income, meaning and identity were progressively constructed from the actual and symbolic resources available within the youth sub-cultures and wider social networks of the local community. Observation and limited (and, on occasions, not so limited) participation revealed the growing involvement of study participants (whether actual, potential, or at the level of fantasy) in a variety of 'survival strategies' and 'alternative careers' within the sub- and anti-employment sub-cultures. These proactive developments appear to offer participants substitute criteria for the construction of status and identity, enabling them to limit and offset threats to their socio-psychological well-being posed by their objective labour market position.

As MacLeod has similarly observed: "For the poorest segments of the population ... the only defence against the dominant ideology [of achievement and material success] ... is to turn it on its head and salvage as much dignity as possible *via* a redefined criteria for success" (1987 : 151).

The sub- and anti-employment sub-cultures not only give access to alternative routes to income, the manifest function of employment (Jahoda 1979), but can also be viewed as providing some of the five "categories of experience" (Miles 1983) identified by Jahoda as the latent functions or consequences of employment. Proactivity in the various survival strategies provides participants with meaning, social contacts, time-structure, and an alternative framework for the definition of status and identity, thus enabling participants to preserve their well-being in the social and psychological 'twilight zone' of prolonged unemployment, wherein the traditional transition routes to adult status and identity have been 'fractured' (Wallace 1987).

Jahoda (1981) has conceded that, in view of the current widespread nature of unemployment, 'institutions' other than formal employment may have "the same psychologically relevant consequences" (1981 : 189). She cites beggars and members of organised criminal gangs as well as those who "work in the informal economy".

> "Such work has for individuals the same manifest consequences as employment and also shares several of its latent functions" (1981 : 189).

Moreover, she argues, such 'work' may in fact be preferable from a psychological viewpoint than unskilled industrial employment as "it requires more initiative and offers more autonomy than low-skilled jobs in industry and may, therefore, avoid the negative consequences on mental health of those occupations" (1981 : 189).

The value for my study of Fryer's (1986a) Theory of Agency and his complementary notion of the person as a psychologically "active social agent" is the emphasis he places on the proactive potential of the young unemployed. The Theory of Agency allows for a notion of resistance or conflict in which historically the poorest members of the working class have frequently engaged (Thompson 1968). The social determinist psychology derived from Jahoda's deprivation theory of unemployment

denies the unemployed the psychological capacity for resistance but, as Mann points out:

> "Whether confronting the Guardians of the Poor Law in the 1830s, rioting in the
> 1880s, occupying the offices of the Guardians in the 1920s, marching in the 1930s,
> occupying DHSS offices and empty buildings in the 1970s, or rioting in the 1980s,
> the poor have hardly been passive" (1992 : 136).

As such, the Theory of Agency can be linked to the resistance theory (Giroux 1983) outlined in Chapter Three (Section 3.5) to provide a framework for understanding the development of non-conventional survival strategies amongst the long-term unemployed participants in my study. The development of alternative careers both within the subculture of the sub-employed and the anti-employment subculture can be understood as proactive developments which enable study participants to resist the negative socio-psychological implications of their objective labour market position. These proactively developed alternative careers are examined in Section 4.8.

4.7 Young Women's Unemployment : A Discussion

As I discussed briefly at the beginning of Section 4.6, although eleven of the twenty-five unemployed participants in my study were women, defining unemployment amongst women is more difficult than for men. This is due to the ways in which their relationships, the assumption of dependency and the overwhelming responsibility for child care blurs any clear cut picture of their employment status. In the period 1985-1986, of the eleven unemployed women in my study group, three were married with pre-school age children, two of whom had husbands who were fully employed. Three of the women were cohabiting with male partners; two of these couples had young children, and in one case the male partner was in full-time employment. Three of the women were lone parents with no regular male partner and two were unattached and did not have children (Table 10).

257

Thus for several of the young women, especially those who were living with a male partner, full-time paid employment was regarded in secondary terms to that of domestic and child care responsibility. These women regarded employment for themselves as marginal, optional, and it was generally viewed in terms of impermanence. They typically believed that unemployment amongst men was of more serious concern than their own, except for the unattached women who regarded the absence of paid employment in the same light as the young men.

TABLE 10 : **Unemployed Women Study Participants (1985-1986)**

Name	Domestic Status	Employment Status of Partner	Official Categorisation of Employment Status
Susan Hargreaves	Married Three Children	Partner Employed	Claims as Lone Parent *
Lynn Parker	Married Two Children	Partner Employed	Unregistered
Heather Lawley	Married One Child	Partner Unemployed	Unregistered - Partner Claims
Janet Wallace	Cohabits Two Children	Partner Unemployed	Unregistered
Maggie	Cohabits One Child	Partner Unemployed	Unregistered - Partner Claims
Stella	Cohabits Childless	Partner Unemployed Anti-employment career	Unregistered
Julie Birchall	Lone Parent One Child	-	Claims as Lone Parent
Lynda Willcox	Lone Parent Two Children	-	Claims as Lone Parent
Tricia Hartley	Lone Parent One Child	-	Claims as Lone Parent
Tracy Smith	Unattached Childless	-	Registered Unemployed
Wendy Fisher	Unattached Childless	-	Registered Unemployed

(* - although Susan Hargreaves claimed as a lone parent, she was in fact married and 'totting' from 'the Social' - see Section 4.8.4 for details)

The women varied in the extent to which they considered they needed to have recourse to full-time paid employment. The key factors were whether or not they were living with a man, or whether they had responsibility for dependent children.

The women also varied in terms of the extent to which they sought, and were available for employment. This was again dependent on whether or not they were in a relationship with a male breadwinner, or partner who was claiming benefits on behalf of them and any dependent children.

The unemployed women ranged on a continuum (*cf* Cragg and Dawson 1984) from the two unattached, childless women who registered in their own right as unemployed, claimed benefits, and were more or less actively engaged in seeking paid employment, to those at the other end of the spectrum, the two married women with young children whose partners were working and had not been engaged in paid work for several years. They did not register as unemployed, did not claim benefits in their own right, were not actively seeking paid work but nevertheless expressed the desire for work outside the home. In between these two extreme positions fell the other six unemployed young women in my study group. The exception was Stella who lived in a council flat on the Marton estate with Digger, one of the long-term unemployed male participants in my study. Neither Stella nor Digger were registered as unemployed nor were they actively seeking work or claiming benefits, but nevertheless maintained a reasonable standard of living from his anti-employment "alternative careers" as a musician, 'hustler' (Section 4.8.5), and 'hoister (Section 4.8.6).

Several of the young women did not register as unemployed because of their ineligibility for benefits if their partners were working, or claiming benefits on behalf of themselves and any dependent children. Until October 1982, those who did register were counted among the unemployed even if they were not entitled to claim benefits. Nowadays unemployment is officially aggregated only on the basis of benefit claimants. According to the 1991 *Labour Force Survey,* almost half of those who were seeking work, but not claiming benefits, were married women (*Employment Gazette* September 1992). Other changes which have affected women's eligibility for benefits rests on the notion of availability for work. Prospective claimants can now

be questioned about their child care responsibilities and their arrangements for the care of dependent children. In addition, if a woman is specifically seeking part-time paid employment and is registered as such, she may be refused benefits on the grounds of placing 'unreasonable restrictions' on her availability for work.

There have been numerous critiques of the androcentric nature of research in the areas of youth and youth unemployment. Much of this 'orthodox' research has been criticised for its predominant focus on the experiences of mainly white, young, working class men (Griffin 1985; 1985a, b; 1986; 1986a; Marshall and Borrill 1984). As I examined in Chapter Three (Section 3.4.5), a good deal of this research has its origins in the youth-cultures and sub-cultures tradition. The androcentric focus on male experience has been variously described by feminist critics as the "academic male-stream" (Siltanen and Stanworth 1984); "men's studies" (Spender 1980); the "gang of lads model" (Griffin 1985); the "boys own gender specific approach" (Griffin 1986a); and the "accepted male face of unemployment" (Callender 1987a).

The active job-search principle and the issues of the work ethic and work incentives which are rooted in orthodox/neo-classical economic theory have informed studies of the unemployed and the experiences of unemployment (see for example: Hill *et al* 1973; Daniel 1974, 1981; Marsden 1982; White 1983; Moylan *et al* 1984). Many studies exclude women and women's experiences. Those studies which have included women are either gender blind or gender bound. They either assume that women's experiences are the same as men's or, when women's experiences are considered, it is usually in terms of "gender specific male categories" (Griffin 1985a : 6).

As a remedial strategy, Griffin (1985a) has suggested "turning the tables" in order to focus on women's experiences as a method for understanding more fully the social

meanings of contemporary employment, unwaged work, and unemployment. In many orthodox studies, unemployment is viewed in opposition to full-time waged work, thus unwaged domestic labour is rendered 'invisible' (Deem 1985; Finnegan 1985). Parker's (1971) study of leisure is a classic example of how, when male waged employment is the main defining category for understanding leisure, women's domestic responsibilities become "free-time" (Deem 1985). Since unwaged domestic work is overwhelmingly women's responsibility, occurring within the privatised sphere of the home, most research on work and unemployment has ignored women's experiences. The overwhelming assumption has been that the wage is the major defining characteristic of 'work' (Deem 1984; Finnegan 1985; Callender 1985).

During the past ten years, there has been a shift in attention and a number of studies have emerged which throw light on women's subjective experience in the job market and its interrelationship with gender, identity, and the sexual division of labour (Martin and Roberts 1984; Cragg and Dawson 1984; Martin and Wallace 1984; Griffin 1985; Wallace 1987; Callender 1985, 1987). In the *Women's Employment Survey*, commissioned by the Department of Employment (Martin and Roberts 1984), there is a chapter on unemployment which reveals the complexity of women's self-perceptions in relation to the questions of employment/unemployment. Like several of the women in my study living with employed partners (Table 10), some married women refused to define themselves as unemployed because of the nature and extent of their 'work' within the home; for married or cohabiting women with children, the term 'unemployed' contained pejorative connotations which devalued their domestic labour:

> "I think women are silly to think of themselves as unemployed because running a home is a job. In fact, it's a full-time job. It's a job that's unpaid but I don't see that I'm unemployed" (Cragg and Dawson 1984 : 18).

Single women on the other hand identified with the term. The key variables appeared to be the stage of the family life cycle (the presence of children) and the

261

presence of a male breadwinner. Women also perceived a divergence between their own domestic situation and that of an unemployed male worker. Even when they expressed a desperate desire to return to paid work to extend the family income or escape domestic drudgery, they still perceived the male as enduring greater hardship, identifying with an ideology which prioritised men's experiences and claims: "I think they take it harder than us. It's their pride, if they're not bringing the wage in, they feel like they're letting us all down. That's why it's not as bad for us, we don't have anything to prove" (Heather Lawley).

My research in this preliminary stage indicated that for the women of my study group employment/unemployment was a complex issue inescapably connected to the pressing domestic concerns of partnerships and dependent child care routines. The male model, both in terms of the experiences of unemployment, and in terms of the variety of adaptive strategies negotiated and enacted by the young men in my study, did not, generally speaking, hold good for the majority of unemployed young women. The lack of recourse to paid employment, coupled with partnership problems and overall responsibility for domestic work and the care of dependent children, had cumulatively negative consequences for several of the women.

Maggie, for example, had enjoyed a relatively full and varied employment record since school leaving. She had enjoyed the experiences of independence, mobility, and financial autonomy, until entering a permanent relationship and giving birth to her first child. After that, she felt "tied to the house", unable to work, and expressed an increasing frustration with the drudgery of domestic labour and the endless round of child care routine. In 1986, she wrote of her experiences in the following terms:

> "My life since leaving school. I have had a varied life. My first job was as a technical assistant in a research laboratory ... [It] was rewarding in the fact that it was interesting. In March 1982 approximately I then moved to London where I became employed in a coffee bar in Soho as a waitress. It suited me as I had left all ties and I was desperate to get away from the family unit which I found suffocating. Although the wages was poor, I was meeting many different kinds of

people and it suited where my head was at. Also being in the 'big City' away from home for the first time gave me freedom from relatives and nosey neighbours and I could do what I wanted and wear any kind of clothes I wanted. I was now living with Mike, a man I had only known for a short time. He had just left his wife and was in a bad state, so I let him live with me. That job lasted until April 1983, in the coffee bar, and we then moved back to Manchester to be near friends and also I was disillusioned with the 'smoke'.

We moved to Rusholme and I was fortunate in gaining employment straight away as an assistant manageress in a reputable restaurant. Catering work is and always has been poorly paid but the duties were various and I was still meeting a cross-section of society. That lasted until January 1984 when I found myself to be pregnant. My baby was born five months later in June 1984. I left work and since then I have not worked for a wage but have become an unpaid 'housewife' and mother. Though I love my daughter, I am unhappy with my life and the work I have to do around the flat. My common-law husband is unemployed and he signs on for us all. He indulges himself during the day in recreational pursuits, smoking dope, so there's not a lot of money and it's a struggle to get by and I resent the fact that he won't help me with the baby.

I do hope to get employment again when my child becomes of school age but in the meantime, it's a struggle to stop the depression I feel. I have been pregnant again but I did not want another baby in this situation as I don't think I can cope. I decided to have a termination, which was very sad. I am now older and probably more disillusioned about my situation and about the prospects of finding a worthwhile job. I see little hope of me being able to hold down a monotonous factory job which involves a lot of routine. Catering and domestic [work] are too poorly paid to be an incentive. I would like work which one had to use one's head and preferably be able to work on one's own initiative. I would be glad just to escape from the housework.

Maggie was not at that time registered as unemployed, as her 'common-law husband', Mike, signed on the dole and claimed supplementary benefits on behalf of the family. However, As Cragg and Dawson maintain: "The demand for employment from women is not apparent from registration figures since many women who want paid work do not register as such. This is part of a more general danger that difficulties of definition and measurement could obscure the reality of the need for paid employment among women" (1984 : 71).

For a clear majority of the unemployed women in my study group, monetary need was central to the desire for employment. For several, financial need was acute, most notably among single mothers and women in partnerships with unemployed or poorly paid men. As Maggie explained:

263

"There's never enough [money] ... By the time you've paid the bills and got the food in, there's nothing left over ... I keep thinking I'll get a bit of a job just to tide us over, but she's [Maggie's young daughter] not old enough to be left yet ... And anyway the Social only take it [income] out of your money [supplementary benefit]."

Apart from the direct and often pressing financial need, paid employment was prized as a means of "getting out of the house", to escape the confines of domestic labour and endless child-care routines. In a study of teenage mothers, Simms and Smith (1984) similarly reported that of the 47 young mothers they had interviewed who had negatively evaluated their experiences of motherhood, the majority desired paid employment "to get a break from the baby", and because they got "fed up in the house all day" (1984 : 11): "The majority of them spent their days at home with the baby - in most cases unwillingly ... three out of four would have preferred to work, at least part-time" (1984 : 10).

Similarly, even in my initial early meetings, several of the unemployed women in my study group frequently complained of the boredom, isolation, and frustration that accompanied the prolonged periods of attending to domestic duties. These young women looked to the world of paid employment as a means of escaping the sense of being trapped by the unrelenting demands of young children. Lynda Willcox, who at the time of my preliminary fieldwork, was a single parent living alone in a council flat, was typical of several of the young unemployed women in expressing the desire for employment to provide relief from domestic frustrations and the increasingly diminished sense of 'self':

"Sometimes I feel like I don't really live anymore. I get so down with the kids ...
I'd love a little job, not even full-time ... part-time cleaning or something ...
Anything would do ... I'd just like the chance to get out. Don't get me wrong, I
love my kids but it'd be nice just to get out of the flat sometimes."

All the unemployed women in my study group had realistic aspirations about the type of work they wanted and expected eventually to get. Typically, they sought unskilled work with limited responsibility, and were prepared to accept low rates of

pay. Although women constituted 40% of the labour force in 1985, they accounted for 75% of those in the lowest paid employment (Federation of Claimants Unions 1985 : 28). Job aspirations were often uncomplainingly constrained by the desire to balance domestic responsibilities. Thus difficulties in obtaining paid employment or work in the informal economy arose not from unreasonable expectations but from a combination of scarcity of suitable types of work and problems in securing adequate child care.

Nevertheless, for a majority of the women in my study group, financial hardship, fruitless job searching, coupled with the pressing need to maintain material standards within the home and adequate provision for dependent children, had resulted in the adoption of various "survival strategies" (Mingione 1983) for supplementing the basic, typically state benefits derived, family income. These "survival tactics" (Coffield *et al* 1983) varied from the legal but undeclared work 'on the side' such as home machining (Jill Souter), part-time bar work and modelling (Lynda Willcox), delivering leaflets Julie Birchall), part-time work on the Markets (Wendy Fisher), to illegal activities such as fiddling the gas and/or electricity meters, fraudulent benefit claims (e.g. Susan Hargreaves), 'dealing' in 'soft' (cannabis) and 'hard' (heroin) drugs (Susan Hargreaves), and 'soft' prostitution as a 'masseuse' in a 'sauna club' (Tricia Hartley).

The most common irregular economic activity adopted as a survival strategy was working 'on the side' without declaring the income to the Social Security, as income is deducted from benefits and may moreover jeopardise benefit entitlement. According to Turner *et al* (1985): "Working 'on the side' when registered as unemployed is morally condoned to a greater degree than most other illegal economic activity ... most people out of work will take any 'side jobs' available" (1985 : 487).

Apart from the constant anxiety caused by fear of detection by those women who occasionally had recourse to the survival strategy of 'work on the side', it is also worth

emphasising that : "Opportunities in the hidden economy are as unequal as those in the regular economy: access to fiddles may well be even less equally distributed than access to conventional rewards" (O.C.P.U. 1978).

According to Wallace and Pahl (1986), the divisions in the 'shadow economy' reflect those in the formal one. It is evident that there is a clear division by gender, with men in general having greater access to "survival strategies", and moreover finding more lucrative forms (Cohen 1982 : 45; Wallace 1987 : 137; Mattera 1985). Thus, even within the informal economy, job potential reflects the diminished access of women as a consequence of the inequalities associated with the domestic division of labour, and lack of access to the street networks which supply the necessary contacts for participation. Unemployment 'careers' are examined in more detail in Section 4.8.

4.7.1   The Domestic Careers of Women and Men

The deepening recession in the mid-1980s, coupled with a general decline in the living standards of benefit-dependent women, resulted in a "deepening of their domestic duties and oppression" (Willis 1984b : 13). For the women in childless partnerships, especially the three women in relationships with unemployed men, three of the unemployed lone parents, and the two unattached childless women still living in the parental home, unemployment had resulted in an increase in their domestic responsibility. These patterns are traditional within working class communities and have been inherited from the domestic precedents established and experienced within the natal home:

> "Male youth were not expected to contribute towards domestic work but could come and go as they pleased whilst they lived at home ... Girls on the other hand ... [were] much more closely controlled by parents and ... were also expected to contribute towards domestic work. It is clear that young women organised their lives around domestic work" (Wallace 1987 : 158).

Amongst the three women in partnerships with unemployed men, I found little evidence of unemployment narrowing the gender divisions of domestic responsibility and domestic labour. In fact, the reverse was the case for Heather Lawley:

"Since he got made redundant, there's even more to do with less [money] to do it with ... Lisa's [Heather's daughter] under my feet all day and Paul stuck in front of the tele, you can't get down to the cleaning ... I'm glad when he goes out with his mates ... at least I can get on".

The unemployed women in my study group were not highly educated or 'professional' women, nor were they politically sophisticated. They were generally unfamiliar with feminist discourse and analyses, and when 'Women's Lib' was referred to, it was usually in disparaging terms. The ways of describing their social and relationship situations were strongly intuitive, their opinions steeped in familiarity with the embedded domestic patterns derived from their parents and the social milieu in which they moved. There was little reference to theory or political analysis in terms of being critical of their adherence to traditional domestic roles, even in those situations where the conventional 'domestic bargain' no longer applied, that is when the male 'breadwinner' was unemployed and potentially available for sharing child care and domestic labour.

The child rearing women within my study group appeared to be particularly disadvantaged. Of the eleven unemployed young women, eight had one or more dependent children. In contrast, of the eight women who were either fully employed, in part-time work, or were at College, only three had dependent children. Mothers of young children were unable to compete both in the formal and informal labour markets, and when work was obtained, as was the case for two of the women in my study group who had children, it was part-time, unskilled, and low-paid. One of these women, Jill Souter, worked as a home-machinist. However, this employment, as exploitative and poorly paid as it was, came to an abrupt end in October 1986 when her 'boyfriend' was made redundant. He insisted that Jill gave up her part-time job on the pretext that it could lead to investigation and potential prosecution by the

Department of Employment from whom Jill's boyfriend was claiming unemployment benefit on behalf of the family. Jill, however, believed that it was "more to do with his pride". Nevertheless, she was forced (temporarily) to relinquish her job which caused a great deal of resentment and bad feeling within the home.

Some writers maintain that an early "domestic career" of pregnancy and child rearing may be sought by unemployed girls as a means of securing adult identity and independence from the parental home (Willis 1984b, d, 1985; Simms and Smith 1983, 1985; Francome 1983; Campbell 1984). According to Willis (1984b) for example:

> "Many careers officers and social workers ... have noted a trend towards early pregnancy and the setting up of single parent homes. This is ... one way to "get off the register" at the careers office or Job Centre. It cuts out the embarrassments and failures of trying to find work. More positively, child rearing offers a clear role for young women. You are meeting the needs of someone else, and you are achieving a transition to adult status" (1984b : 13).

However, Griffin (1985) adds a note of caution to this analysis by asking is motherhood always such a "conscious choice". For many women, motherhood and monogamous heterosexual partnerships are regarded as inevitable. None of the other alternatives are viewed as socially acceptable or economically viable, leaving little space for voluntaristic choice, at least for the majority of working class women. Although in Manchester, according to Kris Stead, the Health Education Officer, who in 1986 established the pioneering 'Teenage Parent Club': "Some girls are getting pregnant because they need to find a purpose in life. Many of them have been unemployed since they left school and have very little to live for. A baby gives them a reason and a feeling of being needed" (*Manchester Evening News* 9.5.86 : 23).

Stead maintains that early pregnancy increases the opportunities for council accommodation at a time when council waiting lists are extending the normal waiting time to over three years. As one of the respondents in Ineichen's (1981) study of "the housing decisions of young people" maintains: "To get a council house, what you need is to get yourself in a mess" (1981 : 256).

According to figures derived from the 1981 census data, more than 10% of the children in Manchester's Inner City wards lived in lone parent households, compared with a national average of 6.1% (*Manchester: A Picture of Ill Health*, 1985 : 6). Figures derived from the City Planning Department's 1985 Population Survey showed that the proportion of children in lone parent families had increased between 1981 and 1985 to 18%. By 1985, there were over 9,000 lone parent families in Manchester's Inner City wards, most of them headed by young single women, over 75% without full-time jobs. This view of the increasing number of lone parent families in Manchester is supported by the recorded increase in Manchester's 'illegitimacy rate'. This rose from 26.5% of births in 1980 to 38.2% in 1985 (*Manchester: A Picture of Ill Health*, 1985 : 6; *Poverty in Manchester*, 1986 : 3). Moreover, between 1979 and 1984, the number of lone parent families dependent on supplementary benefits doubled (*Poverty in Manchester*, 1986 : 3).

There is further evidence to suggest that 'motherhood' is undertaken by lone parent women as an 'alternative career'. Recent statistics indicate, for example, that the pregnancy rate among under 16s has risen by almost a quarter during the 1980s, and by 35% among the under 15s (Brindle 1992). Other data confirms this trend. In 1981, for example, 12.8% of births occurred outside marriage. In 1991, this proportion had more than doubled to 30.2% (*Population Trends*, HMSO 1992); with over a quarter of all households in Britain being lone person households compared with only one-eighth in 1961 (*Social Trends*, 1991 : 35).

Of the four lone parents in my study group, three were unemployed and dependent on benefits and one was studying full-time at College and was largely supported by her parents. Lynda Willcox lived alone in a council flat in Rusholme with her two young children, Julie Birchall lived in a privately rented flat in Blackburn with her young son, Tricia Hartley lived in a privately rented flat in Marton with a woman friend and her young son, and Lynn Chapman, who was at College, lived with her parents after

having lived with her young son in a council flat for almost two years. At this stage in my preliminary fieldwork, I was able to establish that motherhood had been undertaken as an early 'domestic career' decision by six of the unemployed women, and, moreover, it is worth noting that "precipitous routes" to parenthood have been accepted in some communities for generations (Klein 1964; Wallace 1985). Moreover, two of the women in part-time work who had gone on to form established partnerships with men had become pregnant and had their first child prior to moving out of the family home. Those observations lend some support to Roberts's (1987) notion of unemployment "accelerating" young women's "domestic career" moves. As Griffin (1985 : 56-7) has similarly observed, employment difficulties amongst her study group increased the pressure to "get a man" as part of the process of displaying adult status in the transition from childhood dependency to adult status. As Roberts (1987) has similarly argued: "For young women, marriage and parenthood have always been an alternative route, arguably their primary route, to adult status. Unemployment must make this route appear more attractive than ever" (1987 : 20). A point reiterated by Wallace's research: "The traditional model of the family ... lives on in the imagination ... even when this model is increasingly difficult to fulfil in practice ... Rising unemployment appeared to make such traditional expectations entrenched"(1985 : 24).

There was little evidence of unemployment propelling the young men in my study group into early marriage, cohabiting, or paternity. Freedom from domestic and parental responsibility appeared to be one factor which explained the greater propensity towards sub- and anti-employment 'careers' among the unemployed men as compared with the unemployed women Of the fourteen who were unemployed during the period 1985-86, none were in child rearing partnerships. Six of the unemployed young men were still living in the parental home. Four lived with young women in rented accommodation - none of these couples had children. Two lived in shared accommodaton with other male friends, and two lived alone in rented flats. In

270

contrast, four of the six employed males were either married or cohabiting, and had at least one child. This observation lends tentative support to those studies which emphasise the central importance of waged employment for young men in the transition to the adult roles and statuses associated with marriage and parenthood.

During the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, as the age of majority fell, many young couples began to form families by their early twenties (Willmott 1966; Dunnell 1976; Fogelman 1976; Schofield 1973; Leonard 1980). Contemporary evidence suggests that this traditional transition route to adult identity roles and status has been "fractured" (Wallace 1987 : 180). The conventional transition in the life course from childhood dependency to getting married, leaving the parental home, and having children, has been severely disrupted by the unprecedented levels of youth unemployment (Wallace 1987 : 153-180; Griffin 1985 : 44-57; Gurney 1980; Hendry *et al* 1984). What Roberts (1987 : 20) has described as a "deceleration theory" appears to hold good for the majority of unemployed men in my study group, unemployment obstructing and delaying the processes of sustained courtship, marriage and parenthood. As Brah (1986) has similarly argued: "For those unmarried young males contemplating marriage, the lack of a job can mean reduced opportunities for, or a delay in, securing a suitable match" (1986 : 69).

Cohabiting, as an interstitial stage between the family of origin and that of destination, appears to be one emerging form amongst my study participants. Four of the unemployed young men, three of the unemployed young women, and two other women, one in part-time work and one at College, had adopted the strategy of living together, rather than marriage, as a pattern for establishing 'commitment' in their relationships. Cohabiting was not confined to the unemployed study participants. The three participants who had secured a traditional transition from school leaving to employment undertook pre-marital cohabitation after early moves from their parental homes (Chapter Six, Section 6.5.6). According to Roberts (1987):

271

"Cohabiting, often but not always, in pre-marital relationships, has become more prevalent ... Getting married and leaving the parental home are no longer the indivisible steps that they appeared to earlier generations, particularly in working class communities" (1987 : 20).

The overall picture to emerge from focusing on the domestic careers of the unemployed men and women in my study group is that of child care and domestic responsibilities constraining the aspirations and opportunities of the unemployed women both in the formal labour market and in the informal labour market. Although it would not be true to say that it was all child care and domesticity for the women and hustling and street life for the men, undoubtedly there was a significant lack of participation in the informal economic networks by the women as compared with the men. As Cohen has similarly argued: "The black economy mirrors almost exactly the official labour market, not least in offering more limited opportunities to girls than boys" (1982 : 45).

There were however some notable exceptions and these are examined in the following sections. Nevertheless, the general picture remains of the majority of unemployed men being connected to the sub-employment and anti-employment sub-cultures and utilising street contacts and opportunities to exploit semi-legal and illegal modes of income acquisition, with women's participation in these spheres being generally limited.

4.8   Unemployment Careers

Despite the claim made by Griffin that researchers have searched "usually in vain" for a "sub-culture of the unemployed" (1986a : 38), studies have indicated that in some high unemployment inner city areas, the young long-term unemployed now constitute a new "underclass" (Coleman and Husen 1985; Ullah 1987; Dahrendorf 1987; Jordan and Jones 1988; Morris and Irwin 1992). Other studies as well as my own suggest that this hardcore group at the bottom reaches of the Social Division of Welfare gravitates into separate social networks (Banks *et al* 1984; Donovan and

272

Oddy 1982; MacLeod 1987). As early as 1982, Donovan and Oddy warned that: "There appears to be a danger that a social network of 'second class citizens' will develop amongst the youngsters [without work] who will have less and less in common with their working peers" (1982 : 25).

Moreover, a longitudinal study of 1150 (633 male, 517 female) "unemployed urban youths with poor educational attainments", commissioned by the Department of Employment, similarly indicated that the long-term unemployed cope with their "new social state" (Willis 1984a) by firstly, restricting their social networks to contacts with others in a similar position; secondly, by recognising and building on a common sense of identity with others sharing their social circumstances; and thirdly, by reducing their commitment to the orthodox labour market (Banks *et al* 1984 : 345).

My preliminary fieldwork similarly indicated that in Hartingleigh within the social networks of the young long-term unemployed, the pressures to conform to traditional patterns of employment through the pursuit of 'legitimate' work were abandoned in favour of alternatives to be found within the local sub-employment and anti-employment subcultures. Similarly, the commitment of individuals to formal unemployment as a source of income, status, and identity, was progressively relinquished in favour of locally conceived and constructed alternatives.

Such 'alternative careers' may be divided into three broad categories. The first group are embedded within the informal economy which supplies a range of 'fiddle jobs, off the books', in which benefit claims are generally maintained. The entrepreneurial prominence of two local families in supporting and sustaining what I will describe as the local alternative enterprise culture is briefly discussed. The networks that have evolved and are sustained by the local alternative enterprise culture have produced a distinctive subculture; this I have described as the sub-employment subculture.

A second distinctive but overlapping subculture within the social networks of the long-term unemployed is the anti-employment subculture, within which can be located a variety of illegal alternative careers. These are characterised by their adherents' vehement opposition to the 'straight' world. Participants in the anti-employment subculture eschew any form of contact with the world of paid employment, even the fiddle jobs within the local alternative enterprise culture. In practice, the boundaries between the sub- and anti-employment subcultures are crossed by participants *via* an intermediate stage of semi-legal and illegal activities embodied in the careers of 'hustling' or 'totting'; all of these activities are briefly discussed in the following sections.

4.8.1 The Sub-Employment Subculture

At the time of my preliminary fieldwork in Hartingleigh, there were various forms of off the books employment that could be directly linked to the subculture of the sub-employed. These included building work, car repair work, gardening, kitchen portering, painting and decorating, carpet and upholstery cleaning, window cleaning, and four varieties of work that were locally connected to an alternative enterprise culture sponsored by two local families - these were 'barking' (unlicensed street trading), 'touting' (selling tickets and paraphernalia at sporting events and pop concerts), market trading, and 'bagging-up' (horse manure for resale as garden compost).

The above fiddle jobs include some of the legal but undeclared work discussed earlier (Section 4.7) when I examined the 'survival strategies' of unemployed women participants. It is clearly evident that the range of options available to the unemployed males is more extensive than for the women for the reasons previously outlined (Section 4.7.1). However, Julie Birchall was one of the unemployed women who, at the time of my preliminary fieldwork had secured part-time work "off the books" (Mattera 1985) in order to supplement her basic income from single parent

benefits. When I contacted her in 1985-86, Julie lived alone with her baby son. Her work 'on the side' consisted of delivering leaflets door to door for a small weekly income. Julie worked during the summer months of 1985 taking her young son in his pushchair when delivering the leaflets "in order to save on child minding costs":

> "You get five pounds for [delivering] a thousand [leaflets] ... some of the girls hang around in the [shopping] precinct handing them out ... I'm too scared of someone telling the Social, so I just do the streets ... I take 'em round and shove a few through [each of] the letter boxes. If it rains or I get fed up, I just chuck 'em away ... Some days I can do two thousand ... but it's a hassle. I'm always worried in case anyone sees me and reports it ... I always need the money though, what can you do?"

For the women in my study, the extra income derived from the adoption of these 'survival strategies' was generally used to maintain rather than improve existing material standards of living. The mothers in particular viewed the additional income as a family resource and, unlike the majority of men who were in relationships and engaged in illegal activity, not as one to be spent indulgently on themselves. Typically, the unemployed women with families made the collective household needs their predominant concern. In contrast, because of their greater mobility and domestic freedom, all fourteen of the unemployed males in my study group had experienced at least one variety of the fiddle jobs listed earlier and several of the employed males had similarly 'worked on the side' prior to securing permanent employment.

Apart from one or two notable exceptions, the fiddle jobs were generally intermittent, of short duration and of limited availability. At this stage of my preliminary fieldwork, most of the unemployed male participants were either working or had in the recent past worked 'on the side' whilst claiming benefits, and a minority were pursuing or had recently pursued, moderately long-term 'fiddle careers' within a single occupation; in one case, for example, landscape gardening, in another window cleaning and car repair work, and two were regularly employed 'off the books' as labourers in the building trade. Most of the long-term unemployed who formed the

nucleus of the sub-employment sub-culture organised their lives around moves between total dependence on benefits and the various fiddle jobs. A minority were pursuing full illegal careers and identities within the anti-employment subculture, and these are examined a little later in Section 4.8.6.

4.8.2   The Hattons and The Donaghues

In respect of the four fiddle jobs at the end of the list provided in the previous section, namely, market trading, 'barking', 'touting' and 'bagging-up', these occupations are sponsored by two large and well-known families within the local community who act, in a variety of capacities, as informal 'employers' of the unemployed young. The work that is made available through these local contacts is generally short-term, requiring differing numbers of casual employees - some of whom would be recruited from among my unemployed study participants. During the first phase of my study, I was introduced to members of both families and over the years developed a reasonable rapport with them and their immediate associates. Although my meetings with members of both families were superficial and infrequent, nevertheless, as a result of these contacts, together with other local knowledge and information supplied by study participants, I was able to confirm their complex role in the informal alternative employment networks of the community.

The Hattons are a large family of ten, including six brothers, who occupy several terraced houses in the older parts of the Ward. Their familial network extends beyond Hartingleigh to property ownership in the more affluent areas in the south of the City, and individual family members are renowned in both areas for their involvement in a variety of semi-legal and illegal activities, including prostitution, drug-dealing and armed robbery. In terms of the subculture of the sub-employed, the Hattons would intermittently recruit a number of my study participants for a variety of tasks including the previously mentioned bagging-up of horse manure. Bagging up was a relatively minor enterprise organised by one of the Hatton brothers and one for

which a number of my study participants had been recruited, especially in their early periods of post-school unemployment. "Shit-shovelling", as Dilly described it, was significant in providing participants with a sense of the possibility of alternative income acquisition as well as gaining them access to other forms of 'employment' supplied by the Hatton family. After bagging up, the horse manure would be transported to Garden Centres, as well as various suburban neighbourhoods of the City, for sale as garden compost. The horse manure is a commodity freely available to the Hattons, and is obtained from horse-riding stables in nearby Marton. A team of able-bodies males would be employed by the Hattons to bag-up the manure which would then be loaded onto transit vans for transportation to retail outlets. The work not only involved bagging-up and loading/unloading, but also occasionally required personal involvement on the part of participants in 'knocking on" (doors) in suburban areas as compost salesmen. The work was available in monthly cycles and could earn participants a minimum amount of fifteen pounds, for a day's labour in bagging-up and loading, to over fifty pounds if involved in "knocking" on or retail selling.

The Hattons also organise a successful operation following various popular musical groups and bands on national tours. This enterprise produced work that was made available to participants and which involved touting (or selling) black-market tickets, unofficially printed posters and other pop ephemera, usually at inflated prices outside concert venues. The Hattons also organise a similar venture for many major sporting events, particularly football matches as well as 'big games' such as the annual FA Cup Final. In part, the family's organisational base is derived from the retail stalls family members manage on an alternate weekly basis outside the stadiums of both of Manchester's major football teams. These makeshift stalls sell a variety of items including scarves, flags, hats, badges, etc., as well as black market match tickets, to both home and visiting supporters. The Hattons run a small fleet of vans and cars, and study participants would be periodically employed, on a commission basis, as

street touts or vendors, with the Hattons organising transport, 'supervision', and the supply of tickets and goods.

The other family of informal employers are the Donaghues, a large extended family of three generations, the majority of whom are based in properties in nearby Moat Pitton, although two brothers and their families live in Marton on the border of Hartingleigh Ward. Like the Hattons, the Donaghues are well known in the community as a "hard family", on the fringes of the City's criminal community, with established connections in various enterprises, including drugs and 'taxing' (protection). The Donaghues are able to provide casual work in several occupations, most notably as market traders on the market stalls which they own and run, both in my study area and in other parts of the City. These provide regular informal 'employment' for several members of my study group; for two, this was more or less permanent work, off the books, and for several others, work was intermittently provided on a casual basis.

As well as informal work on their market stalls, the Donaghues also periodically recruited study participants as teams of 'barkers'. Barking, also known as 'fly-pitching', is a form of unlicensed street trading that usually occurs in the City Centre, or on the fringes of legitimate markets. The barker is generally accompanied by several 'dogs' (dogouts) or lookouts who, in the case of City Centre barking, provide early warning of police approaching (to enable the barker to close his pitch or stall and disappear into the crowd). The goods sold by a barker are usually held in quantity in a van parked nearby. The barker holds a proportion of the goods in a large suitcase or on a makeshift stall erected in the street. The barker's role is to attract potential 'punters' and encourage the purchase of goods by a constantly shouted or 'barked' patter. At its best, the barker's patter embodies all the major selling strategies of market pitchers and "patter merchanters" outlined by Pinch and Clark (1986),

including the strategy of inferring that the products being cheaply sold may have been stolen:

(The Fly Pitcher is selling jewellery)
" ... are they stolen? that's what's goin through yer mind ... are they stolen? mind
yer own business ah don't worry about where you people get yuh money from ...
don't worry about where these rings an' these chains come from" (Pinch and Clark
1986 : 181).

In fact, the goods offered for sale are rarely 'bent' (stolen) or even 'slightly bent', as is often implicitly claimed.   The barker's stock is usually purchased wholesale as discount offers, end of ranges, discontinued lines, etc. from the various wholesale trade and cash 'n' carry warehouses in the City (to which the Donaghues have access as a result of their status as legitimate market retailers).   Goods to be 'punted' vary from cheap jewellery, chocolates and sports socks to golf umbrellas and counterfeit 'designer' sportswear and clothing.   Wholesale purchases depend on what can be obtained cheaply enough and in sufficient quantities to ensure maximum 'mark-up or profit.

The various forms of sub-employment periodically available to study participants provided access to 'off the books' income whilst simultaneously allowing them to maintain benefit entitlement and claims.   The alternative career options provided by the Hattons and Donaghues, and their demonstrable and conspicuous success in the local informal economy, were sufficient to ensure their significance as role-models for participants operating within the sub- and anti-employment subcultures.   Moreover their roles as 'employers' within what may be described as the local 'alternative enterprise culture' were occasionally supplemented by their recruitment of participants for more explicitly criminal activities including drug dealing and distribution and robbery.

Other writers have noted similar instances of a "DHSS economy" (C. and L. Gofton 1984) developing in high unemployment areas (Turner *et al* 1985; Coffield *et al* 1983; Seabrook 1987). According to Seabrook:

> "Capable and energetic people cannot be expected to sit passively by and accept. This is one reason why so many of the poor channel their efforts into finding ways of increasing the meagre survival income of the state; not necessarily by 'ripping off' or stealing, but in the twilight zone of 'fiddling', getting a bit extra, a little something in hand" (1987 : 20).

In some areas, alternative enterprise or entrepreneurship is an historico-cultural inheritance, part of the social fabric or "economic ecology" of the district (Hobbs 1988; Coffield *et al* 1986 : 53-54; Coffield *et al* 1983). According to Celia and Leslie Gofton, the "Giro Cities" of the north-east have developed a similar culture of worklessness, a "full blown DHSS economy" in the social twilight zone that accompanied the demise of local traditional industries:

> "The DHSS money circulates and breeds its own kind of entrepreneurs - back street motor repairers, scrapyards where you can buy an engine for your car, and have it fitted by the boys who work there, builders who will repair your roof or repaint your walls - all at bargain rates because there's no paperwork, no VAT, and many of them are signing on for the dole because they couldn't make a living if they relied on that kind of work (1984 : 282).

4.8.3 Davvo : A Case Study

Davvo's alternative career transition provides an ideal-typical, representative example of those male study participants who operate within the local subculture of the sub-employed. Davvo was unemployed for eleven months from school leaving in 1980 until he secured a six month work placement as a trainee butcher's assistant under the Youth Opportunities Programme. He described his experience of the scheme as: "A waste of time ... all I was doin' was cleaning out the freezers an' 'brewing up' for the others".

After his YOP work experience placement was completed, Davvo was not offered permanent employment and was subsequently unemployed for approximately eighteen months. During this period, partly out of financial necessity, and partly because the

opportunities existed within his local peer group, Davvo made the decision to organise his life around 'off the books' "sub-employment" (Norris 1978; Roberts *et al* 1982b). Here it is important to draw a distinction between my use of the term 'sub-employed' and its use by Norris, and Roberts *et al.* For Norris and Roberts *et al*, sub-employment is characterised by frequent job changes, particularly amongst young people in unskilled work (Roberts *et al* 1982b : 3). For both Norris and Roberts *et al*, despite the frequency of job-changing, the work was within the formal (i.e. 'cards in') labour market, and, as such, required workers to relinquish benefit claims and entitlement. For the sub-employed in my study, the types of jobs obtained were 'off the books', and benefit claims and entitlement were not relinquished. Davvo, for example, worked intermittently for almost two years after his YOPs, but nevertheless continued 'signing on' and claiming his basic benefit entitlement: "I used to give my giro to me mam and keep the extra's [from the fiddle jobs] for meself".

Davvo was able to secure various kinds of work through his contacts in the local community and during this time worked as a painter and decorator, labourer in the building trade, and as a motor mechanic. The latter was largely a self-taught skill, though he did receive some guidance 'helping out' a motor mechanic who worked from a 'lock-up' (garage), one of several situated adjacent to the local back-street scrapyard. He eventually utilised his skills to purchase, overhaul, and resell vehicles, cheaply obtained from auctions or scrapyards. Sometimes this involved stealing similar models to strip down for parts. Generally this work was organised in concert with his peers:

> "We used to clean 'em up you know, the motors like ... do 'em up ... we'd get parts
> from the scrappy [scrapyard] ... or nick one, same year, you know, and 'break it' for
> the parts. Then we'd do it up an' put it in the paper."

Davvo and his friends derived peer group status as well as financial reward from their collective ability to get a vehicle 'on the road' within a week. These were then offered for resale through advertisements placed in the regional newspaper.

However, in March 1983, Davvo was subject to investigation by the DHSS and, as a result, was compelled to take a 'proper job' in a supermarket warehouse. This he did reluctantly under threat of benefit withdrawal, as he had grown accustomed to, and enjoyed, the variety and autonomy of his sub-employment life style:

"It was a real bastard you know when they got me the job at 'Tarko's' ... but you can't say no or they stop your dole. They'd been watchin' me so they knew I was at it, but I cracked on daft like ... Anyway ... I liked bein' in charge, you know, bein' your own gaffer ... [before starting work in the supermarket warehouse] ... I'd wake up and think what do I fancy today, there was the motors, or the paintin', or summat with Maz and Willie, you know, summat 'bent'. Anyway I was well gutted 'avin to get up in the mornin', not bein' in charge, you know ... I got used to 'avin no one to answer to ... 'cept me mam (laughs) ..."

Davvo worked as "a ware'ouseman, loadin' and unloadin' [stock] an' drivin' a stacker [-truck]" for almost a year until he was sacked due to irregularities in stock levels. Davvo admits he was "doin' a number" with the lorry drivers who supplied the various supermarkets in the chain with goods from the warehouse in which he worked. The "number" involved overloading the incoming lorries with excess stock, which, with the connivance of the drivers, would be sold to independent shops in the district. The profits from this "amateur property theft" (Henry and Mars 1978) would be shared equally between Davvo and the lorry driver. This type of employee pilferage has been extensively documented by anthropologists of the 'informal economy' and needs no further elaboration here (see for example, Ditton 1977; Henry 1978; Mars 1983). As Davvo maintained: "They was all at it ... but they picked on me 'cos I'd only been there for a few months. I was the youngest ... some of 'em 'ad been at it for ages, it's just what you did there".

After losing his job, Davvo tried to claim benefits again after 'signing on', but "the social took almost three months to sort out me claim". During which time, he was without income. As a consequence, Davvo returned to his former lifestyle of fiddle work, this time as a window cleaner:

"I bought the [established window cleaning] round off me old man's mate for a couple of tons [two hundred pounds] ... it was only small ... an 'undred [houses] ... an' some ladders ... (laughs) ... I 'ad to buy me own buckets (laughs) ... You get a

> pound an 'ouse, front and back like ... but it's a doddle once you get into it. I can do twenty [houses a day] minimum, fifty if I'm pushin' it an' it's not pissin' down. I've got five 'undred now ... I 'ave to turn 'em down ... I like to take me time, you know. It [the round] takes about three weeks to do 'em all, or maybe a month, depends if I work every day. It's up to me ... if I'm short [of money] ... I do more, if I'm brassed off with it, I don't bother ... it all depends."

Davvo can, if he chooses, earn up to five hundred pounds a month tax free on top of his basic supplementary benefit entitlement (as a registered unemployed person). He has also maintained his former interest in "doin' up" cars for eventual resale and, at the time of my preliminary fieldwork, seemed permanently in the process of dismantling and reconstructing vehicles that were often parked in the communal square outside the council maisonette he shared with his parents.

For those like Davvo, hustling a living within the sub-employment subculture, the lack of security in the work obtained, and the constant threat of discovery by 'snoopers' from the social, was compensated for by the overall income that could sometimes be achieved and the subjective feelings of autonomy and self-worth which were derived from the "livin' off yer wits". The ideology of the sub-employed was informed by the permanent potential for the "big-score", a paradoxical by-product of the impermanence and insecurity of the jobs typically on offer. The big-score was, perhaps, just around the corner, and its potential could not be squandered by being "at work all day". As Maz put it: "You're never gonna make big quids if you're out at work all day".

The potential for the big score is linked to a traditional fatalism that is part of the local cultural ecology. As Morris has described it:

> "Fate plays an important role in the repertoire of lower class concerns. The fatalism that may help a youngster to understand that a term in borstal is really only a natural part of life for people like him [or her] is the same fatalism that can encourage [the] dream of the Big Tickle - that big rock candy mountain whose discovery will render all further effort and risk superfluous" (1985 : 15). (my inserts)

Davvo, in particular, had achieved a high degree of 'job satisfaction' within his proactively chosen lifestyle and 'alternative career'. Apart from the not inconsiderable financial rewards, he enjoyed flexibility, autonomy, mobility and, moreover, as a consequence of his day-to-day contact with the households of his window cleaning round, was provided with an additional status-enhancing role within the subculture of his peers. His frequent daily contacts with a variety of householders afforded him access to a constant supply of information about goods and services that were required, or were for sale. Thus he occupied an important role as a supplier of information to the relevant people within his peer group who were able, for example, to supply a colour television or video, or to purchase an unwanted fridge or washing machine, etc. This form of word-of-mouth information network was extremely important in the 'alternative enterprise' subculture of the sub-employed, as it enabled deals to be done, services to be obtained, and goods to be bought and sold. Information that was the life blood of the hustler's lifestyle, role, status, and identity.

However, it is important not to over-romanticise the dole-economy of the informal labour market, the "penny capitalism of the poor" (Cohen 1982 : 45) which often operates as a "kind of parody of mainstream values" (Seabrook 1987 : 21). However attractive and subjectively satisfying informal work may be in combating the burden of 'enforced leisure', it nevertheless pushes participants further into a marginal existence that is increasingly subjected to investigation and stigmatisation. Periodic headline-winning crackdowns on scroungers can serve to divert attention away from public issues of social structure (Mills 1971 : 15), locating the problem of unemployment as "personal troubles" of inadequacy or moral failing. This further justifies an expansion of social security fraud inspectors, and legitimates reduced access to, and cuts in, benefits (Sinfield 1981 : 116-117). It is also important to acknowledge that informal enterprise cultures are themselves subject to some of the worst problems of formal institutions. As Henry (1982) has argued: "In spite of their romantic appeal, informal economies are ... subject to ... inequalities, injustices and abuses which can

stem from their own internal unregulated constitution" (1982 : 472). Moreover, "stealing and cheating may keep people out of worse (and possibly political) mischief" (Seabrook 1987 : 20).

> "It effectively palliates those with immediate needs and pacifies the most vociferous of society's critics who are deluded into thinking their problems are solvable through local action. Energies are then diverted from any more fundamental criticism of the social structure" (Henry 1982 : 472).

However, unreserved acceptance of these points would amount to a crude disapprobation of the human creativity which lies at the heart of local enterprise, and which, moreover, often proves the alleged focus for critical concern. Locally based alternative enterprise cultures may indeed provide the means for people to "connive at their own oppression" (Illich 1981), but at another level, participation in the hidden economy also brings self-esteem, self-identity and individual autonomy. For some writers, "the hidden economy supports rather than undermines the status quo" (Ditton and Brown 1981 : 521) by creating subjective feelings of "fantasy equality" whilst exacerbating objective conditions of inequality. However, the paradox is that ideological domination through the "naked and eager identification" (Seabrook 1987 : 21) with dominant values is achieved through proactive autonomy. It brings a potential awareness that the decisions people are making are not the only decisions they might make:

> "The irony is that at the point at which people are most ideologically subordinated is the point at which they are most sensitive to the collective awareness that would render paper-thin the structure of the dominant social order" (Henry 1982 : 473).

4.8.4   Intermediate Careers

Aspects of he 'dole-economy', referred to by Seabrook, the Goftons, and others, have produced new forms of 'getting by' which exist in the twilight zone between the 'straight world' of 'cards in' paid employment (when benefits cannot be claimed), and the more usual benefit dependent state of unemployment. Participants' lives have become organised around moves between wagelessness and benefit dependence and 'fiddle jobs on the side', occasionally punctuated by 'compulsory' participation in

(un)employment training schemes or the increasingly infrequent periods of 'proper' employment in semi-skilled or unskilled work. Economic activity in the twilight zone of the sub-employed blends almost imperceptibly into a fully criminal (or anti-employment) existence *via* the intermediate stage of illegal activities such as: busking and begging; fraudulent benefit claims, whilst for example working on the side; unorganised 'hoisting' or shoplifting, usually undertaken by individuals who seek out specific items for personal use or resale; and 'tatting' or 'totting' and 'hustling'.

Many study participants had, by claiming benefits whilst working 'on the side', taken the first step into illegality. For some, unwilling or unable to work, fraudulent benefit claims became a necessary strategy for survival and one which at least ensured a basic minimum level of income with which to subsist. Whilst maintaining a basic income, participants were left free to organise their lives around other possibilities for income acquisition. Fraudulent claims were achieved in a variety of ways.

Susan Hargreaves provided a good example of one of several strategies utilised by study participants to negotiate extra income "from the Social". Susan, one of the unregistered long-term unemployed study participants, was, at the time of my preliminary fieldwork, married with three young children. Her husband, Chris, was an electronics engineer. After extended periods of unemployment following redundancy in 1981, he had been compelled to live outside Manchester in order to obtain work. Chris lived and worked in Rotherham, travelling home at the weekends. The expense of commuting, together with the cost of running their home in Hartingleigh, plus the added expense of renting a flat in Rotherham, meant that for Susan and Chris there was "little left over" from Chris's wages. It was "local knowledge" supplied by Lisa, Susan's friend, that enabled her to devise a strategy for supplementing the family income. As Susan explained:

> "With Chris bein' away all he time, my mate said, well, why don't you go to t'Social
> an' tell 'em 'e's left you. Then I thought about it. But first I didn't want 'an Chris
> just went 'ape-shit' when I said.

So I waited ... then last Christmas [1985] ... after we'd paid the rent, an' gas an' bought kids some toys, there was nowt left. Chris went back [to work] an' I went to the Social with Lisa an' t'kids. We told 'em 'e'd been batterin' me ... it was a laugh really ... 'e wouldn't dare ... then we said 'e'd fucked off 'an I 'ad no money ... they asked me a lot of questions about where 'e was an' whether 'e was working ... but we said we didn't know.

They wrote a load of stuff on t'forms an' I 'ad to sign it ... I was really scared .. my 'ands was shakin' ... after a bit I got a giro an' then a book [an order book] an' they paid the rent an' now there's something left over at the end of t'week ... I usually spend it on t'kids, you know shoes, toys, clothes; last month we got a new cot ... forty quid ... Chris don't know ... I daren't tell 'im, but I get worried in case they [the Social Security] send 'n inspector round ... it's good job Chris's only 'ere at weekends. At least it looks like 'e's left me."

When discussing illicit modes of income acquisition, including money obtained by "doing a number" on the Social Security, participants would frequently describe their activities as 'totting' or 'hustling'. 'Tatting' or 'totting' is an old and long-established survival strategy in traditional working class areas in the north of England. The original tatters were rag and bone merchants and the totters were itinerant travellers, often of Irish descent, who 'bought and sold' and exploited the potential for stealing metal for resale as scrap. The tradition of totting was revived in the 1920s and 1930s during the depression years of high unemployment when "local scripts" (Coffield et al 1983 : 332) were revived to find the necessities with which to subsist. In the 1960s and 1970s, the demolition gangs working in the areas of urban renewal would similarly be described as totters when "weighing in" at scrap merchants the cast-iron fireplaces, lead pipes and copper cable from the rows of terraced houses that were being demolished. By the 1980s, the term was still in common currency, but had expanded to embrace a variety of strategies which, like hustling, involved the acquisition of extra income, utilising local contacts to buy and sell second-hand goods, stolen property, or earning money through some other form of 'shady' practice.

4.8.5 Hustling

Hustling is a self-affirming status role which has been identified and documented by participant observers (see for example, Polsky 1967; Pryce 1979; Roberts et al 1981, 1982a, b, c; Cashmore and Troyna 1982; Ullah 1987; Wallace 1987 : 65-67). It is

one of a variety of 'alternative careers' developed within the subcultures of the long-term unemployed. According to Roberts *et al*: "Rather than tolerating regular hours for low pay, there can be more status in proving one's ability to get by without surrendering to the system" (1982a : 174).

Hustling takes on something of an affirmatory self-definition when counterposed to other legitimately available options. As Willie proclaimed:

> "Who me ... I'm an 'ustler, I've always been an 'ustler an' I always will be ... I 'jibbed' my way through school an' I 'blagged' enough for me first score an' I've been 'ustling ever since ... So what's the fuckin' choice? ... Oh yeah, do Y.T. fuckin' S for buttons ... don't be a cunt. Sign on with the sheep ... 'ands an' knees job forra packet o' straights [cigarettes] ... Fuck it ... I'd rather do bird [go to jail] ... they're cunts at the dole man. I've been 'ustling since I was this big ... you fuckin' 'ad to 'round 'ere ... You know me for fuck's sake ... it's all I know an' it's all I want to know, the rest of it's for cunts."

According to one of the participants in Ullah's (1987) study of "unemployed black youths in a northern city", hustling amongst young blacks is a survival strategy developed over time for coping with the fundamental psychological and social inequalities of being black in a white dominated society. The disaffected young blacks in Ullah's study perceived their abilities as being superior to those whites they believed had not yet learned to cope with disadvantage:

> "The white community does not know how to hustle like blacks, who have been hustling all their lives. And now we're in the situation where nobody has any money, the white community doesn't know how to hustle or create anything to go and hustle it, right, to gain money or income" (1987 : 128).

Here, as in Willie's case, hustling is not only an alternative route to income, but also a proactive means for affirming status, self-esteem, and identity. Hustling can be perceived as a status role which affords the hustler a sense of self-worth, even superiority over the 'sheep' who do YTS or 'sign on', or the 'white community' who do not know how to hustle successfully. As a result of research investigating the 'coping strategies' developed within an urban 'Rasta' sub-culture, Roberts *et al* rather prophetically, from the point of view of my own work, predicted that : "We consider

it probable that some of the 'coping strategies' which young blacks are pioneering will spread through the white working class" (1982b : 9).

Hustling is a nebulous term used by many participants to describe their day-to-day activities. It covers a range of enterprises which straddle the sub-employment and anti-employment subcultures. Hustling can mean anything from 'working on the side' whilst claiming benefits, to petty theft, 'street level' unorganised drug dealing, unorganised 'hoisting' or shoplifting, and tatting or totting. The latter are local colloquial terms, used interchangeably with hustling, which refer to the 'shady' acquisition of income, generally through utilising local contacts in a variety of ways to buy and sell second-hand goods, stolen property, or, in the traditional local sense of the words, tatting or totting stolen metals for resale as scrap

Hustling and totting may include most of the fiddle jobs outlined earlier, but in its most common usage, hustling refers to 'street level', relatively unorganised, drug dealing. Hustling 'draw' (cannabis), for example, unlike the more organised 'dealing', takes place in local pubs frequented by study participants and their peers and sometimes City Centre discos, or the 'warehouse parties' of the acid-house scene, which developed from the mid-1980s onwards. Hustling as a mode of consciousness is usually associated with 'scally' (scallywag) wheeler-dealing and is an affirmatory status role characterised by an oppositional attitude, quick wits, extensive local contacts and an eager eye for the 'main chance', which more often than not exists only at the level of fantasy. Most hustlers believe there are no real opportunities for them in the 'straight' world of 'proper jobs', and general attitudes are couched in terms of resistance to the straight world and cynical disillusionment. Their experiences of the cyclical transition through the various government employment training schemes (discussed in Section 4.5) or in unskilled manual work, inform the hustler's beliefs and dispositions:

> "Because it is so hopelessly difficult either to derive intrinsic satisfaction from work or reap high remunerative rewards, there is no purpose in conforming to the model worker ideal ... once this decision is taken, legal work then comes to be seen as a kind of ordeal, a kind of unprofitable restraint that restricts the full enjoyment of life" (Pryce 1983 : 235).

Willis has outlined the main socio-psychological components of the hustler's world-view:

> "The 'Cargo Secret' of urban poverty may be crime, petty theft, hustling, anything to 'turn a buck', allied with a general fatalism and disillusionment with the main society. This may mean an angry and apocalyptic separation from society. It is based on street wisdom, toughness and expediency" (1984b : 14).

The world-view of the hustler within the context of the twilight culture of worklessness blurs the boundaries between the 'straight' and 'bent' worlds. Within the intermediate stages of semi-legal and illegal economic activity, which are the province of the young urban hustler, are contained the potential for such 'alternative careers' to solidify into fully blown criminal careers and identities. The bonds which tie these young people to the conventional world, to conventional adult roles, status, and identities are loosened as they grow more marginal to social and economic life. Their commitment to the dominant moral and legal order is conditioned by the degree of their investment in the dominant social and economic order. "All the evidence suggests that the numbers now forced to survive in these ways on the margin of legal life are increasing directly in line with the numbers unemployed and that the age limit of those involved is dropping" (Hall *et al* 1978 : 358-9).

Germane to the discussion of the development of the hustler's world-view is their response to an experience of relative deprivation and status frustration which throws participants' relationship with the wider social order into question. As Maz put it: "We knew there was nowt down for us. It's what they was tellin' us right from the off ... teachers, probation, my ol' man, the government ... fuck 'em all, no work, no money, we knew it was up to us to get it sorted".

In his work on capitalist culture, Daniel Bell (1976) has identified an attitude of "entitlement" as the central emerging dimension of consciousness. Bell locates the sources of this culture of entitlement within the structure of capitalism. The accumulation of capital, the motor of capitalist economies, is, argues Bell, paralleled by an increasingly "accumulationist" approach to the self and to personal gratification. In reflecting capitalist imperatives of incessant growth and increasing consumer demands, contemporary culture reflects contemporary needs and impulses towards self expansion and gratification. The capitalist ideology of self-interest reflected in the contemporary Thatcherite view of "no society", individualist, competitive, 'yuppie' mobility has fuelled the growth in expectations. Expectations for the self have, in Bell's view, qualitatively evolved into new feelings of entitlement:

> "What is clear is that the revolution of rising expectations which has been one of the chief features of Western Society in the past twenty-five years, is being transformed into a revolution of rising entitlements in the next twenty-five" (1976 : 233).

Widening class differentials, coupled with the "erosion of citizenship" (Dahrendorf 1987) have produced a "discrepancy or dissonance" (Pitts 1988 : 139). The actual means of realising the ethos of rising entitlements (to a decent life, good job, etc.) have been frustrated, particularly for the young unemployed; and it is the young who are so often at the cutting edge of advertising campaigns, lending a particular piquancy to their frustrated consumer and status aspirations. Allatt and Yeandle (1986) organise a similar argument around the concept of "fairness", a notion constantly invoked by their unemployed study participants. Extensive unemployment has, they argue, produced "discontinuities in social and cultural relations" within which people are jolted out of their social niches, patterns of daily life are upset, and latent beliefs about how social life should be conducted, are exposed and fundamentally re-evaluated: "When ... normative expectations about economic life are not met, it becomes difficult, even impossible, for individuals and groups to

maintain belief in idealised standards ... within such a social context, individuals may feel bitter, frustrated and let down" (1986 : 98).

Underlying the notion of fairness is the recognition of an implicit social contract of mutual obligations. Other work as well as my own indicates that the young unemployed in particular feel a sense of betrayal in the face of diminishing social opportunity in the Thatcher decade (Turner 1984; Coffield *et al* 1986; Allatt and Yeandle 1986; Dahrendorf 1987). Both Turner and Coffield *et al* maintain that the vanishing youth labour market is a sign for many young people that politicians and other representatives of adult authority have broken their side of this unwritten social contract. As a result, "individuals became aware that the world was changing, bases of power were shifting, norms were being eroded, authority was losing its legitimacy" (Allatt and Yeandle 1986 : 113).

A consequence of the major discontinuities engendered by prolonged unemployment, against a background consciousness of rising entitlements, is the sense of betrayal experienced by the young unemployed which has resulted in an erosion of the state's legitimacy. This sense of betrayal experienced as "it's not fair" (Allatt and Yeandle 1986) has precipitated the conditions which engender social unrest (Scarman 1982 : 205), and the progressive development of deviant or alternative career strategies and solutions (Pitts 1988 : 141).

> "It is our view that the unofficial unwritten contract between young people and society has finally broken down ... The ... end came rather suddenly with the increases in youth unemployment ... in the late 1970s and early 1980s" (Coffield *et al* 1986 : 203).

4.8.6   The Anti-Employment Sub-Culture

Within the anti-employment sub-culture of Hartingleigh, the angry and apocalyptic separation from mainstream society may be seen as a product of this fundamental breakdown in the unwritten social contract.   What Pitts describes as "ghetto

292

delinquency" (1988 : 141) has engendered a range of local solutions by those experiencing the strain induced by their actual position in the social structure against a consciousness informed by a notion of entitlement. The selection of subculturally available solutions are partially determined by gender and reference group and the meanings imposed on the individual's experience of long-term unemployment and relative deprivation. The impact of structurally induced strain loosens the moral bind, or the controls which usually hold the individual to the wider conventional order. Within the anti-employment subculture, participants faced with decreasing legitimate possibilities have proactively evolved alternative status systems for defining their roles and position in relation to the dominant goals and values of the wider society. Hustling dope, dealing, handling stolen goods, "doing a number" on a punter, the Social Security, or in terms of a "major blag" (armed robbery), are only partially concerned with economic survival. Subjectively, the concern is to be something or somebody, to promote, maintain, enhance status and identity in the eyes of a small localised audience. At the time of my preliminary fieldwork, there were several notable anti-employment careers discernible amongst the long-term unemployed and their peers.

Hoisting or organised shoplifting is one such career directly linked to the social networks of the anti-employment sub-culture. Four of my study participants formed the core of one of several 'hoisting teams' or crews, which operated from within the council estates in and around my study area. The hoisting crews consist of up to eight individuals who systematically work as a team to hoist a wide range of consumer goods from shops and stores. The group usually travels to towns or villages in more 'upmarket' residential locations away from their immediate areas. Hoisted goods are then passed on to a "professional fence" (Klockars 1975), of which there are several in my study area. The entrepreneurial families at the heart of the local alternative enterprise culture, outlined in Section 4.8.2, also provide a ready outlet for hoisted goods obtained by the Hartingleigh Crew.

The hoisting crew receives up to one third of the 'ticket price', that is, the retail value of the goods. The fence in turn receives half or more of the retail value when the goods are resold. The fence distributes goods to individual local purchasers or, with larger quantities, through retail outlets *via* legitimate markets. Fences also have access to 'industrial contacts' through some of the larger chemical and engineering factories remaining on the industrial sites of the north-west and, as such, have recourse to the pay-day, 'locker-room' trade.

Sometimes goods or particular items are hoisted specifically 'to order' which guarantees the hoisters a larger 'half-way' (half the retail price) profit (see Taylor 1984 : 100). During my preliminary fieldwork, and later during the Fourth Phase (1986-1990), I documented systematically the career progression of the Hartingleigh Crew and this is detailed in the case studies in Chapter Nine. Frequently, during this stage of my preliminary fieldwork, I encountered participants and their families and peers who had acquired prized household items, jewellery, fashion wear, and other goods *via* the activities of the Hartingleigh Crew, indicating the significance of their role in the locally based redistributive alternative enterprise culture.

A second significant anti-employment career distinguishable amongst study participants during my preliminary fieldwork, was dealing. Dealing (illegal drugs) provided a status role and alternative career for several of my study participants. Willie in particular had organised his life around 'punting draw' (selling cannabis) from the flat he shared in Collington with his girlfriend. Smoking 'draw' was a widespread subcultural activity within the social networks of my study participants. In 1985-86, over a third of the young women, and sixteen out of the twenty young men, in my study group admitted to regular recreational use of cannabis. As well as the more organised dealing, there is an informal network of supply that is usually the province of the hustler.

The cannabis organisation-distribution network ranges from the "upper-level dealers and smugglers" who import and distribute quantities of "between 300 and 1,000 kilos" (Adler and Adler 1983) to the street level hustler who deals directly to consumers in quantities of 'eighths' and 'teenths' (sixteenths) of an Imperial ounce. There is evidence to suggest that in Britain, the upper level importation and distribution of cannabis has been increasingly commandeered by the financial and organisational "muscle" of organised crime (Duncan Campbell, *The Guardian* 17.8.92). In part, this is due to the geographical proximity of the major cannabis producing countries of North Africa with the safe haven for the profits of spectacular robberies, etc., and their perpetrators, in the coastal resorts of southern Spain's infamous 'Costa del Crime' (Duncan Campbell, *The Guardian* 14.12.91). Below these upper levels of importation and distribution are the "middle-level dealers" who purchase quantities of between 50 and 300 kilos which are in turn sold on to "lower-middle-level dealers" (such as the Hattons and Donaghues) who purchase quantities of between 10 and 50 kilos. The lower-level dealers, such as Willie, 'buy in' between one and ten kilos from suppliers such as the Hattons or Donaghues, whose place in the dealing hierarchy was assured by their purchasing power, network of outlets, and ability to safeguard their investment.

In 1985-1986, Willie usually 'scored' in quantities of between one and five kilos. In 1986, the street price was approximately £2,300 per kilo for Moroccan 'soaps', with a discount for five. Moroccan 'soaps' were the standard commercial form for hash in the mid-1980s. These were usually available in soap-like bars, each weighing a quarter of a kilo (250 grams) or approximately nine ounces. The 'soaps' were then 'broken down' (usually by being placed in a microwave for a minute or so and then cut up with a butcher's knife) into imperial units based on the pound and ounce. The amounts to be resold would vary "dependin' on the punter". Willie's "prize punters" were those who "scored in quantity", usually in units of the imperial pound weight; a 'weight' was sixteen ounces; 'half a weight', eight ounces; 'a quarter weight, four

ounces.   Willie also dealt in smaller quantities to his circle of closest friends, usually in units based on the ounce, 'an oz', (or twenty-eight grams).   Amounts would vary, 'half an oz' was, in 1986, about £40 to those closest to him, a 'quarter' (£22), an 'eighth' (£11), a 'teenth' (£6).   Deals in these smaller quantities were the exception rather than the rule, for to encourage "bits 'n' pieces punters" was to increase the flow of human traffic to his flat, thereby increasing the possibility for detection.   Aside from which was the "hassle" of attending to a constant stream of callers who would "'ang 'round all day gettin' stoned and talkin' shite".   Willie, as a consequence, had learned to set a limit on the number of callers by restricting his business to "prize punters, a couple of 'ustlers an' me mates".

The dealer's lifestyle and mode of consciousness epitomises the oppositional posture of those long-term unemployed participants who operate within the anti-employment subculture of Hartingleigh.   According to Young (1971), socialisation into the work ethic is accomplished by the inculcation of the desirability of various material and status rewards offered by the system and the efficacy of work as a means of achieving them.   This socialisation process can break down if the means of achieving societally valued goals are not available, that is if the employment suitable to realise material and status aspirations is unobtainable.   This process may also be ineffective for sections of the community who do not value the material rewards or status goals.   Young refers to two groups who are beyond the strict dictates of the work ethos: "The ghetto negro and the bohemian young.   The former lack the means of achieving society's rewards, the latter disdain the rewards themselves.   For very different reasons ... they share similar values and both are ... particularly prone to illicit drug use" (in Wiles 1976 : 106).

Similarly, the ethos of the anti-employment subculture is vehemently opposed to legitimate work and the plodding accumulation of, and psychological investment, in, symbols of status.   Instead Willie's status is derived from an ability to maintain a

comfortable existence without recourse to paid employment. Although consumer items are valued, colour television and video, expensive stereo system, washing machine, three-piece suite in leather, etc., these items gain greater symbolic meaning having been obtained illegally either through the profits of dealing or through his extensive contacts within the local alternative enterprise culture. Moreover, the actual role of 'dope-dealer' is, within the milieu and social networks of the young unemployed, a status enhancing occupation. Not only does it provide a necessary and valued local service, but it is also valued for its explicit oppositionality in that it operates firmly outside the law. As Digger confided:

> "Dealin' - it's for fuckin' heroes ... with me I do my thing simple like, in an' out, pick up me quids, thanks a lot, over 'til the next 'un. But Willie, 'es at it all the time ... it's dealin', you 'ave to 'ave yer face in the frame all the fuckin' time ... know what I mean? Twenty four hours a day they can give yer front door the brooster [sledgehammer] an' yer fucked. See yer face is up front - you 'ave to 'ave the draw in yer 'ouse if yer gonna do the biz [business]. That's why 'es the soundest guy I know, yer never see 'im paranoid. (Sings) ... ice ... ice ... Willie".

Unlike those participants who have been fortunate enough to effect the traditional transition to primary employment, thus providing an escape from the social conditions of the local community and, moreover, securing a relatively uncomplicated route to adult roles, status and identity (see Chapter Six), for those who operate within the sub- and anti-employment subcultures, their "escape attempt" (Cohen and Taylor 1976) is achieved through symbolic means, primarily through redefining their status position. Thus to be a hustler, totter, or dealer, for example, is to valorise the deviant life in an attempt to "stay ahead" of the psychic game. In certain of the anti-employment careers, 'grafting' or 'blagging', for example, there is an added masculine concern with an image of potency. Of course, the displays of masculine subcultural potency are informed by the social context within which the traditional legitimate theatre for the display of working class masculinity, as breadwinner, or labourer, has been demolished. Being a 'blagger' or 'grafter' offers some participants alternative routes for defining a masculine psychological and economic potency by staying smart,

being cool, trying to "keep your balls when all around are losing theirs" (Pitts 1988 : 142).

Grafting is a colloquial term which in the days of accessible employment referred to hard manual work. To 'graft' for a living was to work hard. To be recognised as a good 'grafter' was to enhance one's status as a working class male by being acknowledged as a man who was physically capable of enduring long, hard, demanding, labour. In the past ten years, the term has been appropriated from the parent working class culture to embrace meanings that are far removed from the world of heavy manual labour. Nowadays grafting can refer to a variety of anti-employment careers, including property theft from shops and warehouses, burglary, and 'kiting', which refers to organised cheque and credit card fraud. The grafter differs from the hustler in that he eschews any kind of paid work, even the fiddle jobs within the local alternative enterprise culture. The grafter can be situated within the anti-employment subculture in this respect. The grafter's sense of self-worth and potency is derived from his abilities to 'stay ahead of the game' without recourse to work in any form. The grafter is firmly committed to a lifestyle outside the law and prides himself on a kind of masculine mental and physical toughness:

> "The hustle alone is not a sufficient means whereby the highest status can be
> achieved ... [it] is also contingent on demonstrated or perceived machismo and
> toughness" (Pitts 1988 : 143).

The blaggers are the storm-troopers of the anti-employment sub-culture. Their focal concern is with a way of life that is unshakeably committed to crime and, if necessary, violence. Within the local community, various role models provided by certain members of both the Hatton and Donaghue families have served to provide a blueprint for the demeanour of the blagger. For two of my study participants in particular, their post-school transitions through the anti-employment careers had by 1986 seen them involved in a variety of activities with which they had achieved a measure of desired local status and financial success. These activities included: 'ram-

raids', driving stolen vehicles into shop fronts in order to steal goods; 'snatches', of money from tills in shops and stores, and from retail employees delivering money to bank night safes; and 'armed blags' (robberies) on a sub-post office and jewellers with, in one case fake guns, and in the other an (unloaded) 'sawn-off' (shotgun).

Such activities had brought them to the attention of the Hattons who by 1986 provided more continuous employment for both participants within one of several 'sauna clubs' they manage throughout the North-West region. Within the saunas, which provide a semi-legal facade for organised 'soft' prostitution, the pair act as security or bouncers, "controllin' punters, collectin' the takings, 'an lookin' after the girls". This employment had effectively removed them from their more remunerative, though unstable, early careers, though they were to be occasionally recruited by members of the Hatton family for "a one-off blag", or to act as couriers for the transportation of drugs and stolen property, etc.

Both participants retained a fascination for the power and status provided by an association with guns and other weapons of violence. According to Barlow:

> "I 'ad a tool [weapon] all the time, 24 - 7 [twenty four hours a day, seven days a week] 'an I wasn't bothered about usin' it ... There's a buzz, you can't talk about it, like when it's on top an' it's just you an' the oppo' [opposition] they've got to know you mean it ... There's no room for fuckin' about, you're in there for the blag an' you've 'ad it away an' there's a Joe ['have a go Joe' - citizen or employee attempting to prevent the robbery] makin' 'is stand ... you're not gonna chat to 'em are you? 'urt 'em an' off ... there's no choice, it's that or a ten [years imprisonment] for the blag ... what you gonna do? So I give it 'im ... no danger ..."

According to Summers, the reputation for carrying weaponry further ensures safety in conventional day-to-day encounters: "when word's out, you've done one ... [armed robbery] no one bothers [you], who's gonna risk it?" Moreover, the reputation for access to, and use of, weapons provides masculine status within the sub-cultural context:

> "We'd 'ad it away, sweet like, divvied up [divided the proceeds from a robbery] an' gone into Town for a suit ... I always gets a new 'un when we've done one ...

Anyway we're back in the Vic [the local pub] 'an you've got the suit on and it's drinks for the crew an' that, quids on the pool table, an' everyone knows you've done one. 'An your not lettin' on ... but they know ... 'an it's extra sweet 'cos you went in tooled [armed] 'an they know ... it's a buzz I'm tellin' you ... you feel like fuckin' Al Capone or summat" (Barlow).

In Manchester recent evidence indicates that the incidence of gun carrying and the use of guns by unemployed youths operating from within the most deprived estates of the Inner City has become widespread (*The Observer* 12.7.92). In one three month period, towards the end of 1992, there were, for example, over 120 separate shooting incidents in Moss-Side, Hulme and Cheetham Hill (*The Observer* 17.1.93). Between September and November 1992, eight people were badly injured in shooting incidents between rival gangs operating within the drugs scene in Moss Side and Hulme (*Manchester Evening News* 25.11.92). According to former Assistant Chief Constable, John Stalker: "Policemen will tell you that to some - not just in Moss Side - a gun is now a Manchester fashion accessory" (quoted in *The Guardian* 7.12.92).

In part, this growing fascination for the power of the gun may be related to the distortion of perspective which accompanies social and economic entrapment within the urban ghetto. A perception of the world is constructed out of an exaggerated version of the 'normal' values of the parent culture. As Willis has noted, the valorisation of "manual labour is associated with the social superiority of masculinity" (1977 : 148). Manual work represents, contributes to, and substantiates a certain mode of consciousness "which criticises, scorns and devalues others as well as putting the self ... in some elusive way ahead of the game" (1977 : 113). Manual work is thus highly regarded as an affirmation of masculinity within the traditions of working class culture. However, in the context of a declining local labour market wherein the traditional industrial shopfloor culture has all but disappeared, the legitimate arena for articulating working class masculinity through manual labour no longer exists. In such a context new social forms have been proactively constructed (subculturally) which supply a domain for the articulation of a distorted and exaggerated version of the working class male's 'normal' cultural values of masculinity, dominance, aggression

and machismo. The new social state for unemployed Inner City youth, the twilight zones of the new urban deprivations, have provided a set of personal, social and economic circumstances which circumscribe the articulation of traditional cultural norms. Stripped of the opportunity to express masculine concerns through manual labour, gun carrying and the status derived from a reputation for violence and the mad courage of spectacular crime, ensure an opportunity to salvage subculturally some vestige of masculine self-esteem and identity. This is not to excuse acts of extreme violence, or minimise their horror. The point is that such social forms are a partial outcome of an avoidable combination of social, political and economic determinants.

4.8.7   Unemployment Careers : A Concluding Discussion

Professional crime is now the fourth largest industry in Britain, with an estimated annual turnover of between fourteen and twenty billion pounds, employing an estimated 420,000 people (Duncan Campbell, *The Guardian* 17.8.92). Even the police hierarchy now acknowledges the role of politically determined social factors as being a major contributor to the dramatic increases in crime levels during the Thatcher decade. According to a confidential Metropolitan Police discussion document assembled in 1986, for example: "The Government pursues an economic policy which includes a Treasury-driven social policy with one goal, the reduction of inflation. Any adverse social by-products are accepted as necessary casualties in pursuit of the overall objective" (quoted in *The Observer* 5.7.92).

By 1992, Scotland Yard had released its latest round of unprecedented record levels of crime figures with the explanation that they were "more an indication of social/economic malaise than police performance" (*The Guardian* 14.9.92). Scotland Yard Commissioner, Sir Peter Imbert, was one of several high ranking policemen who openly spoke out about the need to address issues of poverty and disadvantage in the struggle against rising crime. In his annual report to the Home Secretary, Kenneth Clarke, Imbert argued that "more help for the poor would make the country a safer

place. We ignore that at our peril". Imbert's comments fuelled a political debate over the connections between Government policy, unemployment, spending cuts and rising crime. Imbert maintained that there were "compelling reasons" to believe that there was a link between social deprivation and crime. He argued that: "If you take a map of disadvantage and press it over a map of crime, there is too close a correlation to be ignored" (quoted in *The Daily Mirror* 30.7.92).

The last decade has seen the biggest growth in recorded crime this century. A survey by Jock Young indicates that recorded crime has risen twice as fast under the Tory governments in power since 1979 (Young 1992). Crime is a proxy for disaffection. To commit violent crime is to say you are not a stakeholder in the society to which you belong and plainly there are many more non-stakeholders. The growth in crime is a symbol of the disintegration of civil society and the erosion of citizenship, factors increasingly acknowledged by the police hierarchy. However attempting to deny that social and material deprivation are connected to crime growth has led the Conservative Government into some extraordinary contortions:

> "As crime of all levels has increased, the government has attempted to individualise crime, firmly resisting any suggestion that it is a response to unemployment and poverty" (Brake 1990 : 214).

Education Secretary, John Patten, for example, complained in a *Spectator* article that crime was linked to a decline in individual religious belief. Individuals fear hell less, therefore commit more crime (quoted in *The Guardian* 4.7.92). Norman Tebbit in a similar role as the Conservative Party "demonic Witchfinder General" had, in the wake of the 1985 riots, caught a frightening glimpse of the British urban landscape "being cursed by carefully orchestrated outbreaks of 'wickedness'" (quoted in Box 1987 : 29). Douglas Hurd, speaking at the Conservative Party Conference in 1985, argued that "public expenditure is not a remedy for crime ... the roots of these acts lie in greed and excitement of violence" (in Pyle 1987 : 17) Aside from this traditional conservative connection between crime and individual moral defectiveness, during

1986 Government representatives, including Margaret Thatcher and the then Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, also sought to locate the growth in crime in terms of individual victim's "carelessness": "Much of the increase is due to the carelessness of car owners and residents who fail to lock doors and windows" (quoted in *The Guardian* 4.10.90). Thus, within the Conservative view, the lawless do not commit their depredations because of inequality or injustice, but because of a weakening of the ties of social discipline and moral authority which results in freely chosen decisions to prey upon the careless! As Ian Taylor has remarked in his discussion of right-wing criminology:

> "The rhetoric of the Right is almost always silent on the specific social context of any crime ... and tries to displace crime and delinquency from their origins in the social formation itself, and in so doing asserts that the disorder in social relations is unrelated to the accelerating crisis of social reproduction in capitalist society ... Right wing criminology's essential project is indeed to disconnect the facts of social disorder from the (developing) disorderliness of social relations by remaining silent on the specific social context of crime and by speaking about crime as individual moral defect" (1981 : 23-24).

4.9 **Summary and Conclusions**

The period of the Third Phase of my evolving study (1985-1986) saw me leaving University and re-entering the urban environment and home community with which I was familiar. The period of preliminary fieldwork which followed took me on an exploratory ethnographic journey into the lives and cultural and subcultural milieu of a group of unqualified young people from my home community who had left school in 1980 and who were to become my research participants. It was an exploratory journey which began in Hartingleigh with those young adults with whom I had already established friendships and informal contacts as a result of my detached youthwork during the First Phase. These contacts had been consolidated during my frequent trips home during the university years of the Second Phase. Thus, by the time I began the Third Phase of preliminary sampling and fieldwork, I had not only established an easy rapport with several groups of young people, but had also developed relatively open and informal access to their wider social networks. My

friendships within these groups provided the necessary credentials and 'insider status' which allowed me to begin the process of documenting the variety of local adaptive responses to prolonged unemployment which had been proactively developed within the overlapping sub- and anti-employment subcultures. These subcultural structures had been constructed with the help of scaffolding supplied in the form of resources, traditions, focal concerns and attributes of the working class parent-culture.

During this phase of exploratory fieldwork, I also sought to tease out the roots of localism which may also be seen as embedded within the workingparent class cultural traditions of collectivism and solidarity. I sought to explore contemporary manifestations of these traditions with reference to the 'Girls Night Out' and the subcultural affiliations of the Northside football supporters.

In contrast to the informality of my fieldwork contacts with the Hartingleigh participants and those from the areas immediately surrounding Hartingleigh, my fieldwork relationships with the dispersed group of study participants traced from the Project's 1980 Survey were characterised by a more formal and semi-structured approach. Nevertheless, as a result of the total information gathered, I was able to sketch out some broad patterns in terms of post-school 'career trajectories'. The traditional post-school transition into employment, a transition available to the majority of unqualified early leavers up until the mid-1970s, was unambiguously a 'broken' or 'fractured' transition for most of the thirty-nine participants in my study group. Only three participants had secured the traditional route into primary (adult) occupations. A second more protracted transition to full-time employment had been taken by a further six participants. The vast majority (twenty-five) had followed post-school transitions into unemployment, many *via* an intermediate cyclical transition through government training schemes, bouts of casual and part-time work in secondary labour markets, punctuated by periods of unemployment, more training schemes, and so on.

The majority of participants who had followed the more common post-school transitions into unemployment, and for seventeen participants this was a transition to long-term unemployment, I sought to locate in terms of a 'hardcore' within the Social Division of Welfare. I also examined the more popular concept of a new urban underclass, but this notion was rejected because of its pejorative connotations. Despite its descriptive appeal, the concept of an underclass contains historically rooted associations with individualised pathology, personal inadequacy, behavioural defects and inter-generational welfare dependency. Such associations blend with conservative views of the aetiology of social problems and their solution and contain implicitly reactionary policy implications, such as a reduction of welfare benefits and programmes for "re-moralising" the undeserving poor. In connection to these points, I sought to examine the implications of, and societal reactions to, long-term benefit dependence, in order to place local responses within the wider context of fears ("scrounger phobia") about scroungers and the consequent "scrounger bashing".

Young women's unemployment is, I argued, generally, qualitatively different than young men's because of the added constraints of child care and domestic responsibility. Despite the warnings issued by some sociologists of utilising separate job and gender models in the sociology of employment and unemployment (*cf* Feldberg and Glenn 1979), a gender model has been applied to the unemployment experiences of young women in order to draw out the implications in terms of the types of oppositional or survival strategies that were developed. Generally, though not exclusively, survival and oppositional strategies were proactively developed sub-culturally out of masculine focal concerns located in the traditional working class culture. For the young men, the development of such strategies depended on relative freedom from the constraints of domestic and child care responsibility, and were often articulated in terms of an exaggerated or displaced masculine focus on psychological and economic potency, and in terms of status derived from mental and physical toughness.

Three broad bands of unemployment careers were examined with reference to the entrepreneurial sponsorship of two prominent local "hard families" who occupy a significant role in the cultural ecology of the local alternative enterprise culture. A sub-culture of the sub-employed has produced a survival strategy located in the local opportunities afforded by the informal economy. This involves moves between total benefit dependence and fiddle jobs on the side where benefit entitlement and claims are maintained. An intermediate set of careers involving semi-legal and illegal activities locally grouped under the terms hustling or totting were also examined. These activities blend almost imperceptibly into a fully criminal anti-employment sub-culture which takes the form of various careers, examples of which include dealing, hoisting, blagging and grafting. In part, the development of such careers may be viewed as a response to status frustration and relative deprivation. These careers are set within a context of declining legitimate opportunity against a background of rising entitlements, heightened consumer aspirations, and the breakdown in the unofficial, unwritten contract between citizens and the state.

By the late Spring 1986, I was confident enough about my research to seek postgraduate research funding on the basis of my established "data base" and the fieldwork undertaken. In September 1986, after securing postgraduate supervision with Stephen Edgell at the University of Salford, I was notified by the ESRC that I had been successful in my application and funding would ensure my project could continue into a fourth and final phase. This would allow me to explore in depth the themes and insights that had arisen from the earlier phases and enable me to give voice to the post-school experiences of my research participants.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EVOLUTION OF A RESEARCH PROJECT: THE FOURTH PHASE 1986-1990

"To seek knowledge for the sake of a thesis is to be a pimp. The only valid seeking is for one's own life project. Knowledge is not to be divorced from living"

(Mary Douglas cited in Clarke 1975 : 122)

5.1 Introduction

Following the year of preliminary fieldwork outlined in Chapter Four, I applied to the Department of Sociology, University of Salford, for post-graduate research supervision for my evolving project. After successfully negotiating research supervision with Steve Edgell, I applied to the ESRC for a postgraduate research grant. I had resolved to make my academic base in Manchester in order to maintain both family commitments and ease of access to research participants. My established 'data base' and the exploratory fieldwork undertaken since returning to Hartingleigh considerably strengthened my application to the ESRC. In September 1986, I was notified that I had been successful in securing a postgraduate competition award - this provided three years of research funding for my study.

5.2 In the Field

I occupied a small space within the 'post-grad' room of the Sociology Department at Salford and quickly settled into an early routine concerned with literature surveys and reviews, and carefully worded letters of introduction to the various members of the 'academic community' who were similarly involved in researching the young unemployed. I was also keen to maintain my fieldwork contacts and my time became divided between my desk in the corner of the post-grad room and visits to, hanging out, and participatory research with, study participants. The pattern of my fieldwork continued the routines established in the third phase of preliminary sampling and fieldwork (Chapter Four,

Sections 4.2 and 4.3). Contacts with the study participants who lived in and around Hartingleigh were frequent and informal, and in many respects overlapped with my own social networks and predilection for 'after hours' sociability. My hanging about and varying degrees of informal association and involvement were largely unquestioned by study participants - though I periodically sought to remind them that I was now officially engaged in full-time research into their lives, circumstances and post-school transitions. I made no attempt to distort or disguise my research interests and on occasions I was commended on having secured a reasonable "little earner". As one of the hustlers in Polsky's study put it: "You mean they pay you to run with guys like me? That's a pretty good racket" (1971 : 131). Sometimes I utilised recent publications in the area of post-school transitions/youth unemployment to remind participants of my research. On one occasion, Coffield, Borrill and Marshall's book *Growing Up at the Margins* (1986) prompted the following conversation:

"Dilly: So you gonna write a book 'bout us?
S.C.: I don't know yet?
Maz: What ... whaddya gonna tell 'em up at the University?
Coggs: E's gonna tell 'em we're all at it an' we don't give a fuck ...
Dilly: Gonna get a job as a teacher?
Maz: Teachin' wankin' (laughter) ...
Coggs: Stinkin' thinkin' ... an 'O' level smokin' draw (laughter)
Dilly: Naaw go on Steve whaddya gonna say?
S.C.: I've not worked it out yet.
Maz: (reference to *Growing up at the Margins*)
          Whadda the fuckin' Geordies up to then? Are they all at it?
S.C.: It doesn't say ... they (Coffield *et al*) say they don't want to talk about it even if
          its going on.
Coggs: Fuckin' Geordies ...
Dilly: You tell 'em Steve ... pure Crime down 'ere ...
S.C.: I'm not sure if it's a good thing to talk about. People get the wrong ...
Maz: There's fuck all else goin' on ...
Dilly: All the fuckin' Geordies I know are at it ... an' the Scousers ...
Coggs: Yeah but they're not sorted ...
Dilly: Not like us (reads) *Growing Up at the Margins*!!? What's it 'bout?
S.C.: It's about how unemployment fucks up your life.
Maz: Oh yeah! ... Fuck's the Geordies up ya mean ...
Coggs: Yeah, they've not sussed a fuckin' number ...
Dilly: It's all bleedin' coal mines an' that ... fuckin' 'eads full o' nutty slack (laughter)
Maz: Fuck it Steve ... if the Geordies 'ave got a book you write one an' tell 'em 'bout
          the Northside.
Coggs: Tell 'em we've gorrit sorted ...
Dilly: Yeah pure fuckin' thieves an' we don't give a fuck ...
Maz: Tell 'em that ...
S.C.: Ah'll think about it.

As I outlined in earlier sections (Chapter Two, Sections 2.4; 2.7 and Chapter Four, Section 4.3) the friendships I had developed during the first phase of living and youthworking in Hartingleigh, consolidated and maintained during the second phase, and perpetuated during the third phase of preliminary fieldwork, allowed me to establish a fairly secure position within the informal social networks of my study area. My researcher status added an extra dimension to my relationships but participants generally seemed willing to accept and distinguish between my academic agenda and my personal regard for them.

My scholarly interest, especially with the long-term unemployed males, had one very significant positive ramification. It allowed me a special position within their network, a niche that justified my continued presence but which, to some extent, set me apart. The position of being simultaneously of, and yet apart from, the group echoed my role as detached youthworker and contained the implication that the unwritten rules did not wholly apply to me. Thus, for example, when vociferously insulted, I would not necessarily be confronted with the only two options normally open to an individual in that situation - fight or lose a great deal of social standing within the group. For this special status within the Northside Crew I was, on more than one occasion, thankful. I was not, however, totally free of the group's informal status delineations and there were the rare occasions when left with little choice I was forced to physically defend myself. Generally, these confrontations would quickly blow over and I could usually count on the support of Maz and Digger if someone was particularly "out of order". The fact that my research meant I spent time with the "snobs" and "shirtlifters", those considered unworthy by the Northside, also caused me problems from time to time. Nevertheless, as I spent a lot of informal social time with the Northside, havin' a laff, exchanging insults, and playing and watching soccer, meant that I could not stay entirely outside their pecking order - even if my position in it was fluid.

As my research developed and the intensity of my involvement with the Crew and their peers deepened, I developed a conflict between my academic persona and my after-hours personality. Without consciously intending to do so, I began to fit in with the group's norms. My speech, colourful at the best, became increasingly punctuated with obscenities; elements of working class machismo crept into my own attitudes and values. In part this was a defensive reaction, a response to the cultural ambiguities of movement between home and University, between life on the streets and the academic norms and rituals of refined politeness. My reasserted 'street-kid' affectations were not consciously contrived but were rather the unstudied products of my increasing involvement in the lives of study participants. To a large degree, I was unaware of the changes; they were pointed out to me by people whose opinions I valued - both in the Sociology Department at Salford and among my non-researched friends.

The world of Hartingleigh and the academic world, both at York and Salford, were at odds with each other in almost every conceivable way. To stand with one foot in each was a difficult posture to maintain. Unresolved facets of my own biography in many respects made it more comfortable for me to operate within the alternative values of the Northside than those operative within academia. It was only a twenty minute bus ride from the deck-access flats of the Jungle to subsidised three course lunches within the University dining hall, with its high ceiling and formally attired waitresses. The conflict between my research role and my academic role was highlighted on one occasion when I had naively invited some of the 'lads' for dinner at the University. I was five minutes late, and the lads had settled themselves amidst the academic staff at a table in the University dining hall; when I entered, it was to a chorus of shouts - "Hey Steve where've the fuck ya been man!. It's fuckin' sound 'ere but there's no chips!", etc. The cultural clash between University and the Jungle and the different standards of behaviour expected of me in each were sources of constant angst. Over time, I became increasingly disoriented by the constant role changes that were required. That I walked, talked, and acted differently within the lads' informal networks than I did in the Sociology Department did not seem

inconsistent, artificial or affected, but the inevitable strain of attempting such a difficult role and personality juggling act eventually began to take its toll, the consequences of which are discussed more fully in section 5.4

In contrast to the almost daily contacts with the most immediately accessible participants from Hartingleigh and the districts surrounding Hartingleigh, maintaining regular informal fieldwork contacts with the eight study participants who were scattered throughout the various districts of the Greater Manchester conurbation was more problematic (see Table 8, Chapter Four, Section 4.1.1 for details of participants' residential locations). Several participants lived in areas to the extreme south of the conurbation, so daily informal contact was out of the question. Field relations with these participants, in the preliminary fieldwork stage, were characterised by a semi-structural formality. During the fourth phase, this emphasis was, to some, extent, relaxed as I gained increased access and research involvement, but visits still necessitated a measure of pre-planning and formal arrangement. However, through sheer persistence, and an informal familiarity developed over time, I gradually evolved good, unforced relationships with the dispersed group. Maggie, Lynda Willcox and Spider, for example, were three of the dispersed group who were all unemployed. They lived within reasonable travelling distance of each other in the South of the City. Apart from my one to one meetings with the three women, between 1987 and 1988, I also developed a pattern of monthly visits to meet them in one or other, of their homes. All three developed lives based around home and child-care routines, and these periodic meetings not only provided me with the chance to compare and contrast their post-school transitions, but also allowed them the opportunity to share their difficulties and experiences.

In contrast, my fieldwork contacts with Denise Weldon and Deirdre Sharp, who had both similarly left the Hartingleigh area, were less frequent, based on the need to fit my fieldwork visits into their schedules of full-time employment. Both participants had made traditional post-school transitions to employment, followed by early residential mobility,

311

which was a feature of their existential 'getting out' frame of reference (see Chapter Six, Section 6.4 for details). Nevertheless, Denise and Deirdre were two of several, study participants who undertook an active role in the preparation of reconstructed biographical accounts of their post-school transitions. Both participants were, for example, extremely enthusiastic about editing and re-ordering transcripts of our conversations. Both women also provided written accounts of their post-school transitions within the labour market as well as their complementary domestic career transitions. This general approach was a feature of the participatory mode of fieldwork I was committed to and much of the material generated has been collaboratively 'worked up' into the case studies presented in Chapter Six.

Poolie was one of three male participants in the dispersed group. Poolie left Hartingleigh in the mid-1980s to live in a privately rented flat in Sale, a suburb of the Borough of Trafford in the south of the Greater Manchester conurbation. He made the move as a result of a relationship he had developed with a young woman who came from the Sale area. However, as a core member of the Northside Crew, the informal social networks of Hartingleigh remained of central significance in his life. In part, Poolie's alternative careers, which included hustling drugs, ensured that he made frequent visits to the local area in order to maintain informal associations and contacts. Throughout the fourth phase, I frequently encountered him among the informal lads network in and around my study area.

The most inaccessible group of study participants were the four individuals who, by the third phase of preliminary fieldwork, had migrated from Greater Manchester. These were Berksy who lived in York, Charlie Dougan who lived in London, Georgie B. who lived in Oldham, and Julie Birchall who lived in Blackburn. During the fourth phase, the four migrants were joined by Denise Weldon who moved to Norwich. My contacts with Berksy averaged four a year, between 1986 and 1990, and I tended to coincide the trips to his home in York with visits to old friends and associates from my undergraduate days

at the University there. I visited Charlie a total of seven times during the same period and these trips to London tended to coincide with a shared arrangement to watch Manchester United's 'away' fixtures in the capital. My contacts with both participants were informal and relaxed, based on our past associations, originally established during the first phase of detached youthworking for the Project. Both were enthusiastic about my study and participated extensively in the collaborative work of editing transcripts and constructing the case study material outlined in Chapter Seven (see especially Sections 7.6.4 and 7.8.2).

Charlie and Berksy were significant figures in my study. Both had been among my group of ten interviewees in the Project's 1980 School Leavers Survey (see Chapter Two, Section 2.5), both were participants drawn from Hartingleigh's Chicken Lane estate - known locally as 'the Jungle' - and both had been prominent 'faces' within the informal 'lads' culture on the streets of Hartingleigh during my detached youthwork. Following extended periods of post-school unemployment, like others from the Northside Crew, both had been in a good deal of trouble with the law as a consequence of pursuing alternative careers within Hartingleigh's anti-employment subculture. Court appearances had resulted in Borstal for Charlie; Berksy, on the other hand, had narrowly avoided incarceration partially as a consequence of army enlistment. However, these interruptions to their post-school transitions paradoxically afforded the opportunity for geographical mobility. As a result of their moves, there followed similar, biographical patterns of stable employment, courtship and marriage; these appeared to be factors which had enabled Charlie and Berksy, both members of the Northside Crew, to break the adolescent bonds which had tied them to the norms and values of the peer group in Hartingleigh. Geographical mobility, stable employment, courtship and marriage (and in Berksy's case, owner-occupation and parenthood) appeared to be factors which had enabled Charlie and Berksy to relinquish their propensity towards adolescent criminality.

During the fourth phase, Denise Weldon departed from Greater Manchester to accompany her boyfriend, Tim, when he secured employment in Norwich. The couple

eventually undertook a traditional domestic career of owner-occupation, marriage and parenthood. This transition reflected Denise's 'getting out' frame of reference which characterised a 'getting on - getting out' mode of consciousness typical of the three study participants who had secured traditional post-school transitions directly to primary employment. In the fourth phase, I visited Denise and her husband, Tim, three times to spend long weekends at their home in Norwich, on two occasions coinciding my visits with trips to Carrow Road to watch the local team, Norwich City, in their matches against Manchester United. I also saw the couple in Spring 1988, shortly before their marriage, when they were staying in Manchester at Denise's mother's home. Though increasingly infrequent, my contacts with the couple were relatively informal and through them, and with Denise's active collaboration, I was able to chart her employment and domestic career progressions. Denise's traditional transition took her from school into primary employment, from residential dependence to residential independence, and from courtship to engagement, marriage, parenthood and owner-occupation. A traditional transition to full-time employment provided the financial foundation upon which a stable adult identity was constructed (Chapter Six, Section 6.6).

The two other 'migrant' participants, Georgie B. in Oldham and Julie Birchall in Blackburn, I was able to maintain fairly regular contacts with as both Oldham and Blackburn are towns in the North West relatively accessible by public transport. Nevertheless, my visits were characterised by the need for prior contact and a measure of forethought and planning. I saw both participants three times a year between 1986 and 1990. Julie and Georgie were, for different reasons, significant to my study. Julie had sought to effect a post-school transition to adulthood *via* an early career of lone parenthood. The poverty associated with raising her child alone had necessitated various 'survival strategies' on Julie's part including 'totting from the Social' (fraudulent benefit claims) and 'working on the side'. Like the majority of long-term unemployed women in my study who, in 1985-1986, were unattached or lone parents (see Table 10, Chapter

314

Four, Section 4.7), Julie by 1990 had formed a relationship with a man, and had settled into a full-time domestic career of home and child care (Chapter Eight, Section 8.6.4).

Georgie's transition to full-time employment occurred *via* the successful completion of two years post-compulsory education and a 'sponsored sector' employment training scheme. In fact, Georgie was the only study participant to have successfully effected the transition to full-time employment, a proper job, *via* a 'decent' training scheme (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.4.1 for details).

5.2.1 Data Collection

My routine for recording information in the fourth phase of intensive fieldwork followed the pattern established in the third phase. My note taking would vary according to the participant(s), or the context in which meetings or encounters occurred. In my one-to-one meetings, or small group encounters, in participants' homes - or in my house in Hartingleigh - I would either record conversations on mini-tape for transcribing later, or if participants were not comfortable with this approach, I would take notes manually. If I considered that taping or note-taking were, for whatever reason, inhibiting to participants, I would generally try and record my impressions later. Most participants had no objection to being taped, although, as my fieldwork intensified, the sheer volume of material obtained and the increased amount of time required to transcribe the tapes, forced me to adopt a more selective approach. As particular themes and topics emerged from the ongoing processes of researching the relevant literature and sorting and sifting the accumulated research materials, I learned to focus taped conversations on selected areas of interest.

I also sought to maintain a variety of field diaries on a day-to-day basis. One diary was concerned with a daily routine of contacts or appointments - who should be contacted, when and for what, if any, specific reason. In a separate folder, I built up a record of theoretical or methodological issues that had arisen from my parallel reading of the

relevant literature in various areas of concern. I also evolved a system of utilising three separate diaries in each of the four years of the fourth phase, concerned with contacts with individuals who could be grouped according to their different modes of post-school transition. Conforming to the typology developed and outlined in Chapter Four (Sections 4.4.1; 4.4.2; and 4.5), the three diaries per year were grouped under the headings of Traditional Transitions, Protracted Transitions and Cyclical Transitions. Moreover, I sought to build up individual folders of observations, contacts, transcripts and other documentary material relevant to each of the thirty-nine participants in my study group. In 1988-1989, whenever possible, I utilised these folders in order to engage participants in the collaborative task of ordering, re-ordering and editing the accumulated material. The active involvement of study participants in the construction and re-construction of their 'social biographical transitions' is a feature of the participatory approach which reflects both an orientation derived from my detached youthwork practice and a developing trend within contemporary fieldwork practice (see Chapter Three, Sections 3.2.4 and 3.5).

5.3   Ethics and Ethnography

"The only safe way to avoid violating principles of professional ethics is to refrain from doing social research altogether" (Bronfenbrenner in Burgess 1984 : 207).

In recent years, youth research has concentrated on post-sixteen progressions. Studies have examined the implications of mass unemployment, the 'new vocationalism', and the apparent breakdown in the smooth progression from working class origins to male and female working class destinations in the occupational and social structure (Banks *et al* 1992; Furlong 1992). Recent ethnographies have reflected these general trends within youth research and have concentrated on the effects of changes in employment, education and vocational training on the transition to adult roles and statuses (Coffield *et al* 1986; Brown 1987; Stafford 1991; Wallace 1987; Bates and Riseborough 1993). Within this broad body of youth research literature, there have been some attempts to explore the "coping tactics" and "survival strategies" of young adults in high unemployment areas (see for example Coffield *et al* 1986; Griffin 1985; Jenkins 1983; Wallace 1987). However,

for a variety of reasons, mostly to do with access, little has been revealed about recourse to the informal economy, the development of redistributive neighbourhood based "alternative enterprise cultures" (*cf* Hobbs 1988) or the recourse to petty and/or serious crime (Robins 1992).

After conducting interview based research with unemployed 16-20 year olds living in high unemployment areas in Liverpool, London, Manchester and Wolverhampton, Roberts *et al* (1982b), for example, identified "only a handful of individuals", in fact, "just three from 551 interviews, who were not seeking work, having discovered more remunerative (illegal) activities" (1982b : 5). On the Isle of Sheppey, Wallace's (1987) research revealed that some of the long-term unemployed in her study group had access to the local informal economy but that the numbers involved were a statistical minority: "The number of unemployed young adults engaged in informal jobs was very low at any given time" (1987 : 139). Within the more recent ESRC 16 to 19 Initiative, however, minor reference was made to routine opportunistic theft, which was associated with trans-generational unemployment (Banks *et al* 1992 : 85), and some unqualified Youth Training Scheme trainees (Riseborough 1993 : 172).

Echoing the majority view within recent youth research, Coffield *et al*'s ethnographic study of "growing up at the margins" in the recession blackspots of the North East, found no one "whose life was organised around crime as a career or who had adopted a criminal identity" (1986 : 149). Coffield *et al*'s study was conducted in the same part of the country where, more recently, riots have laid waste large areas at Meadow Well (North Shields) and in the Elswick and Scotswood districts of Newcastle. The riots on the Meadow Well estate were triggered by the death of two North Tyneside youths killed as a result of a police car chase (*The Guardian*: "Riot puts Despair on Agenda", 11.9.91 : 1; *Sunday Observer*: "No Hope in No-Go Land", 15.9.91 : 23). It is the same part of the country where gangs of young ram-raiders have been conducting a protracted struggle for territorial supremacy with the police. In this drawn out campaign, the families of at least

four policemen have been forced to move as a result of attacks and intimidation; police cars have been destroyed in petrol bomb attacks; death threatening graffiti have been daubed on police houses; off duty policemen have been followed home and their car registration numbers logged; and there have been widespread reports of radio-scanners being used to monitor police activity, with lists of police frequencies being sold in Tyneside pubs (Bennetto 1991 : 2). Nick Brown, Labour MP for Newcastle East, has argued that, within the most disadvantaged areas of his constituency, "Alternative cultures are growing up with every year that passes and they are alienated from mainstream culture" (*The Guardian*, 8.9.93 : 12).

Moreover, in a recent study, Campbell (1993), among other things, has pointed to the irreducible poverty and trans-generational unemployment, sometimes running into and beyond the third generation, as responsible for the "big-business black economy" and a youthful propensity towards crime on Tyneside. Within Coffield *et al*'s study, however, reference is made to one of the major reasons why contemporary ethnographic youth research has failed to address, or fully explore, the issue of law-breaking among the unemployed young, namely concern over the problem of confidentiality:

> "Technically undeclared work is illegal too but ... it was usually their only means of eking out their ... benefit and of keeping skills and self respect alive. The various jobs on the side which they worked have not been referred to in the main account for reasons of confidentiality ... but a majority ... had ... undeclared earnings" (1986 : 53-54). (my emphasis)

Thus, although Coffield *et al* had access to an area of significant contemporary sociological interest, they chose not to confront the ethical problems involved.

During the initial stages of my research project, in a personal communication, David Morgan provided early warning that the "ethical/confidentiality/political implications and ramifications" involved in researching social and acquisitive criminality amongst the long-term unemployed were, "formidable". Similarly, Bob Coles has also pointed out the consequences of producing unrepresentative ethnographies of the "glamorous fringe"

which may create a distorted image of the long-term effects of unemployment, especially

for the great majority of "ordinary kids" who do not seek out anti-employment life styles:

> "It would have been possible for sociology to have produced a new crop of ethnographies
> featuring the glamorous fringe whose response to the absence of jobs for the young has
> been to seek out an alternative status system through non-work based life styles ... But
> by and large sociologists have rightly resisted returning to their former role as scholarly
> sidekick to the media myth makers.   The overwhelming findings of youth research in
> the age of unemployment is that joblessness is a serious blight upon the economic,
> psychological and social maturation of the Thatchered young ... the young unemployed
> who find worklessness a lark ... are 'a tiny minority'.   Unemployment research has at
> least resisted the temptation to slander ordinary kids" (1986 : 8-8).

I had to take seriously such warnings about the ethical minefield that is involved in

studying "law-breaking in its natural setting" (Polksy in Becker 1963 : 117).   As my

project developed, I struggled with the realisation that some of the material I was

recording could, in a variety of ways, be potentially damaging to my research participants.

How this is so can be illustrated with reference to two studies, Ditton's (1977)

ethnographic study of bakery salesmen involved in routinised 'fiddling', and a paper about

youth unemployment presented by Ken Roberts, in September 1982, to the British

Association for the Advancement of Science.   When Ditton's research was published, the

consequences for the bread salesmen of his study were that they were eventually traced,

exposed and sacked for their activities.   The paper presented by Roberts was based on his

research in high unemployment city areas.   In it, Roberts argued that the young

unemployed were learning to cope with, and adapt to, unemployment because economic

uncertainty was an accepted fact of life within the communities he studied:

> "Joblessness is probably harder to bear in communities where the status is exceptional,
> but Britain's young unemployed tend to be clustered in localities where living without
> regular work is a common experience which unites their age-group and sometimes the
> generations" (1982b : 2-3).

However, the day after the presentation of Roberts's paper, the *Daily Mail* carried a partial

and distorted version of its contents under the headline: "Youngsters who can find life

brighter out of work", and went on to report: "The idea that rising unemployment is

sapping the spirits of British youngsters ... met with a major challenge yesterday" (*Daily Mail*, 8.9.82).

Thus, even with the best will in the world, sociological research may harm study participants and sociologists may unwittingly take on the role of "scholarly sidekick to the media mythmakers". Once in the public domain, research findings, filtered through the distorting medium of the Tory Press, can moreover lend academic credence to reactionary ideologues such as, for example, Norman Tebbit who, informed by the *Mail* article, commented on the plight of the young unemployed in the following terms: "I do not like the use of the word intolerable for something which is going on and being tolerated" (*Tyne Tees Television*, quoted in Hirsch 1983 : 16).

Aside from the ethical implications involved in the dissemination, or publication, of research findings and the potentially negative impact of these on the community one seeks to represent, I was, during the ten year course of my study, provided with two timely reminders of the potential danger to research participants from recorded and stored information on their undetected law-breaking activities. Under the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act, the police were provided with the power to enter and search any premises for the purposes of gaining evidence, even in circumstances where the owner or occupier is not suspected of any offence (Smith 1986 : 7). In 1986, for example, the Act was invoked against two Bristol daily newspapers and a freelance photographer who were compelled to hand over unpublished photographs of the mid-1980s riots in the St. Paul's area of the City (*The Guardian* 24.10.86: "Papers Must Hand Over Riot Photos"). Under the same Act, on two separate occasions, my home in Hartingleigh was subjected to visits by the Greater Manchester CID seeking information about certain individuals who were not, in fact, research participants. The police did attempt a desultory search of my house but the bulk of my research records were fortunately stored at two other separate locations where I usually worked and, as a result, no incriminating material was taken. Nevertheless, the experiences did emphasise the implications of some of the research I was

320

undertaking and made me diligent to the point of paranoia, about the need to immediately transcribe, code, anonymise, and safely store sensitive materials obtained from research participants. Such ethical considerations have also been brought to bear on the construction of the text and I have followed many ethnographers in changing names, places, dates, locations and incidents to protect the people from whom sensitive data was obtained. In this, I have gone as far as Platt (1976) was prepared to in protecting members of the 'Sociological Research Community' who participated in her study:

> "I have ... gone to some lengths to make it difficult to identify individuals or projects in the text, though I have been conscious of the danger of concealing relevant information by doing this. All names have been changed and sometimes sexes; institutions, affiliations and research topics have been changed or described in general terms ... If the same name appears in more than one place, it does not necessarily refer to the same individual" (1976 : 7).

"With such circumspection", John Barnes observes, "we might well think we were about to hear something really iniquitous, alas all that is offered is an account of the realities of Social Research" (Barnes 1979 : 140).

In presenting some of the material in my study, it is apparent that it was necessary that I should be involved in certain law-breaking activities. To avoid any legal action against myself, I have similarly sought to anonymise my own roles and thus, "I appear in the text on various occasions under a pseudonym" (Hobbs 1988 : 14). While engaged in crucial parts of my study, I undertook the strategy of adopting the non-judgmental role I had developed during my early youthwork practice, particularly with participants who were aware of my own criminal biography and who were therefore acquainted with my pre-University persona. Drawing the moral line is a decision each researcher must make within a particular research context and no amount of ethical codes or instruction booklets can minimise the individual responsibility involved (Dingwall 1980 : 883; Polsky 1971 : 132). Like Hobbs (1988), my approach was open and flexible and guided by "the ethics of the researched culture and not the normative ethical constraints of sociological research ... Consequently, I was willing to skirt the boundaries of criminality ... and I considered it crucial to be willingly involved in 'normal' business transactions, legal or otherwise" (1988

: 7). Inevitably there was a high degree of anxiety generated from my involvement in such activities, the long-term consequences of which are outlined in the following Section (5.4).

In Chapter Two (Section 2.4), I explained how my own law-breaking and status as an 'ex-con' facilitated significant entrée into the informal lads culture. Generally being recognised as someone who "knows the score" allowed me access to data usually prohibited to the 'straight' outsider. My own background and biography also influenced my decision to pursue research in certain areas rather than others. What McRobbie has described as the "politics of selection" have been largely unacknowledged in most ethnographic studies of subcultures:

> "Although few radical (male) sociologists would deny the importance of the personal in precipitating soci l and political awareness, to admit how their own experience has influenced their choice of subject-matter (the politics of selection) seems more or less taboo. This silence is particularly grating in the literature on hippie and drug countercultures, where it seems to have been stage-managed only through a suspiciously exaggerated amount of methodological justification" (1981 : 113).

Because of my own background of teenage to late twenties affiliation to Manchester's Inner City law-breaking subcultures, I found nothing immoral, or even unusual, in the 'biz' - the dealing, hoisting, grafting and blags that I encountered. However, I do not consider my study to be unethical for the ethics that I adhered to were the ethics of the participants in my study (*cf* Hobbs 1988 : 7-8).

Most studies of 'delinquent subcultures' deal with those who have 'failed' at their 'chosen' alternative career. Studies have generally concentrated upon data gathered from 'caught' law-breakers who have ended up as residents in one or other of the various state institutions established to incarcerate youth and adult offenders (see for example Little 1990). However, as Polsky has pointed out, the emphasis on data gathered from caught criminals has led the criminologist to develop theories based on the investigation of an inherently "skewed sample, studied in non-natural settings" (1971 : 120). Moreover, the data derived from 'failed' law-breakers, in addition to sampling bias, is also "too heavily retrospective" (*ibid* : 121). As Polsky has asserted:

322

"Only about six out of every hundred major crimes known to the police result in jail sentences, so much of our alleged sociological knowledge of criminality is based on study of people in jails. The sociologist ... typically gathers ... data from deviants who are jailed or otherwise enmeshed with the law - a skewed sample who over-represent the non-professionals ... who are seen in artificial settings and who are not systematically studied as they normally function in their natural settings. Thus, the sociologist often knows less about truly contemporary subcultures - particularly those composed of adult professional criminals - than the journalist does" (Polsky in Becker 1963 : 171, Note 7).

And finally, returning to issues of confidentiality and the desire to protect participants from whom 'data' has been derived, like Patrick (1973) I resolved to delay writing-up the material which highlighted the law-breaking activities of participants. The chronology of incidents has also been distorted and disguised in order to ensure that participants retain immunity from retrospective police action. Likewise, I have ensured that several years have elapsed between recorded incidents and the construction of the text. Moreover, to further protect the anonymity and safety of research participants, it is my intention to secure a moratorium on access to the thesis for a period of two years - under the terms of copyright and the University of Salford's Code of Practice (1992). Further requests may be made annually for additional single years up to a maximum of five years. I trust that these procedures will further ensure anonymity and protect participants from any possibility of future detection and prosecution.

5.4   Reflections of An Engaged Fieldworker

Few sociologists who employ qualitative research methods discuss the actual mechanics of fieldwork in their published writings. A frank account of the processes involved might disabuse readers of the idea that sociological insight arrives through the logical analysis of a systematically gathered, and largely static body of 'evidence'. If my experience is at all typical, insight comes from an immersion in the research materials, a sifting and re-sifting, ordering and re-ordering of a lot of pieces of paper, until patterns develop. My research methods were not applied 'objectively' in a manner devoid of human limitations or personal values and my study reflects the same commitment to advocacy and empowerment as I sought to employ in my detached youthwork. Naturally, as a University-based researcher,

323

I had access to the literature which describes the qualitative methods used in participatory research, but, if, as I would argue, the real point of fieldwork is to be immersed in the community under study (cf Whyte 1955), it means that one's personal life is inseparably bound up with the research. What follows then is a personal account of my relationship with the Hartingleigh community and the effects, strengths and limitations of conducting participatory research in one's own 'backyard'.

Despite being superficially flushed with the success of my ESRC research application and my new official status as a 'sociological urban ethnographer', walking through Hartingleigh in Autumn 1986, I felt strangely uneasy and vulnerable. I might have been closer in class background to the people of Hartingleigh than to the bulk of my University colleagues - but the time I had spent in York and in the Department and Library at Salford had made things subtly different. Earlier I outlined the disorientation engendered by the role changes required to stand with one foot in each of two distinctly separate cultural worlds. The process of estrangement had begun with my movements between the contrasting worlds of home and University during the second phase. The stark contrasts generated from movements between an undergraduate existence of libraries, lectures, seminars, and predominantly middle class students and lecturers in York, to my family life with my wife and our two growing children in a terraced house in Hartingleigh, was to provide the starting point and impetus for research within my home community. My student life occurred within the genteel atmosphere of a picturesque rural outpost of the ancient walled City of York, and my family life within the rapidly deteriorating social environment of the Northside of Manchester's Inner City. Although it was easier to manage the role conflict during the second phase, when the two roles were spatially and socially separate and aided by a train journey to adjust to the role-change, the constant movement between these two starkly contrasting environments provided a harsh reminder of the patterned inequalities in our society. In ways that I did not fully understand at the time, and therefore could not properly articulate, I saw clearly the contrast between those whose lives are circumscribed by optimism, cultural nourishment

and opportunity, and those for whom the multiple and cumulative impact of social disadvantage had created an almost impenetrable barrier to opportunity which rendered hope a superfluous emotion. At a level beyond words, my time at York had changed me and I sought to give voice to the change through preliminary fieldwork in Hartingleigh.

During the third phase of preliminary fieldwork, outlined in Chapter Four, I worked hard to get to grips both with the relevant literature and in terms of constituting a 'database' by establishing contacts with the young people who would become my study participants. I drafted a substantial research proposal for submission to the ESRC based on the literature review and preliminary fieldwork. During the same twelve month period, I threw myself wholeheartedly into the various activities promoted by the Project and sought to reaffirm the basis of informality upon which my former employment, as a youthworker, had been based. I interviewed extensively during preliminary fieldwork and spent long hours transcribing and editing tapes, occasionally in collaboration with research participants. My informal access to the peer group networks of Hartingleigh's burgeoning sub- and anti-employment subcultures provided me with an arena both for articulating a reasserted 'proletarian' identity and for generating significant areas of research interest. By autumn 1986, I had successfully secured research supervision and funding - yet paradoxically, this served to increase my sense of estrangement. At approximately the same time, I ran into difficulties with the Management Committee of the Youth and Community Project. In part the problems arose out of my commitment to a participatory mode of research.

In line with my research commitments, I had sought to 'feed back' early drafts of my preliminary fieldwork to various employees of the Project for comment. In particular, I provided drafts of those sections of my fieldwork which contained reference to my early youthwork and to Project staff and resources. Ostensibly, I was looking to secure informed comment on, and further support and co-operation for, my study. At another level, however, I recognised I was also seeking community approval for my work. I was

particularly concerned about the political and ethical implications inherent in a possible examination of the propensity towards acquisitive crime, discernible among a significant proportion of my study group - and was inviting comment upon this. At an early stage, I understood that there would be a host of ethical, political and confidentiality implications and ramifications, and I wanted to secure general approval that exposure of these, often desperate, survival adaptations was acceptable to the wider community (these issues are discussed more fully in Section 5.3). At the same time, insulated by a sense of 'respectability' engendered by my academic successes, I also sought to 'come clean' about my former incarnation as an 'ex-con'. There was a ripple of consternation among certain members of the Project's Management Committee. What also became issues of concern were some of the 'revelations' contained in the preliminary drafts of my fieldwork, revelations about, for example, the semi-officially sanctioned practices within the Project's organisation of MSC funding and trainees. The descriptions of what were described as, "unorthodox" approaches to detached youthworking, also met with strong condemnation by certain members of the Project's Management Committee. Two Committee members, who were also prominent local clergymen, led the campaign of disapproval.

Although Jim Donovan, the Project's Neighbourhood Worker and Chair of the Management Committee was extremely supportive of my work - both as a detached youthworker and in terms of my research study - others were less sympathetic. A series of meetings were convened; some I was invited to attend, others I was excluded from. I argued that the material which pertained to the Project's use of MSC funding and the "unorthodox" youthwork practice were instances of community generated resistance and relevant to the background of my study. In response, members of Management argued that the early drafts, if included in my thesis, would enter the public domain and, if the identity of the Project was discerned, could be potentially damaging. Of concern were the implications that the Project was manipulating or misappropriating MSC funding (Chapter Two, Section 2.6.2); that revelations about 'cash-in-hand' payments to Project volunteers, who were registered as unemployed, could lead to investigation and prosecution by the

DHSS, fraud section (Chapter Seven, Section 7.6.2); and that the 'permissive' youthwork approach, evolved in the 1980s by Project youthworkers, could be interpreted as tacit approval of, or even incitement towards, crime, amongst the young people affiliated to the Project (Chapter Two, Section 2.7). The debates surrounding these and other issues not dealt with in this text, continued into 1987. Initially a narrow vote sought to exclude me from any further access to the Project's records, facilities, resources and premises - I was 'banned' from the Youth and Community Centre!

Because I had retained a strong emotional commitment to the Project, my first reaction was to completely excise the offending material from the early drafts. However, after lengthy consultation with the various participants in my study, who were relevant to the controversial passages, and with further advice and encouragement from my former co-workers, I decided, instead, to re-draft the material. I excluded sections, key characters, incidents and facts, in order to render a more generalised picture - whilst at the same time seeking to retain the sense of community resistance which was implied in the original. I also sought to further disguise the location of the Hartingleigh community, the Project and the various individuals portrayed in the original drafts. With the support of Jim Donovan, Gail Hindle, Marie Hulton, and a strongly worded letter of support from Tony Boyle - who was at the time working on a similar community based project on Tyneside - the ban was lifted. This was my first tangible encounter with the limitations of participatory research.

Although my problems at the Centre and with the Project's Management Committee were eventually resolved, the dispute seriously undermined my confidence. Caught between the two worlds of academia and the community and the streets, I had found myself in, but not really of, either. Although the support from my former co-workers was consistent throughout this period, I remained permanently undermined. The growing feelings of estrangement were exacerbated by problems in my home. My years in prison in the late Seventies, followed by the dislocation experienced by my family as a result of

my three years as an undergraduate, had helped to undermine my marriage. The pressure of trying to cope and maintain the family economy on the income derived from my undergraduate grant, and later the ESRC research funding, had ensured an almost continuous struggle to ward off debt. How long was this to continue? .... Where was it all leading? These were the questions that were asked of me, questions to which I had no sure replies. Despite my sense of estrangement, both at home and within the Sociology Department at Salford, I knew that my academic identity was a vital component of who I now thought I was. I now sought to derive self-esteem from academic endeavour and not the law-breaking activities of my past. I could not abandon the journey I had begun since coming out of prison. My wife was exasperated; the constant absences and an enduring poverty led her to question the whole basis of our relationship. In 1988, we separated; the house was sold, I handed over the surplus profit, and moved into a flat.

For the next twelve months, I buried myself in fieldwork and, when the sense of failure and loss impinged, I sought solace in the after-hours recreation of study participants. By 1989, I felt myself drawn into the milieu of Hartingleigh as I had never been before, into its political and social life and into the web of personal, economic and social problems that dominate its residents. At the University, I had a demanding academic schedule with some undergraduate teaching, my research was nearing the 'cut-off' date I had been set, and the process of writing up loomed. It was a very busy time, and I also found it emotionally draining, especially in trying to reconcile the two lives I led: the one at the University campus and the other on the streets of Hartingleigh.

It was my study that was to bridge the two worlds. One of the most challenging and perhaps rewarding features of a participatory ethnographic study is the synthesis a researcher must create between a perceived intellectual heritage and the 'data' (collaboratively) generated from fieldwork. Without a theoretical framework to make sense of the massive quantity and variety of empirical material, researchers would be drowning in a sea of field notes, with each new interview tossing them in a different

direction. Yet the theoretical framework must be generously applied in order that collaboratively 'worked up' material can modify, or readjust, the theoretical boundaries; so that new insight may be generated from new material. By the same token there is - perhaps - all too much theoretical abstraction, with no experiential grounding whatsoever, coming from some scholars who are too often afraid to venture into the life-worlds of those they seek to represent. There is also an important sense in which studies in the areas of youth culture and subculture can be said to have produced 'unrecognisable' versions of the social world; scholars whose theoretical abstractions are meaningless to those from whom meaning has been derived. "It is unlikely", admits Hebdige, "that members of any subcultures described in this book would recognise themselves reflected here" (1979 : 139). In an unusually frank confession, Hebdige concludes that the culture analyst is doomed to -

> "live an uneasy cerebral relation to the bric-à-brac of life ... We are in society but not inside it, producing analyses of popular culture which are themselves anything but popular ... we are still ... condemned for some time yet to speak excessively about reality" (1979 : 139-140).

My study began with a review of the participatory influences derived from youthwork theory and practice. The twin notions of individual and community empowerment, enshrined both in the inherently empathic, non-hierarchical, detached youthwork role and within the community self-survey, with its focus on community problem definition and solution, were significant methodological influences for my research (see Chapter Two). In Chapter Three, I examined how these influences meshed neatly with a 'humanistic and empathic' research mode derived from the Participant Observation traditions within sociology. However, the more 'subjectivist' participant observation traditions, especially those derived from phenomenological and symbolic interactionist roots, could not fully articulate participants' lived experience. Lived experience in Hartingleigh occurs within the overarching "canopy of structured inequalities", such as youth poverty, gender and unemployment, and, as such, necessitates other theoretical commitments. In order to articulate the matrix of experiences and conditions which shape and influence lived

realities, I explored the work of Willis who, among others, argues that, although the individual's relationship to the mode of production wields a significant influence on attitudes and actions, people do not simply respond to such pressures with passivity or indifference. Willis insists that the cultural sphere has a relative autonomy (1977 : 171) and that subordinate groups may produce alternative cultural forms endemic to the parent culture. Similarly, Fryer's (1986a) theory of agency examined in Chapter Four (Section 4.6.3) allows for participants to be proactive in "choosing to initiate, intervene in or reperceive situations" (Fryer and Payne 1984 : 273). Giroux's theory of resistance, examined in Chapter Three (Section 3.5), also allows for an examination of active experiences which embody oppositional attitudes and practices. As Mann has argued, historically and culturally, "the poor have hardly been passive" (1992 : 136). Giroux suggests that working class subordination is not a simple reaction to the logic of capitalism, or capitalist rationality, but that, rather, oppositional cultural patterns draw on elements of working class culture in a creative and potentially transformative fashion (1983a : 291).

As such work informed my theoretical thinking, the empirical materials generated from fieldwork and the theoretical perspectives were held in a kind of dialectical tension. I found myself moving back and forth between the two until my ideas coalesced. The emergence of my ideas was a slow circuitous process. I had anticipated problems analysing the 'data', but, before even reaching the stage of analysis, I became enmeshed with the difficulties involved in simply organising the material generated from many hours of fieldwork. The task of organising the material proved more difficult than I had foreseen. By January 1990, I had in excess of five thousand pages of field notes and transcripts. As an ESRC funded student, I was under pressure from the Sociology Department at Salford to convert the material into a PhD thesis, and complete on time. The ESRC completion date loomed and my grant was coming to an end. I was aware that the analytical and theoretical chapters would push me to my intellectual limits and, essentially, I was afraid of the task that awaited. At the time, I also had no understanding

330

of how demanding it would be to organise my notes and transcripts into the basically descriptive chapters I had envisaged to illustrate participants' labour market and domestic career transitions (eventually these emerged in parallel with the theoretical work and contain movements between descriptive and theoretical paragraphs within each Chapter).

I had also neglected to make adequate theoretical notes throughout the fourth phase - the complex conceptual architecture was held inside my head. I had plenty of notes and transcripts which depicted events, incidents and conversations, but no tangible record of the development of a more abstract sense of what the observations meant. By Summer 1990, I had sketched out, in loosely constructed first drafts, the various ideas contained in Chapters Two and Three, which complemented and informed the year of preliminary fieldwork depicted in Chapter Four. I had also taken on board more of the contemporary youth research literature which emphasises what Chisholm has described as "social-biographical transitions" (1990 : 39) and the theoretical implications of 'trajectories', 'transitions' and 'careers' as organising concepts for post-school transitions (examined more fully in Section 5.7). I was especially cognisant of these ideas when I carried out a final wave of brief interviews with the thirty-nine participants in a six month period between September 1990 and February 1991. Being 'in the field' was what I was most comfortable with, but the final sweep of interviews served as another way of delaying the task of writing-up, which awaited like some oppressive shadow in the corner of my life. I dragged out the final fieldwork task - putting off and avoiding what, when I allowed myself to think about it, seemed like the awesome process of imposing order and meaning on my fieldwork. Retrospectively, I believe I was reluctant to finish fieldwork for, if the process was completed, what then was I to be? If not a researcher in the process of conducting research, what, or rather who, was I?

A further six months passed. The Sociology Department's representatives were becoming agitated - as was my supervisor. I could not quite disengage from 'the field'; my after-hours sociability with the unemployed males had become a week-by-week

occurrence.   I was mesmerised by their lives, their lawlessness, and disregard for convention or formality.   Often I quite clearly ran the risk of arrest, but this was not especially distressing.   Often I was in the presence of those selling 'soft' or 'hard' drugs, handling stolen property, or in possession of firearms (see Chapter Nine).   Despite the blatant sexism and espousal of often dangerous and violent views, I marvelled at their "collective expressions of disaffiliation from authority and the hegemony of the dominant classes" (McRobbie 1981 : 21).   The New Order song, *State of the Nation*, is playing in the background as I write these very sentences:

> "We turn our backs you see
> The State of the Nation will never enter me"

The solidarity, group loyalty and assertiveness, displayed in the face of lives and circumstances stripped of all the conventional routes to dignity, I found was occasionally inspiring;   their cocksure belligerence and often explosive combativity succeeded in "creatively blocking all attempts by others to control them" (Riseborough 1993 : 10). However, unlike Riseborough, the author's perspective has not been left implicit, "and some readers will find much to concern them here" (*ibid*).

After several stilted interviews within the Department at Salford, and a re-negotiated thesis deadline, I re-focused and strove to re-order information that would assist me to determine the validity of my tentatively formulated theoretical discernments.   In fact, the entire period between Summer 1991 and Summer 1992 involved a constant appraisal and reappraisal of ideas I thought could help me make sense of, and impose order on, the empirical material.   But, ludicrously, I kept no written record of the development and progression of these ideas.   I again negotiated an extension on my writing-up deadline on health grounds and packed up my research materials, books, files, papers, and catalogue of tapes and arranged a move far away from Manchester.   The 'call of the streets' would no longer impede the task that remained.   I was, by that time, exhausted, and suffering from "fieldwork schizophrenia".

> "Doing fieldwork at home is a perpetual schizophrenia ...   In the case of fieldwork at
> home ... the researcher is darting back and forth between one world and another ...

While this shuttling process has certain methodological advantages over those of my colleagues in other cultures, it is extremely emotionally stressful. The energy involved in switching cultures daily is exhausting. From time to time, I actually forgot where I was, who I was, and what I was doing" (Posner 1980 : 205).

Traditionally, fieldwork has provided a route for the investigation and analysis of the ongoing social worlds of others. As examined in Chapter Three (Section 3.2.4), there has been an increased interest in the ethnographer's personal processes and problems. Reflective accounts of the personal aspects and consequences of fieldwork have enriched the awareness of the social nature of fieldwork. They have provided a method with which to address the deeply subjective, emotional and personal experiences involved. In keeping with this new, more reflective, posture, I will speculatively explore the culmination of the sense of estrangement alluded to throughout this section. The stress and anxiety which surrounded my research had, by the time I departed from Manchester, manifested itself in a set of disturbing personal experiences which occurred as I sought to draw my fieldwork to an end, and which culminated in the shock of disengagement.

5.4.1 Leaving the Field and Data Analysis

My departure from the Project in Hartingleigh, and from my association with colleagues and research participants, entailed an impromptu party and an evening spent trying to say goodbye. I was assailed by a multitude of conflicting and contradictory emotions and during the course of the evening made my excuses and left - farewells were not a strong point in my repertoire of social attributes. When I got back to my flat - which was already stripped bare, possessions boxed in anticipation of departure - I was overcome by a series of strange and then terrifying sensations. As someone who has been acquainted with the psychedelic experience, I thought I was familiar with the terrain of altered consciousness - but this was something unfamiliar. It was not chemically induced; apart from the half bottle of white wine I had drank at the party, I was totally 'straight', yet parts of my body felt disconnected and gradually I was overwhelmed by a desperate vulnerability. I lay down. Initially I recognised the sensation as an exaggerated version of the estrangement I had experienced at different times throughout my study ... and then,

somehow, I lost the ability to think, all meaning dissolved. I was in what Laing has described as a state of "ontological insecurity". The ontologically insecure person -

"may feel more unreal than real ... so that ... identity and autonomy are ... in question. [They] may not possess an overriding sense of personal consistency or cohesiveness ... may feel more insubstantial than substantial. And ... may feel ... self as partially divorced from [the] body" (1960 : 42) (my inserts)

At some point I must have got up and I pushed my hands against the wall trying to directly feel or make contact with my physical self. It was as though another surface level, something intangible, separated the concreteness of physical objects from myself. Smells, sounds, sights, all held an ethereal quality. I was simultaneously entranced and terrified by the chimerical nature of things. I felt in a state of vacillation in an alien world, a world suddenly fragmented and immaterial. Time passed. I do not know exactly how long; several hours, for the first light of dawn was creeping over rooftops. I felt myself returning. I felt more settled, inside my body, 'real', 'normal'. While I made no notes about this experience, it burned itself into my memory so that to think and reflect back, I can feel the faint echoes of physical sensations I experienced at the time.

I did not make, nor now do I offer, any detailed analysis of this and other less dramatic experiences of ontological insecurity during fieldwork. The 'shock of disengagement' from the field was, perhaps, the culmination of several years of stress and pressure and a growing sense of having no place to locate self and identity. Trapped and oscillating between two incompatible worlds, I made my escape.

The first step I took towards reconstructing both my 'self' and my study was to ensconce my research bric-à-brac in a tiny room in a Community Arts Project in a Welsh University town. Here there were no distractions. I was literally a stranger in a strange land. I had mentally cultivated and modified my sociological views in line with developments within the empirical material generated from fieldwork. But I had neglected to record the changes and progression of my ideas and was compelled to systematically back-track to examine the development. This was the task I initially

undertook towards reconstituting my thesis. I should have noted after every interview how the new material had fitted into the overall picture, or if the material had forced revisions in, or had affirmed, my previous thinking. Had I kept such notes, the stage between the end of my fieldwork and the beginning of writing-up would have been less awesome and filled me with much less dread.

I spent days reading through my notes and diaries, trying to cross-reference material, reading and re-reading again and again, sifting through the material, trying to discern an organisational framework which did not distort participants' views, or experiences. I began to record the process and the insights gleaned from the undertaking, some of which came to me at the most bizarre times and inappropriate places, often touched by chance incident or stray observation. In order to get a grip of the empirical material, I developed a card index for each study participant on which I recorded information that struck me as particularly relevant or important. Perhaps the most useful organising device I employed was a huge wall chart fashioned from a roll of decorators' lining paper. The chart contained, for each participant, information according to the following specifications: gender, employment status, mode of post-school transition, domestic career, domestic status, residential status, father in the household, employment of father, employment of mother, whether the participant had, or was currently, engaged in illegal activity, subcultural affiliations, alternative economic activity, arrest and/or imprisonment. Once the materials gleaned from my folders and field diaries had been laid out, and by systematically utilising different coloured felt-tip pens to code different activities, or statuses in different spheres, patterns began to emerge. Such patterns gave form and further meaning to the lives and post-school experiences of study participants. The chart helped me to measure the relative significance of the various structural, cultural and sub-cultural factors and influences that shaped post-school progressions. Ultimately, however, it was the memory and transcripts of conversations and incidents through which I gained whatever understanding I eventually achieved.

335

5.5   Employment and Unemployment

During the third phase of my evolving project (1985-1986), I compiled a 'snapshot' of the post-school transitions of study participants (see Table 9, Chapter Four, Section 4.4). The 'snapshot' revealed the post-school progressions of study participants into employment, part-time employment, unemployment and full-time education.   Later, between September 1989 and September 1990, in the final year of the fourth phase of my study, I compiled a second 'snapshot', reproduced as Table 11 (below).   The following section will make reference to both Table 9 and Table 11.

Table 11:   Employment/Unemployment Amongst Study Participants by Sex (1989-1990)

	Female	*Male*	*Total*
Employed	4	6	10
Part-Time Employed	4	-	4
Unemployed	11	14	25
Full-Time Education	-	-	-
TOTAL	*19*	*20*	*39*

Both Table 9 and Table 11 provide cross-sectional 'snapshots' of participants' transitions in the labour market.   The Tables, however, do little justice to the complexity of the 'process' of participants' movement through different stages of the life-course - so crucially dependent on post-school transitions in the labour market.   Indeed, much of the fieldwork undertaken during the fourth and final phase of my study (1986-1990) was concerned with the investigation, documentation and social cartography of the process of participants' post-school transitions.   In this final phase of fieldwork, I sought to examine the interrelationships between post-school labour market transitions and study participants' transitions to adult roles and statuses.   The fieldwork is presented in succeeding Chapters and seeks to distinguish between three separate modes of post-school transition: namely Traditional Transitions, presented in Chapter Six;   Protracted Transitions, presented in Chapter Seven;   Cyclical Transitions, presented in Chapter Eight.   Each of these separate modes of transition had enormous implications for participants' movement into adulthood.

Table 9 (Chapter Four, Section 4.4) reveals that, in 1985-1986, nine study participants were in full-time employment. Of these, three participants, Denise Weldon, Deirdre Sharp and John Conleigh, had taken a traditional post-school transition directly to employment (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4.1). By 1990, Denise Weldon was no longer in employment; she had married and undertaken a traditional domestic career of home and child care. John Conleigh and Deirdre Sharp both remained in full-time employment, although Deirdre's hairdressing career was briefly interrupted by the birth of her first child in December 1989. However, Deirdre re-established her career when she undertook a joint business venture with her sister, through which leasehold premises were secured and converted into a hairdressing salon. The business venture was organised as a partnership with her sister and provided employment for them both. The details of the labour market and domestic career progressions of the three traditional transitionaries are examined in Chapter Six.

Of the remaining six study participants, Amanda Gardiner, Charlie Dougan, Berksy, Russell Robinson, Georgie B. and Mick Kent, who were all in full-time employment in 1985-1986, five retained their employment into the fourth phase of my study. The unfortunate participant who returned to unemployment was Mick Kent. In Chapter Four (Section 4.4.2), I highlighted Mick's complex and extended post-school transition to employment. Mick's labour market career followed a five year progression characterised by unemployment, underemployment, and government schemes. He eventually secured a 'proper job' in February 1985. This was clerical employment within a local government department. In 1988, however, as a consequence of a wave of 'last-in, first out' redundancies, Mick lost his job. His experiences within the labour market engendered a bitter and angry cynicism and, after he had re-registered as unemployed, Mick eventually sought and secured an alternative career as a 'hoister' within the 'Hoisting Crew' of Hartingleigh's anti-employment subculture (see Chapter Nine, Section 9.4.2).

During the period 1985-1990, the other five participants who, like Mike, had similarly undertaken protracted transitions to full-time employment, were joined by three others, Jimmy Bee, Tracy Smith and Cathy Tittle. The post-school progressions of the eight protracted transitionaries were characterised by prolonged bouts of unemployment, Government inspired (un)employment training schemes, underemployment in casual, contract and part-time work, as well as acquisitive crime and work within the local informal economy (see Table 12, Chapter Seven, Section 7.2). Such post-school progressions extended the transition to 'proper jobs' for periods of between four to almost eight years. The details of the complex labour market and domestic career progressions of the eight protracted transitionaries are examined in Chapter Seven.

Table 9 also reveals that, in 1985-1986, three women study participants were employed in part-time jobs; these were Cathy Tittle, Viv Richardson and Jill Souter. Cathy Tittle worked part-time in a City Centre florists. In September 1987, her work was upgraded so that she became a full-time employee. Cathy's protracted transition to full-time employment had taken over seven years, the details of which are outlined in Chapter Seven (Sections 7.6.3 and 7.8.6). Viv Richardson and Jill Souter maintained an intermittent association with part-time employment throughout the fourth phase of my research and both were in part-time work in 1990. However, Jill was compelled to briefly abandon her work as a home machinist in 1986, after her male partner had lost his job. Jill's part-time job was cash-in-hand 'piecework'. When her partner was made redundant, he insisted that she give up her part-time job on the pretext that it could lead to investigation and potential prosecution by the Department of Employment, from whom he was claiming unemployment benefit on behalf of the family. Jill was convinced that his attitude was more a reflection of the dent to "his pride" as a result of being unemployed. Nevertheless, she was only able to resume her work when her partner was re-employed in 1987. As Table 11 reveals, by 1990, Viv Richardson and Jill Souter, the two women in part-time employment, had been joined by two others. These were Lynn Parker and Lynn Chapman.

Part-time employment was usually only undertaken by women whose husbands/partners were in full-time employment. Benefit dependent couples generally considered part-time work not worth undertaking, certainly not on a formal 'cards-in' basis. This was not a reflection of some innate fecklessness, but was rather a consequence of the vagaries of the benefits system. The income derived from part-time employment held negative implications in terms of participants' entitlement to means-tested benefits and, more often than not, would have resulted in a disproportionate reduction in living standards. These points are discussed more fully in Chapter Eight (Section 8.6.2).

As Table 9 shows, in 1985-1986, two women study participants were in full-time education. Both Spider and Lynn Chapman had undertaken full-time courses in the mid-1980s as a means of effecting withdrawal from the formal labour market after post-school transitions characterised by government schemes and protracted unemployment. However, neither women secured formal employment after leaving College and both eventually undertook careers of full-time domestic and childcare work within the home. As mentioned earlier, Lynn Chapman did eventually manage to secure part-time employment; this occurred in March 1990. The part-time work was for twelve hours a week in a cake shop and provided Lynn with the opportunity to secure extra income for the family budget and, at the same time, "take a break" from domestic and childcare routine. Both Spider and Lynn Chapman's post-school transitions are examined in Chapter Eight (Section 8.4.2).

As Table 9 reveals, in 1985-1986, by far the largest group among my study participants were those who were unemployed. At that time, twenty-five participants (14 male and 11 female) were unemployed and seventeen of these had been without formal employment for more than twelve months. Table 11 reveals that, by 1989-1990, there had been some limited individual movement by participants between the categories of employed, part-time employed, and full-time education, but that the numbers of participants who were unemployed remained remarkably constant. By this final stage in my fieldwork, there

were still twenty-five study participants who were unemployed (14 male, 11 female) and the overwhelming majority had virtually no experience of full-time employment within the formal sectors of the labour market. Of the eleven women who were unemployed in 1985-1986, for example, nine were still unemployed in 1989-1990. The two exceptions were Lynn Parker and Tracy Smith. Lynn Parker undertook part-time employment in 1988 after her two children were old enough to attend nursery school. Tracy Smith, after a protracted six year post-school transition, secured permanent full-time employment, in August 1986, within Hartingleigh's Youth and Community Centre (see Chapter Seven). These participants were replaced by Spider and Denise Weldon within the category of unemployed. The transitions of the unemployed women were generally characterised by cyclical movements into and out of unemployment, government training schemes, underemployment, work in the informal sector, more unemployment, schemes, and so on. The majority of long-term unemployed women were also typically characterised by a general withdrawal from the formal labour market and work commitment into home-based domestic and childrearing 'careers', the details of which are examined in Chapter Eight (Sections 8.4.3; 8.6.3; 8.6.4).

Of the fourteen men who were unemployed in 1985-1986, thirteen were still unemployed in 1989-1990. The exception was Jimmy Bee who, in March 1988, after a protracted post-school transition, which lasted for almost eight years, finally secured a full-time job as a butcher's assistant (see Chapter Seven, Sections 7.3.2 and 7.8.3). Jimmy was replaced within the category of unemployed by Mick Kent, whose complex labour market transition I outlined earlier. The majority of long-term unemployed males were characterised by labour market withdrawal into alternative careers within the local informal economy or through proactively developed careers and identities based on more socially proscribed modes of income acquisition and these are also examined in Chapter Eight (Sections 8.4.4; 8.4.5) and in Chapter Nine.

Here I would like to make a final comment with reference to the language of 'work', non-work, employment and unemployment; a language that sometimes obscures more than it clarifies. During the fourth phase of my fieldwork, I realised that I needed to make subtle distinctions between alienating labour and creative work, between official 'cards-in' employment and unofficial cash-in-hand fiddle jobs on the side, which were essentially legal forms of income acquisition but shaded into illegality in terms of being 'undeclared' to the benefit agencies. Some fiddle jobs were also more directly concerned with illegality. The status roles of 'barking' and 'touting', for example, examined briefly at the end of Chapter Four, were not only undeclared forms of alternative income acquisition, but also occasionally involved participants in illegal acts such as 'barking or 'fly-pitching', stolen goods, or 'touting' forged venue tickets or unofficially printed programmes for sports and pop events (see also Chapter Nine, Sections 9.2.2 and 9.2.3 for details). Distinctions need, therefore, to be made between official and unofficial labour (e.g. jobs on the side) and also between paid, and unpaid labour, such as housework and childcare. The term "work" tends to be used loosely and its use is ingrained in "common culture" (Willis 1990) and also, I discovered, within my own unreflective thinking. As my fieldwork progressed, I realised care was needed to distinguish, for example, between official jobs and government (un)employment training schemes, between 'proper jobs' and underemployment in casual, contract or part-time work. I have therefore followed Coffield *et al* (1966 : 57) in making the following distinctions:

1. Jobs/'Proper Jobs'/Waged Employment = Official (i.e. 'cards-in') Paid labour.

2. Housework/Domestic Labour/Child Care in the Home/Voluntary Work/Creative Use of Time = Unofficial unpaid labour.

3. Undeclared Work/Unofficial Work/Fiddle Jobs/Jobs on the Side/Cash-in-Hand Work/Informal Work = Unofficial paid labour

I have also grouped this type of income acquisition under the term sub-employment. In Chapter Four (Section 4.8.1), I outlined how a distinctive subculture had evolved among study participants based on moves between total benefit dependence and various fiddle jobs, undertaken off the books, when benefit claims and entitlement were maintained. For

most sociologists, the term sub-employment denotes a system of frequent job-changing in youth labour markets, particularly associated with young people in unskilled work (*cf* Norris 1978; Roberts *et al* 1982b). For these observers, despite the frequency of job changes, the work undertaken was generally within the official (formal) labour market and, as such, required workers to relinquish benefit claims and entitlement. For those operating within the sub-employment subculture of my study, the types of work obtained were undertaken precisely because they were 'off the books' and, as such, allowed benefit claims and entitlement to be maintained. I have also referred to this sphere of informal economic activity as the local informal economy, or the alternative enterprise culture. As previously outlined in Chapter Four, such activities often shaded into more illegal enterprises such as 'touting', 'barking', 'hustling' and 'totting' (see also Chapter Nine).

4.   Unemployment/The Dole/Government Schemes = Without official paid labour

Again, this may be considered a slightly ideosyncratic categorisation as Government Training Schemes sometimes provided participants with work experience on employers' premises. Nevertheless, these were not regarded as 'proper jobs' by study participants, did not command a 'proper wage', but rather a training allowance, and generally did not lead to full-time official paid labour. Within the category of 'unemployed' in Table 9 (Chapter Four, Section 4.4) and Table 11 are contained, therefore, study participants who were undertaking government schemes, or involved in domestic childcare routines within the home, or involved in alternative modes of income acquisition within Hartingleigh's sub-and/or anti-employment subcultures.

5.6   Causes of Youth Unemployment

Although my study is more concerned to examine the consequences, rather than the causes, of youth unemployment, it is necessary to briefly address the debates surrounding the explanations for the dramatic increase in the levels of post-school unemployment, in order to set the experiences of study participants within the macro-economic context. Youth unemployment seems to have been around as a political issue for a long time. It is sometimes forgotten that many of the largest increases occurred at the beginning of the

1980s at a time which coincided with study participants' school leaving. According to Raffe (1984), youth unemployment grew more in 1980 than in the whole of the previous decade. In the early 1980s, debate about the nature and causes of youth unemployment focused on two explanations. The first examined youth unemployment as an exaggerated reflection of "recession led" general unemployment trends (Makeham 1980; Raffe 1984; 1986). The second explanation argued that the youth labour market has distinct "structural" characteristics and that change had occurred in the demand for labour in the sectors and occupations where young people used to congregate (Ashton and Maguire 1983; Ashton *et al* 1982).

Although there was lively debate, most commentators now agree that a fall in aggregate demand for labour was the most important factor (Furlong 1992). In other words, unemployment rose due to a reduction in demand for labour caused by the recession. However, the approach taken by Ashton and Maguire (1983) has relevance to the experiences of study participants in that it emphasises the changes which have taken place in the organisation of the youth labour market. Most young people seek employment in their own locality and are, therefore, most affected by what is happening to their specifically local economy. These local labour markets are further 'segmented', with male and female sectors, and divisions between different skill levels. The growth in youth unemployment in Hartingleigh was due to the changing demand for 'youth jobs' which tended to be over-concentrated in declining industries (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.3.2). An implication of this approach is that the condition will not be remedied, even by sustained economic growth, and that special intervention is required to permanently restructure the process of entry to the labour market. As Furlong has argued:

> "The important point ... is that changes in the labour market are not seen simply as a result of the recession, nor regarded as a consequence of 'forces' which are beyond the control of society, but are perceived as structural processes which are themselves a consequence of economic, social and political decisions" (1992 : 74).

Raffe (1986) denies there is anything especially structural about contemporary youth unemployment, and has tried to show that there is no tendency for young people to be concentrated in declining industries. Youth unemployment is rather viewed as a product of the all-round drop in labour demand. In turn, Ashton *et al* (1990) have criticised Raffe for assuming that the labour market is relatively 'open', arguing that it is necessary to take account of the segmented nature of the youth labour market. Various factors appear to be at work. Ashton *et al* (1990) argue that, for young males, the decline in the manufacturing sector and the growth of the service sector, together with the growth of part-time employment, have all led to a loss of youth jobs over and above that due to aggregate unemployment. Roberts *et al* (1988) have similarly argued that the "bottom" has fallen out of the youth labour market. In part, the trend towards the employment of married women and adults in youth sector jobs has resulted in young people being "squeezed out" of some segments to which, according to Roberts *et al*, they will not return (1988 : 25-26). Moreover, further evidence from the research conducted by Roberts *et al* suggests that employers are concentrating their investment on "core workers" with qualifications and skills at the expense of "periphery workers" who can be hired and fired at will. It is therefore unqualified young people who are most vulnerable to being "squeezed out" of employment when demand for labour is low. However, Raffe (1984) attributes the concentration of youth unemployment among the less qualified to the tougher competition which has forced school leavers, with academic or skill credentials, to enter the labour market at lower levels. This process, rather than structural changes in the economy, is said to explain the distribution of youth unemployment. The main implication of Raffe's viewpoint is that special intervention would be unnecessary if a cure for economic recession could be found.

In contrast, Roberts *et al* (1988) maintain that economic growth is no longer a reliable means of reviving youth labour demand. In the sense that employers' recruitment procedures, which occurred between 1979-1981, are unlikely to be reversed, youth

344

unemployment may be considered to be structural. Roberts *et al* (1988 : 34) maintain that "permanent measures are required to rebuild school-leavers' transitions".

Finally, according to Furlong (1992 : 74), the Government's response to the increase in youth unemployment has, ironically, led to the greatest structural change. The introduction of compulsory youth training schemes, enforced under the removal of welfare benefits for the 16-18 year old age group, has led to a situation where the youth labour market has been replaced by what Lee *et al* (1990) describe as a "surrogate labour market". A large proportion of young people, particularly school leavers, now spend their first two years in the labour market warehoused on schemes which are largely financed by the Government.

5.7   Transitions, Trajectories and Careers

During fieldwork in the fourth phase, I sought to map the inter-relationships between post-school labour market transitions and the effects and implications the different modes of transition had for study participants' complementary progressions into adulthood. Although the terms 'transition', 'trajectory' and 'career' are used interchangeably, they do carry slightly different theoretical connotations. Roberts (1993) had recently articulated the most deterministic view of post-school transitions, utilising the concept of "career trajectory". The term 'trajectory' carries the connotation of young people being somehow "propelled along awaiting channels towards predetermined destinations" (1993 : 229). In part, the theoretical language of post-school 'trajectories' evolved as a reaction against the notion that, in the 1980s, the loosening social structure had widened opportunities and increased social mobility. Although there was very little empirical evidence for this, within Conservative political and social thought the talk of a new classlessness gained ground partly as a consequence of Thatcherism and, later, John Major's "classless society" discourse. However, the results of the recent ESRC 16 to 19 Initiative (Banks *et al* 1992), as well as other youth research concerned to examine the implications of *Growing*

Up in a Classless Society (Furlong 1992), have shown that, for most school leavers in the late 1980s, Britain was still a land of very unequal opportunities.

Research in the late 1980s, early 1990s, has unequivocally revealed that the problems posed by class, race, gender, sexual orientation, and other forms of social oppression, have not gone away and that the Conservative strategy of releasing capitalist market forces has not engineered expanded opportunities for significant sections of the population. The ESRC research has indicated that local labour markets play a significant role in the opportunities available to young people within a given locality. Thus, for example, a third of young people from the ESRC research sample in Swindon made direct transitions from school to employment, whereas in high unemployment areas like Kirkcaldy, Liverpool and Sheffield, only one in ten made such traditional transitions. Educational attainment and class background have remained good predictors of young people's opportunities throughout the 1990s. Thus young people from middle class backgrounds were twice as likely to experience 'success' in education and the labour market as those from working class families (Roberts 1993 : 24). Such findings have led Roberts to conclude that the notion of career trajectory best illustrates: "Just how bounded their opportunities were, and how they were being propelled along awaiting career routes" (1993 : 233).

In contrast to Roberts's almost deterministic notion of 'career trajectory', the softer, more voluntaristic, concept of post-sixteen 'transitions' pays a closer concern to dynamic processes. A response to the charge of over-determinism in youth studies, especially those which took a youth-cultural, or social and cultural reproduction viewpoint, led to a shift in emphasis. This has produced a movement in youth research towards a conceptualisation and integration of the active subject. In this latter view, agency and structure are linked together in an image of the active subject in constant struggle with structured and structuring contradictions. These dynamic processes produce constantly moving but nonetheless patterned, systems of resistance and accommodation (e.g. Aggleton 1987; Anyon 1983; Giroux 1983). According to Chisholm (1990 : 39):

> "Structuring principles and the analysis of their interdependence demand both historically specific anchoring and holistic, temporal contextualization. The concept of social-biographical transition offers a means to draw these strands together."

Moving further in the direction of voluntarism is the important organising concept of 'career'. Within my study, I have made use of the concept, for example, with reference to the 'alternative careers' developed by long-term unemployed study participants within Hartingleigh's sub- and anti-employment subcultures (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8; Chapter Eight, Sections 8.4.4 and 8.4.5; and Chapter Nine). It has been a valuable device for explaining the transitions of the long-term unemployed as a series of status sequences which involve patterns of "choice" (*cf* Coles, forthcoming, Chapter One). The concept of 'career' has also allowed for an examination of the interplay between what Giddens (1983) has termed "structuration" and human agency. Within my study, I have sought to draw out the relationship between institutional and structural developments - such as the collapse of the youth labour market and government policy interventions in education, employment, vocational training, housing and welfare benefits - and young adults as active social agents, responding procreatively to changes rather than being simply "propelled" or "programmed" by them (*cf* Roberts 1993 : 223). The concept has also allowed me to examine the relationships between different career tracks such as labour market career; housing career; domestic career; and 'deviant' career. Each of the different but interrelated career tracks involved a series of status sequences which, in turn, involved participants in patterns of choices.

However, although voluntaristic 'choices' were made and individual biographies and careers proactively constructed, these processes occurred within the "canopy of structured inequality". In fact, such constraints, as they impinged upon individual 'choices', were recognised by participants. As J.W. put it: "No jobs, no money, what fuckin' choice"; or as Jimmy Bee declared: "Beggars can't be choosers". Chisholm has argued that, "the social construction of biography is inevitably linked with social position" (1990 : 56). This is not to imply a crude cultural or materialist determinism, for participants were

indeed active in the construction of their personal histories, but they did not construct them just as they pleased, nor under circumstances chosen by themselves, "but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx in Feuer 1959 : 360).

In the vacuum created by wagelessness, for those involved in the active construction of non-conventional alternative careers and identities, even when they seemed engaged in creating something culturally innovative, the subcultural edifice conjured up the "nightmare" traditions of the past, such as an exaggerated subcultural concern with the old parent cultural values of 'hard' masculinity, sexism and a, sometimes violent, machismo: "The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living" (Marx in Feuer 1959 : 360).

Thus, with these considerations in mind, in utilising the notion of 'career' and 'career choice', I am not prepared to go as far down the voluntaristic road as Little (1990), who has examined the development of criminal careers and identities solely in terms of choice: "Delinquents choose a criminal identity based on a series of decisions which appear rational to them" (1990 : 138). Little's thesis might have been more credible had he made at least passing reference to the "socio-economic disadvantage" which typically characterises the 'Identikit Prisoner' (portrayed in a report of the same name issued by the Prison Reform Trust : 1991). In fact, Little's *Young Men in Prison* (1990) makes no reference to any of the background disadvantages which recent national prison surveys have highlighted as typical of the incarcerated young (Prison Reform Trust 1991; Home Office Statistical Bulletin 1991; Home Office 1991). Such social disadvantages typically include homelessness, unemployment, mental health problems, and poverty (Prison Reform Trust 1991).

5.8　Transitions Compared

The fieldwork conducted during the fourth phase highlighted the differences in participants' experiences of transition from school to work, or, as was more common, from school into unemployment. Post-school transitions within the labour market also reflected the movement of study participants from childhood dependence into adult independence. Some recent youth research has suggested that post-sixteen transitions have become freer from class-gendered constraints, that young people can construct their futures in the new 'spaces' that have appeared during the past decade or so (see, for example, Chisholm *et al* 1990). My research generally does not support this view. Basic survival within "the canopy of structured inequality" (Riseborough 1993 : 2) was the dominant experience of research participants. A recent analysis of Government statistics shows one fifth of the population living below the poverty line and an increase in these numbers of one and a half million between 1987 and 1989 (Piachaud: *Guardian Society*, 30.9.92). Within this structured inequality, however, my research also provides evidence of the empowering proactivity and resistance of subcultures which supplied an alternative basis for re-constructing identity and self-esteem (see Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten).

The experiences of the eight study participants who effected a protracted transition to economic independence and adult roles and status may be vividly contrasted with the experiences of the three study participants who secured a traditional transition to primary employment upon school leaving. The traditional transitionaries left home and were formally engaged to be married by their early twenties, and had all married and successfully undertaken owner-occupation and parenthood by their mid-twenties. A traditional post-school transition to primary employment provided the economic foundation upon which stable, conventional, adult roles and identities were constructed.

In contrast, the post-school transitions of the eight participants who undertook a protracted transition to proper jobs were characterised by prolonged periods of unemployment, and, in most cases, underemployment and government schemes, which

extended the transition to proper jobs for periods of between four to almost eight years. Economic instability prevented the forward planning and 'saving for the future' which had characterised the domestic careers of the traditional transitionaries. Many of the study participants who effected a protracted transition to primary employment were unable to sustain residential independence until their mid- to late twenties. Essentially the protracted transitionaries were attempting post-school progressions to a working class adulthood without employment, whilst often still living at home with their parents.

Family influences and residential location appeared to be significant factors at play in the post-school transitions of study participants. Unlike the traditional or protracted transitionaries who effected post-school progressions to employment and who were drawn from 'respectable' working class families, or families at the mid-point of the 'rough-respectable' continuum, the long-term unemployed participants were more likely to be drawn from Hartingleigh's 'rougher' estates, and to have fathers who were absent or unemployed.

In Chapter Six (Sections 6.3 and 6.4), I examine in detail the significant advantages 'respectable' working class families were able to bestow on job-seeking siblings. The most important influences appeared to be secure housing status (owner-occupation); a family background of work commitment as a source of intrinsic satisfaction and self-advancement; a family history of members' prolonged employment in skilled or semi-skilled jobs; and the consequent ability to confer labour market advantages on job seeking siblings through informal workplace contacts. These were the factors that distinguished the three participants in my study who had successfully secured a traditional post-school transition to employment from the vast majority who had not. In contrast, the income providers (usually fathers) from the families of the protracted transitionaries were generally employed in low-skilled, or unskilled jobs, or were unemployed. As such, family members were unable to bequeath the social or labour market advantages to their offspring as the family members of the traditional transitionaries.

Despite the illusion of greater opportunity for young people in the 1980s, and the increased variety of training options presented to those attempting the transition from school to work, research has shown that, throughout the past decade, it was young people from socially disadvantaged backgrounds who remained most vulnerable to unemployment (*cf* Banks *et al* 1992; Furlong 1992). In Hartingleigh, where unemployment remained high throughout the decade, it was precisely those young people from parts of the Ward characterised by residential stigma and social disadvantage, whose family backgrounds contained absent or long-term unemployed main income providers, for whom the school to work transition was most problematic. Trans-generational unemployment was a significant factor in the family backgrounds of study participants who had entered the ranks of the long-term unemployed. As working family members may be a useful source of unadvertised job vacancies, family unemployment may be considered responsible for severing these participants from an important, informal, information network.

Moreover, evidence accumulated during my final phase of fieldwork indicated that the absence, or unemployment, of the parents of the long-term unemployed participants precluded significant parental intercession in terms of the development of work commitment or aspirations related to formal employment (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.3). In general, the parents of the long-term unemployed participants exerted little influence upon their children's lives, either in terms of the ability to bestow social and/or labour market advantages, or to inculcate work commitment and aspirations. This was in stark contrast to the significant degree of parental influence and intercession exercised by the parents of the traditional transitionaries (Chapter Six, Sections 6.2 and 6.3) and, to a lesser degree, the protracted transitionaries (Chapter Seven, Section 7.5). In contrast to the long-term unemployed study participants, both the traditional and protracted transitionaries maintained a strong commitment to employment and employment aspirations. The subjective development of work commitment and aspirations has been explored utilising Brown's (1987) organising concept of working class "Frames of Reference", the details of which are outlined in Chapter Six (Section 6.4). The traditional

351

transitionaries could be characterised as embodying a 'getting out' or 'getting on' frame of reference, whilst the protracted transitionaries were generally characterised by a frame of reference that was concerned with 'getting in' to the adult working class through waged employment (Chapter Seven, Section 7.5). In the case of the protracted transitionaries, work aspirations and commitment were maintained even in the face of protracted transitions to primary employment which, in two cases, lasted for over seven years. Evidence of the desire of the protracted transitionaries to 'get into' working class adulthood through waged labour was gleaned from the amount of effort put into, and the various strategies adopted for, acquiring that first 'proper job' (Chapter Seven, Section 7.5.1).

Although the families of the study participants who became long-term unemployed did not significantly contribute to the inculcation of work commitment and employment aspirations, most participants in this group, nevertheless, unsuccessfully attempted post-school entry into the formal labour market. In their attempts to find regular, stable employment, all were subsequently thwarted. Work commitment and employment aspirations were "cooled out" (Goffman 1952) both by these initial labour market experiences and also by their subsequent experiences on the Black Magic Roundabout of cyclical transitions through unemployment, underemployment and government inspired 'sink schemes' (Chapter Eight, Sections 8.1; 8.2). These types of first-hand experiences within the formal labour market further deflated any illusions participants might have had about the openness of the opportunity structure, and such experiences often preceded the slide into disillusionment and cynicism. The disillusionment of the cyclical transitionaries provided partial explanation for their development of non-conventional economic solutions and alternative status systems for defining the transition to adulthood. For many long-term unemployed participants, a reduction in personal commitment to the official, or orthodox, labour market had positive psychological benefits (Chapter Eight, Sections 8.4.4; 8.4.5).

As indicated earlier, post-school transitions within the formal sectors of the labour market had enormous significance for participants' movement into adulthood. The three traditional transitionaries' domestic careers followed a clear-cut life course progression. Their traditional domestic careers were augmented by the benefits bestowed by full-time employment. Traditional transitions to employment facilitated social contact, leisure mobility and residential independence. With each of the three participants' traditional transition to employment, there followed a complementary, traditional domestic pattern of courtship, engagement, marriage, owner occupation and parenthood. Traditional transitions to employment were reflected in relatively unambiguous transitions to adult roles and status (Chapter Six, Section 6.5).

Among the eight protracted transitionaries, relationship/family formation was often extended and complex, characterised by economic instability and social insecurity. Progressions to adult roles and statuses were typically elongated, delayed by lack of income, marred by residential dependence and, in some cases, characterised by psychological ambiguity (Chapter Seven, Sections 7.7 and 7.8). These patterns were to some degree repeated in the post-school transitions of the majority group within my study - the long-term unemployed. Cyclical transitions were the post-school experiences of the majority of long-term unemployed and consisted of bouts of unemployment, underemployment, government schemes, more unemployment, more schemes, and so on. However, unlike the protracted transitionaries, for those study participants undergoing a cyclical transition, primary employment was not an end result. Thus, the cyclical transitionaries who entered the ranks of the long-term unemployed could be distinguished from the protracted transitionaries in terms of their final labour market destinations.

Cyclical transitions, labour market withdrawal, and long-term unemployment had significant consequences for participants' domestic career transitions. For male study participants, cyclical transitions and labour market withdrawal typically resulted in a retreat into the norms, values and alternative status systems of their peer group subcultures.

Such withdrawal involved the restriction of social contacts to social networks containing others in a similar position. Participants built on a common sense of identity constructed out of an exaggerated valuation of working class male machismo (Chapter Eight, Section 8.5.2). Group bonding, loyalty and solidarity remained a central feature of male participants' lives. The subcultural affiliations fostered in their early teenage years were not severed by transitions to employment and, as a consequence, same-sex friendship patterns and affiliations formed the predominant focus for domestic career transitions (Chapter Eight, Section 8.5.3). For six long-term unemployed males, commitment to the generating milieu of their localities and peer groups militated against residential independence. For eight male participants, however, early sustained residential independence was secured primarily through the income derived from fiddle jobs or acquisitive crime (Chapter Eight, Sections 8.5.4; 8.5.5). The unemployed males displayed a complex variation in domestic career transitions, but were generally unsuccessful in sustaining ongoing childrearing relationships. The pressure, insecurity, lack of stable routine, and sometimes danger, associated with participants' alternative careers, mitigated against stability, or emotional commitment in relationship/family formation (Chapter Eight, Section 8.5.5).

The domestic career transitions of the long-term unemployed women were circumscribed by the cultural emphasis on a domestic apprenticeship of home care and childrearing (Chapter Eight, Section 8.6.2). Early domestic careers of pregnancy, childrearing and home caring served, generally, to locate women in positions of economic and domestic subordination. Domestic roles and duties effectively kept women divided and dependent. In such situations, there was a general withdrawal from labour market commitment and aspirations into a fatalistic acceptance of the taken-for-granted roles of domestic responsibility (Chapter Eight, Section 8.6.3). Of the eleven women who in 1989-1990 could be identified as long-term unemployed, eight were responsible for the care of two or more dependent children, and ten were either married or cohabiting with male partners (Chapter Eight, Section 8.4.3). Lack of other viable options, such as the

354

possibility of a 'proper job', or independent life style, made the mothering option a higher status occupation than long-term unemployment (Chapter Eight, Section 8.6.4).

5.9   Summary and Conclusions

In this Chapter, I have sought to provide the reader with an overview of the research conducted in the period of the fourth phase of my project. I began with a brief review of the fieldwork conducted between 1986 and 1990. I outlined differences in the nature of fieldwork contacts between participants and their peers who lived either in Hartingleigh, or in the immediately surrounding areas, and those who were either scattered throughout the various districts of the Greater Manchester conurbation, or who had 'migrated' from Manchester to other areas or parts of the country.

My contacts with study participants and their peers in Hartingleigh and the areas immediately surrounding the Ward, were frequent, and characterised by a high degree of informality. With some participants, relations had been developed over a number of years since my period of detached youthworking for the Project in the first phase (1979-1982). During the course of my study, I grew very close to some participants and was accepted and liked by them. Such mutuality had certain methodological strengths in that it allowed me to get 'inside' their informal social networks and afforded me relatively unconstrained access to valuable areas of sociological interest. As a result of my friendships, I was, for example, allowed to document and explore, at first-hand, the propensity towards and development of, non-conformist alternative post-school careers - many of which were modes of income acquisition that were illegal. However, the neutral reader may feel that, as a consequence of "over-rapport" (Miller 1952), or what anthropologists have described as "going native", or what social workers might describe as "over identification with clients" (cited in Miller 1969 : 88, notes 4), my work has lost a certain capacity for analytical detachment. As Miller argues:

> "Friendship connotes an all-accepting attitude; to probe beneath the surface of long-believed values would break the friend-to-friend relationship" (1969 : 88).

The glaring gaps in the recent sociological research literature of post-school transitions (outlined in Section 5.3) reveal the clear need for exploration by social researchers of the informal, cultural and subcultural adaptations to long-term unemployment. In my case, such exploratory fieldwork into these 'backstage' areas of participants' lives could not have been achieved without their friendship, trust, acceptance and co-operation. In seeking to operate from a position of advocacy, I am prepared to concede that my research may be viewed as having been conducted from the "Utopian perspective of celebrating youthful creativity" (Taylor and Jamieson 1983 : 96); but I make no excuses for this. Given the overarching "canopy of structured inequalities" and institutionalised economic and social insecurity (in which participants' social-biographical transitions have been proactively constructed), the celebration of creativity and resistance offers a counterpoint of optimism to those youth studies which have provided a sober investigation of stress, depression and injury to personal health, engendered by post-school transitions during the Thatcher years.

In contrast to the almost daily contacts with the most immediately accessible participants from Hartingleigh and the districts surrounding my study area, maintaining informal fieldwork contacts with eight study participants who were scattered in residential locations throughout the various districts of Greater Manchester was more problematic. Nevertheless, during the four years of fieldwork, I developed fairly informal relationships with most participants and devised strategies for enhancing the fieldwork data. Such strategies included small group meetings, the active involvement of participants in the editing and re-ordering of transcripts of taped conversations, and the collaborative construction of biographical accounts.

The most inaccessible group of study participants were those who had 'migrated' from Greater Manchester. However, I had informal contacts with two of the 'migrants', Charlie Dougan and Berksy, based on our past associations during the first phase of youthwork. Both had been among my group of ten interviewees in the Project's 1980 School Leavers Survey and I maintained contact with them throughout the fourth phase. I also sought to

maintain contacts with Denise Weldon in Norwich, Georgie B. in Oldham, and Julie Birchall in Blackburn.

The migrant group of participants had followed distinctly different modes of post-school transition which highlighted the variation to be found within my study group as a whole. Charlie Dougan and Berksy had effected a protracted transition to employment *via* early careers within Hartingleigh's anti-employment subculture. Incarceration for Charlie and a spell in the army for Berksy had provided for geographical mobility which allowed them to break their past associations with the male informal group in Hartingleigh. Both participants eventually secured full-time employment and followed similar domestic careers of courtship and marriage. Denise Weldon's residential mobility was a feature of her 'getting out' frame of reference. A traditional transition to employment afforded the financial foundation upon which a stable domestic transition was established. The traditional transition to employment complemented a parallel transition from courtship to marriage, owner-occupation and parenthood. In contrast, Julie Birchall undertook an early career as a lone parent. Poverty and hardship entailed survival strategies of 'totting' from the social and working on the side before she eventually entered a full-time domestic career of home and childcare; this followed from her marriage and the birth of a second child. Georgie B was the only participant in my study group to have secured a protracted post-school transition to employment *via* post-compulsory education and a government employment training scheme. Georgie was the lucky one; generally government-scheming served only to extend participants' post-school transitions and 'warehouse' or deflate labour market aspirations (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.4 and Chapter Eight, Section 8.2 for details).

Aside from differences in the nature of my fieldwork contacts and introductions to participants' post-school transitions, I also briefly outlined my routines for recording information in the fourth phase. I highlighted the difficulties involved with utilising taped interviews and conversations in terms of the accumulation of material and the amount of

357

time required to transcribe tapes. However, as particular themes and topics emerged from the processes of sorting and sifting and a parallel reading of the youth research literature, I learned to be selective in the focus of my fieldwork. I outlined the processes of collaborative or participatory research in terms of engaging participants in ordering, re-ordering and editing accumulated fieldwork notes and transcripts of conversations. With varying degrees of dedication, many participants actively engaged in the construction and re-construction of their social-biographical transitions, and also provided written material relevant to incidents and issues connected with their case studies: see, for example, Davvo - Chapter Four, Section 4.8.3; Denise Weldon, Deirdre Sharp and John Conleigh - Chapter Six; Amanda Gardiner, Cathy Tittle, Charlie Dougan, Berksy, Georgie B., and Jimmy Bee - Chapter Seven). The active collaboration of study participants in the construction of material used in the text is a feature of the participatory approach derived from detached youthwork principles and practice, and also reflects a developing trend within contemporary fieldwork practice.

In Section 5.3, I sought to examine some of the ethical issues raised by my study. In my fieldwork with the unemployed, assurances of anonymity and confidentiality were coterminous with the 'no-grassing' subcultural norm. My research was partly derived as a result of guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality to research participants and, in line with my desire to ensure such guarantees were met, I followed Sieber's recommendations for the secure management and storage of sensitive research materials. Precautions that were taken include: the responsible use of lock and key; the omission of any means of identification from files and tapes; the purging of all identifying names, dates and locations from records at the earliest possible opportunity; and the storage of acutely sensitive material at a location separate from the main body of research material (Sieber 1982 : 112-115). In maintaining the anonymity of research participants, I have travelled as far along the road of confidentiality as Jennifer Platt was prepared to in her study of professional sociologists. I have changed names, though some participants chose to invent their own (see also Reynolds 1979 : 169), sometimes sexes, institutions, affiliations,

topics, and identities (Platt 1976 : 7). Although he will not go down in the history of social research for the rigour of his ethical principles, Humphreys (1975) operates the following test on the issues of anonymity and confidentiality:

> "The question I have always asked myself in this connection is: Could the respondent still recognise himself without having any other recognise him? I may have failed ... to meet the first part of this standard, but I am confident that I have not failed to meet the second" (1975 : 172).

In the ethics section, I explained how my own law-breaking past and status as an 'ex-con' had facilitated entrée into the informal social networks of my research group. My own biography also influenced the "politics of selection" and the choice to pursue research into the law-breaking activities of the local subcultures. Because of my own background of affiliation to Manchester's Inner City 'deviant' subcultures, I found nothing immoral, or even unusual, in the dealing, hoisting, grafting and blags that I encountered (see Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine).

I argued, following Polsky, that, despite the formidable ethical problems, the study of law-breaking activity in its "natural-setting" may be justified on the basis of the empirical gaps in the existing literature. The omission is particularly noticeable in the recent research literature of post-sixteen transitions. Evidence suggests that researchers either do not have access to the relevant research material, or, when they do, refuse to engage with it because of the political, ethical, confidentiality implications and ramifications. However, in a situation where politicians and senior representatives of the police force are, almost daily, prepared to offer public comment on the issues of unemployment and crime, it seems inexcusable that social researchers do not undertake the investigation of these areas of contemporary cultural concern. Even senior detectives of the Greater Manchester drug squad are prepared to offer public comment and analyses of the "career patterns of boys wanting to boost their street credibility by dealing". Detective Superintendent David Brennan, head of the Greater Manchester drug squad, has obviously read a sociology textbook or two in arguing that "a major factor is peer pressure"

(Manchester Evening News, 23.11.92).   It is time, perhaps, that Brennan had something more up-to-date to inform his views.

In order to disabuse readers of the assumption that the linear construction of the text reflects the logical progression of research, I have followed contemporary ethnographic trends in offering a personal reflection on my fieldwork.   If, as I would argue, the real point of fieldwork is to be immersed in the community under study, it means that one's personal life is indivisible from the research;   as such, I have provided a personal account of my relationship both with the community and with the 'data' derived from my work within it.   In so doing, I have explored the strengths, limitations and effects of conducting intensive research 'at home'.   My approach to fieldwork follows the principles and practices I acquired in detached youthwork, including a commitment to advocacy and empowerment.   I was also guided by the humanistic and empathic approach to research derived from the participant observation tradition in sociology, including the "use of self" (Kreiger 1985).   As Dean has argued:

> "A person becomes accepted as a participant observer more because of the kind of person
> [s/he] turns out to be in the eyes of field contacts than because of what the research
> represents to them" (Dean 1954 : 233).

In providing a personal account of my fieldwork in Hartingleigh, I have followed others in examining the strain and contradictions (see, for example, Malinowski 1967; Powdermaker 1966;   Smith-Bowen 1964).   I have examined my own developing sense of estrangement which culminated in a profound ontological insecurity engendered by the shock of disengagement from the field.   Similarly, Michael Clarke (1975 : 105-6) rather unsympathetically cites the example of an anthropologist who "had gone mad during fieldwork and had to be flown home and hospitalised";   in this case the fieldwork was ultimately written up without reference to the episode.   I have also discussed the methods used for reconstituting both myself, and my study, and the problems I encountered in trying to impose order and meaning on the accumulated fieldwork materials.

In Section 5.5, I returned to the less ethereal realm of employment/unemployment amongst study participants and provided an overview of the limited movement of participants into and out of work, part-time work, education, and unemployment; by far the largest group were those who had entered the ranks of the long-term unemployed. Of the eleven women who were unemployed in 1985-1986 (during the third phase of preliminary fieldwork) nine were still unemployed in 1989-1990. Of the fourteen men who were unemployed in 1985-1986, thirteen were unemployed in 1989-1990. The post-school transitions of the unemployed were characterised by cyclical movements into and out of unemployment, government schemes, work in the informal sector, more schemes, more unemployment, and so on. The majority of unemployed women were characterised by withdrawal from the labour market and labour market commitment into home-based domestic careers of housework and childrearing. The majority of unemployed men were characterised by labour market withdrawal into alternative careers, located in the informal economy, or through acquisitive crime.

The causes of youth unemployment which precipitated non-conformist or home-based domestic careers were examined in Section 5.6. Two main explanations have emerged in recent years. The first, associated with the work of Raffe (1984, 1986), offers a "recession-led" explanation; the second, associated with Ashton and Maguire (1983) and Ashton *et al* (1982; 1990), attributes youth unemployment to "structural" changes in the youth labour market. Although most commentators agree that a fall in aggregate demand for labour caused by the recession is the primary explanation, I argued that local labour market factors, such as the decline in traditional industry, particularly manufacturing, provides the most important explanation for local youth unemployment. This may be viewed as a "structural" explanation and contains the implication that economic growth, in itself, will not recreate a youth labour market that has now vanished.

Study participants undertook one of three modes of post-school transition and these are examined in detail in succeeding Chapters. In Chapter Six, I examine the traditional route

from school to employment, undertaken by three participants. In Chapter Seven, I examine the more common protracted transition to employment, and in Chapter Eight, I examine the majority post-school experience of cyclical transitions. Cyclical transitions through schemes, unemployment, more schemes, more unemployment, and so on, typically engendered feelings of profound cynicism and disillusionment which preceded labour market withdrawal.

In Section 5.7.1, I examined the different theoretical connotations of the terms 'transitions', 'trajectories' and 'careers'. Although I have, throughout my study, utilised the terms interchangeably, they do carry different theoretical implications. The most deterministic view of post-school transitions is embodied in Roberts's (1993) concept of "career trajectory". The least deterministic concept has been outlined by Coles (forthcoming). Utilising the term "career", Coles seeks to retain the notion of voluntaristic choice in the individual's construction of post-school progressions; these he describes as status sequences which involve choice patterns. The concept of 'transitions' occupies a mid-position between the two others. Chisholm and du Bois-Reymond (1993) have recently argued that there is the suggestion in youth research influenced by critical modernisation theory that:

> " ... Youth transitions are ... losing their internally structurally differentiated quality ... the sequencing and timing of the rites of passage between childhood and adulthood are dissolving and fragmenting ... the separations and ...the inequalities between the situations and orientations of young people ... are gradually disappearing" (1993 : 260).

Crucial to this view is the idea that processes of individualisation and destructuring/destandardisation have usurped the adequacy of psychological or sociological developmental approaches to youth as a life stage (Chisholm et al 1990). Whilst agreeing that changes in patterns of family life, education, and labour market opportunity structures have taken place in recent decades, the basic structure of youth transitions remains generally ordered and experienced in ways which reproduce patterns of inequality, a view apparently shared by Chisholm and duBois-Reymond (1993), whose

recent research has led them to conclude that, certainly with regard to gender differentiation and inequality:

> "Individualism of destinations remains an implausible sociological proposition ... youth transitions are [not] losing their gendered quality or their underlying 'logic' ... We can hardly describe this as living in a socially open space" (1993 : 272-273).

In comparing the post-school transitions of study participants (Section 5.8), I have highlighted how labour market transitions carried enormous implications for participants' movement into adult roles and statuses. The experiences of the eight participants who undertook a protracted transition to employment, may be vividly contrasted with the experiences of the three study participants who moved from school directly into employment. The three who secured a traditional post-school transition effected residential independence, owner-occupation, marriage and parenthood by their mid-twenties. In contrast, the participants, whose protracted transitions to employment took between four to almost eight years, were unable to sustain residential independence until their mid- to late twenties, and, unlike the stage-like progression in domestic careers followed by the traditional transitionaries, for the protracted transitionaries, relationship/family formation was often extended and complex. Progression to adult roles and statuses were typically elongated, delayed by lack of income, marred by residential dependence, and characterised, in some cases, by psychological ambiguity.

The protracted transitionaries could be distinguished from the participants who had entered long-term unemployment, *via* cyclical transitions, in terms of their final labour market destinations. For the male long-term unemployed, cyclical transitions resulted in labour market withdrawal, which in turn produced a retreat into the norms and values of their peer group subcultures. Participants built on a common sense of identity constructed from an exaggerated emphasis on parent cultural values of 'hardness'. The unemployed males displayed a complex variation in domestic career transitions but were generally unsuccessful in sustaining childrearing relationships. The domestic careers of the long-

term unemployed women were typically characterised by domestic roles and childrearing. Early domestic careers generally located the unemployed women in positions of economic and domestic subordination.

Of all the participants in my study, the most 'successful' in conventional terms were the three who had secured a traditional post-school transition directly to primary employment. Stable employment provided a sound economic foundation upon which adult identities were established. Their transitions within the labour market were complemented by parallel transitions to adult roles and statuses; their hopes and expectations provided the background against which could be highlighted the careful fatalism or embittered alienation of other, less fortunate, study participants. In the following Chapter, I provide a detailed examination of the social and biographical elements involved in the traditional post-school transition.

BEGGARS CAN'T BE CHOOSERS

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF POST-SCHOOL TRANSITIONS
IN A HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT AREA

(VOLUMES I AND II)

by

Stephen F. Craine

BA (Hons) 1st Class : University of York

Thesis presented to the University of Salford,
Department of Sociology, in fulfilment of the
requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 1993

$\cancel{\mathcal{B}}$ 3.

BEGGARS CAN'T BE CHOOSERS

VOLUME II

CHAPTER SIX

TRADITIONAL TRANSITIONS

6.1 Introduction

One of the central principles of both British political parties between 1945 and the 1970s was a commitment to 'full-employment'. The 1979 Conservtive Government was the first not to make full employment one of its policy objectives (cf Edgell and Duke 1991 : 9). Though it was never universal, the principle of full employment served to establish the parameters within which the traditional transition from school and dependent status to employment and independent adult status was achieved. In 1959, for example, most young people in the designated age range of the Youth Service had jobs (Smith 1991 : 5). In the 1960s, it was possible for sociologists to produce studies of post-school transitions with such titles as *Into Work* (Carter 1966) and *Adolescent Needs: The Transition from School to Work* (Maizels 1970). The traditional transition from school into primary (adult) occupations was largely the norm for most school leavers in Britain until the mid-1970s. In 1975, for example, 60% of 16 year olds went from school directly into employment; by 1987, this number had shrunk to 18% (D.E.S. 1988).

The established transition routes forged in the post-war political consensus and prosperity held until the sudden quadrupling of oil prices in the mid-1970s (MacDonald and Coffield 1991 : 1). The resulting economic recession combined with changes in technology produced a near collapse of manufacturing industry, wiping out substantial areas of the traditional youth labour market (Ashton and Maguire 1983). The national economic and subsequent employment crisis had significant local consequences as the late 1970s saw an apparent breakdown in the smooth transitional progression from school to employment, from working class origins to male and female working class destinations in the occupational and social structure.

These general trends were acutely reflected amongst my study participants in several respects, most notably in the propensity towards unemployment amongst school leavers in Hartingleigh. More tangentially, the trends were similarly reflected in the severely restricted numbers of study participants who had secured a traditional transition route from school into primary adult occupations. In 1985-86, during the 'third phase' of preliminary sampling and fieldwork, I was able to establish that of the nine fully employed participants in my study group (three female, six male) only three, two female (Denise Weldon and Deirdre Sharp) and one male (John Conleigh), had successfully secured full-time adult employment upon school leaving. This despite the overwhelming desire expressed by the majority of my study group in their 1980 Community Project Questionnaire for paid work following school leaving. This last point conforms to attitudinal evidence provided by the recent ESCR 16-19 Initiative (Banks *et al* 1992):

> "Despite widespread efforts to establish a 'training culture', there was still evidence that young people wanted to take the quickest possible route into employment ... the desire of British working class teenagers to leave school and find a job seemed overwhelming" (Abrams 1992 : 2-3).

The transition from dependent statuses, associated with residence in the parental home and reliance on parents for material support, to an adult independent status has, among working class youth in general, been closely correlated with getting a job. For the three participants in my study group who had successfully secured post-school transitions to employment careers, there was a notable complementary 'domestic career' transition into adult roles and statuses. Thus, the notion of 'career' can be defined " ... not only in the narrow sense of entry into and progress through the labour market, but also in the wider sense of entry into adult domestic life" (Banks *et al* 1992 ; 8).

This traditional domestic career transition, typically involved a life-course of courtship, engagement, departure from the parental home, marriage and parenthood. The success of the traditional domestic career trajectory may be seen as predicated upon the income derived from secure employment, a   regular wage providing the financial basis not only

for the traditional working class post school, leisure and courtship rituals of 'going out', but also ensuring the material foundation for future planning with regard to traditional relationship patterns such as 'saving up' for marriage, to provide for a home, and to start a family. In the following section I will draw out some of the critical career points in this traditional transition route to adulthood, the most important of which is securing stable employment upon school leaving.

6.2   Into Work: It's not what you know but who you know

The common sense view of job finding held by some of my study participants was based on a fatalistic and almost conspiratorial opinion of labour market processes, a labour market from which they believed themselves excluded through lack of appropriate 'contacts'. Often this view was expressed in terms of, 'it's not what you know but who you know'. Lack of qualifications or skills were not the issue as far as these young people were concerned; like 'Yosser Hughes' in Alan Bleasedale's trilogy of plays, *Boys from the Blackstuff*, they had intrinsic belief in their own indigenous capacities: 'I could do that, gissa job'. On more than one occasion this sentiment was expressed to me during my youthwork practice when, for example, unsuccessfully attempting construction work in the adventure playground, or simply 'hanging about', participants would, with exaggerated incredulity, exclaim, "how much are they paying you for doing that!". In a general sense, participants held the view that their unemployment was a consequence of lack of 'friends in high places' (and Margaret Thatcher's characterisation of the unemployed as 'moaning minnies' (quoted in More and Howell 1986 : 13) lends some support to their viewpoint). The common sense view of labour market processes is to some extent substantiated by my research which indicates that all three study participants who contrived to secure post-school transitions into jobs had done so as a result of informal family contacts. The significance of these informal job-finding methods for the three participants who had secured employment upon school leaving are examined in the following section.

<u>John Conleigh</u>:   John's transition into the world of adult employment was facilitated by his older brother Martin who, at the time of John's school leaving in Spring 1980, was employed as a 'line foreman' in a large footwear manufacturing and retailing concern.   The footwear manufacturers is located on an industrial estate some twenty five miles from Hartingleigh in the extreme south of the Greater Manchester conurbation.

John was originally contacted early in 1980 when he was interviewed by Tony Boyle, one of my co-youthworkers during the Project's 1980 youth survey.   At that time, John was living in the parental home described by Tony as a 'tidy terrace', in the owner-occupied terraced houses in the Canton Street area of Hartingleigh.   Also resident in the family home were John's older brother and sister, Martin and Sue, as well as their mother who was partially infirm as a result of suffering several 'strokes'.   John's father had died of cancer in 1977 when John was thirteen and, as a result of his mother's inability to work, the responsibility for providing the family income had fallen to the two older siblings.

However, following his engagement in 1979, Martin, John's older brother, was anxious to leave the family home in order to move into a house he had bought and was renovating in preparation for his future marriage.   Towards this end, Martin was especially keen to assist his younger brother in securing suitable employment when he left school, to ensure the family's income would be maintained after his departure from the parental home. Martin had been employed in the footwear manufacturers for over twelve years by the time John was approaching school leaving age and, as a result of a series of promotions, held a fairly senior shop-floor role supervising part of the production process.

It was Martin who initially alerted John to the possibility of gaining a training apprenticeship within the shoe factory, a route Martin had taken into employment himself following school leaving in 1968.   Following this initial 'tip off' from his older brother, John was interviewed in March 1980 for one of three available training vacancies along with 'about sixty' other prospective school leavers.   Prior to John's interview however,

Martin had identified the personnel manager as the person who would be responsible for conducting the interview and had sought to 'pull strings' on his younger brother's behalf. As a result of his informal contacts with personnel staff, a consequence of his supervisory shop-floor role, Martin was able to intercede, putting in a "good word in John's favour". John's interview was consequently successful and he started the training apprenticeship in April 1980 just two days after prematurely leaving school; initially travelling to and from his workplace with Martin, in his brother's car.

Deirdre Sharp: Deirdre's transition from school into adult employment actually began when she was fourteen, two years before she had left school, when she worked as a 'Saturday girl' in a large, "internationally famous", City Centre "unisex hair-studio - don't call it a hairdressers". Again, informal family networks were responsible for gaining Deirdre a tentative foothold in the adult job market as a result of the intervention of her older sister, Carole, who was at that time employed as a fully qualified stylist in the same salon. It was Carole who initially arranged for her younger sister to be paid a nominal wage for her Saturday job of 'helping out' in the hair-studio. In her role as Saturday girl, Deirdre was encouraged to prepare 'clients' for their appointments by providing them with protective gowns, serving coffee, and later shampooing hair in preparation for the stylists. She was also given various tasks around the salon, including cleaning and running errands.

When she was nearing school leaving age, Deirdre was approached by the regional manageress in charge of the Manchester studio and offered a place under their four-year, internationally acknowledged and accredited, 'in-house' training scheme. This offer was based on the enthusiasm she had displayed for the work as a result of her Saturday job and partially as a consequence of her older sister's intercession. Deirdre started 'on the job' training immediately upon school leaving in Summer 1980. In later interviews, she was keen to emphasise the importance of her sister's role and influence on her choice of career. Carole had supplied Deirdre with the initial introduction into her future place of work, had

exercised some leverage to secure her training, and was subsequently able to provide support and advice during Deirdre's period as a trainee stylist.

Denise Weldon: Denise's post-school transition to employment, as a trainee dental nurse assistant, was the product of a considerable degree of informal influence which her mother was able to exert on her behalf. Much of this persuasion was exercised upon her daughter's prospective employers, even before the vacancy had been advertised in the regional press. The details of Denise's transition from school to work are examined in depth in her case study (Section 6.6.3).

Each of the three trajectories into post-school employment was the direct consequence of informal job-finding methods; a product of family influences and social networks. Several researchers have similarly noted the significance of these factors particularly for the transition of young working class women into employment (Callender 1987 : 41-43; Griffin 1985 : 88-95; Wallace 1987 : 58). According to Callender, for example: "Those women who succeeded [in finding work] were highly reliant upon other people through their social networks for information about jobs and for recommendations" (1987 : 41). Griffin emphasises the role of families in the informal job-finding process: "The families of young working class women played an important role in their job finding through informal contacts in local workplaces (1985 : 88).

Griffin also stresses the significance of an adult, preferably a relative, who is able to provide a character reference to prospective employers (*ibid*). Having a relative who could 'vouch for' the young job-seeker was significant in each of the three traditional career transitions I have examined in this section. The emphasis in Wallace's (1987) study is upon the ways in which local networks and family contacts were alerted even before a young person had left school, again an influential factor in the three transitions I have explored. Wallace's study makes the final point that in a 'tight labour market': "Who you know is better than what you know" (1987 : 58).

370

Such local networks and family contacts are crucially dependent upon access to the primary (adult) labour market. For the three study participants who had secured post-school transitions to work, contacts were derived either from parental employment as in Denise's case, or from the employment of older members of the family, as was the case with both Deirdre and John. What is significant in each of the three transitions is that family members had been in full-time employment for a number of years and therefore had the necessary informal contacts to secure access to jobs for other members of the family. As such, the prolonged employment of family members resulted in the ability to confer labour market advantages through informal workplace contacts.

6.3   The 'Respectable' Working Class

> "One of the most fertile grounds of intra-class differentiation has been the whole repertoire of 'respectability' ... the rough-respectable division has been firmly lodged in the visible signs of the home, street, neighbourhood and patterns of consumption" (Clarke 1979 : 246).

Each of the three study participants who had secured the traditional transition into employment were further distinguished from the majority of my study group in that they were drawn from 'respectable' working class families (Jackson and Marsden 1972). These were families who lived in the small pockets of owner-occupied terraced houses of Hartingleigh. Both Denise and Deirdre, for example, were from families who lived in the Kings Road area of Hartingleigh, the district locally considered to be the most 'respectable' part of the ward. In the detail of Denise Weldon's case study, I have sought to examine the source of this distinction and its implications for my youthwork practice (Section 6.6.2). John Conleigh's family lived in the Canton Street area of terraced housing. The families from both of these areas of owner-occupied terraced houses can, in general, be distinguished from the majority of families from the council owned estates of Hartingleigh in terms of the labour market position held by their main income providers. Allen and Hamnett (1991) have recently explored the connections between housing and labour markets.

The owner-occupied terraced houses in the early 1980s contained at least one family income provider who was drawn from the skilled or semi-skilled sectors of the labour force (Allen and Hamnett 1991). Unlike the majority of families from Hartingleigh's council estates, whose main income providers were generally drawn from the more vulnerable unqualified and unskilled sections of the local labour force, the income providers from the owner-occupied terraces had marketable skills and employment contacts which had enabled them to exercise some leverage within the job market. Despite the recession and its subsequent toll of local redundancies and unemployment, the families of the three study participants who had secured work following school leaving had maintained or improved their positions within the local labour market.

Within these families there was a high level of employment activity and work commitment. For example, both of Denise Weldon's parents, as well as her older sister, Cheryl, had been in full-time employment for a considerable amount of time in skilled or semi-skilled occupations. In the late 1970s, this income security and mobility had enabled them to completely modernise, extend, and refurbish their home in the Kings Road area. Similarly, both the parents of Deirdre Sharp, her two older brothers and older sister, Carole, were employed in skilled or semi-skilled occupations - as were the income providers within John Conleigh's family. The employment history of Deirdre Sharp's family illustrates the level of labour market activity typically evident within these families. It also provides some insight into the influential respectable working class ethos of 'getting on' (Brown 1987) through a traditionally conscientious employment commitment, formative influences within the family backgrounds of all three study participants who had secured post-school transitions into work.

Deirdre's father had been an army chauffeur for the "top brass" until 1976 when ill-health had forced his 'pensionable' retirement from army service. Nevertheless, following his service 'retirement', what he described as being "invalided out", he continued to work as a civilian, though only in a 'limited' capacity as full-time employment held negative

implications for his pension entitlement. However, Deirdere's father was keen to stress both his desire and ability to work, and, when pressed, confessed to using the skills and experience he had acquired in the army to work both as an 'off the books' (Mattera 1985) taxi driver, and motor mechanic, in a small repair workshop he ran with his eldest sons. The income derived from these occupations supplemented his army pension and contributed to the family's standard of living, which he described as being "quite well off".

Deirdre's mother was employed full-time in one of Manchester's largest commercial hotels, where she had worked for almost ten years. In this period, she had advanced from the position of chambermaid to the role of 'domestic supervisor', her task being to organise and deploy domestic staff within the hotel, including the cleaners, chambermaids, etc. Both Deirdre's parents were eager to emphasise the self-evident advantages that can be accrued from "hard work and application". According to Deirdre's father, for example: "Hard graft is good for the soul". Deirdre's mother laid greater stress on the material, rather than spiritual, rewards which could be derived from regular wage earning: "We've always been able to afford meat; every Sunday we have a roast and all the trimmings ...". Apart from being able to afford roast meat on Sundays, the family also owned their own home, ran two cars, and enjoyed holidays 'abroad' every year. In fact, as Deirdre's mother testified: "Life's been good to us, we want for nothing".

Deirdre was from a large family of four brothers and two sisters. Thus apart from the domestic background of parental employment, her two eldest brothers were also both 'self-employed'. They ran a small 'motor repair workshop' as a 'family' business, in concert with their father. Although they had both left the parental home by the time Deirdre started work in 1980, her brothers had, nevertheless, been in full-time work and resident in the parental home during much of Deirdre's secondary education. Similarly, Deirdre's older sister, Carole, had been in work since 1972, and had been resident in the parental home until her marriage in 1976. In the previous section, I examined the significance of Carole's workplace intercession which had facilitated Deirdre's transition to employment in the hair-

studio; in the following section I explore the importance of Carole's influence and career trajectory in providing a role model for Deirdre's employment, and life-style, aspirations.

Thus the three study participants who had made the traditional post-school transition into employment were from the minority of families in Hartingleigh who had moved up "the benign spiral of the securely employed" (White 1985 : 9). Families whose members' prolonged employment and income mobility had produced "changes in consumption patterns" (Mann 1992 : 104) and home ownership; and whose informal workplace contacts had conferred labour market advantages on job-seeking siblings.

Moreover these were families which were characterised by members who were strongly committed to the work ethic as a self-evident means of individual social mobility. The young job-seekers from these three families formed attitudes to training and employment against a domestic background, and class-cultural frame of reference (Brown 1987) whose orientations were, like the 'citizens' in Jenkins's (1983) study, " ... the apotheosis of the respectable working class ideals of sobriety, independence and self-advancement" (1983 : 42)

6.4   Getting On : Getting Out

In the detail of the three previously discussed traditional post-school trajectories I have sought to highlight the important advantages 'respectable' working class families can bestow on family members seeking work in a restricted job market. The factors that were significant include: secure housing status; a domestic background of commitment to employment as a source of self-advancement; a family history of members' prolonged employment; and the consequent ability to confer labour-market advantages through informal workplace contacts.   These   were the factors that distinguished the three participants in my study who had successfully secured the traditional post-school transition into employment from the vast majority who had not.

A further factor which is germane to the discussion of dissimilarity between the three traditional post-school transitionaries and the majority of study participants can be explored with reference to Brown's (1987) analysis of working class 'frames of reference'. Brown argues that there are among the working class at least three different ways of 'being' or 'becoming' an adult. These represent different 'focal concerns' or 'frames of reference' which structure identity and social orientation (1987 : 34-36). The three frames of reference outlined by Brown are: 'getting in', to the working class culture, identified with the 'alienated orientation' of the anti-school culture; 'getting on', in working class-cultural terms, identified with the 'alienated instrumental orientation' of the 'ordinary kids' of his study title; and 'getting out' of the working class cultural context, identified with the normative or normative-instrumental orientation' of the most 'incorporated' of working class pupils (Brown 1987 : 104-106).

6.4.1 John Conleigh : Getting On

For John Conleigh, a family background of older siblings who laid great stress on the significance and necessity of employment ensured a 'getting on' frame of reference of work commitment. Both his older brother, Martin, and his older sister, Sue, who in 1980 were still resident in the parental home, had been in full-time employment for a number of years. John's brother had been employed in the footwear manufacturers, referred to earlier, since school leaving in 1968, and his sister in clerical work since 1974. Both Martin and Sue were influential in securing John's sense of obligation towards employment, partly through example, but also as a result of emphasising its necessity after their father's premature death in 1977. As a result of his mother's infirmity, a shared onus of inescapable moral responsibility for maintaining a family income was stressed by John's older siblings. These factors were to ensure that John's transition to work took on a wider symbolic significance, a measure of his "social and moral worth" (Brown 1987 : 106), characteristic of the 'getting on' frame of reference.

By 1982, John had come to view his training apprenticeship in negative terms. In particular he was disillusioned with the quality of training he was receiving especially the emphasis on 'mass production' rather than the craft skills he had understood would form a greater component of his workload. As a result, he came to view his employment in the 'alienated instrumental' terms Brown characterises as being the dominant focal concern of the 'getting on' frame of reference. However, this was not the instrumentalism that has been explored by industrial sociologists (Goldthorpe *et al* 1969; Blackburn and Mann 1979), that is, instrumentalism as a minimal commitment for the maximum material rewards, but rather in terms of John's willingness to "stick with the job" rather than risk unemployment and the moral condemnation of his family, at a time of decline in local occupational opportunities.

Sennett and Cobb (1977) have argued that there is no more important task in life than establishing a sense of personal dignity and moral worth. It was this factor above all others that underpinned John's 'getting on' frame of reference and consequent attitude to his training apprenticeship. The work was not what he had hoped it would be. Nevertheless, he was assured a sense of personal moral validity in that he had at least got a job. For it was through employment, in the context of the necessity of providing income for his partially disabled mother, that John was able to demonstrate his moral worth both to himself and to his family. This aspect of John's employment transition conforms to Brown's research findings in that the 'ordinary kids' of his study attributed unemployment to moral failing, a lack of willingness to make an effort: "Being unemployed is interpreted as a moral descent among the ordinary kids in jobs" (1987 : 168). This may be seen as part of a general climate "that has put the burden of blame on those who are unable to defend themselves" (Braun 1979 : 53); fostered by a largely hostile media and the "politics of interpreting unemployment" (Seaton 1986), which focuses on "personal characteristics very much more than any shortage of jobs in the economy" (Youthaid 1981 : 12).

Aside from the moral imperatives which guided the alienated instrumentality of his 'getting on' frame of reference, John also viewed his training as a way of making progress in working class-cultural terms. Although he was unhappy with aspects of his apprenticeship, he did recognise that it offered some potential for shop-floor 'promotion' when the training was complete. This was a route to 'getting on' which his brother had previously charted, and which had demonstrably "paid dividends" in both financial terms and also in terms of improved working conditions. As John asserted:

> "Instead of being on the [production] line, you're doing other things ... driving a stacker [truck] bringing whatever it is, like soles or wedges, what ever, to the [production] line ... just making sure it's ticking over like ... the [production] line's a head crusher ... you could die of boredom."

The potential for shop floor promotion offered John a means to "social advancement within the working class" (Brown 1987 : 106), and, as such, the 'alienated instrumental orientation' to his training apprenticeship offered both a moral and practical strategy for 'getting on' and " ... living a dignified life over which [he] feels to be in command" (Brown 1987 : 106).

6.4.2 Denise and Deirdre : Getting Out

According to Brown, the 'getting out' frame of reference, identified with the more 'respectable' members of the working class, requires a crucial transformation of social identity if 'getting out' is to be achieved. Within Brown's study, this transformation is mediated through a normative, or normative-instrumental, orientation to the school with academic success providing the credentials for class mobility. However, my research indicates that employment experience and 'success' may similarly provide a significant social domain wherein class-cultural identity can either be reinforced through 'getting on', or transformed through 'getting out'. Both Denise Weldon and Deirdre Sharp's employment and domestic career transitions epitomise the 'getting out' frame of reference of the respectable working class, whilst John Conleigh's transition can be understood as 'getting on' in working class-cultural terms.

In Denise Weldon's case study, it is clear that her employment biography as well as her domestic career trajectory produced the necessary changes in her social identity which enabled her to chart a course out of her working class-cultural origins. To some extent, her mother provided significant influences towards the development of her daughter's 'getting out' frame of reference and these are influences I have sought to draw out in the detail of her case study (Section 6.6).

For Deirdre Sharp, her commitment to employment in the hair-studio was never in doubt. The glamour and prestige associated with working in an internationally famous conglomerate with "branches throughout the United Kingdom, Europe and in the USA" was paramount in the development of her 'getting out' frame of reference. In this, she had been greatly influenced by her older sister who had been employed in the hair-studio since the opening of its City-centre franchise in the early 1970s. Carole had trained as a hairdresser from leaving school, taking courses at Marton College of Further Education for three years, before starting work in a small family hairdressers in Newmarch Heath in 1972. When the City-centre studio opened, Carole was among the first intake of stylists recruited and her success in the work subsequently took her to Paris and New York for styling exhibitions and competitions. Carole eventually married one of her hairdressing clients, 'a successful businessman', and had moved out of the parental home in 1976 to a detached house in Withington, a residential area in the south of the City.

Thus Deirdre was sufficiently enamoured by her older sister's career and life-style to seek to emulate it, Carole providing the role model, as well as workplace contacts and influence, that enabled her younger sister to foster realisable ambitions about her future prospects.

Both Deirdre Sharp and Denise Weldon shared similar formative influences in the developmental progression of their employment and domestic career transitions. In Denise's case, her mother exercised considerable influence to facilitate her career trajectory

and residential independence. In Deirdre's case, her sister supplied the informal contacts and role model to enable her to begin the process of upward social mobility. These were formative influences they shared which produced the necessary change in social identity required to allow for a 'getting out' frame of reference to be realised.

During their respective training periods, both Deirdre and Denise's initial training salaries were not sufficient to provide a realistic financial foundation for 'getting out'. Nevertheless, their weekly incomes were, with 'overtime' in Denise's case and 'tips' in Deirdre's case, sometimes up to three times the weekly training allowance (£25 in 1983) of many of their contemporaries in Hartingleigh whose post-school transitions had typically placed them on to government inspired training schemes. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that 'getting out' for girls depends to a larger extent upon employment which provides the trappings and appearance of 'respectability and upward mobility' (McRobbie 1978; Gaskell 1983). According to Brown, the 'getting out' orientation is developed by those who " ... view their future as ... occupationally and socially distinct from the majority of their ... neighbours and peers who live in the working class neighbourhoods (1987 : 105).

Further factors which distinguished the employment career transitions of Deirdre and Denise from their contemporaries in Hartingleigh, even those who would make an 'extended' or 'protracted (Banks *et al* 1992, Furlong 1992; Roberts 1987) transition into typically unskilled, jobs, can best be understood in terms of their working environments and the people they worked with. For both girls, their working environments, including the people they worked with or encountered, were to provide the appearance of upward mobility, reinforcing a view of their futures as 'occupationally and socially distinct' from their neighbours and peers, a prerequisite for 'getting out'.

In the first dental practice she worked in, Denise's environment was a neonomian blend of hospital and 'Habitat', a tasteful combination of white tiles, pitch-pine, and indoor palms;

a working environment which included the semi-medicalised adornment of an *ersatz* nurses uniform, and predominantly middle class colleagues and patients. Similarly, for Deirdre, it was a spacious, modernistic, multi-level, open plan, 'hair-studio', with smoked glass windows, wall-to-wall quadrophonic music and 'glamorous clients' who could afford the "fucking thirty quid for a bleedin' poxy haircut", as Maz, one of the long-term unemployed participants in my study, had incredulously proclaimed on reading the tariff outside the studio. Moreover, it was a clientele that included professional footballers, fashion models and northern television soap-opera 'stars' who, though they might not have achieved it, like the staff (or 'hair-designers' as they preferred to be known), at least affected the pretensions of urbane sophistication. It was these working environments, and the influences the girls derived from their experiences within them, that further served to reinforce their 'getting out' frame of reference. In McRobbie's words: "The width of experience of these girls is bound to be much wider than that of the youth club girls ... simply because their material horizons are much broader" (1981 : 101).

6.4.3   Getting On, Getting Out : Summary

The significance of introducing the concept of working class frames of reference into this analysis of traditional post-school transitions is that they capture the participants' existential sense of *Being in the World* (Binswanger 1963). Occupational identity is a key to understanding part of the process of transition. However, the attitudes, values and conduct of those like Denise, Deirdre and John who have been fortunate enough to secure a traditional transition route into adult employment have not been invented from nothing. They are the historical product of the shared social and occupational experiences of working class people and are imbued with social significance and convey varying degrees of social status: "They draw upon a fund of experience built into their lives ... and built up historically within working class communities (Giddens 1986 : 299).

Occupational identities like 'getting on' or 'getting out' are situated at the respectable end of a social and moral continuum between the 'rough' and 'respectable' working class.

380

They are part of the commonly available stock of cultural resources which people in the same class location use to order their social and occupational identity and make sense of their changing life histories and social situations. 'Getting on' and 'getting out' are formed out of cultural resources such as employment commitment, a notion of work as a source of self-advancement, out of family histories of prolonged employment and the consequent ability to bestow social and labour-market advantages. The frames of reference of Deirdre, Denise, and John, 'getting on, getting out', represent a cultural reproduction of the social and moral divisions within Hartingleigh's working class. However, such divisions are crucially predicated on performance in the job-market, which ultimately translates itself into social divisions between families in work, 'the respectable', and families without work, 'the rough'.

Although there are similarities between the 'getting on, getting out' working class frames of reference and those of the lower middle class, deferred gratification, sobriety, independent self-advancement, etc., these are integral parts of the available stock of cultural resources in working class communities. Moreover, they appear to have extensive historical antecedents (Willmott 1966; Ashton and Field 1976; Bell and Newby 1971; Mann 1992; Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970). This is not to deny the similarities, but to insist that cultural formations such as working class respectability exist at the blurred edges of class boundaries. The respectable working class, utilising cultural resources such as 'getting on' or 'getting out', may be better equipped for social mobility than their 'rough' counterparts, but " ... if so, it is largely on indigenous working class principles and practices that they draw" (Jenkins 1983 : 42).

6.5 Domestic Careers : Traditional Transitions
6.5.1 Introduction

For the three study participants who had secured the traditional post-school transition into employment, their 'getting on, getting out' frames of reference were reinforced through income acquisition, enhanced social and leisure opportunities, and a general expansion of

material, social and cognitive horizons. Reinforced social opportunity was translated into a concomitant traditional domestic career transition into adulthood. This traditional domestic trajectory into adult roles and statuses typically involved a process of 'going out', courtship, leaving home, engagement, marriage, parenthood, and home ownership. Central to this process was the financial independence provided by the post-school transition to work. Secure employment supplied the financial foundations upon which stable adult roles and identities were constructed.

6.5.2 Going Out

All three study participants were in receipt of fairly limited training incomes during the early period of their employment. John's initial training wage of £36 (gross) was nevertheless double that of many of his benefit-dependent contemporaries in Hartingleigh whose incomes were derived from the basic supplementary benefit rate of £16.85 (in 1982). Deirdre and Denise earned even more than John. Deirdre's initial gross monthly salary was approximately £175 and Denise's £185 and all three were to more than double their basic incomes over the next four years. Moreover, all three participants were afforded the opportunity to augment their basic income through working 'overtime', and in Denise's case through 'tips'. Deirdre's tips from attending clients in the hair-studio could at certain times, for example during the Christmas period, exceed her actual salary. On one or two memorable occasions, she recalled receiving extremely generous gratuities from clients:

> "There was an Arab who used to come in every week. He was a Prince ... no really ... a
> real one ... he had a 'Rolls' and a 'minder' ... he used to give me twenty quid every time
> he came in and once I got a 'tenner' {off a professional footballer] but he was really
> drunk."

At this stage of their career transitions, though generally not excessive, their basic incomes were stable and regular and afforded them the opportunity to plan social outings and to 'go out' to enjoy the range of commercial leisure provision available to young people in the City. Travelling to Manchester City Centre to go out to the cinema, the

disco's or the video arcades further distinguished them from many of their unemployed contemporaries in Hartingleigh, whose leisure mobility was often restricted through lack of income. Although John and Denise also used the facilities within the developing Youth and Community Project, particularly in their early post-school years, the social divisions within Hartingleigh's young working class (examined in detail in Denise Weldon's case study) resulted in them and their friends frequently being subjected to hostile verbal abuse and (as was the case with Denise on one occasion) physical assault (see Section 6.6.2).

What is discernible amongst the three study participants' early patterns of post-school sociability is a pattern of 'going out' of the local community; a pattern of workplace experiences, contacts, and friendships increasingly removing them from the social networks and leisure provision of their local community; a pattern of social and recreational contact derived through their work that would in each case eventually lead to courtship and then marriage; a broadening of social opportunities and horizons that would result in residential mobility and home ownership. I have examined this pattern in detail in Denise Weldon's case study (Section 6.6). Similar trends can be discerned in the early stages of Deirdre and John's domestic career transitions presented in the following sections.

6.5.3 Deirdre Sharp

Deirdre did not avail herself of facilities within the Youth and Community Project. Instead she quickly developed friendships in and through her workplace and developed a pattern of recreation that involved 'going out' to the wine bars, clubs, and commercial disco's in the City Centre. In particular, she developed close friendships with three young women in the hair-studio who, like Deirdre, were also trainees at various stages of their four year apprenticeships. The four, including Denise, were in turn socially affiliated to a larger group of twelve young men and women who were the hair-studio's fully qualified 'hair-designers'. Despite the official veneer of informality amongst the hair-studio employees, there existed a subtle hierarchy, based on seniority; among the trainees, because she was

'last in', Deirdre was, in particular, at the bottom of the sacerdotal order. However, Deirdre was able to largely transcend this informal structure as a consequence of her sister's venerable position within it.

Deirdre quickly fitted into the pattern of 'informal' sociability that the hair-studio employees had evolved over time, a pattern that had been established long before she had started working on a full-time basis. This informal post-work recreation typically involved hair-studio employees dropping into 'Champers' at the end of the working day. 'Champers' is an upmarket wine bar situated within the same fashionable area of the City Centre as the hair-studio. The routine of sociability included first and second year trainees being bought a bar meal and a drink (usually one of the more extravagant 'cocktails' that were fashionable at the time) by more senior employees, and the group as a whole would spend the early part of the evening together 'talking shop' and generally 'unwinding'. These were occasions when news or gossip obtained from 'celebrity clients' about other celebrity clients would be exchanged, which TV personality was having an affair with whom, and so on. It was also a time when 'specials' were assigned to hair-studio employees by the receptionists and(or) regional manageress.

The 'specials' were special contracts or prestige assignments undertaken by the hair-studio. Sometimes these were contracts with fashion agencies or television film companies. During the third and fourth years of her apprenticeship, as part of her training, Deirdre was called upon to accompany and assist hair-designers with a 'special'. This involved, for example, accompanying and assisting hair-designers allocated to attend the hair of fashion models involved in a fashion show or photographic session. Occasionally, she would assist hair-designers contracted to fashion the hair of members of the acting profession involved in the production of a television film. This particular 'special' would involve a trip to the television studios of the film's location set. The 'specials' took her out of the hair-studio for an average of one day in every working month and, apart from offering "glamour, excitement and experience" in her work, also afforded

the opportunity to earn extra 'overtime'. Moreover, three or four times a year, Deirdre would be provided with another 'special' and the opportunity to travel to London to accompany and assist senior employees, including her sister Carole, who were participating in hair-styling competitions and exhibitions. These latter trips away from the daily routine of the hair-studio involved overnight stays in prestigious hotels and were "all expenses paid". Such examples of glamour, excitement and variety in her work were emphasised by Deirdre as being instrumental in providing her with a "taste of the good life".

After a couple of hours spent socialising in 'Champers', gossiping about media celebrities and television personalities, and allocating the following days 'special' assignments, the larger group of hair-studio employees would generally disperse to other places of entertainment, restaurants, clubs, and upmarket disco's, or simply travel home. A smaller group, including Denise and the other trainees, often stayed in the City Centre to visit one of the many bars or commercial disco's before returning home late in the evening, Deirdre usually sharing a taxi with one or more of her colleagues. This became an informal routine for Deirdre and her co-trainees, particularly towards the weekend, although, as Deirdre maintained, "the weekend sometimes began on Wednesdays".

This pattern of workplace-inspired recreation and leisure experience further augmented her 'getting out' trajectory, reinforced the sense of cultural estrangement she encountered in the local neighbourhood, and provided, in her own words, "a taste of the good life". Her workplace contacts and influences were to provide further impetus towards her literally 'getting out', by 'going out', of the local community. Workplace contacts precipitated a life-course which, like Denise Weldon's, which is examined later in this Chapter, would result in courtship, marriage, residential mobility, and home (and business) ownership, a pattern that had its origins in the experiences and opportunities provided by her employment.

6.5.4 John Conleigh

In contrast to Deirdre, John Conleigh's post-school transition to youthful sociability and independence was more complex and ambiguous. During his final school years, as a result of his father's death, his older siblings' full-time employment, and his mother's partial immobility, John was increasingly required to attend to domestic duties in the home. In particular, he was expected to offer domestic care to his mother which restricted his after school hours sociability. As a result, in his early 'teens, John struggled to find acceptance in the 'lads culture' which was dominant both within his school and also on the streets of Hartingleigh. Moreover, his atypical post-school transition to employment further inhibited his teenage friendships and served to marginalise him from the majority of his peers who were unemployed.

Thus, by the time John had started work, he had secured only fringe membership of a large group of predominantly unemployed males drawn mostly from the housing estates of Hartingleigh, with the Chicken Lane 'lads', the self-proclaimed 'Northside Jungle Crew', forming the nucleus. Working full-time prevented John from sustaining any day-to-day involvement in the lads' informal social networks. Moreover, the fact that he had to travel to work with his older brother early every morning ensured that he was rarely on the streets during the late evening. In contrast, many of his unemployed peers would, especially in the summer months, congregate in the Indoor Street Corner or adventure playground, often into the early hours.

After school leaving, John's interactions with the lads in Hartingleigh were characterised by his frequently desperate attempts to allay their hostilities and gain a place within the group by downgrading his employment, domestic responsibilities, and residential location. He did however have some sympathisers within the dominant group based on their compassionate understanding of his domestic circumstances and this at least ensured that the hostility generally directed towards the 'snobs and shirtlifters', or employed non-estate dwellers, was, in his case, muted. Nevertheless, the reality of his

post-school transition to work, and his consequent minimal participation in the day-to-day activities of the dominant group ensured him only a peripheral place within their social network.

With the encouragement of Tony Boyle, one of my co-youthworkers, John occasionally attended youth nights at the Centre, but usually he held only a marginal role in the activities that took place. Also he developed several workplace friendships during this period, but they were friendships that could not be readily pursued after work. Most of his workmates were from areas surrounding the footwear manufacturers, in the extreme south of the Greater Manchester conurbation, districts that were relatively inaccessible by public transportation. Thus, for two years after starting work in 1980, John was a solitary and socially isolated figure, and during this period spent much of his freetime, especially at weekends, travelling alone to the City Centre to play the video games in the amusement arcades.

However, when John was eighteen, several events combined to inadvertently alter the course of his domestic career transition by expanding his social horizons. The marriage of his older siblings during the summer months of 1982 precipitated several domestic changes. Firstly, his older brother, Martin, left the natal home to move into a house in Timperley, a quiet suburb within easier travelling distance of the footwear manufacturers in the south of the Greater Manchester conurbation. This was a terraced house which Martin had bought several years before and had been slowly modernising in his spare time in preparation for his marriage. Following the marriage, Martin set up home there with his new partner, and shortly afterwards John's sister, Sue, was also married. Immediately after the honeymoon, Sue's new husband moved in with her into the family home in Hartingleigh. John's new brother-in-law was a moderately successful self-employed electrician and, as such, agreed to undertake the main financial responsibility for the family home. As a consequence, Sue gave up her job in order to look after the house and provide full-time domestic care for their disabled mother. Simultaneously, John passed his

driving test and purchased an 'old Cortina', mainly in order to travel to work. His older brother, who had previously supplied a lift, was no longer living in the family home or immediate area and was therefore unable to provide John with transportation to their employment in the footwear manufacturers.

Relieved of some of the domestic responsibility towards the care of his disabled mother, and with his own independent means of transport, John began to pursue some of his workplace friendships. In particular, he utilised his new mobility to travel to districts in the south of the Greater Manchester conurbation to the homes and favoured leisure sites, pubs, pool-halls and disco's of two of his workmates. John had a particularly strong friendship with one of his workmates as they had originally met on the day of their respective interviews at the footwear manufacturers and had started their training apprenticeships at the same time. John's friend, Alex, had a flat in the same area as their workplace and John developed a pattern of "staying over at Alex's place" after their nights out together, sleeping on the sofa before going into work together the next day. John would also stay at his brother's house in Timperley rather than risk driving the twenty or so miles back to Hartingleigh after a night out. Through these workplace friendships and his developing social life, John gradually evolved a network of social contacts outside Hartingleigh, contacts which through 'going out' would eventually draw him permanently away from his local neighbourhood. Like Deirdre and Denise, this pattern of youthful sociability and recreation eventually resulted in a 'steady relationship' and a traditional domestic career transition of courtship, engagement, leaving home, marriage, and parenthood.

6.5.5 Growing Up and Leaving Home

In the years immediately following school-leaving, the three study participants who had achieved the post-school transition into the adult world of work consolidated parallel and complementary transitions to adult roles and status. By the age of eighteen, the three participants had not only become adults in the eyes of the law but had also taken

significant steps in the establishment of an adult identity. Denise Weldon, for example, by the time of her eighteenth birthday, had already made her first career advance and had left the natal home to live independently in a privately rented flat.

All three study participants stressed their experiences of mixing with, and being accepted by, adults in their workplaces as being important in the development of a notion of themselves as adults. Of particular note in this process was being treated in a manner that was imbued with expectations of adult behaviour within the workplace. As Denise observed:

> "It's part of growing up going out to work, being in school makes you immature 'cause you're only with kids and you act like a kid. At work there's all ages and you can't act like a kid 'cause you've got a job to do ... you're not a kid anymore and people expect you to act like they do."

The emphasis on taking adult-like responsibility within the workplace was sometimes ensured by the practical requirements of the type of work being carried out. In John Conleigh's case, irresponsibility on the production line of the footwear manufacturers could have had dangerous consequences: "You can't afford to piss around ... there's molten plastic an' all sorts. If you act like a wanker someone's going to get hurt."

Leaving school and mixing with adults in the workplace, being exposed to new environments and experiences, and cultivating an autonomous social life by 'going out' to places of adult recreation and leisure, were factors judged by participants to be significant in the formation of an adult self-concept. In Denise's case, for example, starting work produced a significant shift in parental attitudes over the issue of 'going out':

> "When I left school, started work and going out, they stopped trying to tell me what to do and what time to come in. There was no more 'aggro' about where I was going or who I was going with."

In Deirdre's case, her parents' shift in attitude was perhaps more significantly reciprocated by a shift in her own attitude towards them. Deirdre's growing independence was reflected in her ability to increasingly assert herself with her parents: "Instead of mum and

dad telling me, they started asking me, and that's when I started telling them what I'd be doing."

The foregoing trends towards the acquisition of adult identity were grounded in workplace experiences and the financial independence provided by employment. Financial independence was, in turn, reflected in moves towards residential independence when participants left the natal home. Denise moved out of her parents home to a flat in Prestwich when she was seventeen; Deirdre moved into a privately rented furnished flat in Didsbury when she was twenty and nearing the end of her training in the hair-studio; and John moved to a flat in a sub-divided house in Stretford, much closer to his workplace and friendship networks, when he was twenty one and had completed his training apprenticeship. For John and Deirdre, residential mobility was precipitated by their deepening commitment towards partners in their steady relationships. Both had moved out of the natal home in order to cohabit with their steady partners. Denise's boyfriend similarly moved into her flat when she was nineteen.

For Deirdre and Denise, leaving Hartingleigh and moving to, in Denise's words, "a much nicer area" was a tangible culmination of their 'getting out' frame of reference. Not only were they 'getting out' of their working class neighbourhood into residential suburban areas of the Greater Manchester conurbation, Didsbury and Prestwich, but they were also 'getting out' of childhood dependency within the natal home. John's move was a feature of his 'getting on' frame of reference in that he was able to travel to and from work more readily, enabling him to undertake regular overtime and begin the process of saving up for owner-occupation. Residential independence was for each of the study participants a confirmation of adult status. Physically leaving the natal home was a sign of having secured the transition to adult autonomy.

6.5.6 Courtship, Cohabitation and Engagement

In the domestic career trajectories of each of the three study participants, the development of steady relationships was the result of traditional courtship patterns initiated by 'going out' with their chosen partners (Farrell 1976). Of note is the significance of the participants' employment in the original meetings with their respective partners. Denise, for example, met her future husband, Tim, in 1983 when he attended for treatment at the dental practice where she was employed; Deirdre's prospective husband, Anthony, was employed as a 'hair designer' in the same hair-studio where she also worked; and John met his future wife, Angela, at the annual Christmas party (1984) organised by employees of the footwear manufacturers where he was employed.

A traditional extended courtship pattern followed these initial encounters (*cf* Leonard 1980) and in each of the three participants' domestic career trajectories, engagement and cohabitation was the result. In this process, the participants' employment was significant in providing the financial basis for 'going out' to pursue and cultivate their opposite sex relationships. Stable and regular income also facilitated residential independence and cohabitation prior to marriage. Researchers writing about family formation in the decades before mass youth unemployment have emphasised the role of marriage in the transition of young people from the natal home (Dunnell 1976; Leonard 1980; Schofield 1973; Willmott 1966). According to Leonard (1980) for example:

> "Enormous value is placed on attaining the adult status of being married, having a home
> of one's own, and the weight of socialisation which is directed towards the goal of
> marriage and getting a home of one's own affects the attitude towards the whole period
> in between leaving school and getting married" (1980 : 61).

Research has indicated that among young people in similar socio-economic groups to my study participants there was a general pattern of leaving home in order to get married. Dunnell (1976), for example, found that 41% of those in his sample from social classes 4 and 5 left home and married in their 'teens as against 10% in social classes 1 and 2. In contrast, the three study participants who had taken the traditional domestic career

trajectory into marriage and parenthood had done so after a significant period of cohabitation following departure from the natal home. Thus, although there was a strong desire for residential independence among the three study participants, cohabitation and engagement, rather than marriage, were typically their routes to sustaining residential independence.

Denise Weldon had in fact been living independently for over a year prior to her first meeting with Tim in March 1983. However, in April 1984, just over a year after their initial encounter in the dental surgery, he had moved into her flat in Prestwich. They lived together for five months prior to their engagement in October 1984, and cohabited for a total of four years before their marriage in June 1988 when Deirdre was 24.

John Conleigh and his girlfriend, Angela, decided to live together when they were engaged in December 1985 - exactly twelve months from the date of their first meeting at the footwear manufacturers' Christmas party. They shared a flat in Stretford for almost two years prior to their marriage in August 1987, when John was 23. During this time, they undertook the process of saving up in anticipation of marriage and home ownership.

In November 1984, following an extended two year period of courtship, Deirdre Sharp and her partner, Anthony, decided to share a flat in Didsbury. They were engaged almost two years later in September 1986, and having lived together for approximately two and a half years were married in May the following year when Deirdre was 23.

6.5.7 Owner-Occupation, Marriage and Parenthood

The three participants' extended periods of cohabitation and planned engagements enabled them and their partners to, in Denise Weldon's words, "save for the future". There was a pattern of long-term planning in preparation for marriage, parenthood, and owner-occupation. Joint incomes allowed for the accumulation of household goods, appliances, furnishings, and for the saving of essential deposits towards home-ownership, well in

advance of a proposed wedding day. Once again, these are features of the traditional domestic career transition which are crucially dependent upon the regular income derived from stable occupations (Allen and Hamnett 1991). It is a domestic career transition which has been extensively documented in previous decades (see, for example, Leonard 1980 : 223-255), and one I have sought to examine in close detail in Denise Weldon's case study (Section 6.6).

The pattern of lengthy cohabitation and engagement was partly a factor of the three participants' extended training which resulted in the adult wage necessary to undertake owner-occupation being delayed until their early twenties. Researchers have noted a similar pattern of delayed marriage and parenthood associated with owner-occupation (Dunnel 1976; Schofield 1973). This is a trend generally associated with the employment and domestic career transitions of middle class couples (Dunnell 1976; Fogelman 1983) who defer marriage and family formation because professional and managerial occupations require a period in higher education and training. Marriage and family formation are therefore deferred in anticipation of rising salaries in the future. However, extended engagements and patterns of long-term planning are similar factors discernible within the career transitions of the three study participants and provide further indications of their 'getting on, getting out' frames of reference.

Extended periods of engagement and cohabitation allowed study participants to defer formal marriage and family formation until training was completed, adult incomes secured, and savings accumulated. Each of the three participants deferred marriage and parenthood until their resources enabled them to successfully undertake owner-occupation. Deirdre moved into a newly built home on a small private estate in Didsbury with her husband, Anthony, shortly after their marriage; Denise and Tim were married in June 1988 after having moved into their semi-detached house in Norwich in February 1987; and John and Angela were married in August 1987 and moved into a small terraced house in Stretford in December 1987 shortly before the birth of their first child in January 1988.

Although patterns of long-term financial planning had contributed to owner-occupation, in each of the three cases savings were significantly augmented by the financial support of the families of participants and their partners. In Denise Weldon's case, both her mother and the parents of her future husband provided £10,000 each towards the purchase of their home in Norwich; in Deirdre's case, her partner's parents contributed "almost £5,000" towards the deposit on their first home in suburban Didsbury; and John's family, together with the parents of his partner, Angela, raised £3,000 between them towards the deposit on their terraced house in Stretford. Angela's father and John's brother also contributed towards essential repair and modernisation work undertaken on their home before they moved in. Material support from the wider family was also forthcoming as a result of getting married which resulted in the contribution of numerous essential household items in the way of 'wedding presents', thus enabling the participants to furnish and equip their homes without undue expense. Such examples of 'kin-aid' conformed to patterns identified by Bell (1968) and Edgell (1981) in middle class families.

Having secured the transition to marriage and owner-occupation, the participants completed the trajectory to adult roles by starting families of their own. Again a pattern of pre-planning was clearly evident. In all three cases, contraception was abandoned when savings had been accumulated. Pregnancy resulted in spare rooms being decorated in advance and essential nursery equipment being purchased or supplied from extended family networks. In each of the three cases, marriage, owner-occupation and parenthood initially solidified traditional gender divisions with regard to 'breadwinning' and domestic child-care routines.

According to the analysis by Watson and Austerberry (1986), the way that housing needs are defined and provided for affirms the traditional nuclear family and particularly women's role within it. Two themes underlie their analysis. The first is that British housing policy and the housing market operate in favour of the traditional nuclear family household. Moreover, this dominant family model assumes a domestic role for women,

so that the housing system acts to positively reinforce women's subordinate economic and social position:

> "Houses, then, do not simply represent a form of shelter; in addition they embody the dominant ideology of a society and reflect the way in which that society is organised. In Britain the dominant social relations are both patriarchal and capitalist: men have greater economic and social power than women and workers are exploited for profits to be made. Consequently the form in which housing is produced, the means by which it is financed and the way in which it is allocated, reflect the division of labour both within the labour process and between the sexes." (1986 : 3)

The reproduction of patterns of traditional gender roles are evident in the domestic career trajectories of all three study participants, particularly in the period following owner-occupation and parenthood.

John Conleigh's employment career had taken a significant upturn following the completion of his training apprenticeship. He sought and secured an internal transfer away from the mass production line to the orthopaedic shoe section within the footwear manufacturers. This was specialist work supplying orthopaedic shoes to National Health Service agencies throughout the North West region. These were shoes that had to be individually designed and made to order and, as such, involved a high degree of specialist craft skills. Moreover, the work was at a slightly higher rate of pay, provided the scope for regular overtime, and included occasional weekend work at highly favourable "double time" pay rates. Thus John was able to undertake the traditional role of 'breadwinner' for the family after the birth of his first child. His wife relinquished her job in the sixth month of her pregnancy and has not since returned to work. The birth of their second child in August 1990 ensured that the division of labour continued to follow a traditional pattern.

Denise Weldon had already given up paid employment in 1986 prior to 'getting out' of Manchester, to accompany Tim to Norwich where he undertook his first fully-tenured teaching position. After the birth of their first child in November 1988, she devoted herself to a traditional domestic role of caring full-time for the baby and the home.

Although she had anticipated a return to part-time employment when her child was old enough to attend nursery school, this did not materialise. She became pregnant again in 1990 and gave birth to their second child in March 1991. At the time of my last contact with Denise in October 1992, she was resigned to a traditional domestic and child-care role, but had established a network of social contacts by setting up a 'mums and toddlers' group, with two other mothers with young children, in a room at her local library. This child-centred social contact at least allowed some temporary respite from domestic routine and facilitated 'getting out' of the home.

Deirdre Sharp gave up her employment in the hair-studio in May 1989, during the early months of her pregnancy. After the birth of her daughter in December 1989, she explored the possibility of sharing child-care responsibility and 'job-sharing' Anthony's employment within the hair-studio. Apparently this was a realistic option under the flexible employment conditions at the hair-studio. However, when their daughter was three months old, a tentative attempt at such an arrangement was quickly abandoned when Anthony was unable to 'cope' alone with the child. Thus the job-sharing option did not materialise and Deirdre assumed a traditional domestic role within the home. She settled into a child-care routine which involved frequent trips to nearby Withington to visit her sister Carole, who by this time had also left the hair-studio and had two pre-school children of her own.

However, the ambition and aspirations shared by both sisters which I outlined as formative influences in Deirdre's career transition (Sections 6.2; 6.3; 6.4) eventually produced a new scheme for 'getting out' of rigid domestic routine through a shared business venture. The scheme occupied much of their time together in the two year period following the birth of Deirdre's daughter in 1989. During this time, they carefully formulated a plan for opening a hair-salon of their own, to be run in concert with Deirdre's husband, Anthony. With the guidance of Carole's businessman husband, the plan came to fruition when leasehold premises were secured and equipped in Withington.

In October 1991, they opened the salon which is managed as a partnership by the two sisters. Anthony left his employment in the Manchester hair-studio when the business opened and recruited another of the hair-studio employees in the process. Anthony and his ex-hair-studio colleague work in the salon full-time along with two junior trainees. The two sisters operate a routine of collective responsibility for the three children which allows each of them to work in the Withington salon on alternate days. In my last contact with Deirdre, she was keen to emphasise the success of the venture and was enthusiastic about plans for expanding the business by utilising unused second storey rooms to create a "beauty treatment resource". She also discussed the possibility of opening a second salon and, towards this end, the two sisters had already begun the process of seeking out suitable premises.

Amongst the three study participants, the traditional post-school transitions to employment were complemented by a parallel domestic career transition into adulthood, into traditional adult roles and status. A secure transition to work supplied stable foundations upon which were constructed traditional adult identities - mother, father, housewife, breadwinner. In the following section (6.6) through a detailed examination of the employment and domestic career transitions of Denise Weldon, I draw out the interrelationships between these factors.

6.5.8 Conclusions

Both Deirdre and Denise had succeeded in their ambitions and aspirations. They had succeeded in 'getting out' of their working class neighbourhoods and their working class cultural backgrounds. They had both married moderately successful professional young men and had successfully undertaken home and, in Deirdre's case, business ownership. They both anticipated settled, privatised and upwardly mobile lives. This was in stark contrast to many of their contemporaries in Hartingleigh whose protracted, cyclical, and long term unemployment transitions will be examined in later chapters.

John Conleigh's career transition had initially been more complex and ambiguous, but nevertheless he had eventually succeeded in 'getting on' in working class cultural terms. Through training, he had advanced within his chosen occupation and had achieved a position of relative security and financial reward. Employment stability and financial security had also enabled him to embark on owner occupation within the more modest sectors of the housing market. In my last contact, John informed me that he was contemplating a move to a larger terraced house in the same area. He had 'got on' in working class cultural terms, was a "successful breadwinner", and an enthusiastic parent.

6.6 Denise Weldon : Traditional Transitions - A Case Study
6.6.1 Introduction

I originally met Denise in Spring 1980 during the 'first phase' of my study (1979-82) when I was living in Hartingleigh and working for the Youth and Community Project. She was initially contacted by Gail Hindle, one of my co-youth workers, as Denise was one of Gail's ten interviewees in the Project's school leavers survey conducted between January and May 1980 (Chapter Two, Section 2.5). Encouraged by Gail, Denise attended many of the early meetings of the developing youth project. During these early youthwork contacts, it was difficult to get to know her as she often appeared shy and uncommunicative and occasionally intimidated by the more boisterous and vociferous members of the 'youth group'. Her height, well-groomed appearance, and taciturn demeanour set her apart from the other young participants in the Project's 'youth group'. Seemingly awkward and uncertain, she contributed very little that I can remember to the discussions that took place in this formative stage of the Youth and Community Project.

Denise was a tall girl for her age, taller than the other fifteen and sixteen year old girls who were contacted by the Project in this period. She had a trim figure and naturally blond hair which was cut fashionably short around her face. This style emphasised her striking brown eyes, which she sought to further augment by the full eye and face make-up she wore whenever she 'went out'. Denise considered her eyes to be her most attractive

physical feature and took a great deal of care over the application of her eye make-up when attending meetings of the youth group. She was always extremely tidily dressed, preferring skirts and tights combined with a neat jacket or sweater to the more casual jeans, sportswear and trainers then the dominant fashion mode for the young of both sexes in Hartingleigh. Denise was also particularly fond of collecting 'real gold' jewellery and often she wore numerous items simultaneously including a wide variety of gold chains, rings, and ear-rings. At an early youth group meeting her appearance prompted one of several critics she had among the group to loudly and perhaps enviously proclaim, "she looks like a bleedin' Christmas tree".

Denise enjoyed shopping for clothes and jewellery which she often did with her mother and Cheryl, her older sister, both of whom were remarkably similar in style and appearance to Denise. In fact, it was a source of great amusement to them when, during their frequent shopping trips into the City Centre, her mother was sometimes mistaken for the elder sister of the group. Denise and her mother and sister had a seemingly close relationship, often sharing private jokes as well as diets and items of jewellery, clothing and make-up.

6.6.2 'Snobs' and 'Shirtlifters' : The Social Divide

At the time of my early youthwork practice in Hartingleigh, Denise lived with her parents and older sister in a 'corner terrace' in the Kings Road district of Hartingleigh. Due to its location as an end house at the right-angled junction of two terraced streets, their home was much larger than the average size of houses in the area. It contained four, instead of the more usual two, bedrooms as well as three downstairs living rooms and a small 'scullery' or kitchen. The Kings Road district, close to the newly constructed District Centre, was one of three small concentrations of mainly privately owned terraced houses in the Ward. These pre-1919 houses in the terraced streets of the old traditional centre of Hartingleigh were structurally sound enough to have avoided demolition during the City Council's extensive programme of clearance and redevelopment, which occurred over a

fifteen year period after 1964. In 1976, the King Road district was designated a 'General Improvement Area' by the City Council, and generous 'home improvement grants' were made available to provide residents with the opportunity to renovate and modernise their homes. Generally this involved the provision of bathrooms and inside toilets, as the majority of houses eligible for grants under the terms of the scheme were without either. Denise's parents took the opportunity to completely renovate and refurbish their house and also extended the property by adding a two storey kitchen/bathroom extension in the space provided by their expansive backyard.

City Council 'home improvement grants' covered almost 90% of the repair and renovation expenditure and the extra money required to pay for the cost of the new extension was met by the family's savings. Denise's parents were able to afford the financial outlay involved in modernising their home as they had both been in full-time employment for a considerable amount of time. Denise's mother worked as a senior clerk in a large City Centre firm of chartered accountants, a job she had held for over ten years after initially starting with the firm in the early 1970s as an office junior. Denise's father had begun his employment life as a postman, but, as the result of a succession of internal promotions, had advanced into, "personnel management" - as Denise's mother was quick to point out - in the large central sorting office in the City Centre. He had been with the GPO for over twenty years and felt himself to be 'comfortably settled' within his job. Cheryl, who is four years older than Denise, was at that time still living in the parental home and was also in full-time employment as a secretary in a City Centre travel agency.

Following the 'gentrification' of the terraced houses in the Kings Road district, the area quickly developed the reputation of being the most 'respectable' district within Hartingleigh. As well as the large scale programme of house renovations facilitated by City Council grants, this reputation was also established as a result of the more general environmental improvements to the district. These included landscaping of derelict land, tree planting, and traffic management schemes undertaken by the Direct Works department

of the City Council as part of its 'General Improvement Area' provision. For those young people who lived in the surrounding estates, most notably those from the deck-access flats in the 'Jungle', as local inhabitants called the Chicken Lane estate, the privately owned, recently refurbished, terraced houses of the Kings Road area were considered to be occupied by 'snobs'. In terms of my early youthwork practice, such local perceptions led to increasing social divisions and the formation of distinct sub-groups within the developing Youth and Community Project. The user-ran and supervised Indoor Street Corner, for example, converted from the old single-storey, one-roomed Percy Street police station, became the main meeting ground for the young unemployed from Hartingleigh's council estates. The 'snobs', or 'shirtlifters', as the boys from the Kings Road area were homophobically referred, would not use the Indoor Street Corner, preferring instead the relative safety of the more strictly supervised youth clubs held at the Project's original resource centre, located in rooms at the rear of the old Hartingleigh Swimming Baths.

In some respects, the social divisions within the young working class of Hartingleigh at this time represented a contemporary manifestation of the traditional divide between the 'rough' and 'respectable' working class (Frankenberg 1966). According to Mann (1992 : 47-55), this divide has extensive historical antecedents. A snapshot of the respectable working class has been provided by White (1984), the main features of which apply directly to the lives of Denise and her parents:

> "They began in a council house and saved up for their own home ... They live comfortably ... go on holiday most years ... enjoy weekend outings in the car ... Things have worked out well for them. They have moved up the benign spiral of the securely employed" (1985 : 9).

According to Mann's analysis of the Social Division of Welfare (1992), some sections of the 'respectable' working class have enjoyed unprecedented improvements in living standards since the 1940s. A buoyant labour market and the benefits accrued from strong trade unions facilitated this income mobility, the result being increased owner-occupation,

changes in consumption patterns, and occupational welfare and pensions combining to place some workers in a more privileged place in the Social Division of Welfare:

"By exerting a measure of control over the labour market and the labour process, many have been able to escape the clutches of public welfare or to exploit its less stigmatising elements, the NHS and education for example" (Mann 1992 : 104).

By contrast, the 'rough' are those who have been excluded from the labour market, who have found it difficult to resist new working practices or negotiate new ones, who live in "battered and poverty stricken surroundings" (Marsden 1985 : 32), in areas of high unemployment and industrial decline. Sections of the working class who are -

"forced to rely on public welfare and have little chance of escaping from it, who have not been able or allowed to gain skills, or who are trapped in the trench of dependency, are effectively excluded from the benefits of the so-called 'post modern' society. They are in terms of their day-to-day experience in the same social position as the paupers of the 1840s, the 'residuum' of the 1880s and the 'unemployables' of the 1930s" (Mann 1992 : 104).

These are the sections of the 'rough' working class unsympathetically caricatured and demonised by Marsden's description of "people whose physical appearance, shape, complexion, and self-presentation are quite unlike anything seen elsewhere" (Marsden 1985 : 32).

Denise was affiliated to a small group of young people drawn mostly from the terraced streets in the Kings Road area. During the course of my youthwork, this group, the 'snobs' and 'shirtlifters', became increasingly subjected to a process of marginalisation by the majority of users of youth facilities within the Project. A second, much larger group, was drawn into the evolving Youth and Community Project from the surrounding council estates with the Chicken Lane group forming an aggressive and frequently combative nucleus. On numerous occasions, voluntary staff and youthworkers were called upon to resolve heated disputes between the two groups. Competitive rivalries spontaneously sprang up over such issues as boyfriends and girlfriends, clothes, music, hair styles and use of the Project's facilities. The situation eventually led to the institution of a separate 'girls

only' group at the newly built Youth and Community Centre, from which the more vociferous and intimidating 'lads' were excluded.

Despite efforts by Marie Hulton and Gail Hindle, my co-youthworkers who organised and ran the 'girls only' nights at the Centre, the divisions within the girls group remained. Unresolved tensions between the girls concerning boyfriend rivalries fuelled disputes that arose over relatively trivial issues, such as use of the pool tables, and eventually these escalated into a series of physical confrontations. On one occasion, noted in the activities diary kept at one time by Marie and Gail, Denise and her friends were physically attacked outside the Centre by several girls from the estates. Urged on by an ugly crowd of lads which, forewarned by the girls from the estates, had spilled out of the nearby pub to watch, a general mêlée ensued in the street with Centre volunteers and Gail and Marie desperately struggling to intervene and restore order. Denise suffered a badly cut eyebrow in the assault and several of her gold chains were 'lost'. Eventually an uneasy peace was restored when Denise was ferried to a nearby hospital for seven stitches to the cut. Meanwhile, Gail and Marie recovered the stolen jewellery in time to calm the situation and prevent the police being called by Denise's parents.

The escalating level of violence and intimidation could no longer be effectively defused or contained by volunteer staff or youthworkers. Despite the proscription or 'banning' of certain of the Chicken Lane young people, decided at a Management Committee Meeting, the rivalries between groups of young users within the Youth and Community Centre were only resolved when the 'snobs' and 'shirtlifters', including Denise and the group from the Kings Road area, stopped attending the Centre. Gail Hindle in particular unsuccessfully sought to resolve the conflicts by bringing the two groups together in a series of informal meetings. However the mutual antagonisms could not be assuaged. The final meeting organised by Gail typically ended in chaos, with the two groups trading kicks, blows and insults across a neutral divide established by severely harassed youthworkers forcing themselves between the combatants. To this day, aggressive graffiti in and around the

403

Centre testify to the territorial dominance of sub-cultural groups of young Centre users drawn from Hartingleigh's council housing estates. On the main external wall of the Youth and Community Centre, for example, proclaimed in three foot high letters, is the slogan to be found on many of the walls and walkways of the estates: NORTHSIDE JUNGLE NO GO AREA!

The growing social divide between Hartingleigh's 'rough' and 'respectable' young working class is in some respects a division between those from families in work and those from families without work. In the opinion of Centre staff and youthworkers, it was this fundamental social divide which fuelled the antagonisms between those like Denise from the King Road terraces and the young people from Hartingleigh's self-proclaimed 'Northside Jungle'. The divide between the rough and respectable working class is according to Marsden, "one of the great shifting boundaries in English life. It governs who acts in a neighbourly way to whom" (1985 : 32)

6.6.3   Into Work

During the undergraduate years (1982-85) of the 'second phase' of my evolving project, I had no contact with Denise, and it was not until the 'third phase' (1985-86) of preliminary sampling and fieldwork that I was able to re-contact her. By that time, through her mother's considerable influence and support, Denise had moved out of the parental home into a privately rented flat in Prestwich. This was a two-bedroomed, second floor flat in a large sub-divided Georgian house overlooking a local municipal park. She shared the flat with her 'fiancée', Tim, who had graduated in Physics at Manchester Polytechnic and, at the time of my initial contacts, had recently completed post-graduate teacher training.

At our first meeting, recalling the incidents at the Centre several years earlier provided a means of initially 'breaking the ice' and, though the small scar above her eyebrow remained, I was somewhat relieved to discover that Denise's reticence and shyness had dissipated itself with the intervening years. When I mentioned this, she attributed the

change to her relationship with Tim, which, she believed, had given her, "a lot more confidence in myself". She also emphasised the requirements of her work as a dental nurse assistant as being instrumental in breaking down what she described as her, "barriers of shyness". We subsequently met several times at her flat, and once at her mother's new home in Gatley, one of the more 'respectable' residential areas of the Greater Manchester conurbation. After some initial hesitation, I was able to conduct unforced interviews in a relatively informal atmosphere and slowly built up a picture of the significant events and circumstances in her life since she had, "got out of that rat-hole", which is how she described her departure from Hartingleigh.

Denise had started work as a trainee dental nurse assistant and receptionist immediately upon school leaving. In fact, she had officially applied for her job in the Spring of 1980 prior to actually leaving school. Even though she had no formal qualifications, she had replied to an advertisement in the regional newspaper with, as she recalled, some assistance from Gail Hindle at the Project. Gail had constructed and typed Denise's letter of application as a result of the contacts Gail had maintained following Denise's initial interview with her during the Project's 1980 youth survey. Although the advertisement for the job of trainee dental nurse assistant and receptionist had been placed in the regional newspaper, Denise had already been forewarned about the vacancy by her mother. Denise went on to explain that, in her professional capacity as an accounts clerk, her mother over the years had established relatively informal contacts with Jeremy Taylor, the senior dental practitioner at the dental practice for which the trainee vacancy was to be advertised. As part of her work load, Denise's mother had some responsibility for the accounts of the dental practice. Moreover, Denise's mother had even greater influence with Alan Foxton, the second senior partner in the dental practice, as a result of developing what Denise described as an "intimate relationship" with him. Consequently, Denise's mother was able to exert a great deal of influence on her daughter's behalf when the trainee vacancy arose. As Denise confided:

"It was like some mad 'soap' you see on tele ... the job had to be advertised ... but it was set up ... My mum had it sorted with Jeremy [the senior dental practitioner] 'cos she was doing his books and she was 'bonking' Alan [the second senior partner] ... so I had it 'sewn up' actually."

Denise was employed in the "medium size practice" for almost two years between school leaving in July 1980 and late Spring 1982. During this period, she elected to receive additional training 'outside the job' by undertaking a two year dental nurse assistant's course at night school. Her employers did not insists upon this as part of her terms of employment but Denise chose the option to enhance her skills and experience. Her course included aspects of Biology, Nursing and First Aid as well as basic office and receptionist skills such as ,"manual filing and telephone manner". Denise did not however complete her course, retaining an aversion displayed at school for formal examinations: "I didn't fancy the exams ... it was the same at school ... I get all 'panicky' and stupid." However, the 'normative instrumental orientation' to formalised educational processes, identified by Brown's (1987) research into working class educational attitudes, is evident in Denise's claim that: "I learned all the things I really needed to know ... especially the First Aid ... the exams didn't matter to me."

The period between school leaving and starting work in July 1980 and eventually changing jobs in May 1982 was a time of considerable change and stress for Denise, the facts of which cast new light upon her awkward and uncommunicative demeanour during our initial encounters in Hartingleigh. Not only was she making the difficult transition from school into the adult world of paid employment but her parents, who had been married for over twenty years, were at that time in the process of a frequently stormy and painful separation. Her problems with the youth group at the Project exacerbated her sense of isolation, and it is a credit to her emotional resilience that neither Gail nor any of the Project's youthworkers, including myself, had any inkling of the internal turmoil she was enduring. Denise's father eventually moved out of the family home during the Christmas period 1981, a date which coincides with the worst of the conflicts Denise was involved in at the Centre. Her "infatuation" at that time with Togger, one of the 'lads'

from the Jungle, provided the spark which ignited several of her confrontations with the girls from the estates:

> "I was obsessed with him ... I thought he was strong you know, but it was only because I was so messed up with Mum and Dad ... with the rowing and everything ... I suppose they [the girls from the estates] hated me for going out with him ... I think they were jealous ... I was working and we used to go out ... God, they wanted to kill me!".

6.6.4 Leaving Home

In January 1982, shortly after her father's departure, Denise's mother put the family home, "up for sale". By this time, Denise's older sister, following her marriage, had also left the parental home. At this time, confident in her income and job security and with her mother's help and influence, Denise also left, moving into her flat in Prestwich, "a much nicer area" according to Denise. Denise's mother was again instrumental in securing suitable accommodation for her daughter through her "contacts with clients", professional connections secured through her accountancy work. After the sale of the family's former house in Hartingleigh, Denise's mother eventually moved into a new house in Gatley with Alan Foxton, the second senior partner from the dental practice where Denise was employed with whom she had been having what Denise described as "an affair".

By now, Denise had developed strong reservations about her mother's relationship, manifested in the fact that she, "wasn't getting on with Alan at work". Consequently, partly for the sake of change, and partly out of a belated sense of loyalty towards her father, she decided to seek employment elsewhere. Once more, Denise's mother exerted her influence on her daughter's behalf and, in May 1982, shortly after redecorating and moving into her flat, Alan Foxton, after some "quiet persuasion" from Denise's mother, assisted her transfer to a "much bigger and better-equipped dental practice". A move that improved both her monthly salary and conditions of work: "It was nearer the flat, more money, better conditions and less hours ... only a four and a half day week".

Thus by the time of her eighteenth birthday in October 1982, Denise had secured a relatively uncomplicated transition into the adult world of full time employment. Secure in her tastefully decorated and desirably located flat, she was also living independently of her parents and sometimes earning with overtime up to three times the weekly training allowance (£23.50 in 1982) of many of her contemporaries in Hartingleigh, whose post-school transitions had typically placed them into compulsory employment training schemes. Moreover, it was in her capacity as a dental nurse that, in March 1983, Denise first met her future husband, Tim, when he attended an appointment for treatment at the dental surgery where Denise was employed. So began the complementary 'career trajectory' of her entry into adult domestic life and the traditional transition into courtship, engagement, marriage and parenthood.

6.6.5   Courtship

Tim is a tall, slim, dark-haired and, according to Denise, "gorgeously attractive" young man from a solid middle class family in Essex. Tim's father is the managing director of an engineering company employing a workforce of thirty. At the time of his initial meeting with Denise, Tim was twenty-two years old and in the second year of graduate study at Manchester Polytechnic. Denise was instantly attracted to him. As she confided: "As soon as he walked into reception I fancied him ... Tim was different ... I knew straight away ... it was something about him." Denise unfavourably compared the 'lads' she had "been out with before" - at school, in Hartingleigh and more recently since leaving home - with Tim. From the beginning she claimed to have almost intuitively sensed, "something different" about him, a difference I asked her to define:

> **Denise:** "I'd had boyfriends before, at school and the Centre ... you remember Togger ...
> Christ, what a 'dork' ... I can't believe I went out with him ... and the trouble I had, you
> remember ... But Tim was different, I knew right away."
> **S.C.:** "How was he different from the lads at the Centre?
> **Denise:** "God, they were terrible, always fighting and showing off, they thought they
> were really it ... Tim doesn't have that, he's quite calm, mature ... Oh, I don't know ... it's
> hard to say ... the way he looks, something about his voice ... and his clothes ... I just
> KNEW he was different" (my emphasis).

When Denise and Tim started "regularly going out together" following their initial encounter at the dental surgery, Denise's mother became anxious to meet her daughter's new boyfriend. Her approval was secured however after their initial meeting in a "quality restaurant" in the City Centre. As a result of this meeting, she was able to ascertain that Tim, being from a "decent family" and a "degree student with prospects", was a "respectable young man" and "something of a catch for our Denise". Tim's memory of the first meeting with Denise's mother was that, "she gave me the old 'Third Degree', in the nicest possible way of course".

Tim and Denise 'went out' together regularly over the next two years, sharing a wide circle of friends and activities. Denise would share Tim's social life in and around the Polytechnic and often joined Tim and his friends for trips to City Centre discos, cinemas and restaurants. Occasionally, they would go windsurfing together, a sport of which Tim was particularly fond and into which he initiated Denise at the water sports complex situated in the south of the Greater Manchester conurbation. Tim similarly shared Denise's circle of friends in Prestwich, and approximately once a month, at weekends, a group of them would go to Bredbury Hall for a meal and the somewhat exclusive 'members only' discos held there.

During the academic holidays in this period, Denise, her mother and Alan Foxton twice travelled with Tim to meet, and on the second visit to stay, with his parents in Essex. Similarly, on one occasion, Tim's parents visited Manchester for a 'long weekend', staying in the house Denise's mother shared with Alan Foxton in Gatley. Through these meetings, family approval was sought and secured for their deepening relationship and, following his graduation in Summer 1984, Tim felt able to "officially move in" with Denise. Although, as Denise later explained, this was simply a case of "going public", in acknowledging to both families, Tim's parents in particular, that they were now "living together": "Tim had been living here for ages on and off, we just decided to make if official".

6.6.6 Engagement

Cohabitation met with a certain amount of disapproval on the part of Tim's parents, particularly his father, but they were eventually placated when, in October 1984 on the day of Denise's twentieth birthday, Denise and Tim were formally engaged. A dinner and disco at one of the City Centre's more prestigious hotels was organised by Denise's mother, paid for by Alan Foxton. Apart from Denise's mother, sister Cheryl, and Alan Foxton, this "rather grand do", as Denise's mother described it, was attended by Tim's parents and younger sister as well as twenty of Denise and Tim's friends with more attending the disco later in the evening. After the meal, Tim presented Denise with the £470 "sapphire and diamond cluster" engagement ring they had bought together several weeks before. A little later, Denise's mother presented her daughter with her birthday present, the keys to a "Silver A-reg Mini, second hand but in marvellous condition". A car was the birthday present Denise's mother had intended for Denise's 'twenty-first' to complement the driving lessons she had paid for on Denise's eighteenth birthday. However, she decided to bring the idea forward a year as she considered Denise's engagement, coinciding with her twentieth birthday, "a once in a life-time special occasion" that "deserved to be celebrated with a special present."

Prior to her engagement, and shortly after Tim had graduated and they were officially living together, Denise had changed her employers for the second time since starting work in 1980. This move in August 1984 took her to a dental practice in the City Centre, with a larger proportion of private patients, in fact "almost 70% of the case load". The dental practice was one of numerous surgeries located in Manchester's dental equivalent of Harley Street; the original practices had been established by leading dental surgeons and consultants from Manchester's nationally famous University Dental Hospital for their private practice. The move improved her status to that of senior dental nurse assistant, provided her with greater responsibility, a better and more varied workload and, most importantly in terms of her future plans with Tim, increased her gross monthly salary from £290 to £335.

6.6.7   Saving-Up

Denise's change of employers was part of a wider strategy she had extensively discussed and formulated with Tim, a wider strategy that involved prudent financial management and meticulous forward planning which would culminate in their eventual marriage during Summer 1988 and the birth of their first child in November of the same year.

In between, Denise starting her new job in August 1984 and their engagement the following October, Tim had begun postgraduate teacher training with the intention of pursuing a career in teaching.   Aside from the financial gain, Denise's move into City Centre employment enabled them to travel to and from the City together, thus allowing for the sale of Tim's car, one facet of their planned strategy for the future.   Denise and Tim had extensively discussed their future prospects together and had decided to "move out of Manchester in a couple of years time" when Tim had finished his teacher training and probationary teaching period.   Their intention was to marry, "and perhaps start a family" as soon as he was able to gain a fully tenured teaching post.   Towards this end, they had begun "saving for the future" with Denise's improved monthly salary, the sale of Tim's car, and Tim's newly secured "private home-tuition" of prospective GCE   'O' and 'A' level students providing the increased potential for saving.   The home tuition, arranged through a private agency was, at £5 per hour (undeclared and therefore untaxed), highly paid employment which augmented his grant, contributed to their growing savings, and moreover provided experience and credentials to include in his 'C.V.'   Tim gained his postgraduate teaching certificate in Summer 1985 and was immediately offered a temporary teaching contract in the same East Manchester Comprehensive where he had completed the teaching practice that was part of his postgraduate course.   This was for a year beginning in September 1985.   In the meantime, Tim increased the numbers of students and amount of home tuition and also found summer work in a "whole food café" near to the Polytechnic.

411

According to Denise, the period between August 1984, when she changed employers for the second time, and Summer 1986, when Tim completed his probationary teaching, was an extremely significant time in their relationship. Through restricting their social activities in order to "live on one income and bank the other", they were compelled to spend their free-time together at home in Denise's flat. At this time, through sharing a common sense of purpose, she believes their relationship matured: "We grew up both as individuals and as a couple ... the hard work, all the hassles actually deepened our commitment ... our sense of commitment towards each other."

They deliberately "stopped going out" in order to accumulate money for their collective savings which grew rapidly as a result of Denise "working as much overtime as I could", Tim's twelve month teaching salary, and the sale of various items they now considered to be superfluous to their needs, including, for example, most of Denise's collection of gold jewellery, Tim's car, mentioned earlier, as well as his colour television and stereo, and their windsurfing 'gear'. By the end of Tim's probationary teaching period in July 1986, through a combination of prudent financial management and austerity in their social lives, they had, according to Denise, "managed to save almost £9,000".

6.6.8 Home Ownership

In the latter stages of his probationary teaching period, Tim was offered a full-time contract but by that time he had already applied for teaching jobs elsewhere, as both he and Denise were intent upon leaving Greater Manchester. Denise in particular was anxious to "get away" as she believed the City was "no place to bring up kids". Tim unsuccessfully applied for several teaching posts before eventually securing a fully tenured job in a comprehensive school in Norwich. During the summer period 1986, he and Denise travelled to Norwich several times before securing suitable temporary accommodation for them both.

Shortly after Tim had begun teaching, they went house-hunting and, after consultation with both sets of parents, eventually decided to buy a three bedroomed 1930s-built semi-detached house, with large rear and front gardens, situated within twenty minutes drive of the school where Tim was teaching. The decision to buy their own home was made after Denise's mother and Tim's father agreed to contribute £10,000 each towards its purchase, Denise's mother's contribution being the result of money she had invested on Denise's behalf in 1982 following the sale of the original family home in Hartingleigh. Family support thus enabled Denise and Tim to undertake home ownership without being unnecessarily overburdened by mortgage repayments.

During the fourth phase of my research (1986-1990), I was able to visit Denise and Tim three times at their home in Norwich, on two occasions coinciding my visits with trips to 'Carrow Road' to watch the local team, Norwich City, in their matches against Manchester United. In Spring 1988, I also visited them once when they were staying in Manchester at Denise's mother's home shortly before their marriage. Though increasingly infrequent, these contacts were relatively informal, and through them I was able to continue to chart Denise's employment and domestic 'career trajectories' (Roberts 1987); a traditional transition which had thus far taken her from school into primary employment, from courtship into engagement, and from childhood dependence into adult independence and home ownership.

After moving into their home in February 1987, Denise and Tim utilised their savings to carry out some essential repairs and modernisation. Although the property was structurally "in an excellent condition", they decided to replace several windows, repair parts of the roof, repoint the chimneys, and replace the existing bathroom suite with a more modern one, including the installation of a separate shower. They also paid for the house to be completely redecorated, with one of the bedrooms being designated for a nursery. The carpets in the bedrooms had been included in the purchase price and new fitted carpets for the downstairs rooms were paid for by Tim's parents. The fitted kitchen

413

units were also in good condition, but Denise and Tim decided to renew the doors of the units with pine replacement doors. Tim was teaching full-time whilst much of this work was being carried out, so Denise supervised the internal redecoration, and Tim's father stayed with them for three weeks to oversee the work to the roof and windows. The plumbing work in the bathroom was carried out by Tim's uncle, with Tim helping out at weekends.

6.6.9 Marriage and Parenthood

In June 1988, when most of the work to the house was completed, Denise and Tim were married. They decided not to have a formal "church wedding", much to the consternation of "both sides of the family"; nevertheless they all attended the civil ceremony including Denise's father who by this time had remarried. Immediately after the ceremony, Denise and Tim flew to the Seychelles for what Denise described as "the honeymoon of a lifetime". Despite substantial opposition to their plans from both their families, according to Tim (and Denise appeared to be in full agreement with him) "it made more sense to spend money on the honeymoon rather than the pomp and nonsense of a wedding reception".

An early indication of their future plans for parenthood was given to me in May 1988 when I visited them at Denise's mother's home in Gatley where they were staying shortly before their wedding. Denise told me that she had sold her car, the Mini her mother had presented to her on the evening of her engagement to Tim, a date which coincided with her twentieth birthday. The Mini had been replaced by a "Volvo Estate" purchased at a "cut price rate" from Tim's father. Denise confided that this was a practical investment for the future as she believed they would soon require "a more family size car". In the period between this meeting in Spring 1988 and June 1988, when they were married, Denise did indeed "fall pregnant" with their daughter born in the early hours of November 30th 1988. This event was the culmination of a carefully formulated life-plan Denise and Tim had discussed in the months prior to their engagement in October 1984. It saw the final stages

of her 'domestic career transition', a traditional route into adult roles and status that involved home ownership, marriage and finally "starting a family".

Denise had not sought employment since leaving Manchester in August 1986 and, after their first child had arrived, she willingly resigned herself to a domestic career of taking care of her daughter and "looking after the house". She did speak of a planned return to employment at some unspecified time in the future although she was contemplating "only part-time" employment when her daughter was old enough to attend nursery school. However, when I made my final contact with Denise, her attempts to find part-time employment in a dental surgery had been unsuccessful and she had since given birth to another daughter in March 1991. They had decided to have another child because "Tim wanted a boy". As a result, Denise had, for the immediate future, resigned herself to a traditional role of domestic routine and child-care.

6.7   Conclusions

What is evident in Denise, Deirdre and John's post-school transitions is an interrelated pattern of progression to employment being complemented by progression through traditional domestic careers. Denise's transition to work, for example, was facilitated by the significant advantages bestowed by her respectable working class background. Her mother and sister provided role models for work-commitment as a means of self-advancement and, moreover, her mother's prolonged employment in the primary labour market provided the ability to confer both labour market and residential mobility advantages on her daughter through workplace contacts. Success in her chosen occupation ensured Denise a 'getting out' frame of reference.

In all three cases, 'getting on' or 'getting out' frames of reference were reinforced by residential mobility and workplace social contacts, which subsequently resulted in steady relationships and courtship. The traditional transition to employment was in all three cases paralleled by a traditional domestic career transition characterised by extended

courtship, long-term planning, owner-occupation, marriage and parenthood. In this process, the traditional transition to employment provided the parameters for the realisation of adult identites and traditional adult roles and status. The middle class patterns of 'kin-aid' (Bell 1968) were also discernible in the domestic careers of the traditional transitionaries, and for the women there was also evidence of what Goldthorpe and Erikson (1992) have identified as "marital mobility". The experiences of the two women in the "marriage market" conformed to the notion of "marrying up" as identified by Goldthorpe and Erikson (1992 : 254).

Here the traditional transition to adulthood can be viewed as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction which takes place on three different levels (Wallace 1987): through the labour market (the transition from school to work); through the housing market (the transition to residential independence); and through the family (the transition from home of origin to that of destination). In the detail of the case studies in this Chapter, I have sought to draw out and examine the interdependence of these levels of social and cultural reproduction, and the ways in which these three young people from my study group came to be socially reproduced as gendered and classed adult members of society both as domestic workers and within the labour force.

However, it is important to stress the atypicality of these three working class study participants. These young adults were the exception rather than the rule. By securing the right kind of employment in their post-school transitions, they had discovered abilities within themselves they had never thought they possessed and gained considerable satisfaction both from their employment and their lives as a result. What is most striking when comparing the post-school transitions of these participants with others in my study group is how differently they negotiated and perceived their lives and futures. Their adult identities, social skills, self-presentation and self-confidence serve to provide the backcloth against which can be highlighted the alienation or helplessness expressed by other study participants whose post-scool transitions are examined in the following Chapters. The

416

traditional post-school employment, housing, and domestic career transitions of these three study participants, their hopes, plans, and expectations for the future, provide stark contrast to the more forlorn and tenuous hopes, careful fatalism or attitudes of embittered alienation held by others in my study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROTRACTED TRANSITIONS

"I have always felt that to leave school at 16 and to be expected at that age to know how to cope with your life - if you haven't got an obvious talent which can be exploited ... is not entirely sensible. I know I couldn't have done it!"

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES
(ESRC Newsletter 61, November 1987 : 7)

"Oh if only I'd known / I could have been a qualified plumber by now / With me own little van"

KING OF THE SLUMS
(from *Bombs away on Hartingleigh*, quoted in NME 4.2.89)

7.1   Protracted Transitions : Introduction

Until the mid-1970s, the traditional transition to employment, discussed in Chapter Six, was largely the norm for most minimum age school leavers (Wallace and Cross 1991 : 4). In many parts of Britain in the 1960s and 1970s, young people tended to move directly from school into work, occasionally interrupted by short spells of unemployment.   This was certainly the case for the majority of young people who, like the participants in my study, were from working class backgrounds and possessed no educational qualifications (Ashton and Field 1976; Willis 1977).   In the period immediately following school leaving in 1980, the traditional route into unskilled or semi-skilled employment (the typical post-school employment destinations for the unqualified) had all but disappeared for the majority of study participants in Hartingleigh.

Despite regional variations in the levels of youth unemployment, fundamental divisions were engendered during the Thatcher decade between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' and between the 'rich South' and the 'poor North' (Coles 1988 : 2).   In national terms, "the vanishing youth labour market" (Ashton and Maguire 1983), in particular the loss of youth jobs in the unskilled and semi-skilled sectors, had disproportionately affected the unqualified, minimum age, school leaver (Ashton *et al* 1982; Banks *et al* 1992; Furlong

and Raffe 1989; Furlong 1992). Most acutely affected by these changes were young job seekers in areas like Hartingleigh, areas that were historically dependent upon declining traditional industries, such as manufacturing, to employ their indigenous labour force. According to Rees and Atkinson (1982), changes in the industrial structure of employment over the last decade have exacerbated the problem of youth unemployment, rendering the employment prospects of the unqualified job seeker particularly bleak:

> "Those sectors which unqualified young people traditionally enter when starting work for the first time, such as manufacturing ... are exactly those industries which have experienced the greatest number of net job losses in the past decade" (1982 : 3).

Thus, by the time of the first Thatcher-led Conservative government in 1979, the earlier sociological explorations of the traditional post-school transition to employment (e.g. Carter 1966; Maizels 1970) had become redundant.

Contemporary research indicates that young people are tending to accumulate a much greater range of experiences between the end of compulsory schooling and starting work (Banks *et al* 1992; Furlong 1992). Sociologists who have attempted to chart and describe the new and increasingly "uneasy" (Corbett 1990), "ragged" (Wallace 1987), "extended" (Furlong 1992), or "protracted" (Roberts 1987) transitions have identified a large number of overlapping trajectories which young people are following both into the labour market and into adulthood (Banks *et al* 1992; Chisholm *et al* 1990; Clough *et al* 1986; Hollands 1990; Kerckhoff 1991; Wallace and Cross 1991). Research in the 1980s and 1990s suggests that the traditional post-sixteen progression route to jobs is no longer the smooth and rapid transition it had appeared to be in earlier, more prosperous, decades. The recent ESRC 16 to 19 Initiative, for example, has identified no less than ten main "career trajectories" which involve various combinations of post-school experiences. These include youth unemployment, government inspired, training schemes and special programmes, and increased levels of participation in post-compulsory education and training (Banks *et al* 1992: 35-36).

However, during the Thatcher decade, despite the increase in the number of routes young people were able to follow after the age of 16, those, like my study participants, who were socially or educationally disadvantaged remained particularly vulnerable to unemployment. Young people with above average qualifications, from more affluent backgrounds, followed protracted routes into the newly expanded skilled sectors of the labour market, usually following participation in post-compulsory education or high quality, employer led, youth training. According to Roberts: "For middle-class youth, the expansion of professional and management jobs meant that their positions were less vulnerable than before. Their typical problem was to choose between the widening range of occupations at, and routes towards, this level" (1993 : 24-5).

In contrast, for the minimum age, lowly or unqualified school leavers, such as the participants in my study, there was a continuation of the traditional early post-school entry into the labour market (Banks *et al* 1992; Furlong and Raffe 1989; Furlong 1992). As a consequence, disproportionate numbers of unqualified early leavers were increasingly prone to post-school unemployment. Throughout the Thatcher decade and into the 1990s, these young potential workers were, in increasing numbers, recruited onto a variety of inferior, largely community-based, vocational and (un)employment training schemes (see Chapter Four : Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). The early Job Creation Schemes and Youth Opportunities Programme mainly recruited young people without qualifications (Rees and Atkinson 1982; Markall 1982 : 86-90). In a survey of 3,000 young people who joined YOP in 1980, for example, 71% were found to have no qualifications (Bedeman and Harvey 1981).

In earlier Chapters, I have argued that these state policy interventions were based on a pedagogical model of rectifying deficiency, remedying skill shortages and instilling work discipline (Chapter Four, Section 4.5); they have amounted to an implicit "national youth policy" concerned with the containment, control and socialisation of the young working class (Chapter Two, Section 2.6). Recent research has similarly suggested that, as an

influence on employment status, the community-based Youth Training Schemes have provided the least protection against unemployment. Operative since the mid-1980s, and responsible for "warehousing" the unqualified minimum age school leaver, these schemes have simply perpetuated into the 1990s the earlier emphasis on containment and control:

> "The community based YTS schemes had not compensated for ... poor school performance by getting trainees work, but seemed to have performed more of a 'holding' or 'warehousing' function to be followed by unemployment later on" (Banks *et al* 1992 : 37).

Thus, despite the greater variety of pathways young people may now follow from school into employment, contemporary research indicates that, for those who are socially or educationally disadvantaged, the new transitions are no more open than in previous decades (Banks *et al* 1992). In spite of the New Right's proclamations of opportunity, meritocracy, and classlessness, epitomised in the "classless society" discourse of Prime Minister John Major, social class continues to play a powerful role in determining labour market processes and destinations. Social class affects educational outcomes and qualifications remain a crucial influence on labour market experiences, transitions, and destinations (Furlong 1992; Kerckhoff 1990; Bates and Riseborough 1993). These were the overarching factors which formed the background to the labour market experiences of the unqualified minimum age school leavers who were my study participants; participants who sought to negotiate the new and complex post-school transitions to economic independence, and adult roles and status.

7.2   Protracted Transitions Amongst Study Participants

Leaving school in 1980 was not a traumatic experience for the majority of my study participants. In effect, almost half had prematurely left school before their minimum leaving dates through persistent school refusal (Chapter Two, Section 2.7). Many had rejected or failed at academic routes and were determined to gain self-respect, financial independence and adult autonomy through waged employment. They were not afraid of the world of work as this was the culturally perceived route to demonstrating adult status, but they were apprehensive about the prospect of unemployment. They had realistic job

aspirations based on their understanding of local labour market conditions. Russell Robinson, for example, offered the following comments about his future prospects on the final page of his 1980 Youth and Community Project questionnaire:

> "When I leave school, I want to work in the Parks department but I have asked and there
> is no chance, so I think I'll be on a Community Programme or the dole which worries me
> a lot."

Russell's general apprehension was justified, for it was not until six years after school leaving, and following a succession of periods of unemployment, part-time and casual work in secondary labour markets, and three training schemes under the Youth Opportunities Programme that he eventually secured a "proper job" landscape gardening with a private contractor.

Russell and another five participants in my study were the fortunate ones who by the time of the Third Phase (1985-86) of preliminary fieldwork had made a similar protracted transition into primary employment. In contrast, at that time, twenty-five of the thirty-nine participants in my study were unemployed, and the majority of them had been without employment for at least a year. The protracted unemployment was in spite of the persistence of many participants in seeking out and applying for jobs. As noted in Chapter Four (Section 4.4.2), of the nine employed study participants contacted during the Third Phase, six, one female (Amanda Gardiner) and five males (Charlie Dougan, Berksy, Russell Robinson, Mick Kent, and Georgie B) had made protracted transitions into employment. However, this was not a static category and during the Fourth Phase of research (1986-1990) there was some movement among study participants both into and out of employment.

Of the original six protracted transitionaries, five had maintained their employment status throughout the Fourth Phase. The exception was Mick Kent, whose complex and elongated career transition I outlined earlier in Chapter Four (Section 4.4.2). Mick was the unfortunate participant who, following a protracted five year post school transition to work, was eventually made redundant. After exactly three years of "proper" employment,

following this protracted transition, he was once more returned to the dole queue, to undertake his sixth bout of unemployment since school leaving in 1980. Mick had gained his "proper job" as a clerical assistant in a local authority housing department in February 1985. At that time, he had been provided with basic training in computing and was hopeful of "getting on" within the career structure of the housing department. However, in February 1988, as a consequence of the financial 'squeeze' by central government on local authority budgets, he was made redundant. Mick's redundancy occurred as part of a series of 'last in, first out' job shedding within local government departments as a whole. Mick did not find "proper" employment again before 1990 when my research was terminated.

Angry and embittered by his experiences, he abandoned the formal labour market and instead sought out an 'alternative career' with the 'Hoisting Crew' (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.6) within the anti-employment sub-culture of Hartingleigh (see also Chapter Nine). This career development enabled him to reconstruct his identity in terms of oppositionality and combativity towards the conventional world of the ordinary citizen. Despite his best efforts to join this world through conventional work, he perceived it as having fundamentally excluded and betrayed him: "D'ya wanna know what my motto is now, fuck 'em all, fuck 'em all!! ...." His affiliation to the Hoisting Crew provided an alternative route to income, via their organised shoplifting expeditions, which supplemented his basic entitlement from state welfare benefits. Moreover, this career development allowed Mick to salvage some vestige of autonomy and self-esteem through the alternative status systems of the local subcultural milieu (Chapter Eight, Sections 8.4.4 and 8.4.5).

The remaining five protracted transitionaries were, during the Fourth Phase (1986-1990) joined by three other study participants who had moved into primary employment. There were two young women, Tracy Smith and Cathy Tittle, and one young man, Jimmy Bee. In Table 12, I have outlined the main components involved in the post-school transition to primary employment for each of the eight participants who had followed this

elongated progression to "proper jobs". Of course, the actual biographical details of each

participant's movement tnrough the life course is much more complex than can be

displayed in tabulated form. Nevertheless the summaries contained in the Table do

capture something of the complexity of participants' post-sixteen progression and the

implications for participants' movement towards adult autonomy.

TABLE 12: Protracted Transitions to Full-Time Employment in the Formal Sector by Study Participants (Minimum Age School Leavers with no Qualifications)

Study Participants	Main Components of Transitions	Duration of Components	Duration of Transition	Date of Starting Work	Job Description
Amanda Gardiner	Unemployment Unemployment (with vol.wk) Underemployment Government Schemes Informal Work	1yr 4mths 8 mths 1yr 6mths 6 mths 1yr 6mths	5yrs 6 mths	Oct. 1985	Playgroup and Childminder's Assistant (Council Playgroup)
Tracy Smith	Unemployment Government Schemes Informal Work Incarceration	2yrs 2mths 2 yrs 8 mths 1yr 4mths	6 yrs 2 mths	Aug. 1986	Cook (Community Centre)
Cathy Tittle	Unemployment Underemployment Government Schemes	3yrs 7mths 2yrs 8mths 1 yr	7 yrs 3 mths	Sept. 1987	Florist Assistant
Charlie Dougan	Unemployment Government Schemes Incarceration	2yrs 9mths 3 mths 1yr 1mth	4 yrs 1 mth	May 1984	Van Driver (Haulage Company)
Berksy	Unemployment Other (Armed Forces)	2 yrs 4 yrs	6 yrs	May 1986	Yardsman (Builders Merchants
Russell Robinson	Unemployment Underemployment Government Schemes	3yrs 4mths 1yr 2mths 1yr 6mths	6 yrs	April 1986	Landscape Gardener
Georgie B.	Unemployment Government Schemes Full-time Education	1 yr 1 yr 2 yrs	4 yrs	June 1984	Computer Operator
Jimmy Bee	Unemployment Underemployment Government Schemes Informal Work	3yrs 5mths 1yr 9mths 1 yr 1yr 7mths	7 yrs 9 mths	Mar. 1988	Butcher's Assistant

The main components of each participant's protracted transition contains a mixture of

elements including periods of unemployment, punctuated by unemployment with voluntary

work; underemployment including part-time, casual and contract work; government

schemes including YOP, WEEP and Community Programmes; work within the informal

economy; periods in post-sixteen education; periods of incarceration in borstal or prison; and, for one participant, a period in the armed forces.

The different elements within the protracted transitions of study participants are examined in the following section, although here it is worth briefly emphasising that these elements constitute part of an elongated transition to "proper jobs". My analysis is primarily concerned with an examination of the implications of this protracted transition for participants' movement into adulthood, into adult roles and status. Thus this chapter is not an analysis of first work experience. As Table 12 reveals, for most participants, first work experience was achieved through work experience schemes, special measures placements under the Youth Opportunities Programme, Community Programmes, or casual, part-time, or 'fiddle work'. My concern is with these elements only inasmuch as they constitute facets of the protracted transition to what participants have rightly identified as "proper jobs" (that is, adult employment within the primary sectors of the labour market). Often first work experience in part-time or 'fiddle' jobs was only undertaken in the absence of any real possibility for attaining first work experience in proper jobs. "Beggars can't be choosers", as Jimmy Bee put it when discussing his movement from unemployment into part-time work as an office cleaner: "I'd been on the dole for ages, then the part-time came up. What with the unemployment, and the dole hassling me an' all I thought well, beggars can't be choosers".

7.3 Beggars Can't be Choosers : The Main Components of Transitions

7.3.1 Introduction

For each of the eight protracted transitionaries, their initial post-school transitions were unambiguous. They were not the traditional progressions from school to work, but from school into unemployment. The prolonged periods of unemployment which followed their school leaving were, in most cases, punctuated by semi-compulsory participation in training schemes or special programmes, often under the direct, or implied, threat of

benefit withdrawal or suspension. Participants' experiences on schemes generally did not lead into employment and served only to extend their post-school transition to "proper jobs". In only one case (Georgie B) did participation in a specialist computing scheme lead eventually into primary employment (see Section 7.4.1). For two other participants, Amanda Gardiner and Cathy Tittle, work experience schemes enabled them to secure part-time employment which provided them with further work experience; this eventually resulted in the acquisition of full-time jobs. The details of both Amanda and Cathy's post-school transitions are examined in he case studies in Section 7.6.

Two other participants, Jimmy Bee and Russell Robinson, were also able to secure part-time employment during the course of their protracted transitions to proper jobs. In both cases, the recourse to part-time work was a response to protracted periods of unemployment - "beggars can't be choosers" - and also a strategy undertaken to maintain a connection to the adult world of paid employment. As Russell explained:

> "Apart from the schemes, I'd been signin' on for nearly three years [since school leaving]. I was desperate. I don't mind admittin' it. I thought fuck's sake I'm never gonna get a job ... so even though it was only short time I was fuckin' buzzin' ... By then I would've done anythin' for wages."

At the same time (as the earlier quotation from Jimmy Bee revealed), part-time work was also undertaken to allow the two participants some respite from semi-compulsory scheme participation enforced under the threat of benefit withdrawal. In Russell's case, following periods of unemployment punctuated by two schemes, neither of which led into, or provided training for, his desired work in gardening, his benefit was actually stopped. This occurred in 1984 after Russell had refused two further offers of training placements, one on a community-based training scheme and the second within a training workshop. It was as a consequence of this loss of income that a friend of his uncle's enabled Russell to secure temporary part-time work in a large commercial bakery. The job lasted for almost ten months and involved early morning shifts from 5.00 a.m. until 10.00 a.m., four mornings a week. Russell had to leave home at 4.00 a.m. in order to get to work in time by public transport, but the twenty hours work provided him with a gross weekly income

of £80, a weekly amount which, though not excessive, was considerably more than his withdrawn supplementary benefit entitlement of £22.45 (in 1984).

During the period of ten months he was working in the bakery, Russell managed to save enough money to travel abroad in the company of a friend and his girlfriend. It was during the time spent travelling and camping in France that the trio were able to secure casual (agricultural) employment for almost four months, grape and apple picking. This enabled Russell and his companions to considerably extend their holiday and served also to expose him to a range of new situations and experiences. After his return to England in 1985, Russell's protracted transition contained a further period of unemployment and a third 'divvy scheme' before he was able through informal local connections to secure a proper job, labouring for a landscape gardening contractor. In total, it had taken Russell six years, from school leaving in Spring 1980 to effect his protracted transition to primary employment.

7.3.2   Jimmy Bee : Underemployment and Benefit Hassles

Jimmy Bee's post-school transition was similar to Russell's. Since leaving school in 1980, Jimmy had undergone a total of over three years unemployment punctuated by two schemes which did not lead into permanent employment. As a result of pressure to attend a further placement in a Training Workshop, Jimmy decided to take the opportunity of part-time employment as an office cleaner. This was a job his mother enabled him to secure. Jimmy's mother had been similarly employed for over eight years on a part-time basis by the central contractor of a City Centre based industrial cleaning company; and it was her workplace contacts and influence which provided this limited opportunity for her son. Jimmy was employed part-time for almost two years during which he worked for three hours, between 7.00 p.m. and 10.00 p.m., six evenings per week. The eighteen hours work generated an income of £3.50 per hour or £63 per week gross. His wages were paid fortnightly and he collected these from the City Centre office of the cleaning company.

However, in 1986, Jimmy was "laid off" as part of a rationalisation of the work force when the cleaning company lost one of its larger office cleaning contracts. Jimmy once again 'signed on' and sought to claim the higher rate of (contributory) benefit (i.e. unemployment benefit) on the basis of having paid National Insurance contributions for the period he had been employed part-time. Unfortunately, the Unemployment Benefit Office (UBO) who dealt with his claim could trace no record of his National Insurance contributions and his claim for benefit was refused. When Jimmy remonstrated with the UBO staff and protested that he had been in part-time employment and paying National Insurance contributions, the UBO made enquiries with the cleaning company. The UBO was subsequently informed by Jimmy's former employers that they had "no record" of his employment with them; as a result, the UBO rejected his claim for unemployment benefit on the grounds that there were no records of his National Insurance contributions.

In effect, the cleaning contractors had acted illegally by fraudulently deducting National Insurance contributions from Jimmy's wages without having credited those contributions with the relevant Civil Service department. Aside from its cost-effectiveness, from the employer's point of view such fraudulent deception had the added advantage of nullifying the liability employers have of contributing towards PAYE and National Insurance for employees. The cleaning company cynically sought to deny their culpability by subsequently denying that Jimmy had even been employed by them.

As a consequence, Jimmy found himself in a similar position to many young people in the new harsher economic climate; young people who are uninformed about employment practices and who are so desperate for work that they are vulnerable to deception and exploitation by unscrupulous employers. Jimmy's employers failed to supply him with any record of his part-time employment, or National Insurance contributions, even though under employment legislation employers are legally required to provide employees with written documentation of pay and deductions from pay. As a part-time employee, with no previous employment experience, Jimmy had not considered it unusual that there were no

pay slips with his wages, or that there were no other records of his employment or deductions from his pay. Apart from his mother's verbal testimony, Jimmy had no evidence to support the claim he had been employed and that, in fact, National Insurance contributions had been deducted from his pay prior to him claiming unemployment benefit. Moreover, as he had not been credited with National Insurance contributions during the period of his part-time employment, and as he had not registered as unemployed during this period, he was absent from all official records. As a consequence, he was unable to substantiate his status, either as an employed or unemployed person, in the period immediately prior to claiming benefit, and thus he was treated with a great deal of suspicion by the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) to whom he next turned for financial assistance.

When applying to the DHSS for supplementary benefit (the means-tested, non-contributory benefit administered to the unemployed by the DHSS), Jimmy was provided with the claim form 'B1PC', the notorious B1. Claimants are required to complete the form in order to register a claim for supplementary benefit. The B1's notoriety amongst claimants stems from its highly complex format and the fact that the benefit claim form contains questions which require detailed information about all aspects of the claimant's life and circumstances. Unemployed claimants are, for example, required to supply information about last employment, take home pay, when final payments were made prior to unemployment, whether payment for employment remains outstanding, and so on. Such information is required by the DHSS as it has obvious implications for the administration of a means-tested benefit. Thus, for example, if a claimant has received a month's wages as final payment prior to claiming supplementary benefit, such income would be taken into account when assessing benefit entitlement. Effectively supplementary benefit is not paid for any period covered by final pay from employment, even if an employee worked several weeks 'in hand' at the beginning of employment, or if final wages include payments for holiday pay entitlement.

To substantiate a claim for supplementary benefit, the onus is on the unemployed claimant to supply evidence of final payments from employment; as such, the claimant is generally required to provide evidence of last wages in the form of wage slips. Further evidence is also required by the DHSS to substantiate that employment was not terminated 'voluntarily', or on the basis of 'misconduct', as both routes into unemployment constitute grounds for 'benefit suspension'. Jimmy was unable to provide the DHSS with any evidence of his employment with the cleaning company, such as an employment contract; nor was he able to supply wage-slips showing his final payment, or evidence of the terms of his involuntary job termination, as the cleaning company has supplied him with none of these things. Moreover, when the DHSS made their own enquiries with the cleaning company, Jimmy's former employers once again denied that he had actually been employed by them. Their denial cast a shadow of doubt over the very authenticity of his claim. As a consequence, through no fault of his own, Jimmy was caught between the rules and regulations governing eligibility to both contributory and non-contributory benefits.

Neither the UBO nor the DHSS, the two benefit agencies who dealt with his claim for financial assistance as an unemployed person, would accord Jimmy benefit entitlements. The UBO had rejected his claim on the basis that there was no record of his National Insurance contribution, and the DHSS suspended benefit entitlement for six weeks because Jimmy was unable to produce the necessary evidence to substantiate his claim. Neither agency sought to further investigate the employment practices of the cleaning company. Denied income in the period immediately following his part-time work, Jimmy was compelled to seek casual employment within the informal sector of the local labour market.

7.2.3   Fiddle Jobs and Acquisitive Crime

In all, three of the eight participants in my study who made protracted transitions to primary employment, had recourse to the option of 'fiddle work' within the legal, but undeclared 'cash-in-hand' local informal economy. Amanda Gardiner, for example, was

employed within the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project during the course of her post-school transition. Amanda worked as an assistant with the Community Playgroup and also the 'Mums and Toddlers' group within the Project, and for almost eighteen months was paid cash-in-hand from the Project's petty cash expenses. This enabled her to continue benefit claims and entitlement whilst she simultaneously maintained her standard of living and pursued her work for the Project (see Section 7.6.2). Similarly, Tracy Smith and Jimmy Bee were both, at different times, employed on a cash-in-hand basis by the Donaghue family (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8.2) for working on the market stalls they owned and administered.

In Jimmy Bee's case, the unscrupulous deception perpetrated by the cleaning company which had formerly employed him, together with his experiences of unsympathetic and unfair treatment by the two benefit agencies discussed earlier, introduced a hardened cynical edge to his approach to economic life. After Jimmy had secured work with the Donaghues on one of their market stalls, he continued to sign on as unemployed and was eventually allowed to register a claim for supplementary benefit with the DHSS. At the same time, he gradually evolved various techniques for short-changing customers at the market stall in order to further supplement his income. As he put it, "the name of the game" had become "lookin' after number one".

Some participants had followed this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion and, during the course of their transitions to primary employment, had opted for fully illegal, anti-employment modes of income acquisition, such as shoplifting and handling stolen goods (Tracy Smith), robbery and theft (Charlie Dougan), or burglary (Berksy); activities which in all three participants' post-school transitions had resulted in the attention of the police and the courts. For Tracy Smith (sixteen months imprisonment) and Charlie Dougan (thirteen months 'borstal training'), their eventual incarceration interposed a further time gap in their protracted transitions to 'proper jobs' However, amongst the protracted transitionaries, the recourse to acquisitive criminality was a fairly limited option,

one which was pursued intermittently and without much 'success'. The most common post-school experience was generally that of protracted bouts of unemployment punctuated by government schemes.

7.4   Schemes as Transitional Routes

Over the last decade, schemes have become important routes between school and work for an increasing number of young people. Of the eight study participants who had effected protracted post-school transitions to primary occupations, seven had undertaken one or more varieties of employment training scheme. In the main, scheme participation did not lead into employment and generally served only to delay participants' transitions to 'proper jobs'.

Although schemes provide a route which most young people will follow at some point in their post-school transitions, few of the better qualified school leavers experience them (Furlong 1992; Banks et al 1992). Schemes tend to be stratified so that unqualified school leavers and those with some leaving qualifications are unlikely to enter the same types of scheme (Banks et al 1992; Bates and Riseborough 1993). In the best kind of schemes, described by Raffe (1987) as "sponsorship", something akin to a traditional apprenticeship was on offer, with the added advantage for girls that they were not excluded. Although such schemes were known about in the local grapevine, only one study participant (Georgie B.) secured this type of training placement. Employers who were responsible for the administration of schemes in the "sponsorship" sector could afford to be selective in their recruitment of trainees and generally some level of school, or post-school, qualification was required. Once placed on such a scheme, the young trainee was almost certain to continue into full-time employment (Banks et al 1992; Bates and Riseborough 1993; Raffe 1987). This was the outcome for Georgie B. whose specialist computing Data Processing Threshold Scheme followed on from two years post-school education and led directly into full-time employment as a computer operator (Section 7.4.1).

432

Most schemes undertaken by study participants were "contest" or "sink" schemes (Roberts and Parsell 1989). Writers, such as Lee *et al* (1990) and Jarvis and Prais (1988), have illustrated how schemes in the "contest" sector have been abused by employers as a means of subsidising recruitment procedures. In such cases, far more trainees were taken on than the employer actually needed for the workforce and then, on the basis of "job performance", a few would be retained. In Hartingleigh, for example, several participants had encountered such exploitative treatment at the hands of one particularly notorious regional department store (see, for example, the experiences of Wendy Fisher, highlighted in the case study - Chapter Four, Section 4.5.2).

In the early 1980s, the department store developed a local reputation for abusing the schemes by over-recruiting trainees for training placements. Anecdotal evidence collected by community activists in North Manchester suggested that the work experience schemes administered by the department store provided no real training in the terms trainees were recruited for (usually retail selling), nor were trainees offered permanent employment at the end of the scheme. The store's management policy of recruiting large numbers of MSC subsidised trainees for a range of menial, unskilled tasks (such as cleaning, dishwashing, packing, etc.), under the guise of training for retail sales, was subsequently the focus for lobbying and picketing organised by an *ad hoc* federation of local community activists and ex-trainees (*Hartingleigh Wurlitzer* 13.2.83). As a result of this local pressure, the department store was eventually subjected to investigation by the MSC and subsequently forfeited its role as a work experience sponsor and administrator.

Charlie Dougan was one of four study participants who had undertaken work experience scheme placements at the store. Charlie had been recruited after a post-school period of unemployment which had lasted for twelve months; his training was to have been in the retail sales section of the 'gents' outfitters'. However, after three months, he abandoned the scheme without having been provided with any work experience in retail selling. As Charlie recalled:

"I sussed it right off, it was bollocks. Do this, do that ... mop floors, clean fuckin'
windows ... I was supposed to be learnin' gents' outfittin' - that's why I did it in the first
place. I thought I'd be able to 'ave a few bits an' pieces away ... It was bollocks, I never
got nowhere near the fuckin' clothes ... just moppin' an' carryin' ... I thought fuck it ... 'ad
it away after a bit ... I couldn't stand it ... It's like them schemes ... they just rip you off
an' fuck you about, an' some dick 'ead tellin' you what to do ... No danger, I was off ... no
sense in carryin' on when you've sussed it, you're just a mug if you do."

Further evidence suggests that even the more 'honourably' administered schemes in the contest sector imparted only very basic skill levels and, if employer-led, were often so job specific that they had little currency in terms of experience or credentials for the external labour market (Jarvis and Prais 1988; Lee *et al* 1990; Roberts and Parsell 1989).

The most common form of schemes available to the protracted transitionaries were the community-based "sink" schemes (Roberts and Parsell 1989). The sink schemes were common in the transitions of most participants in my study. In the main, these community-based schemes were detached from, and provided little access to, the processes of recruitment and selection within the labour market and have been described by Raffe (1987) as the "detached sector". According to Banks *et al*, on the sink schemes, "trainees were basically in a waiting room ... to join an extended job queue. They could lose their place in the queue through poor attendance, work records or references, but it was more difficult for them to enhance their past prospects through extra effort on the scheme" (Banks *et al* 1992 : 42).

Tracy Smith's experiences of a twelve month placement on a Community Programme (CP) illustrates the holding, or warehousing, function of such schemes. Tracy's CP was one of three sink schemes she had undertaken since school leaving. Her first two placements were six month schemes organised through the Youth Opportunities Programme, one was a community placement in a local day-care centre for the elderly, and the second a work experience scheme in an office of the social services department (a placement that was also undertaken by Cathy Tittle). Neither of these six month schemes resulted in full-time employment for Tracy.

Tracy's third scheme, the twelve month Community Programme, was a placement secured through her probation officer. This followed Tracy's early release from prison on parole. Her CP was one of several schemes administered locally by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO):

> "NACRO's CP schemes aim to provide up to twelve months employment for ex-offenders and others who are the most disadvantaged ... The schemes offer a service for those who have been in prison or before the courts, those who have poor, if any, work records, and those who find it particularly difficult to find work" (NACRO 1985a : 2).

In 1985, through grants provided by the Home Office and the MSC, NACRO was administering: 45 Youth Training Schemes (under the community-based Mode B1 option of YTS); 84 Community Programme schemes; and 13 Voluntary Project Programme schemes. In total NACRO provided 13,500 placements for trainees throughout England and Wales (Crow et al 1985 : 2). However, NACRO scheme administrators explicitly acknowledged that the purpose of the schemes was not to provide full-time employment: "The number of full-time jobs obtained by participants was seen only as a crude measure of success ... it was recognised that what the schemes could do to ensure this happened was limited " (Crow et al 1985 : 18). Instead the containment function of the NACRO-administered schemes was overtly stated:

> "The schemes would limit, reduce, contain and diminish offending in one way or another. At the most basic level, the balance of common sense suggests that whilst someone is engaged in one activity they're probably not engaged in another" (Crow et al 1985 : 18).

As far as young people were concerned, it was the hope of NACRO scheme administrators that "the best thing the schemes could aim to do was stretch out the period between offences in a constructive was" (ibid : 19).

Tracy Smith's potential for re-offending was "constructively contained" on an 'urban improvement scheme' under the NACRO Community Programme. This included clearing gardens for the elderly, reclaiming derelict land, refurbishing second-hand furniture, and internally painting and decorating a Local Authority building. Tracy Smith's experiences reproduced that of other study participants on community-based sink schemes. She

similarly testified to the weak and inadequate training structures: "The supervisor kept goin' missin' ... an' when we was left to paint ... offices there were no brushes ... fourteen tins of undercoat an' no brushes ... it was like a bloody circus except we were the clowns". Inadequate training and the low level of skills imparted serve to confirm the containment function of the NACRO schemes and belie the claim that "the schemes should enable workers to learn and practice new work skills which ... will increase their chance of securing permanent employment" (NACRO 1985a : 3).

After a protracted post-school transition which lasted for over six years, Tracy eventually obtained permanent, full-time employment as a cook within the Youth and Community Centre of the Hartingleigh Project. This was employment secured through informal contacts with women workers at the Centre, and was totally unconnected to the two years of "employment training" schemes she had endured since school leaving. Tracy was still employed by the Project when I last contacted her in 1992.

Out of the eight protracted transitionaries, two study participants had secured their full-time employment - proper jobs - as an indirect consequence of their training schemes. In Amanda Gardiner's case, her first proper job in a Local Authority funded playgroup reproduced the kind of work she had been involved in on her community-based scheme within the Hartingleigh Project. Her scheme within the Project's Community Playgroup and 'Mums and Toddlers' group supplied training and experience for her subsequent employment.

Although Cathy Tittle's second six-month work experience scheme in a florists shop did not result in permanent employment, the scheme, like Amanda Gardiner's, similarly provided her with employment credentials. The experience and training in retail floristry subsequently enabled her to obtain part-time work in a second City Centre florists. After over two and a half years of part-time employment within this florists, Cathy's status was

upgraded to that of full-time employee. Both Amanda and Cathy's post-school transitions are examined in detail in Section 7.6

In only one case, that of Georgie B, did post-school education, followed by participation in a specialist Data Processing Threshold computing scheme, lead directly to primary employment.

7.4.1   Georgie B. : "A Decent Scheme and a Decent Career"

Georgie B. was originally contacted by the Project in 1979, some two years after his family had moved to Hartingleigh from Sheffield where his father had formerly been employed in the steel industry. Following his father's redundancy and a subsequent three year period of unemployment, Georgie's parents had left Sheffield and bought and moved into a terraced house in the King's Road area of the ward. The family had made this move after Georgie's father had, through extended family contacts, managed to secure a semi-skilled job in a local paintworks.

Georgie was originally drawn into the Project's developing Youth Group by Jim Donovan, the Project's neighbourhood worker, as a result of being 'rescued' by Jim from the midst of a melee of taunting, intimidatory youths in the superstore car park. Georgie was eventually included in Jim's ten interviewees during the Project's 1980 Youth Survey, and was subsequently encouraged by Jim to attend early Youth Group meetings and youth clubs organised by the evolving Project. A frail, quiet, shy and sensitive boy, Georgie had not fared well in this introduction to the Project's developing Youth Group. Drawn into the group from the Kings Road area, Georgie suffered from the same processes of exclusion and stigmatisation outlined in Denise Weldon's case study in Chapter Six (Section 6.6.2). Characterised as a "snob", "shirtlifter" and "mong" (which is a disablist, pejorative diminution of mongol, that is Down's Syndrome) by the dominant group within the Youth Club, Georgie was subjected to a continuous process of verbal and (when youthworkers were unable to intervene) occasionally physical bullying. Often when

attending early Youth Group meetings, these incidents would leave him shaken and in tears.

In part, Georgie's physical and emotional frailty was the result of a combination of childhood ailments including eczema, diabetes and asthma, which, though he was a bright and intelligent boy, had impeded his development both socially and educationally. As an only child, protective parenting and the tendency of his illnesses to produce repeated school absences had affected his acquisition of educational qualifications and interactive social skills. Lack of the latter left him helplessly unable to engage in, or cope with, the continuous barrage of banter and horseplay within the Youth Group. The constant explosive combativity of the group within the confined spaces of Youth Group meetings seemed to overwhelm Georgie, who, when not engaged in enlisting adult support, retreated into a defensive reaction of bewildered insularity. This tendency was retrospectively explained by him as a consequence of his illnesses ("I felt rough most of the time"); school absenteeism ("I was never there to make friends"); overprotective parents ("They never wanted me to go out - my mother thought I was always on the point of going into a coma"); and his parents' move, when he was thirteen, from the area in Sheffield where he had "lived and grown up":

> "I never really got over it [moving from Sheffield to Hartingleigh] ... it seemed like a
> different world, full of lunatics who hated me and strange, distorted people ... Of course
> I never understood that's exactly how they were seeing ME ... But they were so cruel, it
> seemed impossible to fit in."

His increasingly withdrawn and disjointed mien, together with a pronounced Yorkshire accent ("They kept saying I was a Leeds [United Football Club] fan, I've never been to Leeds and I don't even like football") ensured that he remained isolated. Georgie was encouraged to attend early youth clubs held by the Project in the company of a small group of young people from the Kings Road area. The Kings Road group were collectively labelled "snobs and shirtlifters" by the majority of Youth Group members drawn from

Hartingleigh's council housing estates. However, even within the Kings Road group of young Project affiliates, Georgie occupied an insular, marginalised position.

Georgie's saving grace, main interest and hobby, was one of the earliest commercially available home computers, bought for him by his parents when he was fifteen. Georgie's isolationist hobby enabled him to retreat from the harsh 'cut and thrust' of youthful street life in Hartingleigh into a private world of fantasy, role-play, space-invader, and puzzle-solving, computer games, a hobby that took him off the streets, away from the cruel taunts, and into the private domain of his attic bedroom. Here instructions contained in the specialist home computer games magazines to which he subscribed enabled him to extend his keyboard skills, initially through the simple programming of computer games. Utilising early programming codes such as BASIC (Beginners Allpurpose Symbolic Instruction Code), Georgie began to lay the foundations for this future career.

As a result of his childhood ailments and repeated school absences, Georgie had failed to gain qualifications upon school leaving. However, despite this early setback, he left school with the firm intention of seeking "a job involving computers"; an employment aspiration recorded in his 1980 Youth Project questionnaire and one that was reflective of his all consuming interest and hobby. In his early post-school period, and with the guidance of Jim Donovan at the Project, Georgie wrote to every computer company in the Greater Manchester area. However, despite his persistence in seeking first work experience in computing, for almost a year Georgie was unemployed. He did not register as unemployed because his parents did not wish him to, thus for this period he was entirely financially dependent upon them.

In the summer months of 1981, Georgie's father found a better paid job in a small engineering works in Oldham, a small ex-cotton town some twelve or so miles from Hartingleigh. Shortly afterwards, the family sold their home and moved to Lees, a suburb on the outskirts of Oldham, much closer to his father's new place of work. Shortly after

this move, he attended an interview, arranged by his parents, with the local careers officer. During the interview, it was suggested to Georgie that, in view of his interest in computers, he should undertake a specialist course that was run at his local Technical and Further Education College. The course, organised through the National Computer College, offered basic training in computing and computer operating and included "data bases, spreadsheets and desk top publishing". Although primarily College-based, during the two years training, Georgie was also able to undertake two three month 'industrial placements' and he described these as being "a very useful means of acquiring relevant skills". At the end of the two year course, trainees were offered secondment with computer companies under a specialist twelve month training scheme, also sponsored by the National Computer College, called the Data Processing Threshold Scheme. Georgie's twelve month placement was with DEC (Digital Equipment Corporation), a large multi-national computer organisation which took several trainees from the College-based course Georgie attended. Here Georgie's skills were exercised in an industrial context and he acquired all the basic elements of commercial computer operating including "loading discs and tapes onto computers and running programmes". This was a "decent scheme" which would lead to a "decent career" in the computer industry.

At the end of the twelve month placement, Georgie was quickly able to find employment with a personalised printing company who utilised CAD (Computer Aided Design) and CAM (Computer Aided Manufacture) for their printing processes. The firm produced items like "business cards, letter heads, concert tickets and so on", as well as "personalised and business stationery of all kinds". In 1986, as a result of this employment, Georgie was the most highly paid of all the employed participants in my study; he earned a net monthly salary of £840 for a thirty-seven hour week. Occasional overtime and weekend work could boost this monthly income to over £1,000 (net).

Georgie maintained continuous employment with the printing company up until my last contacts with him in 1992. However, during our last conversation, he expressed the

desire for career advancement from computer operating into programming. Towards this end, he had been seeking out and applying for jobs throughout Great Britain and was hopeful of a career move in the near future as a result of two interviews he was awaiting; one with an international company based in London and another with a UK-based company in St. Albans. Georgie anticipated securing one of these jobs which would increase his salary, provide more varied and challenging work, and enable him to contemplate an employer-assisted move to the South of England.

7.4.2 Protracted Transitions and Government Schemes :
A Concluding Discussion

Clearly, Georgie's experiences of scheme participation were the exception rather than the rule. Generally, participation in what were derogatively described as "poxy", "manky", "divvy", or "Mickey Mouse" employment training schemes did not produce full-time employment, and served mainly to 'warehouse' participants' employment aspirations. The significance of youth training for early post-school transitions is the potential value they hold for the progression to proper jobs. As the MSC rhetoric proclaims, scheme participation -

> "provides training for people who want to brighten up their job prospects by adding to skills they've already got or by learning new skills employers are calling for ... A job after training? We can't guarantee you one. But with your new or improved skill and the MSC's own job finding service, you've got a better chance" (cited in Coffield et al 1986 : 103)

The difficulties most participants had in getting jobs after schemes created a local folk lore about their exploitative, containment, or 'slave labour', qualities. Participants had a short-term instrumental orientation to schemes, often viewing them as an inferior substitute for work. Often scheme participation was enforced under the threat of benefit suspension or withdrawal, and two participants (Russell Robinson and Jimmy Bee) undertook unskilled part-time and casual work rather than the schemes that were offered. When placed on schemes, participants usually encountered a degree of employer exploitation, insufficient pay, and no guarantee of employment at the end of training. Thus, despite all the efforts of Tory governments to establish a universal "training culture"

(Banks *et al* 1992) on Continental lines, there was little indication amongst study participants that they had taken it on board. The protracted transitionaries were characterised by an overwhelming desire for "proper jobs".

7.5 Protracted Transitions and Work Commitment

The protracted transitions of each of the eight study participants were characterised by extended bouts of post-school unemployment. Protracted periods of unemployment did not, however, lead to labour market withdrawal or an erosion of work commitment. The introduction of government-inspired training schemes and special programmes were partially influenced by a concern that young people who spent part of their formative post-school years without employment would not develop a commitment to work. According to some commentators, for example:

> "Young people who remain unemployed for a long time tend to turn away from values and standards that are considered important in our society, as a result of which they are no longer found suitable to take part in the process of labour - not even when there are plenty of jobs" (Jehoel-Gijsbers and Groot 1989 : 492).

Although labour market withdrawal was a significant factor in the post-school transitions of study participants who had retreated into 'alternative careers' within Hartingleigh's sub- and anti-employment subcultures (a strategy which brought positive psychological benefits), for the protracted transitionaries work commitment was generally maintained during their bouts of unemployment. In Amanda Gardiner's case, for example, despite a protracted transition to full-time employment which lasted for over five years, part-time, voluntary, contract, and informal work for the Youth and Community Project, enabled her to maintain an almost continuous association with the routines and disciplines of employment. Similarly, the periods of casual, informal, or part-time work undertaken by Cathy Tittle, Russell Robinson, Tracy Smith and Jimmy Bee ensured them a tentative connection to the world of paid employment and to employment commitment.

Although Georgie B. effected a four years post-school transition to his first full-time job, without recourse to casual or part-time work, Georgie's work commitment was

sustained through training in education and on the specialist computing scheme he undertook in pursuit of his desired occupation. Similarly Berksy's period of army enlistment provided him with a framework of work discipline and commitment which subsequently enabled him to secure employment after his army discharge.

The eight protracted transitionaries were characterised by a general commitment to work, in part due to the example of the employment of family income providers. In six out of eight cases, the families of the protracted transitionaries included main income providers (usually fathers) who were in full-time employment. Georgie B.'s father was, for example, during the course of my study, employed in semi-skilled work in a paint manufacturers and later in an engineering works; Charlie Dougan's step-father was employed as a bus driver; Amanda Gardiner's father was employed as a health and safety officer within the local authority; Cathy Tittle's father worked as a builders labourer, and her mother was also employed part-time in a bakers shop; Berksy's parents were both employed, his father as a council labourer and his mother as a part-time cleaner in a primary school; and Jimmy Bee's mother was employed part-time as an office cleaner. In contrast, the long-term unemployed participants in my study were characterised by families within which there was generally a prolonged history of parental and sibling unemployment. The long-term unemployed participants had typically replaced commitment to the orthodox formal labour market in favour of 'alternative careers' within the informal sector, or fully illegal modes of income acquisition within the anti-employment subculture.

According to Hayes (1970), family influences are highly significant in the development of occupational aspirations, although other research has also emphasised the significance of social class (Banks *et al* 1992; Furlong 1992), gender (Griffin 1985; Wallace 1987), and opportunities within the local labour market (Banks *et al* 1992; Ashton *et al* 1988). Other research has directed attention to the ways in which work attitudes are generated within a particular community or work environment (Goldthorpe *et al* 1968; 1969). The

combination of such factors produces a set of local experiences and these experiences ultimately give form to employment attitudes and commitment (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.4.4).

The families of the protracted transitionaries could generally be situated at the mid-point of the rough-respectable continuum. Apart from Georgie B., whose parents lived in the Kings Road district of 'respectable' owner occupied terraced houses (at least during the early period of his post-school transition) and Berksy and Charlie Dougan (who were from families who lived on the 'rough' Chicken Lane estate), the remaining five protracted transitionaries were drawn from families who lived in Hartingleigh's Canton and Marton council housing estates. In terms of local attitudes and perceptions, the Canton and Marton council estates were considered not as 'respectable' as the Kings Road district, but not as 'rough' as the 'Jungle' (Chicken Lane estate); for a detailed explanation of these social divisions, see Chapter Four (Section 4.2.1).

In Chapter Six (Sections 6.3 and 6.4), I sought to highlight the significant advantages 'respectable' working class families can bestow on family members seeking work in a restricted labour market. The factors that were significant included secure housing status (owner occupation); a family background of work commitment as a source of intrinsic satisfaction and self advancement; a family history of members' prolonged employment, and the consequent ability to confer labour market advantages on job-seeking siblings through informal workplace contacts. These were the factors that distinguished the three participants in my study who had successfully secured a traditional post-school transition directly to employment from the vast majority who had not. In contrast, the income providers within the families of the protracted transitionaries were generally employed in low-skilled or unskilled jobs or were unemployed. As such, family members were unable to supply the same social or labour market advantages as the family members of the traditional transitionaries. Moreover, in terms of the employment commitment conferred by working class respectability (Chapter Six, Section 6.3), the income providers within the

families of the protracted transitionaries tended to view work as a means to an end, not as a method for social advancement or as a source of intrinsic satisfaction (Ashton and Field 1976). As a consequence, the main income providers within the families of the protracted transitionaries generally viewed employment status as forming a more peripheral part of their overall self image than did the income providers within the families of the traditional transitionaries discussed in Chapter Six. Within the families of the protracted transitionaries, few inherent satisfactions were expected from employment. As Furlong has similarly argued:

> "Many jobs are alienating and produce few rewards. In these circumstances, satisfactions are not gained through work but through material rewards or participation in shop floor cultures ... Commitment at this level is not necessarily linked to any of the inherent satisfactions which may be gained from work as an activity. Commitment to work may be simply due to the importance of the material rewards to be gained from employment, in which case lack of satisfaction from life without a job can often be tied to the importance of money" (Furlong 1988 : 122).

Research has indicated that many of those young people from the lower working class, destined for low skilled and unskilled jobs, leave school with a peripheral interest in work as a domain of potential personal achievement or source of social advancement (Ashton and Field 1976; Willis 1977). Contemporary research undertaken since the onset of mass youth unemployment has similarly illustrated how work-centred attitudes are developed in "alienated" or "alienated instrumental" terms by many young people seeking low skilled jobs (Brown 1987; Jenkins 1983). In Jenkins's research, for example, even the less alienated 'ordinary kids' of his study were "most interested in wages, followed by the kinds of work they would be asked to do" (1983 : 75).

The distinction between modes of work commitment is significant. Apart from Georgie B. who had more in common with the "getting on, getting out" frames of reference of the traditional transitionaries (who were similarly distinguished from their contemporaries by a background of parental working class 'respectability' - Chapter Six, Sections 6.3 and 6.4), the protracted transitionaries were generally characterised by the alienated orientation to employment. The alienated orientation gives rise to a "getting in" frame of reference.

According to Brown (1987), the overwhelming desire is to get "in" to the adult working class culture through employment and the income derived from employment: "Here there is a concern to 'get into' the ... world of working class adults and employment at the earliest possible opportunity" (1987 : 31). The overwhelming desire of the protracted transitionaries to "get into" employment was not informed by a concomitant desire to enter work for its intrinsic satisfactions, or as a means of social advancement, but rather to attain adult autonomy by earning a wage; to get into the adult working class world through work.

Ashton (1986) has suggested that employment commitment is often defined in terms which are imbued with middle class attitudes and values. Thus, for example, the middle class commitment to work shares the assumption contained within Weber's definition of the 'Protestant Work Ethic', namely that work is regarded as a moral duty and people are seen as gaining self-fulfilment and self-expression through employment participation. In reality, work holds little intrinsic value for a significant proportion of the labour force save only instrumentally in terms of its provision of income. Thus, the protracted transitionaries generally did not regard work as an important feature of their lives in terms of the satisfactions to be gained from work achievements. Employment was not crucially central to their self-concept. Instead work commitment was sustained because of the realisation that work provides the key to material satisfactions and the enjoyment of non-work time. As Russell Robinson put it:

> "It's not like I wanted summat posh in an office ... just a job's all was askin' ... just a job an' a wage. I didn't care what it was ... I wasn't fussed ... I'd do anythin' as long as it pays."

Or, as Tracy Smith proclaimed:

> "I never expected to be drivin' a Porsche ... all I was after was a decent wage."

And, as Jimmy Bee argued:

> "No work means no money, no money means no goin' out, no goin' out means you're stuck in the 'ouse all the time, stuck in the 'ouse all the time means you go off your bloody 'ead."

446

7.5.1 Job Seeking

Evidence for the non-erosion of work commitment of the protracted transitionaries could be gleaned from the amount of dedicated effort they devoted to job hunting. Even in the face of months and sometimes years of fruitless job searching, rejection by potential employers, exploitation and inadequate training on schemes, the failure of such schemes to subsequently produce employment, and despite the significant periods of time participants spent in casual, contract, informal and part-time work, the protracted transitionaries, nevertheless, maintained their commitment to finding "proper" jobs.

There were three main approaches undertaken by participants in the search for jobs: through formal agencies including the Job Centre and Careers Service; through contacting employers directly either by letter, telephone or in person; and through informal agencies such as relatives, friends or local connections.

Sometimes the frustrations of fruitless job seeking were exacerbated by the insistence of the formal job finding agencies, the Job Centre or Careers Service, that participants should frequently attend interviews to substantiate they were "actively seeking work". The direct or implied threat of benefit withdrawal or suspension ensured a reluctant compliance with such bureaucratist demands. Inappropriate and "Mickey Mouse" schemes were also recruited for by Careers Officers using the same financial threat. Participants also complained of job cards, the system used to advertise vacancies in Job Centres, actually disguising schemes as jobs. Unwittingly, participants would make enquiries about what they took to be a proper job - on the basis of information supplied on a job card - only to be told by the Job Centre staff that the job was in fact a scheme. The unwitting participant would then be invited to register for the scheme. As Charlie Dougan exclaimed after one such encounter at the Job Centre: "For fuck's sake, talk about the 'ard sell ... you'd think the bastards were on a percentage or somethin'".

The careers officers were also criticised by participants for emphasising the importance of further education and formal training in the search for employment; hence their values were directly at odds with those of most study participants who were generally antipathetic to school and post-school educational goals. As Brown has emphasised, for those seeking to "get into" the adult working class:

> "Their future reference is the world of working class adults rather than the world of 'school kids', and they will leave school and find employment at the first opportunity in order to have money in their pockets and claim adult independence (Brown 1987 : 105).

As Russell Robinson proclaimed: "I didn't want to go to college, they [the Careers Office] kept sayin' why don't you go to college. I couldn't get through to them ... the only reason I was there was 'cause I wanted a job".

Such experiences ensured that, among study participants, there developed an attitude of suspicion and hostility towards these formal mediating agencies. The popular view was that the Job Centre and Careers Service, like the Department of Health and Social Security, functioned not to help, but rather to harass and humiliate them. In only one case, that of Georgie B. examined earlier (Section 7.4.1) did guidance by the Careers Service result in post-school education. Georgie's two year college course in basic computing led into a "sponsored sector" scheme (Roberts and Parsell 1989) and was eventually followed by full-time employment.

Other formal mediating agencies were the local and regional newspapers. Cathy Tittle, for example, secured her first part-time employment in a City Centre florists by responding immediately, in person, to a job she saw advertised in the regional newspaper. The part-time work enabled Cathy to gain a tentative foothold in the labour market and eventually her job was upgraded to permanent full-time employment (see Section 7.6.3)

Participants also undertook the strategy of travelling to the City Centre printers of the regional evening newspaper in order to secure its earliest editions, which were available

from mid-day onwards. After such an edition had been obtained and ready armed with a pocketful of ten pence pieces, participants would race to the nearest public telephone box to pore over the 'situations vacant' columns. Here they would be poised to make that all important early call to prospective employers. By the mid-1980s, the competition for jobs had become so fierce that queues would begin to form several hours before the early edition of the newspaper was to be printed. By the time the first edition was available, there would be queue of four or five hundred young job hunters. There were also reports of the strategy being developed to the extent of job seekers enlisting confederates to 'mind' public telephone boxes until the newspaper purchaser had arrived. This strategy had enabled Jimmy Bee to secure his first proper job in a butchers shop; a job he obtained in March 1988 almost eight years after school leaving (Section 7.8.3).

The second strategy of job seeking was that of contacting potential employers directly. Georgie B., for example, in his post-school period of unemployment, drafted a 'C.V.' and covering letter with the help of Jim Donovan at the Youth and Community Centre. After being typed by Centre staff, the speculative job enquiries were photocopied and dispatched to all the computer companies in Greater Manchester that were listed in the Yellow Pages. Similarly, Cathy Tittle, in her early period of job seeking, had a standard letter of application typed and photocopied by Centre staff. These were sent to retail shops and stores throughout a wide area. She followed up this initial enquiry by contacting numerous shops by telephone and in person, whilst seeking her first 'proper' job. Despite their efforts, both Georgie and Cathy were unsuccessful in these approaches.

After his four year spell in the armed forces, Berksy's first job in a York builders merchants was the product of systematically "pounding the beat" within a demarcated area. In this he undertook the task of walking round a particular area, on a day-by-day basis, in order to present himself personally to potential employers. As a result of this strategy, he eventually secured permanent full-time employment. His period in the army

was also significant in providing a general reference for his employment suitability (Section 7.6.4).

A third mode of job search strategy involved the mediation of informal networks of friends and relatives. The practice of securing jobs through 'whom you know and not what you know' has been explored by other researchers (see for example Coffield *et al* 1986 : 123; Wallace 1987 : 58). Certainly for the three study participants who had secured a traditional post-school transition directly to employment, the influence of family members was highly significant. Among the families of the three traditional transitionaries, there were family histories of prolonged employment and the consequent ability of family members to confer labour market advantages through informal workplace contacts (Chapter Six, Section 6.2). Among the protracted transitionaries, however, such advantages were constrained by the unemployment of family members, or their employment in vulnerable low-skilled or unskilled jobs - forms of employment which did not generally provide access to work for job-seeking siblings. However, both Russell Robinson and Jimmy Bee, during the course of their protracted post-school transitions to proper jobs, were able to secure casual, part-time employment as a result of family contacts. In Russell's case, a friend of his uncle's enabled him to gain temporary part-time employment in a bakery, and Jimmy Bee's mother, through her work as a part-time office cleaner, was able to notify him of a similar vacancy as soon as it arose (Section 7.3.2) Charlie Dougan also secured his first proper job with a haulage company in London as a result of the workplace contacts and influence of his cousin who was employed by the same company.

In the case of three of the eight protracted transitionaries, first proper jobs were secured not through family contacts and influence but, rather, through local informal connections who notified them in advance about possible vacancies. Amanda Gardiner's work in a local authority funded playgroup was secured as a result of the intervention of Project youthworker, Marie Hulton. Marie's informal contacts in the Marton Brook

playgroup ensured her an advance notification that the vacancy was forthcoming and, as a result of her direct intercession, Amanda was able to successfully secure the job. Similarly, Tracy Smith, after several years of unsuccessful job searching, was notified by another Project youthworker, Gail Hindle, that a vacancy in the kitchen at the Youth and Community Centre would be available if she was interested. Tracy eventually secured the job as a cook and was subsequently employed by the Project until my research was completed. Russell Robinson's employment by a landscape gardening contractor came as a result of a "tip off" by a friend of his girlfriend's father. Russell had been unsuccessfully seeking such work since school leaving in 1980 and therefore responded immediately by contacting the contractor in person. He was subsequently taken on and has been employed continuously since April 1986.

Most individuals, during the course of their protracted transitions to proper jobs, tended to use a combination of the three job seeking strategies simultaneously. Friends or relatives would hear of potential job vacancies because someone was leaving and ensured that local networks were informed even before the vacancy officially arose. For this reason, participants complained of the futility of applying for work through the official mediating agencies when most of the vacancies had been informally filled even before they had reached the display boards in the Job Centre. New employers, such as the local superstore which opened in the first phase of my study, used the Job Centre for recruitment, but more established employers with extensive pre-existing communications networks seldom had need of recourse to the official agencies.

7.5.2 Conclusions

One of the main observations of my research is that the unemployed participants were not a discrete group. I found no simple correlation between duration of unemployment and participants' reactions. There were a variety of reactions among individuals and, over time, within any one participant. Such observations bring into question the findings of psychological studies of the unemployed which claim that people move through discrete

451

psychological stages when enduring protracted periods of unemployment (see, Chapter Four, Section 4.6.3 and, for example, Breakwell 1985; Harrison 1976; Hill 1978). It is claimed that shock, optimism, despair, and finally resignation, are the common stages in the psychological responses to unemployment. While some participants did resign themselves to their labour market position, this was not in terms of a fatalistic acceptance, but rather in terms of dismissing the opportunities (or lack of them) available in the formal labour market in favour of those within the local informal labour market. Through such a personal strategy, the discipline and routines of employment and labour market commitment were sustained throughout prolonged bouts of unemployment. When formal labour market opportunities became available, participants were quickly able to change their responses in line with the new requirements.

Evidence suggests that there is a need to move away from individualistic, psychological explanations which espouse a deterministic "deprivation" hypothesis for the consequences of unemployment (see Chapter Four, Section 4.6.3). The danger of individualistic explanations for mass phenomena like youth unemployment is that they may lead into assumptions that such mass phenomena can be best understood by reference to the personal characteristics of individuals. In this respect, the point made by Kelvin (1984) is relevant, in that the very language used in connection with unemployment is imbued with notions which implicitly stigmatise people; for example, the unemployed receive 'welfare', 'allowances' or 'benefits' rather than payments which can be considered as rights. These and other terms such as 'assistance' or 'relief' are "all redolent with images of charity to the inadequate" (Kelvin 1984 : 419). Local unemployment statistics make nonsense of any attempt to explain unemployment in terms of the personal characteristics of the unemployed (see Chapter One, Section 1.7). In this respect, it is difficult to distinguish between the participants in my study who had made a protracted transition to proper jobs and those who had not. Neither educational qualifications, nor physical attributes, nor enthusiasm for work, nor any other personal quality, explained the difference. Having relatives, friends or local connections who sought to inform the participant about potential

vacancies explained more of the variation than any other single factor, a point similarly made by both Coffield *et al* (1986) and Wallace (1987).

7.6 Protracted Transitions : Four Portraits

7.6.1 Introduction

In this section, I examine in detail the protracted transitions to proper jobs of four study participants. Each of the transitions highlights the mixture of elements to be found in the post-school transitions of those eight study participants who eventually secured primary employment. For Amanda Gardiner, her five and a half years post-school transition to full-time employment in a local authority funded playgroup included: a protracted period of unemployment which lasted for over a year; a period of eight months unemployment, with voluntary work in Hartingleigh's Youth and Community Centre; one six month scheme; a period of one and a half years underemployment in part-time and contract work; and a period of informal work for the Project which also lasted for a year and a half.

Similarly Cathy Tittle's post-school transition lasted for over seven years before she managed to secure her first full-time job in a florist shop. Cathy's post-school transition included a staggering total of over three and a half years registered unemployment despite her dogged persistence in pursuing, and applying for, employment in retail shops. Aside from a protracted period of unemployment, Cathy's transition to her first proper job included two government schemes (six months on each scheme), and over two and a half years of underemployment in part-time work.

Charlie Dougan's and Berksy's transitions occurred *via* unsuccessful attempts at post-school alternative careers within Hartingleigh's anti-employment subculture. Incarceration for Charlie and a period in the army for Berksy paradoxically resulted in geographical mobility which facilitated full-time employment in London (for Charlie) and York (for Berksy). This followed protracted post-school periods of unemployment which, in

Charlie's case, included one aborted WEEP scheme under the Youth Opportunities Programme. Berksy did not consider the army as a "proper job", but believed the travel and discipline involved in his army service had widened his horizons, curbed his volatile temper, and enabled him to "settle down to ordinary life".

Each of the four protracted transitionaries had taken between four and seven years to secure their first "proper job".

7.6.2 Amanda Gardiner

Amanda left school in Summer 1980 and for almost two years was continuously registered as unemployed. During this period, she attempted to gain entrance to a course in nursery nursing at the local College of Further Education, but was rejected on the basis of having no qualifications. The minimum entry qualification was three GCE O-level passes, although, as Amanda asserted: "No qualifications! ... what do you need to take care of kids? I've been looking after our two [younger sisters] since I was nine ... but that doesn't count as qualifications". Instead, while signing on as unemployed, she began working voluntarily within the Youth and Community Project, 'helping out' with the 'Mums and Toddlers' group. In this, she was guided and assisted by Marie Hulton, at that time one of the Project's youthworkers. In June 1982, Marie eventually enabled Amanda to gain a place on one of the Project's MSC sponsored community schemes.

Many of the my study participants had experienced the community-based components of the Youth Opportunities Programme. As previously discussed, such schemes generally operated to "mop up" (Wallace 1987 : 23) or "warehouse" unqualified minimum age school leavers before returning them again to the dole queues. However, within the Project, MSC trainees were at least guaranteed the minimum offer of part-time employment at the end of their training placement. For trainees who wished to remain employed within the Project, wages for part-time employment could generally be provided through Project funding. It was also policy for application to be made to the Local

Education Authority on behalf of trainees for funding towards full-time employment under the LEA control of local Youth Service budgets.

At the end of her scheme, Amanda was employed by the Project on a part-time basis for six months, after which she gained an LEA funded full-time contract, to be reviewed after twelve months. For a year she settled into a role which was simply an extension of her voluntary work, community scheme and part-time employment, namely assisting with the Community playgroup and 'Mums and Toddlers' group.

In Summer 1984, at the end of the twelve month period, Amanda's LEA contract was reviewed and funding was withdrawn. In part, this was a consequence of the pressure the Youth Service budget was subjected to as a result of the much wider financial squeeze by central government on local authority finances. Amanda was again reluctantly compelled to 'sign on' as Project funds could no longer sustain her employment in the absence of LEA sponsorship. However, unofficial payments, cash-in-hand, were provided through the Project's petty cash expenses to supplement Amanda's income from state welfare benefit. These payments enabled her to continue her work within the Project, at the same time she maintained a weekly income which was just a few pounds less than the wage she had received from the LEA. In October 1985, with help and a glowing recommendation and reference from Marie, Amanda secured full-time employment as a playgroup and childminder's assistant in a Council funded playgroup in nearby Marton Brook. Though lowly-paid (£63.17 net in 1987), she worked a flexible 30 hour week and enjoyed the informality afforded by her position. This was a job Amanda held continuously until the end of my final phase of research in 1990.

7.6.3   Cathy Tittle

Cathy left school in Summer 1980 with the firm intention of getting "a job in a shop". This modest employment aspiration was recorded in her 1980 Community Project questionnaire. However, despite repeated written job applications and personal enquiries

to various retailers throughout a wide area, she was unable to find permanent employment. What followed Cathy's initial attempted entry into shop-work was a protracted two year period of unemployment. This lasted until June 1982 when she was compelled under threat of benefit withdrawal to undertake an employment training scheme. Under the terms of her allotted scheme, Cathy was to be provided with training in "basic office skills" despite her modest, and repeatedly expressed, desire for shop work. Cathy was eventually allocated a training placement within an office of the social services department in nearby Marton, and provided with basic training in "photocopying, use of the 'phone, filing, that sort of thing". Her training placement did not, however, lead into permanent employment and , after completing the six month scheme, she once more re-registered as unemployed at the Job Centre.

Cathy was unemployed for a further ten months before she was eventually offered a work experience scheme in a florist. As this was the shop work she had been seeking since school leaving, Cathy eagerly accepted the placement. Cathy was delighted with the work experience scheme during which, among other things, she "learned how to make up displays, wreaths and bouquets". Cathy also enjoyed "dealing with customers and taking big orders for weddings and funerals". Unfortunately, when her work placement was completed, she was not offered permanent employment and was once again compelled to 'sign on'.

Cathy was unemployed for a further period of almost nine months before answering an advertisement in the regional newspaper for part-time work in a City Centre florists. Rather than applying for the job by letter, as requested in the advertisement, Cathy instead "caught a bus into Town straight away" and personally presented her job application to the shop manageress. Aside from her obvious desire for the job, Cathy's previous work experience scheme was also instrumental in convincing the manageress of her suitability and the following week she started work.

From January 1985 until September 1987, Cathy was employed on a part-time basis six mornings a week. In 1986, her basic take home pay was just £47 per week, but Cathy was frequently provided with extra work at weekends or to cover for the absences and holidays of full-time employees. Overtime was also available during seasonal busy periods in the shop such as Christmas, Valentine's Day and Mothers Day, or when floral displays had to be assembled for "big occasions, like weddings and funerals". Nevertheless, despite the fact that there were occasions when she was working within the florists virtually full-time, her status remained that of a part-time employee and, as such, she was denied sickness and holiday pay entitlements. For Cathy though, these were minor considerations. After two work schemes and over three years on the dole, she was quite simply relieved at having found even part-time work.

Eventually her diligence and enthusiasm for the job were recognised and acknowledged, and, when one of the full-time employees left in September 1987, Cathy was allowed to fill the vacancy. This was full-time employment, a proper job, which she maintained continuously until my research terminated.

7.6.4 Charlie Dougan and Berksy

In an earlier Chapter (Chapter Four, Section 4.1.1), I briefly outlined the early career progressions of both Charlie and Berksy. They shared similar biographical characteristics. Both had been members of my group of ten interviewees during the Project's 1980 School Leavers Survey; both were participants originally drawn from Hartingleigh's Chicken Lane estate and had been prominent 'faces' within the informal 'lads' culture on the streets of Hartingleigh during my detached youthwork for the Project. Following extended periods of post-school unemployment, like many others from the Chicken Lane estate, both had been in a good deal of trouble with the law, as a consequence of pursuing alternative careers within Hartingleigh's anti-employment subculture. Court appearances had resulted in Borstal Training for Charlie; Berksy on the other hand had narrowly avoided incarceration, partially as a consequence of army enlistment.

457

After his release from Borstal, Charlie had moved to Wandsworth, London, to live with his cousin who, as a result of workplace contacts, had enabled him to secure employment in a road haulage company. Charlie's job was working in the cold storage section, loading and unloading refrigerated units attached to articulated lorries, and involved mainly working night-shifts from midnight until 8.00 a.m. This work provided an initial take home pay of £100 a week but, with bonuses and overtime, Charlie could earn up to twice that amount, though on average his fortnightly take home pay was "about £280" (in 1987). Charlie was eventually provided with a job of "van driving for the firm, delivering and picking up 'returns' [returned goods]". This was day-time work and, as such, was an improvement on his original shift work. Day-time van driving allowed Charlie a certain amount of flexibility and mobility in his working day. In my last contacts with Charlie, he was training to take his Heavy Goods Vehicle (HGV) Class 1 test in order to work as a lorry driver for the haulage company. In this, he was provided time off to "go to the Department of Environment training place two mornings a week". Charlie hoped eventually to gain employment with the company "inter-Continental lorry driving".

Berksy had originally enlisted for army service as a strategy for avoiding incarceration, the result of several court appearances for a series of burglary charges. The strategy was successful and he undertook a year's training as a Junior Guardsman at the Guards Depot in Surrey; this involved "six weeks basic familiarisation and then six months basic training". There were originally one hundred trainees within Berksy's platoon and, at the end of the six month period, trainees were provided with the option of withdrawing their enlistments. Thirty or so members of his platoon did so, but Berksy had enjoyed the travel, challenge and discipline and decided to "see it through". During the final six months of training, "they allocate you to a particular battalion". Berksy's allocation suited him as it was a battalion with a reputation for having a good swimming team and Berksy was a keenly competitive swimmer. At the age of eighteen, he was given his first opportunity for foreign travel when the platoon was sent to Berlin to "clear up" the battalion headquarters there. After a few months in Germany, his platoon was sent to a

barracks in Hounslow where he was posted to "public duties" which included formal ceremonial duties at Windsor Palace. By 1985, Berksy was earning £360 per month (gross) which was paid directly into a bank account. As his day-to-day expenses were provided for, such as accommodation, food, and clothing, he was able to save most of this income.

Between January and April 1983, his battalion was posted to Kenya for a United Nations training exercise. During this period, Berksy was afforded the opportunity to travel within a broad area on manoeuvres and, during his free time, he was able to visit Mombassa, Nairobi, Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya. After returning to England, his battalion was again posted to "public duties" which included "trooping the colour on the 11th of June 1983". In October of that year, Berksy's battalion was given the much feared posting to Northern Ireland and he spend an anxious five month tour of duty in the Province, based in barracks at Besbrook outside Newry. Although he did not personally encounter "live action" on his tour of duty, members of his platoon were fired on on two separate occasions, which made the experience "a bit of a nightmare". As he ironically exclaimed; "I didn't join the fuckin' army to get shot at!". Berksy had some understanding of the political and historical background to "the troubles", and, as a lapsed Catholic had some sympathy for the Republican view: "It'll never be sorted 'til they're allowed to unite with the South". In terms of his and his platoon's involvement in the Province, he adopted a pragmatic view and saw it in terms of "a sort of stand off": "They [the IRA] do their job and we do ours, hatred doesn't come into it".

In February 1984, following he battalion's tour of duty in Northern Ireland, Berksy was returned to mainland duties and his platoon was eventually stationed in barracks in York. By December 1985, Berksy had uneventfully completed his three year enlistment, which was actually almost four years with training. After this, he was unemployed for several months before securing semi-skilled work as a yardsman in a York builders merchants. As he ironically commented: "from guardsman to yardsman". Berksy had made the

decision to live and work in York partially as a consequence of his courtship and marriage to a young woman he had met whilst stationed there, and also because he believed "there's nothing for me in Hartingleigh 'cept bother and the dole". Berksy was still employed in the same job when I last contacted him in 1992.

7.7   Domestic Careers - Protracted Transition
7.7.1 Introduction

For the generation of young working class who, like the participants in my study, left school during the 1980s, post-school transitions took place under the overarching threat of unemployment and under an unsympathetic political regime which removed many of the economic safety nets that had existed for those growing up in more prosperous decades (Kirk *et al* 1991; Maclagan 1992). As they moved towards adulthood, study participants sought to remove the bonds of dependence which tied them to their families of origin. They embarked on a journey towards adult independence wherein they sought to be responsible for their own material circumstances. In this process, they typically attempted to develop relationships and eventually families of their own. However, under the political economic circumstances of the past decade, these attempts to "get into" working class adulthood were often complex and protracted, and not, as was the case for many working class young people in the recent past, a process which happened almost "naturally" or "inevitably" upon reaching the age of majority (Willmott 1966 : 52).

Up until the mid-1970s, the majority of young people from working class backgrounds entered the labour market and found jobs at the end of compulsory schooling. Through financial independence, they traditionally undertook the process of 'going out' which often led to courtship, marriage and then parenthood. Marriage was the traditional route to residential independence. As Leonard (1980) has noted: "For most people, especially in the working class, the only road to independence in housing is through marriage" (1980 : 51). Among young people from working class backgrounds, the processes of marriage and family formation were traditionally undertaken at an earlier age than was the case for

460

young people from middle class families. Throughout the last century, those young people from middle class backgrounds have often been economically dependent upon their families of origin until their early twenties. The extended periods of post-compulsory education undertaken by many young people from middle class families often served to delay their entry into the labour market, and consequently delayed the processes of marriage and family formation. Changing social patterns in the 1980s and 1990s indicate that the delayed economic independence of young people has become a mass phenomenon. Youth unemployment, government training schemes, and increased levels of participation in post-compulsory education and training, have resulted in a protracted transition both to economic independence and to adult domestic roles and careers.

In a sense, the protracted transition from school to work, and from childhood into adulthood, is not an educational, psychological or social gap, but a time gap (Sawdon *et al* 1981) It is the number of years a young person's work aspirations remain unfulfilled before entry into a first proper job. The length and complexity of transition for the working class young represents what may be viewed as a new institutionalised social and economic insecurity. Although the problem of protracted transitions to adulthood is essentially economic, deriving from "changes in the economy [which] have made many young people literally surplus to economic requirements" (Roberts *et al* 1988 : 35), it does have psychological and social consequences for those affected. It interposes a new stage in the life cycle which has no social status and one that frustrates the desire of participants to move away from childhood status and economic dependence into adulthood and economic independence.

Among the eight protracted transitionaries, progressions in the labour market involved a succession of complex and qualitatively distinct forms of experience (outlined in Section 7.3). In the main, protracted transitions were comprised of different elements including post-school unemployment, underemployment, government schemes and so on. Similarly, personal and domestic lives moved through changes that involved qualitatively distinct

461

forms of experience; living with parents within the family household, then living alone, sharing accommodation with other non-family members, or living with a partner in the natal home or in an independent household. Post-school same sex friendships changed to include increased heterosexual contact and then dating, followed by a move out of the family home, or setting up a household with a partner, and in some cases marriage, and then parenthood.

For the three study participants who had made relatively uncomplicated, traditional, post-school transitions directly into employment, their domestic careers followed a complementary, traditional, stage-like progression into courtship, engagement, marriage, owner occupation, and parenthood (Chapter Six). The three traditional transitionaries' domestic careers were constructed on foundations established by secure, well-paid employment; this allowed for forward planning and saving. In contrast, the domestic career transitions of the protracted transitionaries showed little in the way of clear cut, stage-like, progression towards adult roles and status. The various forms of personal and domestic experience of the protracted transitionaries were developed within the context of institutionalised social and economic insecurity, referred to throughout my study, and this was reflected in the instability of their often complex and protracted domestic career transitions.

7.7.2   Going Out

What each of the eight study participants had in common in their initial post-school transitions were protracted bouts of unemployment, generally punctuated by government schemes. The economic insecurity of their labour market positions mitigated against early domestic career movements towards residential independence and also served to restrict their leisure and patterns of sociability. For the three traditional transitionaries, early post-school domestic careers were characterised by patterns of extensive leisure mobility which reflected their "getting on" and "getting out" frames of reference (Brown 1987). In effect, the traditional transitionaries were 'getting on and getting out' by 'going out' of the local

community to pursue leisure and entertainment throughout the conurbation (see Chapter Six, Sections 6.5.2; 6.5.3; 6.5.4). In contrast, constrained by lack of income or the sociability of workplace contacts, the protracted transitionaries generally developed leisure patterns that were restricted to local places of entertainment.

'Going out' generally consisted of leisure and entertainment that could be cheaply derived from 'getting into' the resources of the local community; though on rare occasions, weekly benefits would be spent on one extravagant night out. Participants generally had recourse to a variety of formal and informal self-defined locations for youthful sociability. Formal sites included the local pubs and the various facilities sponsored by the Youth and Community Project (Chapter One, Section 1.8.3). Informal locations included the three market sites in Hartingleigh, the 'Wreck', and the superstore car park (Chapter One, Section 1.3; Chapter Two, Section 2.4), or simply 'hangin' out' on the streets and walkways of the estates.

Georgie B. was the exception. Leisure time during his twelve month period of post-school unemployment generally involved a retreat to his attic bedroom to pursue his solitary interest in home computing (Section 7.4.1). Amanda Gardiner, during her post-school unemployment, developed a pattern of sociability organised around her affiliation to the Youth and Community Project and eventually she began working voluntarily within the Project (Section 7.6). Charlie Dougan and Berksy were part of the 'Northside Jungle Crew' of unemployed young males drawn mainly from Hartingleigh's Chicken Lane council estate (see Chapter Four, Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.3; Chapter Six, Section 6.6.2). Their leisure mobility was less restricted than other unemployed participants, in part due to the income derived from social and acquisitional crime. Football supporters' subcultural affiliations also ensured geographical mobility when travelling to 'away' games, to the towns and cities of other football teams, to watch local favourites, Manchester United (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.3). Often this mobility would be made possible by members of the Crew stealing a vehicle to facilitate transportation. These expeditions could occupy a

long weekend and ensured Crew members a collective focus for their subcultural affiliations.

Russell Robinson and Jimmy Bee were also peripheral affiliates of the extensive adolescent male network of unemployed youths in Hartingleigh. However, lack of involvement in the core activities of the Crew ensured that their early post-school periods of unemployment were largely occupied by "hangin' out" and "doing nothing" (Corrigan 1979). Doing nothing would consist of a variety of local activities such as: making a pint last all night in 'the Vic', and playing endless games of pool; impromptu football matches at the various informal self-defined leisure sites in Hartingleigh, including the Wreck and superstore car park; and meeting friends and associates at the 'Indoor Street Corner', or for 'dinner', the subsidised lunch-time meal available to the unemployed at the Youth and Community Centre.

For the three women, protracted transitionaries, aside from the financial constraints of wagelessness, leisure and entertainment mobility were further restricted by the sexual division of labour and power within the home. In 1957, Young and Willmott argued that: "Less than a quarter of our husbands ... had the same occupation as their fathers. But all our wives had the same work as their mothers" (1957 : 103). Thus, within their study group, change had occurred for the men, but not for the women. In my study, three decades later, there had again been discontinuity for the males - far fewer had jobs - and continuity for the females who fundamentally still had little choice about women's work in the home, particularly in their teenage years. Daughters were expected to undertake some degree of domestic responsibility, sons were not. However, there was some contestation over this traditional domestic role assignation, and the young women sought to challenge the restrictions placed upon them by their gender. As Connell *et al* have similarly argued:

"Increasing numbers of working class women, in their own ways, are contesting male control and insisting on independence or equality. This rarely takes the form of conscious feminism ... but there is a real and conscious shift from conventional modes of womanhood" (1982 : 176).

464

Amanda Gardiner, for example, sought to challenge her father's assumption that she was constantly available to 'baby sit' her two younger sisters when her parents went out in the evening or at weekends. Until school leaving, this was a domestic task she had shared with her older sister. However, when her sister married and left the family home during Amanda's early post-school period of unemployment, the baby sitting duties became her sole responsibility. She grew to resent the restrictions placed upon her evening and weekend sociability and, as a consequence of a series of "flaming rows", eventually persuaded her father to employ a "proper baby sitter".

Tracy Smith was from a family which included two older brothers who were both unemployed and living in the family home. Although she "battled for ages" to change the domestic division of labour in favour of greater equality in terms of the responsibilities undertaken by her brothers and herself, she found herself constantly "outvoted":

> "My old da' an' the 'dossers' [her older brothers] shouted me down ... ma' couldn't hack it, so it was them against me ... I 'ad to back off ... I just made me mind up to get out as soon as I could; I wasn't gonna end up like ma' runnin' round after that lot all day ..."

Cathy Tittle had more success in this type of struggle. Within the family home, the domestic duties were "more or less" equally divided between her two brothers, her younger sister and herself. However, even after such an equitable arrangement had been struggled for and achieved, the fact that her brothers attended their tasks without the same degree of care or concern ensured that: "It was a waste of time. You'd end up goin' round after they'd done something, putting it right."

It was clear that the young women in my study group were generally more frequently involved in domestic chores than their male counterparts. Even during the course of their protracted transitions, when participants were involved in schemes, part-time, or informal work, females would be required to undertake some degree of domestic labour and responsibility whereas males would not. The young women were almost exclusively involved in the tasks of washing and laundry work, cooking meals, cleaning the house,

looking after younger siblings, and so on. Even within tasks which were shared, sexual divisions existed. Thus, for example, while males would look after younger siblings in terms of 'keeping an eye on them', particularly when they were past the toddler stage, females were more commonly expected to feed and clean them, change nappies, and so on. According to recent research, even though these gender differences cut across social class, background and educational attainment, they are "accentuated in working class families" (Banks *et al* 1992 : 178). According to Bates *et al* (1984), for working class women:

> "The amount of time taken up by their domestic duties is one of the most significant constraints on their daily lives, both structuring the form of relationship they have to the labour process, and their pattern of subordination within the family" (1984 : 50-51).

Moreover, although working class men are becoming increasingly involved in some domestic tasks, these tend not to be a direct substitute for women's routine domestic work (Land 1981 : 251). It was generally the case for the unemployed women in my study group that routine domestic and childcare tasks constrained sociability and leisure mobility, and reflected the entrenched patriarchy of the working class domestic division of labour (Edgell 1981).

For the women, protracted transitionaries, especially during their earlier periods of post-school wagelessness, subordination to parental (usually paternal) authority was significantly conditioned by the lack of status associated with 'not earning a living'. The three women protracted transitionaries' incomes were derived from supplementary benefit (in 1982 this was £16.85 per week). Relative poverty ensured that they were constrained to accept paternal directives with regard to domestic duties. As Tracy Smith's father put it: "As long as you're under my roof, you can earn your keep by helping your mother". Unlike the two women who had secured employment immediately upon school leaving (Chapter Six), and whose wage conferred a degree of adult status, autonomy and bargaining power in the negotiation of domestic responsibilities, the non-wage earning women could not claim the same status. Absence of the wage as a symbolic marker of adult independence ensured that, when it came to, often acrimonious, domestic task

negotiations, their status was that of a dependent. In essence, the unemployed women were unable to resist parental directives, or negotiate domestic arrangements from a position of adult equality, as they were in the same status position they occupied as schoolchildren; essentially they were financially dependent upon their parents (usually fathers). As a consequence, and despite the obvious inequalities of the domestic division of labour, parental directives were usually accepted and tasks (grudgingly) undertaken in order to sustain a measure of parental goodwill and domestic harmony.

7.7.3 Leaving Home

The three study participants who secured a sound financial platform for their lives as a result of entering employment directly upon school leaving had all left the natal home to establish independent households by their late 'teens, early twenties (Chapter Six, Section 6.5.5. In contrast, the early careers of the protracted transitionaries were characterised by financial instability and they continued to live in the family home usually until their mid, and sometimes even late, twenties. The desire for residential independence resulted in various attempts to leave home, but such attempts were usually unsuccessful and frequently frustrated by lack of financial resources. In some cases, money necessary to provide the deposits or 'key money' for securing privately rented accommodation could not be provided from state benefits or low incomes. Moreover, as marriage and parenthood were also (generally) delayed for similar financial reasons, council rented accommodation could not be undertaken, as such property is usually unavailable to single young people. As Leonard (1980) has similarly noted: "Most local housing authorities will not accept applications from any single person under thirty" (1980 : 68). Essentially, the protracted transitionaries were undertaking post-school progressions to working class adulthood without proper jobs and whilst often still living at home with their parents. This was part of a general trend, partially spawned by government policy, which resulted in young people becoming more, rather than less, dependent upon their families (Kirk *et al* 1991).

Participants came under varying degrees of pressure from parents who were themselves 'struggling to make ends meet' on the incomes derived from benefits or semi-skilled and low-skilled employment. Arguments within families often centred around financial issues, with some participants coming into conflict for failing to contribute their 'keep' or borrowing more frequently from family members. In the longer term, the impoverishment of unemployment, in both economic and personal terms, appeared to lead to a protracted dependence on the family's resources. In such working class family contexts, it was difficult to see how full adult status could be obtained when participants had never or rarely earned a wage. According to Willis:

> The wage is not simply an amount of money ... it operates as the crucial pivot for ... social and cultural transitions... the wage is still the golden key (mortgage, rent, household bills) to a personal household separate from parents ... No wage is no keys to the future" (1984d : 19).

Russell Robinson vividly described the effort required to set up an independent home whilst unemployed:

> "The Social's supposed to sort the deposit an' the rent ... but first you 'ave to find it [the deposit] an' then claim it back. Even if you can find the money, you still 'ave to sort a 'gaff' that takes unemployed - a lot don't ... You see the adverts - 'no DHSS'. Then even if you've sorted a 'gaff' an' the money, off you go to the Social an' they won't pay up. First off, they 'ave to do their checks, right? [To] see if you're really stayin' where you say you are; see if you're really not workin'; see that you've got no one livin' with you who is workin'. By that time there's another months rent due ... then what?

In their early post-school periods of unemployment, few participants could raise the money necessary to secure privately rented accommodation; nor were they willing or able to withstand the pressures involved in negotiating such sums from an unsympathetic clerk in the social security office. Effectively, therefore, they were subject to whatever level of support their families were prepared to offer.

Moves towards residential independence in the private sector were sometimes undertaken before the acquisition of first proper jobs, but, generally, if such a move was to be sustained, the financial regularity of waged income was required. Amanda Gardiner, Cathy Tittle and Tracy Smith, all unsuccessfully attempted to leave home for the first time

when they were in their late 'teens, early twenties, before they had made a transition into proper jobs. Amanda and Cathy sought residential independence when they had secured part-time employment, but both were unable to manage the financial requirements of privately rented accommodation, and both subsequently returned to the natal home.

Amanda left home for the second time when she was twenty, unemployed but working on an informal cash-in-hand basis for the Project. She left home after heated family rows over her relationship with a young man her parents disapproved of, and also her share of the family finances. On this occasion, Amanda undertook privately rented accommodation together with her boyfriend and an old school friend. For almost a year, through the shared management of the financial upkeep of the flat, the trio were able to sustain residential independence. However, when she discovered that her boyfriend had developed a sexual relationship with the woman friend who was sharing the flat, Amanda hurriedly left and returned, once again, to the family home.

Even after securing full-time employment in October 1985, Amanda was unable to contemplate moving into a flat on her own. Her wage was not sufficient to allow for the accumulation of the deposit and key money required for "a decent place". It was not until Summer 1989, when she was almost twenty-six years old, that she found suitable rented accommodation, again sharing a flat, this time with another woman friend who was a part-time worker for the Project.

Cathy Tittle's return home after her initial attempt at residential autonomy was greeted with derision by her two brothers. It was, in her own words "humiliating ... they said I couldn't cope on my own, couldn't handle life without Mam and Dad". Cathy did not attempt to leave home again until a year or so after she had been upgraded from part-time to full-time employee status in her work at a City Centre florists (Section 7.6.3). After the increase in her pay, she slowly began to save money towards a deposit on a rented flat.

In February 1989, at the age of twenty-five, she was able to secure a room in a house shared by a work colleague and a group of students.

Like Amanda and Cathy, <u>Tracy Smith</u> also attempted to leave home (several times) before securing her first full-time employment. She 'ran away from home' numerous times as a teenager and, on one occasion, unsuccessfully sought work and accommodation in the northern coastal resort of Blackpool. In her late 'teens, she again attempted to live away from the family home, but a combination of relationship problems, difficulties over finances, and eventually trouble with the police and courts, resulted in her attempts at residential independence being curtailed by imprisonment. In all, Tracy served almost sixteen months, including "nine months on remand", awaiting trial. Early release under parole conditions entailed a return to the parental home, but Tracy was desperately unhappy there and sought residential independence by undertaking the tenancy of a privately rented flat in Newmarch Heath. However, when her father reported the move to a probation officer supervising her parole, Tracy was reluctantly forced to give up the flat and return to the family home. In August 1986, following the twelve month NACRO sponsored Community Programme outlined earlier (in Section 7.4), Tracy was provided with full-time employment within the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Project. Regular income provided by her job enabled Tracy to save up and she eventually secured another flat in Newmarch Heath, this time sharing with her boyfriend. Despite profound unhappiness within the family home and repeated attempts since she was sixteen to leave, Tracy's protracted transition to sustained residential independence had taken eight years until 1988 when she was twenty-four years of age.

For three out of five of the male protracted transitionaries, movement towards residential independence was desultory. Russell Robinson, Jimmy Bee, and Georgie B. showed little enthusiasm for, or inclination towards, residential independence. Their early domestic careers were characterised by extended periods of dependency within the natal home. Russell's one attempt at living in a privately rented flat with his girlfriend lasted

only five months and ended in financial disaster. He and his girlfriend were "forced to do a moonlight", owing three months rent and a large unpaid electricity bill. After this unsuccessful attempt at residential independence, Russell moved back to the "comforts of home". He did not move out again until after his marriage and the subsequent acquisition of a council flat. In Jimmy Bee's case, his periods of part-time and 'fiddle' work were important sources of family income. At that time, his father was also enduring a protracted period of unemployment and, apart from benefits, the main source of family income was his mother's part-time employment as an office cleaner. In such a situation, Jimmy's excessive residential dependence was tolerated on the basis of his contribution to the family resources, and he avoided much of the domestic conflict which provided the impetus for other participants' unsuccessful attempts at accelerated residential mobility.

Both Russell and Jimmy had their own 'front door keys' - a significant symbol of youthful autonomy. As unattached males, they were "allowed to come and go" as they pleased. Meals and laundry services were also provided and, unlike Jimmy's two sisters, they did not have to share a bedroom. Having their 'own space', a measure of independent movement, and the domestic servicing provided by their mothers, were factors which, together with the ongoing financial constraints imposed by under or un-employment, mitigated against any serious undertaking of the potential hazards and hardships of residential autonomy.

Georgie B.'s movement towards residential independence shared something of the stage-like progression discernible within the domestic careers of the traditional transitionaries who had all undertaken owner-occupation after successfully effecting traditional, post-school transitions to employment. Georgie's movement towards home ownership coincided with progression into, and the income derived from, primary employment. Moreover, like the traditional transitionaries, the impetus towards, and forward planning necessary for, owner-occupation was similarly provided by the development of a serious relationship.

The development of a relationship with a young woman he met whilst at College provided the focus for saving up following his engagement in 1988. After starting work in 1984, Georgie initially showed little enthusiasm for residential independence and continued to live within the parental home. After his engagement, however, his overwhelming preoccupation became one of saving money towards his future marriage and owner-occupation. In July 1991, he undertook a joint mortgage, with his future partner, on a three bedroomed terraced house. In November of the same year, after furnishing, decorating, and equipping their home, Georgie was married. He finally departed from the parental home at the age of twenty-eight (Section 7.8.4).

For Charlie Dougan and Berksy, residential independence and geographical mobility were by-products of incarceration or army service, the details of which I outlined earlier (Section 7.6.4). Berksy's four year period of army service enabled him to accumulate enough money to provide for a deposit towards home-ownership. This movement towards stable residential independence followed from his marriage, employment in York, and his partner's early pregnancy (see Section 7.8.2; and Chapter Four, Section 4.1.1).

Charlie, on the other hand, after his release from Borstal, moved to London to share a house in Wandsworth owned by his cousin, Mo. Mo lived alone following the breakdown of his former marriage and, as a consequence, was able to provide Charlie with two rooms at a nominal rent. Even after Charlie had embarked on a traditional domestic career of courtship, engagement and marriage, he showed little inclination to undertake the process of establishing an independent household with his partner. Following his marriage in 1985, and with his cousin's approval, Charlie and his new partner, instead, set up home in Mo's house. In part, this was a strategy undertaken to begin saving for their own home, as the nominal rent charged by his cousin allowed scope for the 'putting by' of income from employment. Nevertheless, the prospect of home ownership seemed daunting to Charlie, who was intimidated by the cost of even the most basic forms of accommodation in the Wandsworth area. As a reserve strategy, the couple applied to be included on the council

accommodation waiting list but were warned that, because they were childless, and already living in reasonable accommodation, there could be no guarantee of an offer in the "foreseeable future" (Section 7.8.2)

Similar problems faced <u>Russell Robinson</u> and <u>Jimmy Bee</u> in Hartingleigh. Although their motivation for residential independence had gained impetus as a result of domestic careers of courtship and marriage, they still faced problems extricating themselves from their respective natal homes. After they were married, both sought and eventually secured council accommodation, but it was not until after three years in Russell's case, and eighteen months in Jimmy Bee's. In the meantime, both lived with their new partners either in the parental home (Jimmy Bee) or in the parental home after a period of living in the family home of his in-laws (Russell Robinson).

In July 1987, Jimmy finally left his parents' home for a council flat in Marton. By that time, he was almost twenty-four and the father of a baby daughter. He was acutely embarrassed at the fact that poverty and living with his parents had provided his partner and their child with such a poor start to married life:

> "It's not a good way to 'kick off' is it, livin' with your Mam and Dad? Julie hated it,
> 'avin to fit the baby into our, well me Mam's, way of doin' things. An' as fer 'avin a
> bedroom next to theirs, what can I say? ... It's just no way to 'kick off' ... We was on at
> each other all the time, an' me Dad out of work, an' all ... it was mad sometimes. But
> there was nowt' I could do, we never 'ad enough money ... We 'ad to stick it ... if we'd
> 'ave moved out, into a flat or summat, we'd 'ave lost our place on the [council housing
> waiting] list."

The final point made by Jimmy reflects the dilemma faced by many couples seeking first accommodation in the restricted, public sector, housing market. In order to prioritise a claim for council accommodation, couples need to secure 'points' on scales of need developed by local housing authorities. A move from an overcrowded natal home into the private sector reduces eligibility and results in an increased wait before the offer of council accommodation can be secured.

473

Childlessness also reduces priority points; as a consequence, Jimmy and Julie had decided to accelerate their plans for having a baby as a strategy for increasing entitlement to council accommodation. Other researchers have noted this strategy, both for unattached women (Simms and Smith 1985) and among couples (Busfield and Paddon 1977; Ineichen 1981). According to Ineichen: "Access to council housing can be something of a game of snakes and ladders where some ploys (moving to an overcrowded house, having a baby) are rewarded, while others (moving to adequate housing, changing district) may be penalised" (1981 : 256).

Russell Robinson's situation was very similar to that of Jimmy and his partner, Julie. Russell moved into the family home of his in-laws on the Marton estate in 1988, following his marriage to their daughter, Cheryl. However, overcrowding and protracted family rows forced the couple to move to the home of Russell's parents, on the Canton estate. They lived there for almost three years before securing a council flat in Longleigh. Russell provided the following account of the sense of the atmosphere, both in the home of his in-laws and in his parents' house, capturing something of the desperation experienced by young couples who, because of a restricted job and housing market, have embarked on married life in the overcrowded homes of their parents:

> "There was eight of us, right [in a three bedroomed house] ... OK it was a big 'ouse but there was me an' Cheryl, her [brother] Tony, an' Pat [Tony's wife], an' [their] baby, as well as Cheryl's Mam an' Dad an' the twins (Cheryl's younger twin sisters] ... Me an' Cheryl used to sleep on t'setee ... in the front room ... but yer never got no peace ... Cheryl's dad up at 7 [a.m.] for work, an' the bloody baby 'skrikin' all t'time an' Tony 'n' Pat fightin' ... yer couldn't think straight ... that's when all the rows started with me 'an Cheryl ... We kept splittin' [up] an' then we'd get it together, comin' an' goin', it was doin' me in ... that's when we moved to Mam's ... we 'ad more room, but it didn't stop the rows ... Then Cheryl 'ad a miscarriage, she lost the baby, 'an I didn't even know she was 'avin' a kid ... I'm not kiddin' ... every day there was 'assle about summat ... Sometimes I thought I was goin' loopy."

Russell and his partner, Cheryl, eventually secured a one-bedroomed council flat in a low rise block on an estate in Longleigh, some seven miles north of Hartingleigh. These were flats that had originally been designed and built for retired couples in the mid-1960s. However, problems with the internal lift systems and protracted vandalism had forced

most of the original occupants to leave. The flats had since developed a reputation of roughness and undesirability and were consequently hard to let. The council therefore evolved a policy of offering them to childless couples, young homeless single people, and lone parents. Russell and Cheryl decided to accept the council's offer in spite of the undesirability of the accommodation and the location of the estate which created difficulties for Russell in terms of travel to work. After over three years of married life in the physically cramped, as well as emotionally overcrowded, conditions of their parental homes, the couple felt as though they had little choice. In October 1991, at the age of twenty-eight, Russell finally departed the natal home.

7.8   Courtship, Partnerships and Family Formation
7.8.1 Introduction

The recent ESRC 16 to 19 Initiative research has suggested a "normative pattern" of post-school social careers. This pattern involved: "Living with parents and associating with same-sex peers, the latter then changing to include increased heterosexual contact and then dating, followed by a move out of the parental home, setting up a household with a partner, and parenthood" (Banks *et al* 1993 : 177). Although this pattern of post-school domestic career progression is clearly distinguishable among the three participants in my study who had effected labour market transitions into employment, among the protracted transitionaries, the pattern was more complex.

Among the protracted transitionaries, there were five major types of friendship group. At any one time, study participants were likely to belong to more than one. There were, for example, the traditional, post-school, same-sex groups, and, in their early careers, the unemployed 'lads' extended network provided the focus for male leisure and entertainment patterns. Similarly, the 'girls night out', discussed in Chapter Four (Section 4.2.2), provided the focus for an autonomous and supportive female subculture, which also found a 'home' within the 'girls only' youth nights at the Hartingleigh Youth and Community Centre. Third, and less common, were the mixed sex groups. Again, the mixed youth

clubs and youth nights organised within Hartingleigh's Youth and Community Project provided the focus for mixed-sex groups, as did the local pubs, which were also inexpensive sources of leisure and entertainment for the protracted transitionaries, when 'going out' in groups that combined couples and unattached individuals. Finally, there were relationships with partners, when 'going out' courtship patterns had reached the stage of being 'serious'. In a typical week, some of the protracted transitionaries could 'go out' with 'the girls' or 'the lads'; they could also spend time in a mixed sex group, together with someone they were 'going out with'; they could also meet their 'best friend'; and could spend time alone with their steady partner.

7.8.2   The Men

For Charlie, Berksy, Russell Robinson and Jimmy, early post-school domestic careers were characterised by 'hangin' out' and 'doing nothing' within the extended network of unemployed lads drawn from Hartingleigh's three council estates. As discussed in Section 7.7.2, Charlie and Berksy were at the nucleus of this network, being core members of the self-defined 'Northside Jungle Crew'. Russell and Jimmy were peripheral affiliates of this peer group network but all four shared similar early patterns of sociability which involved drinking, smoking, 'draw' (cannabis), playing pool and football and 'hangin' out' on the streets and other self-defined, informal, leisure sites within the ward. Although spontaneous sexual liaisons and relationships were cultivated by all four males in their early post-school periods of unemployment, none were described as being 'serious'. In part the lack of income associated with protracted unemployment accounted for both Russell's and Jimmy's reluctance to 'get involved'. Lack of income ensured that they were unable to sustain the expense associated with 'going out' with a 'steady' partner. For Charlie and Berksy, although income was periodically acquired from the proceeds of social and acquisitive crime, this was usually conspicuously consumed in extravagant consumer purchases (stereos, colour televisions, fashion and sportswear, etc.) and travelling to football matches, or would be dissipated through drink and drug purchases for themselves, their friends and associates. Money easily and illicitly gained was thus quickly parted

with. This was a general pattern amongst the anti-employment subculture and was part of the status-enhancing behaviour that was expected amongst their peers.

As previously outlined (Section 7.6), both Charlie's and Berksy's early 'careers' were interrupted by army service and incarceration, which, for both participants, facilitated geographical and residential mobility. In Berksy's case, leisure time, during his period of army service, was a continuation of his previous leisure pattern of association with a same-sex peer group, though now his network of associates were drawn from his army platoon rather than Hartingleigh's anti-employment subculture. It was during his free time whilst stationed in York, as a result of drinking with his 'mates' from the platoon, that he met his future partner, Maria. Maria, at that time, had recently begun part-time employment as a barmaid in the York pub favoured by Berksy and his army friends. What started out as a 'dare', "£10 if I could chat her up and get a date", quickly developed into a 'serious' relationship. After their first meeting in the pub and a 'date' the following weekend, Berksy and Maria became "inseparable": "I couldn't wait to get married ... I just wanted to be with her all the time ... don't sound like me does it? ... But that's how it is when it happens, I suppose". What then followed was an accelerated domestic career transition which involved a heady courtship, marriage, Berksy's army discharge, a brief spell in rented accommodation, Berksy's employment in a builders merchants, home ownership, and, in October 1986, parenthood; all of which occurred within two years of the '£10 dare' and the initial meeting of the couple. According to Berksy, "I was makin' up for a lot of wasted time".

Charlie's domestic career followed a remarkably similar accelerated progression. Following his release from 'Borstal Training', in April 1984, Charlie found a home and employment in London as a result of his cousin's intervention and workplace contacts. Like the initial meetings of the traditional transitionaries with their prospective partners (discussed in Chapter Six, Section 6.5.6), Charlie's original meeting with his future partner, Barbara, was similarly secured through his place of employment. Barbara was employed

in a clerical capacity in the offices of the haulage company for whom both Charlie and his cousin worked. It was as a result of a dispute about overtime pay that Charlie first encountered Barbara in the offices of his employers. Part of Barbara's workload involved dealing with the employment time-sheets which, as records of employees daily hours of employment, were at the heart of Charlie's dispute. The dispute was resolved in Charlie's favour and, as a by-product of the negotiations, a 'date' with Barbara was procured. From this, followed a series of meetings, dates and liaisons which increased in frequency until eventually Barbara and Charlie were engaged. Their brief engagement was followed, in July 1985, by marriage. After the marriage and a brief honeymoon in Brighton, Barbara 'moved in' with Charlie, into the rooms he occupied in his cousin's house. Unlike Berksy and his partner, Charlie and Barbara decided to defer parenthood "until such time as we can afford a place of our own" (Barbara).

For Jimmy Bee and Russell Robinson, protracted spells of post-school under and un-employment, punctuated by government schemes, ensured that the peer group affiliations developed during their 'teens remained central to their lives. As a consequence, same-sex friendships formed the predominant focus for their domestic career transitions until their early twenties. The economic insecurity engendered by marginal labour market positions, their general commitment to the friendship networks of Hartingleigh's unemployed males, and the restrictions on courtship rituals imposed by living within the parental home combined to ensure that their contacts with the opposite sex ranged from 'one night stands' to a series of dates "which soon fizzled out" (Jimmy Bee).

Russell's one 'serious' relationship during this period coincided with a ten month period of part-time employment in a bakery, which provided some income for 'going out' and also allowed him to save up for a camping holiday in France, which he undertook with his girlfriend of the time and another friend. After his return to England in 1985, Russell attempted to set up an independent household with his girlfriend in a privately rented flat. However, his subsequent inability to secure employment and the financial hardship

produced by the attempt to sustain residential independence on the income derived from supplementary benefits ensured that the move ended in disaster. What followed was a 'moonlight flit' from debt and unpaid bills. Soon afterwards, Russell's relationship 'broke up'.

It was not until both Russell and Jimmy were in their twenties that 'steady' relationships featured in their lives. In Jimmy Bee's case, a steady relationship was the consequence of a chance meeting with a young woman he had formerly known at school. This occurred in 1985 when he was working part-time as a cleaner (See Section 7.3.2). As a result of the income generated by his part-time work, he was able to undertake a traditional courtship pattern of 'going out' to places of entertainment outside of the local community. When his part-time employment with the cleaning company was terminated, Jimmy sought to sustain his relationship on the income generated from a 'fiddle' job on the market stalls owned and supervised by the Donaghue family. Despite the income derived from working whilst claiming benefits, Jimmy did not pursue moves towards residential independence nor did he attempt to establish an independent household with his girlfriend. Instead, he continued to live within the parental home. At the same time, he maintained his commitment to leisure pursuits within the informal 'lads' network. As he proclaimed at the time: "Goin' out with a bird's just what you do, but your mates are more important". Despite this basic attitude, shared by most members of the unemployed male friendship network, in January 1986 he was married. After his marriage, Jimmy and his new partner shared the bedroom he occupied within his parents home. In October of the same year, Julie, his partner, gave birth to their first child.

Russell Robinson's protracted domestic career of courtship and marriage followed from his employment in April 1986. In fact, it was as a result of an early 'tip off' from a friend of his girlfriend's father that Russell was able to secure the job. Regular income enabled him to loosen his ties to the unemployed male informal group and, as a consequence, he initially spent more time in the company of his girlfriend, Cheryl. A traditional courtship

followed, during which the couple went out together regularly, occasionally venturing out of the local community to pubs and discos in the City Centre. In August 1988, they were married and at first moved into the home of Cheryl's parents. Domestic arguments followed, due to the pressure of overcrowding, which resulted in the couple moving to the home of Russell's parents, where, though there was more physical space for Russell, the overwhelming feelings of emotional overcrowding persisted. Following an early labour and miscarriage, Cheryl became withdrawn and depressed. Unable to cope emotionally, Russell resorted to staying out late, visiting old haunts and picking up his former associations with the male informal network. This pattern persisted until 1989 when the couple were offered a council flat in Longleigh some seven miles north of Hartingleigh.

Some research has suggested that men drift away from their male friends once they have established a steady relationship with a woman, and this gradual dissolution of male groups has been posited as an explanation for the reduction in delinquency in late adolescence (Downes 1966; Willmott 1966). According to Willmott, for example:

> "When they do acquire [a girlfriend] and move towards a family of their own, they become ... more subject to the social controls of the local community and the national society" (1966 : 167).

Courtship and marriage appeared to be factors which enabled both Charlie and Berksy to relinquish their propensity towards adolescent criminality. This conforms to research findings which have illustrated how marriage lessens "reconviction risk" (Osborn and West 1979 : 256). In Berksy's case, marriage had, in his own words, enabled him to "settle down". Research has noted how getting married does effect a reduction in some of the social habits associated with delinquency, "notably drinking, sexual promiscuity, prohibited drug use and time spent away from the home" (Knight, Osborn and West 1977 : 359). Apart from marriage, another significant factor, operative in Charlie's and Berksy's post-school trajectories was the geographical mobility which enabled them to secure full-time employment and had removed them from the subcultural norms of their peer group in Hartingleigh. A third significant factor in Berksy's case was his four year spell in the

armed forces which he maintained had expanded his horizons, helped to curb his volatile temper, and enabled him to "settle down to ordinary life".

Whereas marriage, geographical mobility and employment enabled Charlie and Berksy to break the adolescent bonds which had tied them to the norms and values of the Northside Jungle Crew, for Russell Robinson and Jimmy Bee, despite an initial retreat from the informal friendship network, their local affiliations continued. Coffield *et al* (1986) noted a similar tendency: "We found that men initially saw less of their friends, but once their relationships with girlfriends were established, they returned to the male group after a period of a few weeks to a few months (1986 : 176).

Courtship, marriage, and in Russell's case, full-time employment, at first reduced the amount of time the pair spent pursuing recreation and leisure with 'the lads', but a combination of factors produced a return to the male informal network. Both participants cited domestic pressure as a reason; for Jimmy, the problems associated with coping with his first child within the confined space of his parents home, and the delay in securing council accommodation produced a defensive reaction in favour of 'going out' with his 'mates'; for Russell, his wife's depression following her miscarriage, and the domestic pressure engendered by attempting to conduct normal married life, firstly in his in-laws home, and then in the home of his parents, produced a similar reaction. Conversations with Jimmy Bee, at the time, provided additional insight to explain his retreat from marital and parental responsibilities

7.8.3 Jimmy Bee : "Getting in"

The worst of Jimmy's domestic difficulties occurred in the period between October 1986, when his daughter was born, and July 1987, when he was finally granted council accommodation. Up until the latter date, Jimmy, his partner Julie, and their baby daughter lived within the household of Jimmy's parents. During this time, he was unemployed, though working on a cash-in-hand basis for the Donaghue family, work which, though

poorly paid (£2 an hour), when combined with the supplementary benefit he claimed on behalf of himself, his partner and their child, provided a modest standard of living. However, during this period, Jimmy was plagued by feelings of inadequacy. He blamed himself for being unable to provide a "decent start" to married life for his partner and child. In Jimmy's terms, he was a "failure". He saw himself as having failed both as a father and as a husband because he could not provide his "wife an' kid with a decent home". He saw his inability as a home provider reflected in his failure to secure a "proper job". His everyday experience was one of status frustration; as a working class male he was, in his own terms "a blown out nobody".

In the face of such feelings of failure and inadequacy, he retreated back into the familiar security and alternative status systems of his adolescent peer group. Although not a central character in the core activities of the informal network, his 'fiddle job' for the Donaghue family brought him into daily contact with the status enhancing illegalities of core members of the anti-employment subculture. His work on the market stalls owned by the Donaghues was essentially 'legal but undeclared' income, but, as the family used the stalls as a cover for other, more illicit, activities (including the movement, transportation, and 'fencing' of stolen goods and the distribution of prohibited drugs), Jimmy was often required to, at best, "keep it buttoned", and at worst, become directly involved through handling commodities or passing on vital messages, etc. Within the milieu of the anti-employment subculture, Jimmy occupied a peripheral role, but one that at least ensured him a measure of local status and respect. As he put it: "I might be a turd at 'ome but I can 'old me 'ead up down the Vic".

Within the subculture of his peers, 'successful' criminality was a source of status and esteem. Association with successful illegality ensured that among his peers Jimmy was considered "a sound guy". As Pat Donaghue, a leading member of the Donaghue family and something of a role model for Hartingleigh's unemployed males, put it : "He's sorted, keeps it buttoned, knows the score - that'll do for me". Though at £2 an hour for indirect

involvement in situations that could have possibly resulted in Jimmy's imprisonment for criminal conspiracy, it might be considered that Pat Donaghue could afford to be generous in his praise. Essentially, Jimmy was more exploited in his 'fiddle job' than within the formal labour market. Nevertheless, such positive feedback in terms of the norms and values of the subcultural context was in direct contrast to that which he experienced in his domestic situation. On the street, Jimmy was not considered a failure. Being a 'somebody' (if only by association) in the eyes of a localised audience provided part of the explanation for his retreat from domestic and parental responsibility. Within the domestic domain of his parents home, he was, in his own words, "a blown out nobody", on the streets, he was "a sound guy". During this domestically troubled period, he increased his involvement with, and participation in, the 'after hours' sociability of the unemployed male network, during which he would often stay away from the parental home for several days · at a time moving from his work on the markets to the pubs or homes of his mates. Heavy drinking and smoking 'draw' were the norm, leisure time activities which led him to neglect both his marriage and his daughter.

Things improved in terms of Jimmy's home life after he was finally granted 'the keys' to a two bedroomed council flat on the Marton estate. He spent a lot of time decorating and equipping the flat which drew him away from the 'lads' network and back into his marriage. He also redoubled his efforts to secure a proper job and was finally successful in obtaining moderately well paid employment in a local butchers eight months after moving into the council flat with Julie and the baby. Although he still occasionally went out with his 'mates', residential mobility and full-time employment ensured that this was not a nightly occurrence.

The domestic pressures he had experienced living with his partner and child in the natal home had now evaporated. He also saw himself as a successful provider and was able to derive his sense of self from the 'breadwinning' role of full-time employment. The routine and discipline of daily employment also stabilised his life and he settled into a conventional

working class male role. In August 1990, the couple produced their second child, a son. Jimmy and Julie called him Lee Martin in honour of the Manchester United full-back of the same name who had scored a winning goal in the 1990 FA Cup Final against Crystal Palace. Jimmy had finally "got in" to the conventional working class world of male adulthood.

7.8.4   Georgie B : "Getting on, getting out"

The domestic career transition of the fifth male protracted transitionary, Georgie B., was a transition into courtship, engagement, owner-occupation, and marriage. This transition, though equally as protracted as the other four male participants was less complex. Georgie's journey into adulthood had much in common with the traditional transitionaries whose movement towards adult roles and status followed the same stage-like progression. For the traditional transitionaries, movement into adulthood complemented their progress within the labour market. They secured employment upon school leaving and, through forward planning and financial management, gained adult status and residential independence by their early twenties. The frames of reference associated with this form of transition were "getting on" and "getting out" of the working class cultural context. The only difference between Georgie's domestic career transition and that of the traditional transitionaries was that his was delayed by a total of four years. This included a year of unemployment, two years at college, and a one year training scheme.

Although he retained an insular and somewhat defensive demeanour, the geographical mobility afforded by his parents move to Oldham at least ensured that he was no longer the victim of the daily taunts, harassment, and bullying which had plagued his early adolescence in Hartingleigh (Section 7.4.1). During this period, Georgie did not have a girlfriend, nor did he embark on any of the spontaneous or casual sexual liaisons which formed a significant part of the early adolescent experience of most other study participants, both female and male. It was not until he was in to the second year of college that he embarked on his "first ever date".

484

Success in his college work and on the 'industrial placements' that were part of the two-year course, together with the status derived from early selection for further training sponsorship, increased his self-esteem and confidence. Moreover, away from the harsh and often cruel urban environment he had encountered in Hartingleigh, he gained a measure of respect, even popularity, among the young people on his course who came to value his willingness to assist them with the more difficult and technically demanding aspects of the course. It was out of such unselfish conduct that he evolved the friendship which produced his first date. As Marjorie, his partner, explained:

> "It wasn't as though he was ego-tripping or anything ... he genuinely knew more than anyone else and was so enthusiastic for the technology, for what it could do ... it was infectious really ... I kept getting stuck, losing my 'rag' and he'd ... calmly explain ... putting it simply without putting you down ... I couldn't resist it ... he was so innocent ... charming really. It's like there was something untouched about him ... I had to ask him out in the end ... and his face, he was so bewildered and then ... I don't know how to put it ... sort of joyous really, but he never said anything, it was all in his face ... Oh! I couldn't resist him ... it was all so genuine ... am I making sense?"

From this first date with Marjorie grew the relationship which led to their engagement in 1988, followed by home ownership and marriage in 1991. As Marjorie was also pursuing her own career in the computer industry, the couple decided to defer parenthood. Georgie in the meantime was seeking an upward career move and anticipated moving to a job in the South of England (Section 7.4.1). If successful in his applications for employment in the South, the couple planned then to have a baby as Marjorie intended to give up her work when they moved.

7.8.5 The Women

In their early 'teens, most of the women in my study group began to venture out with their female friends into the pubs in Hartingleigh. Occasionally, this was in the company of their parents. With the aid of make-up and clothes, they sought to disguise their true ages, so that they could "pass for an eighteen year old". After the opening of the Youth and Community Centre, a special 'Girls Only' room was, in 1982, inaugurated by Project youthworkers, Gail Hindle and Marie Hulton. In part, this was a response to problems between and among the sexes in the Project's mixed youth groups. Eventually the 'girls

only' nights at the Centre evolved into a regular 'girls night out' (Chapter Four, Section 4.2.2). For Tracy Smith, Cathy Tittle, and Amanda Gardiner, the 'girls nights' at the Centre, the 'girls night out', and the informal autonomous support groups that evolved from these domains of female sociability and recreation, formed significant resources, particularly in their teenage years.

The Project's 'girls nights' and the 'girls night out' were important to the women for two reasons. Firstly, they allowed them to "get out of the house and have a good laff" (Amanda), free from the constraints placed on their social behaviour by the presence of young men. Such resources also provided a relief from domestic constraint and unemployment; and, for Tracy Smith at that time, the added difficulties of coping with both a violent father and an abusive boyfriend. The 'girls nights out' were special occasions which often did not include men. At a special meeting convened at the Centre to decide whether the 'lads' should be allowed to join the 'girls night out', both Tracy and Amanda argued persuasively against the idea, swaying the vote in favour of maintaining a separatist policy. "It's our space ... one night when we don't have to play the game of being nice and that ... I don't think we should let them in" (Amanda). For Cathy, who was going 'steady' at the time, the purpose of the girls night out was NOT to meet or be with men. Although, for the women who were unattached, the 'girls night out' also served a second, non-separatist function in that it allowed them to pursue potential partners in the 'safety of numbers'. The girls group could be relied on to lend support if a lad encountered on a 'pub crawl' or in a City Centre club turned out to be "a problem" or a "dork".

Sometimes the women deliberately chose a City Centre venue for the 'girls night out' which was free from the predatory hassles of unattached males. Frank 'Foo Foo' Lamarr's gay club 'Foo Foo's Palace' (outlined in Chapter Four, Section 4.2.2) was one such venue. On other occasions, the girls would arrange to travel *en masse* to a disco or club, where they might be likely to encounter groups of unattached males, who were similarly "doing

the rounds". Such venues provided important locations for early adolescent courtship moves as they were generally places where loud music kept problematic conversation making to a minimum; where the rules of interaction were guided by the disco dance: "If a lad starts to dance next to you and you fancy him, then it takes off from there" (Cathy).

Relative poverty in their post-school periods of unemployment ensured that the 'girls night out' was at most a fortnightly and, more usually, a monthly occurrence. Though in between these more formally organised outings, the girls would informally arrange to gather in groups in one of three local pubs for a scaled down version of the 'girls night out'. Again, the safety in numbers factor seemed to be operative, particularly in their early post-school periods of sociability.

Within the Project, the 'girls only' youth group went further than "nights out in Town". Marie and Gail arranged sponsored trips "away" for the weekend and, also went on two subsidised holidays to Spain for a fortnight with a group of girls drawn from the local community.

Friendships within the girls group provided the women with different kinds of support; sometimes practical, in terms of sharing baby care and baby sitting routines; sometimes financial, in terms of borrowing or lending money until the next giro and so on; sometimes emotional, sharing hardships which often centred on male oppression (and sometimes violence). Even though Cathy, Tracy and Amanda in their early 'teens quickly developed steady relationships with young men, they also retained 'best friends' and other contacts with the girls group. Often the women felt the need to maintain contact with other women in similar situations to themselves in order to have someone to confide in. Other researchers have noted the significance of 'best friends' within the girls informal culture (McRobbie 1978; Stafford 1991). According to McRobbie, girls "own private culture" is characterised by a tremendous sense of solidarity (1978 : 106).

For Tracy Smith, her best friend was someone she could trust and with whom she could discuss the problems she had both at home with her violent father and within her relationship with an occasionally violent and abusive boyfriend. Such friendship and support enabled Tracy to begin the process of confronting her father over incidents of drunken violence which had involved both her mother and herself. Her friend's practical support enabled her to summon the courage to call upon professional intervention from the police and social services when the incidents were repeated. Later the same friendship allowed her to break free of her boyfriend - who, when attempting to harass her at the Centre, was "given a good talkin' to" and then "chased away" by her friend's two older brothers.

The three women loosened their affiliations to the girls informal group in the early period of their relationships with male partners. In Tracy's case, this happened as a result of her boyfriend's insistence. He was "so jealous". *He complained that Tracy was meeting other men at the Centre on the 'girls night' and, on one occasion, he was caught obsessively attempting to peer in through an upstairs window into the room utilised by the girls only youth group (though, when confronted, he claimed to be repairing the drainpipe from which he was hanging!).* Similarly, Cathy's early relationship demanded increased amounts of her time, so that she had little opportunity to maintain her contacts in the youth group. Later, however, all three women re-established their contacts and friendships, with the Youth Centre forming a consistent focus for their gatherings.

The same-sex friendship patterns among the three women protracted transitionaries differed from those reported by other researchers. Even after forming heterosexual relationships, the young women maintained contact with their closest woman friend, and later continued to meet and "go out" regularly with an all-women group; the trend observed by other researchers was for contact with female friends to be lost once the process of heterosexual courtship had begun (Sharpe 1976; Leonard 1980; Griffin 1985). Described by Griffin as a process of "deffing out", she has argued that the process is more

prevalent in the post-school domestic careers of young women because the daily contact

with same age, same sex, friends disappears after school leaving:

> "If a young woman started to go out with a regular boyfriend, she gradually lost touch
> with her girlfriends, often at the young man's insistence. This 'deffing out' process was
> even more prevalent after young women left school, because they could no longer rely on
> the daily contact with girlfriends at school" (Griffin 1985 : 61).

At meetings where the women were close friends, or had friends in common, a considerable amount of the conversation was about sexual matters, relationships, and about who was going out with whom. Such conversations included the censorious and controlling features of women's talk noted by McRobbie (1978) and Wilson (1978). For example, during the early meetings of the Project's developing youth group, there were competitive rivalries amongst some of the young women, particularly over boyfriends. On one occasion, previously discussed (Chapter Six, Section 6.6.2), the girls from the estates, including Tracy Smith and Cathy Tittle, attacked and hospitalised another female member of the youth group. Young women from the Kings Road area of owner-occupied terraced houses were described as 'snobs' and were subjected to an ongoing process of antagonistic exclusion until they were eventually driven out of the Project's youth group. This incident had its origins in the more destructive rivalries and jealousies engendered by an intense interest in the minutia of another girl's life. The flames of competitive rivalry were fuelled by malicious gossip.

In their early relationships, the three girls' sexual proclivities and reputation were circumscribed by the role of gossip, even within the same-sex informal group. As McRobbie has similarly argued, it is the girls' "own culture which ... is the most effective agent of social control ... pushing them into compliance with that role which a whole range of institutions in capitalist society also, but less effectively, directs them towards" (1978 : 104). The role of gossip and local reputation in upholding the double standard as regards women's sexuality operated to "safeguard their entry into the mainstream of adult social life, namely marriage" (Wilson 1978 : 72). Cathy Tittle summed up the double standard:

"They can sleep with a million girls and they're bloody Clint Eastwood in the pub, you sleep with one of them an' you're a prossie [prostitute], but it's always been like that". The three women agreed that a good reputation was important to them, not so much in terms of their future marriage prospects, but more in terms of attracting unwanted attention "from the wrong sort of bloke":

... "You know, chats you up for ten minutes, then expects you to get 'em off in the back of 'is car ... " (Cathy)
... "The hello, what's your name, d'ya wanna shag, type ... " (Tracy)
... "Sometimes they don't even ask your name ... " (Amanda).

All three women had experienced 'bad relationships' during the course of their domestic transitions. For <u>Tracy Smith</u>, this took the form of an early teenage sexual relationship with a young man who was constantly "in trouble with the law" for acts of violence, including "GBH" (grievous bodily harm), ABH (aggravated bodily harm), and aggravated burglary". He was also addicted to smack (heroin) and, when his finances were such that he was unable to 'score', or during periods when the drug was not available, he became agitated and violent with her. It was only as a result of professional counselling that Tracy was able to relinquish her contact with the man. In part, her therapy enabled her to establish the link between her childhood experiences of paternal violence and her adult disposition to a relationship that mirrored her past.

<u>Amanda</u>'s first serious relationship was similarly "a disaster". After a lengthy courtship which lasted for over a year, she agreed to share a flat with her boyfriend and a young woman who had been to school with her. Although Amanda was committed to the relationship, she was not "thinking in terms of marriage or anything like that". In part, she had decided to undertake the move to escape from the family home and protracted rows with her parents which centred on two issues: her parents' profound disapproval of her relationship with her boyfriend, who they considered to be "too rough"; and financial issues connected to disputes over her share of the family finances. With regard to the latter, Amanda was unemployed at the time and had been supplementing her 'keep' by

babysitting her two younger sisters when her parents went out in the evening or at weekends. When she withdrew her babysitting labour, her father sought to increase her financial contribution to the household budget. It was when Amanda refused to pay the increase that the rows ensued, arguments which were fuelled by the growing controversy over her deepening relationship.

Aside from domestic disharmony within the parental home, Amanda was also eager to "leave home" to assert her adult independence: "I was sick of being treated like a school-kid, I wasn't a teenager any more but my Dad kept on treating me like I was". For almost a year, the move into privately rented accommodation proved to be successful. Although Amanda, her boyfriend and her old school friend were all unemployed, supplementary benefits and a shared financial arrangement ensured that life, though not "luxurious or anything", was at least "manageable". Amanda by this time was working fairly steadily within the Youth and Community Project and, though registered as unemployed and in receipt of benefits, was receiving informal payments from the Project's petty cash.

However, a chance early return from the Youth and Community Centre caught her boyfriend and school friend in bed together. In the scene that ensued, the pair confessed to having secretly developed a relationship over a number of months. Considering the circumstances, Amanda left the situation with a great deal of composure and dignity. She simply "packed, emptied the electricity meter, and caught a taxi home."

Cathy Tittle, in her post-school domestic transition, also "left home" to live with a steady partner, a young man she met as a result of one of the 'girls nights out'. Again, the problems associated with attempting to sustain residential independence whilst unemployed prevented the move from developing beyond a few months. Her partner at the time was initially employed as a builders labourer but, after a night out with his workmates, he seriously injured a leg in a car accident and, as a consequence, was unable to sustain his employment. The couple struggled to "make ends meet" on the income

derived from benefits, but eventually debt forced them to abandon the flat and both returned to their respective family homes. For another year or so, the couple maintained their relationship, but lack of income and the fact that her boyfriend lived outside of the local community meant that for Cathy "there was no future in it". She had several brief relationships in the period that followed, in particular, one relationship with a minor celebrity who was a promoter of local radio and also a disc jockey. Cathy hoped that this liaison would lead into marriage as the man embodied many of the qualities she sought at the time: "He wasn't broke, he had his own house, and he drove a Rover". Unfortunately, this relationship too proved to be a "bummer", due to the man's "unhealthy" interest in sexual experimentation:

> "It wasn't healthy, he wanted me to 'perform' for him with another woman ... went on about it all the time. I thought he had it all, but he was a pervert ... just my luck."

From experiences like these, the three women developed a fatalistic cynicism about their possibilities for a "good relationship". Nevertheless, despite their pessimism about securing a "decent" or "good" relationship, none of the three undertook, or even considered, the alternative route into female adult status, namely that of an early 'career' of lone parenthood. Unlike other women study participants who were undertaking post-school transitions against a backcloth of protracted unemployment, they chose not to get pregnant and raise children alone. In contrast, four of the eleven women who were unemployed in the period 1985-1986 had chosen lone parenthood as an 'alternative career' and transition route to residential mobility and adult status (see Table 10, Chapter Four, Section 4.7). Cathy Tittle did become pregnant in her late 'teens as a result of an "accident" during a brief relationship which had "not worked out". Rather than lone parenthood, she chose instead an early termination:

> "I couldn't handle it ... There was no way I was doin' it on my own, no way! Kids need a decent start ... what could I give it livin' round here ... No I made me mind up an' I'm glad I did."

Amanda Gardiner's view was: "I love kids but it'll do to be working with them all day ... There's enough kids in the world an' half of them's got no parents." And, according to Tracy Smith: "I don't want to end up like me ma, 'done in' when I'm forty."

In 1991, after my research was officially complete, Tracy Smith, by then in her late twenties, became the only one of the three women protracted transitionaries to have undertaken the journey into parenthood. Her son, Joey, born in March of that year, was the culmination of a relationship which began soon after she started work for the Project. Tracy met her "fella", Bruce, early in 1987 when she was working full-time as a cook in the Youth and Community Centre. At that time, she was still living, unhappily, within the parental home. Bruce worked part-time for a garment manufacturers in the City Centre, but his main hobby, preoccupation and source of income were the karate classes he led both at the Centre, one evening a week, and for other community organisations in the north Manchester region.

After their initial meeting at the Centre, Tracy "went out" with Bruce and their relationship developed to the point where Tracy was spending most of her free time with him, often accompanying Bruce to the various martial arts classes he ran in the region. Bruce still lived at home but Tracy "got an OK with his Mam an' Dad" and often stayed the night with him in his parents' house. After a courtship which lasted for almost eighteen months, the couple decided to set up home together. In 1988, they undertook the shared tenancy of a privately rented flat in nearby Newmarch Heath. Two years later, when announcing her pregnancy to friends at the Centre, she declared Bruce to be "the love of my life". However, despite this, and several proposals from him, she was determined not to get married:

> Tracy Smith: "He's strong ... kind an' he never loses his temper ... doesn't smoke, doesn't drink."
> Gail Hindle (gentle, mocking, little girl voice): "An' he's kind to little furry animals."
> Marie Hulton: "An' 'e doesn't play with 'is winkle or fart under the [bed] covers!"
> Tony Boyle: "An' 'is shit don't stink ... the perfect man!"
> (laughter)
> Gail Hindle: "When you gettin' married Trace?"
> Tracy Smith: "I don't like 'im that much."

Despite the guarantee that her job would be "kept open", Tracy chose to continue her work for the Project throughout the pregnancy. She finally stopped work two weeks

before the estimated delivery date, but, despite the protests of Project staff, returned to the job within a fortnight of her son being born. Whilst she was working, she carried the child in a back-sling and unselfconsciously stopped whatever she was doing to breastfeed whenever the baby cried. Much to the chagrin of Youth Centre staff and users, Tracy's parental commitments ensured that the Project's lunchtime menu underwent radical rearrangement; salads and sandwiches became the main staple: "Joey doesn't like the steam" was Tracy's explanation. Towards the end of 1991, Tracy's "winter salads" became something of a standing joke at the Centre. The following Summer, when Joey was bigger and no longer solely dependent on Tracy for breastfeeding, the couple juggled responsibility for the child's care between the demands of her job at the Centre and the free periods that were available to Bruce from his part-time work. Project staff also occasionally helped out with the child-minding duties and the 'Mums and Toddlers' group provided Tracy with a readily available resource as a result of which "hot dinners" were again back on the Project's lunchtime menu!

Working class girls often have "impoverished personal lives" (Banks *et al* 1992 : 54); they have poor access to financial stability and material resources, more restricted leisure activity, and the overall expectation that they will provide domestic services for the natal family, in ways that boys do not. These basic differences interact with employment routes and aspirations. The cumulative impact of these differences directs working class girls towards forms of employment which, in various ways, serve the domestic career (Banks *et al* 1992). Early marriage and parenthood are typically expected, to some extent anticipated, as are part-time or full-time employment soon afterwards in order to augment the family income. Unemployment often serves to accelerate the process of a domestic home-caring, child-rearing 'career'. In the absence of primary employment, women are expected to fulfil a domestic role within their parents' home or else to move out to establish a domestic life of their own (Griffin 1985). What was remarkable about Cathy Tittle and Amanda Gardiner's protracted transitions was their resistance to the pressures

which direct working class girls towards both 'orthodox' (marriage and parenthood) or 'alternative' (cohabitation and parenthood; lone parenthood) domestic careers.

7.8.6 Cathy Tittle : "The Right to Party"

Cathy Tittle was able to resist a conventional transition to female domesticity partly as a result of her affiliation to a growing subcultural phenomenon in Manchester - this was the "Acid House" or "Manchester Rave Scene" (*Daily Mirror*, 30.1.90 : 9).

Although Cathy remained within the parental home until her mid-twenties, her social life considerably developed as a consequence of her part-time employment in a City Centre florists. Through her work, she cultivated friendships with two young women who were also employed on a part-time basis within the shop. One of these was an art student at Manchester Polytechnic with an extensive network of student and non-student friends. In the company of her work colleagues and these friends, from 1986 onwards, Cathy came to define her identity in terms of the "hardcore hedonists" (*Manchester Evening News* 14.12.90 : 26-27) who were at the heart of the City's burgeoning subcultural scene.

Her developing social life took her out of the local community and broadened her social horizons. In the company of her work colleagues, she developed new friendships and an autonomous social existence based on an affiliation to the subcultural norms and style of the "Manchester Scene". The *Sunday Times* (October 30, 1988) suggested that: "If they had been born ten years earlier, they would have been punk rockers ... twenty years, taken LSD and listed to Jim Morrison". By 1988, Manchester City Centre was at the very heart of a subcultural phenomenon that quickly gained national, and then international, popularity. In Manchester during the mid-1980s, discos and unofficial, illegal, 'Warehouse Parties' mushroomed to cater for the "new music", which, during the 'scene's' early period, often was produced as a cottage industry on tapes and records for distribution to a growing army of local devotees. This home-produced, electronic music -

"... fused two forms, both based on [electronic] sampling. Acid House, a derivative of Chicago House music dance styles ... came to mingle with Balearic Beat, a crazy mixture of Euro-pop. The sound of Acid House was hailed as the acme of reconstitution" (Redhead 1990 : 2).

Apart from the home production of recorded music for local distribution on tape and record, live music based on Manchester bands such as New Order, the Stone Roses, Happy Mondays, and Inspiral Carpets, heralded, in 1988, a new "Summer of Love". During much of 1988, the "Summer of Love" was primarily located in a City Centre club, The Hacienda. "Summer of Love" 'raves' at The Hacienda produced "a weekend meltdown of sounds and styles as youth culture underwent its greatest convulsions since punk a decade earlier" (*Observer*, 24.5.92 : 53). By 1990, the 'quality press' was hailing Manchester as being "at the sharp end of subcultural style and its bands ... have given the dormant, menopausal British rock scene a welcome goosing" (*The Guardian*, 22.4.90 : 24-25).

For Cathy, and other study participants, especially the long-term unemployed, the "Manchester Scene" of the mid- to late 1980s was a self-created haven. It was "their scene", a positive source of cultural identity and self-esteem; a subcultural refuge which temporarily allowed them to transcend the stigma of unemployment and the institutionalised social and economic insecurity of being young and working class in a City "locked in permanent economic and social decline" (Kelly 1992).

In Cathy's case, the 'scene' facilitated significant changes in her life. Although she was able to pursue casual relationships within the context of her subcultural affiliations, the norms and values of the 'scene' precluded the development of anything 'serious'. The clarion call was "the right to party", affiliates were "twenty-four hour party people" (Happy Mondays). Hedonistic immediacy was the norm, not forward planning or emotional commitment.

496

After her part-time employment was upgraded to full-time in 1987, Cathy was able to consider a move towards sustained residential independence. In February 1989, she finally left the family home in Hartingleigh to occupy a room in a house shared by one of her work colleagues and other students from Manchester Polytechnic's Art Department. This move followed partly as a result of opportunities created through her expanded social horizons, and also as a consequence of the financial independence secured from full-time employment. In my last contacts with Cathy in 1991, she was still employed in the same City Centre florists and had maintained her room in the "house full of ravers". Free from attachment to any sustained heterosexual relationship, or partner, she did confess to having "a few really good men friends", none of which were "serious". As for marriage?

> "I don't even think about it anymore, there's plenty of time, I suppose ... I'm just into having a good time ... the party's not over yet."

7.8.7   Amanda Gardiner : "Coming Out"

Amanda Gardiner similarly avoided any long-standing attachments to male partners. Her work for the Youth and Community Project eventually led into full-time employment in a Council-sponsored playgroup. Though she enjoyed her work, the income it generated was not sufficient to allow her to embark on residential independence and for the next few years she continued to live at her parents' home. During this time, she maintained an almost continuous affiliation with the Youth and Community Project, and often accompanied youthworkers on sponsored events such as holidays or weekend outings. She did not form any 'serious' partnerships during this period, though occasionally 'went out' with unattached males to commercial discos or concerts in the City. Amanda also maintained her attachment to the 'Girls Group' at the Centre and was a leading figure in the organisation of the 'girls night out'.

In some respects, Amanda's involvement in community-based work and with community activists like Gail Hindle and Marie Hulton at the Project enabled her to construct a self identity based on an affirmation of her status as an unattached woman.

Within inner City communities like Hartingleigh, there are enormous pressures on working class girls to prove their normality and adulthood by becoming involved in a heterosexual relationship. As Griffin's study in Birmingham demonstrated:

> "Having a boyfriend was seen as a mark of adulthood, and a move away from the child-like status of the schoolgirl. It was also seen as proof of 'normal' (i.e. heterosexual) femininity" (1985 : 56).

By the time she was in her mid-twenties, Amanda was confident enough about herself to resist and rebuff the jibes and banter about her non-attached, non-married status. Cracks about her being a "lezzie" (lesbian) were swiftly dealt with, either verbally or, if necessary, physically. She had the constant support of both Gail and Marie as well as other women workers within the Project, including two part-time youthworkers. Thus, it came as no surprise when, at the age of twenty-five, she finally left home to share a flat in nearby Marton with one of the women part-time youthworkers. However, this was not an act of "coming out" (Hemmings 1986) in the sense of declaring herself to be gay, for, despite what many assumed, Amanda was in fact "strictly straight". Rather, her choice to live with another woman (who was gay) was a sign for her that she had finally broken through the invisible conventions and traditional expectations associated with working class femininity. Amanda decided to share the flat in the face of parental opposition and the inevitable stigma attached to living with a woman who had openly declared her lesbianism, because, in her own terms, it was a "sound practical move". Her co-tenant was someone she worked with, was close to, and confident about being able to spend time with, but she would not "be havin' sex with her". More importantly, she "didn't care" if people assumed she was. Amanda had "broken through", and maintained that for the first time in her life she was acting for herself.

The move was tremendously significant for her in that it was a self-affirming signal that she was in control of her life and no longer subject to the pressure of conventional expectations, both from her family and the wider community, including some of her former friends. Moreover, she no longer felt the need to "even make the attempt" to conform to

the traditional adult status roles assigned to working class women such as wife, housewife, girlfriend, or mother. She felt able to assert her adulthood in her own terms. She was indeed 'coming out' -

> "... makin' my stand ... like I suddenly knew I didn't 'ave to do it anyone's way 'cept me own ... I've got this far without a man, maybe I don't need it ... Maybe I just need to be me."

7.9 Conclusions: Protracted Transitions and Institutionalised Economic and Social Insecurity

The protracted transitions of the eight study participants who had eventually secured primary employment, five, six, or, in two cases, over seven years after school leaving, need to be understood within the wider context of institutionalised social and economic insecurity. Participants' experiences of lengthening transition and the evidence they provide for its increased complexity reflect the cumulative impact of government policy changes since 1979, especially in areas like benefits, housing, and youth (un)-employment training policies. With regard to the latter, throughout my study I have critically examined the impact of policy interventions in the area of youth unemployment (see, for example, this Chapter, Sections 7.1 and 7.4; Chapter Two, Section 2.6.2; Chapter Four, Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). In the main, participants' experiences on training schemes or special programmes did not lead into employment and served only to temporarily remove them from the unemployed register and extend their post-school transitions to 'proper jobs'.

The collapse of the youth labour market and the loss of employment opportunities upon which to structure post-school transitions to adult independence resulted in participants becoming more, not less, dependent upon their parents and families. Their position has been exacerbated by the fifty or so changes in benefit regulations which since 1979 have reduced overall the living standards of the benefit dependent (Kirk et al 1991 : 39). Micklewright and Atkinson (1988) have been able to model the effect of restoring twenty

of the changes to the 1979 situation on a sample drawn from the Family Expenditure Survey. They concluded: "The total effect is that the unemployed covered by our analysis would have received £150 million more than under present policy". The difference was equivalent to "around 7% of the predicted total benefit expenditure for the unemployed" (in Atkinson 1989 : 143 and 145). According to other research, the impact of policy changes in the area of benefits and benefits entitlement has produced the risk of "absolute destitution" for young people (Roll 1990 : 63), and, moreover, increased their dependence on family households:

> "Any single, childless person under 25 who cannot be entirely self supporting is likely to find it difficult to manage to live independently because of the 'junior' benefit rate which applies to both Income Support and Housing Benefit" (1990 : 63).

The overall effect of benefit policy changes has been to reduce the living standards of the young unemployed, increase dependency, and lower the status of the problem of youth unemployment as a policy priority:

> "Young people have been particularly affected by a move away from benefit and other policies based on a recognition of the external causes of unemployment and a consequent public responsibility for compensation. The effect of all the policy changes has been ... to delegitimise the claims of these unemployed [young] people to state support and assistance" (Kirk *et al* 1991 : 41).

The 'housing careers' of study participants must also be understood within the context of the deteriorating housing situation which has confronted the young working class since 1979. According to Allatt:

> "Changes in the labour and housing markets have turned what seemed a fairly straightforward progression into work, housing and domestic independence into one fraught with uncertainties" (1988 : 19).

The Conservatives' ideological push for privatisation has been responsible for a major restructuring of the nation's housing stock. The policy, pursued by successive Conservative governments, of encouraging home ownership meant that in 1990 66% of dwellings were owner-occupied compared with 55% in 1979 (Kirk *et al* 1991 : 31). The shift in housing tenure did not happen by chance but was a consequence of state planning.

Home ownership was vigorously promoted, for example mortgage interest tax relief rose from £1,5 billion in 1979 to £7.7 billion in 1990; at the same time 1.5 million properties (20% of the total stock) were taken out of local authority ownership through the "right to buy" (Smith 1991 : 8). The government's efforts to decrease the public housing stock were clearly illustrated in the 1985 Housing Act. The legislation continued the government's right to buy policy. It maximised the incentive through offering potential purchasers substantially increased discounts (60-70%), and extended the repayment schedule for council house purchases. According to Kirk *et al*, the 1985 Act can be viewed as part of a wider movement which sought to redistribute state benefits in housing towards the "better off" owner-occupiers:

> "Through such primary instruments of housing policy, e.g. Mortgage Interest Tax Relief, the sale of council houses, and exemption from capital gains tax, the state conceals 'invisible' forms of public finance particularly beneficial to employed, middle-aged citizens. The bulk of state benefits in housing is being systematically transferred to the owner-occupied sector (and within that sector to better-off dwellers)" (1991 : 31).

The shift from waged employment to training and unemployment, together with the negative impact of changes in benefit regulations, means that the income of many young adults has fallen in real terms. The overall effect is that most working class young people do not have the capital or the income to enter the private housing market. The rise in house prices, combined with the relative decrease in income, puts owner-occupation out of reach. Without considerable assistance from family members, as was the case with the housing careers of the three traditional transitionaries (Chapter Six, Section 6.5.7), young people face enormous difficulties amassing the necessary capital for a deposit. Berksy and Georgie B. were able to undertake owner-occupation because of the accumulation of income from army service in Berksy's case and from extremely well-paid employment in Georgie's case, but these were the exceptions. Even after protracted transitions to employment were secured, the remaining six participants could not contemplate owner-occupation as their low incomes precluded the undertaking of large mortgages. Moreover, aside from the reduction in public properties (council houses) for rent, the number of properties available for private renting has also declined. Young people are the

group most commonly found in this sector of the housing market (Smith 1991). At the start of the 1970s, around 16% of the housing stock was private rented. By 1988, this figure had been reduced to 7.3% (Smith 1991 : 8).

The problems faced by study participants in the private rented sector are not only problems of supply. This sector may also be prohibitory because of expensive rent levels and the ceiling placed by local authorities on the allowable amounts of housing benefit paid in terms of rent. Moreover, for participants who moved into part-time employment during the course of transition, such income would preclude entitlement to housing benefit and income support (or supplementary benefit as it was then known). Thus, although a participant may have been 'better off' overall through part-time work, the loss of entitlement to assistance with rent payments ensured that privately rented accommodation was not undertaken.

The experiences of the eight study participants who effected a protracted transition to economic independence and adult roles and status may be vividly contrasted with the experiences of the three study participants who had secured a traditional transition to primary employment upon school leaving. The traditional transitionaries left home and were formally engaged by their early twenties, and had all married and successfully undertaken owner-occupation and parenthood by their mid-twenties. A traditional transition to employment provided the economic foundation upon which stable adult roles and identities were constructed.

In contrast, the post-school transitions of the eight protracted transitionaries were characterised by prolonged periods of unemployment and, in most cases underemployment and government schemes, which extended the transition to proper jobs for periods of between four to almost eight years. Economic instability mitigated against the forward planning and saving which had characterised the domestic careers of the traditional transitionaries. Apart from George B. (Sections 7.4.1; 7.8.4), the protracted

transitionaries' domestic careers were developed within a context of institutionalised social and economic insecurity; their movement towards adult roles and status showed little in the way of the stage-like progressions of the traditional transitionaries. Essentially, the protracted transitionaries were attempting post-school progressions into working class adulthood without employment whilst often still living at home with their parents. Most of the study participants who effected a protracted transition to jobs were unable to sustain residential independence until their mid-twenties and only two had successfully undertaken owner-occupation.

The three traditional transitionaries' domestic careers followed a clear-cut life course progression. Their traditional domestic careers were augmented by the benefits bestowed by full-time employment. Traditional transitions to employment facilitated social contact, leisure and residential mobility. There then followed a traditional pattern of courtship, engagement, marriage, owner-occupation and parenthood. Traditional transitions to employment were reflected in relatively unambiguous transitions to traditional adult roles and statuses. In contrast, among the protracted transitionaries, relationship-family formation was often extended and complex, characterised by economic instability and social insecurity. For both Amanda Gardiner and Cathy Tittle, however, the insecurity of their transitions to adulthood paradoxically afforded new spaces within which to conceive of, and recreate, their adult identities, unencumbered by partnership or child-rearing commitments. Nevertheless, among the protracted transitionaries, progressions to adult roles and statuses were typically elongated, delayed by economic instability, marred by residential uncertainty and, in some cases, characterised by emotional precariousness. The institutionalised economic instability produced by protracted bouts of unemployment was reflected in the social ambiguity of participants' protracted transitions to adulthood.

The patterns of economic instability, residential insecurity, and psychological ambiguity were also repeated in the post-school transitions of the majority group within my study - the long-term unemployed. Their experiences in the labour market frequently produced

cyclical post-school transitions. This was a "Black Magic Roundabout" of unemployment, underemployment, government schemes, more unemployment, more schemes, and so on. Cyclical transitions were also the post-school experiences of the protracted transitionaries. However, unlike the protracted transitionaries, for those study participants undergoing a cyclical transition, primary employment was not an end result. The cyclical transitionaries could be distinguished from the protracted transitionaries in terms of their final labour market destinations. Thus the cyclical transitionaries were study participants whose progressions into adult identities occurred in the absence of the major 'structuring' influence of full-time employment, the implications of which are examined in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CYCLICAL TRANSITIONS

"Round an' round an' round we spin
their evil system hems us in"
(Slumshine: *The Black Magic Roundabout*)

8.1 Introduction : The Black Magic Roundabout

"'Humble objects' can be magically appropriated; 'stolen' by subordinate groups and
made to carry 'secret' meanings ... which express, in code, a form of resistance"
(Hebdige 1979 : 18)

The interested observer travelling through the contemporary urban landscape cannot fail to

notice the ways in which bus shelters, public shelters, public transport, under-passes on

main arterial roads, factory walls, shop-fronts, and especially public buildings, have been

colonised by the slogans, "tags" (signatures) and elaborate wall murals, or "pieces" (from

master-pieces), of the contemporary urban graffiti artists.   Hartingleigh's urban landscape

was, and still is, no exception.   During my youthwork practice, and later when my

fieldwork was under way, my walks round the local estates, or to and from the markets,

shops, and bus stops, would be frequently illuminated by the colour, humour, persistence,

and vibrancy of the local graffiti artists.

In the early days of my youthwork, certain recognisable tags frequently reoccurred,

often in the most inaccessible of locations.   "Coggs", "Maz", "Dilly", "Tex", "J.W." and

"Digger" were study participants whose elaborately stylised signatures were to be found

spray-painted in numerous places throughout the ward.   Within the milieu of the

practitioners of · graffiti art, prestige, recognition, and status, could be derived from the

production of such tags in dangerous or difficult to reach positions.   High status locations

in Hartingleigh included, for example, a railway bridge, the outer faces of the deck-access

walkways found on local estates, or the outside upper level of the double-decker buses

which ran through the ward.   These prestige tags would be achieved co-operatively and

involved the assistance of friends who would precariously dangle the prospective tagger

upside down by the legs over a railway bridge or walkway, to enable the tag to be made. Similarly, associates of a tagger would engage bus drivers in protracted negotiations over the cost of a journey in order to allow the tagger time to scramble on top of a bus shelter to administer the "tag" or "hit" to the upper deck of a bus.

The specialised vocabulary of the graffiti artist differentiates between the different forms - to "tag" is to produce a stylised signature, while to "piece" is to produce a complete mural. Public transport such as buses or trains which have been tagged are said to have been "bombed" or "hit":

> "Those who know how to yield the 'bunts' (from cans of Bunt-Lac spray) are 'writers' who 'burn' or beat the competition with 'def' (i.e. really good, derived from death) designs, whilst those still learning are 'scribblers' or 'toys' whose 'throw ups' (quickly painted outlines) are 'wak' (substandard, inept, with drips visible)" (Coffield 1991 : 66).

Aside from serving as a vehicle for establishing individual identity or prestige, tags and pieces also symbolically demarcate collective psychological or territorial boundaries. The slogans of the Northside Jungle Crew, "N.J.C.", were, for example, common not only throughout the Chicken Lane estate, but also the walls and walkways of all the visible public spaces in Hartingleigh. Other ethnographers of the urban young have similarly noted the significance of graffiti in marking the parameters of a social and geographical area for male informal groups (see, for example, Patrick 1973 : 118-121; Jenkins 1983 : 42-44). Patrick's study of the subcultural norms and values of Glasgow gangs in the late 1960s highlights the role of graffiti in marking the parameters of a gang's 'territory':

> "This is one feature of gang life which all Glaswegians have taken cognisance of, mainly because it is virtually impossible to walk the streets ... of the city without one's eyes being accosted by such slogans as 'Tongs ya Bass', 'Wild Young Derry, 1690', 'Toon Boys' and 'Randy Andy fae the Pak'. Some of the graffiti are truly memorable. On a tenement wall in Maryhill Road, I read the proud boast, 'WE ARE THE PEOPLE'" (1973 : 118).

In Hartingleigh during the first phase of youthwork practice, graffiti and huge wall slogans, testified to the territorial dominance of the 'Crew' and also proclaimed their

geographical subcultural and football supporting affiliations (Chapter Four, Section 4.2.3; Chapter Six, Section 6.6.2). Examples included the widespread proclamations of territorial and subcultural assertiveness: "Northside Jungle - No Go Area!"; "Northside Jungle - We Hate Humans"; "Northside Reds Kill Scousers"; or more simply, "Northside Rules". Other graffiti similarly sought to assert in physical form the notions of "street survival" and the "dramatic permutations of hardness" (Willis 1990 : 103) of Hartingleigh's young male unemployed.

On the overcrowded walls and buildings in Hartingleigh, tags, pieces, slogans, and miscellaneous graffiti, also sought to give voice to the cultural significance of the bands of the 'Manchester Scene' of popular music, especially in the mid- to late 1980s. Local favourites such as 'The Happy Mondays', 'Inspiral Carpets', 'New Order', 'The Smiths', or 'Stone Roses', vied for signification along with home-grown bands from the immediate area such as 'King of the Slums', 'Northside, 'The Refugees' and 'Slumshine'. Popular graffiti also articulated the focal concerns of various subcultural affiliates, including the use of proscribed drugs such as the use of 'Dope', 'Hash' or 'Weed' (cannabis); 'Acid' (LSD); 'E' (Ecstasy); 'Coke' (cocaine); and 'Smack' or 'Brown' (heroin). Slogans included: "No Dope No Hope", "Taste the Colours", "Trip out, Trip up, Fuck Off, and "An E a day rots your brain away".

Other signs and slogans have articulated a growing sense of hopelessness and more despairing concerns: The slogan, "Too Drunk to Fuck", sprayed on the side of a local pub produced the written response, "Too Fucked to Drink", which, in turn, later engendered the riposte "Too Ducked to Fink". In the early 1980s, the implications of worklessness also began to inform the nihilistic slogans derived from the subculture of Punk: "God save the Queen - it's a fascist regime" (a line borrowed from a song by the Sex Pistols) was prominent on a wall of the local Job Centre along with: "No Job No Dole Stick the System up yer 'Ole". "No Future UK 1982" was, for a long time, emblazoned on the main external wall of the offices of the local Social Services Department, and to the

507

message "Smack Kills", on the wall of a local doctor's surgery, was added the epitaph of hopelessness: "So What".

A final example of a piece is derived from a recent cultural 'moment' in the concerns and interests of local football supporters. Shortly after the arrival of French footballer, Eric Cantona, transferred from Leeds to Manchester United during the 1992-1993 season, a huge mural of a resplendent emerald green 'Kermit'-like figure (the frog from the American children's TV series, 'Sesame Street'), complete with Gallic beret and string of onions, appeared on the external wall of the local superstore. The slogans "Eric the Frog" and "Ooh Aahh Cantona!" were emblazoned around the piece. However, unlike "Eric the Frog", some signs defied easy decoding. One such elaborate piece was, in the early 1980s, a mural constructed overnight on the main wall next to the entrance of the local offices of the Careers Service. It was a complex piece, again depicting various characters from a children's television series, the "Magic Roundabout". However, unlike the rather endearing Gallic Kermit, there was something strangely disconcerting about the Magic Roundabout piece. The faces of the familiar characters, 'Dougal', 'Dylan', 'Zebedee', etc. had all been provided by the graffiti artist with demonic eyes and seemingly embittered scowls or faces drawn in pain or anguish. Beneath the piece were to be found the words, "Black Magic Roundabout".

If, as Clarke (1976) and Hebdige (1979) have both argued, "object and meaning constitute a sign", and an assembly of signs conforms to a coded discourse, then the act of understanding is located in the code. The code provides the key to the discourse, which provides the key to unlocking the sign (to the object and meaning of the sign). Unlike the slogans or pieces with which I was familiar, and understood as inspired by subcultural codes informed by music, football, localism, or drugs, the 'Black Magic Roundabout' defied decoding. Quite simply, I did not understand it as I did not know the code. According to Volosinov: "A sign does not simply exist as part of reality - it reflects and refracts another reality" (in Hebdige 1979 : 13).

According to the semiotician, all aspects of culture possess a symbolic value and the most taken-for-granted phenomena can be appropriated and redefined symbolically as a form of subversive practice; this has been described by Eco (1972) as "semiotic guerrilla warfare". Thus, when significant objects, such as the characters in a children's television programme, are stripped of their conventional symbolic connotations by, for example, being portrayed as in some way demonic, or possessed, especially if presented in conjunction with the words 'Black Magic', the significant objects and their meanings are relocated in a different symbolic discourse, a different message is conveyed. But what was the code of the Black Magic Roundabout and how could the messaged embedded in this particular piece of semiotic communication be unlocked? My interest in the signification of the coded graffiti of Hartingleigh's urban landscape ensured that I was, at least, intrigued enough to investigate, to seek to discover what was being communicated in this disturbing piece. An early clue was provided by Jim Donovan at the Centre who explained that the 1980s repeats of the original Magic Roundabout series, made and produced for children's television in the 1960s, constituted part of the day time viewing of Hartingleigh's young unemployed. The phenomenon of excessive day time television viewing by the unemployed young has been noted by several researchers. According to one of the participants in Wallace's study, for example: "Well, I'd get up, help me mum with the housework, then sit down and watch afternoon television all afternoon" (1987 : 149).

Among Coffield *et al*'s participants, the day time TV show, 'The Sullivans', was something of a metaphor, "a recurrent joke, a shorthand way of referring to activities typical of young people when unemployed" (1986 : 62). For several unemployed study participants, day time television in general, and Magic Roundabout repeats in particular, had a similar symbolic significance. The daily episodes of the Magic Roundabout constituted a local eccentricity among some of Hartingleigh's young unemployed; a private club perpetuated by the enforced leisure afforded by protracted periods of unemployment. Over time, it became "a pervasive part of [their] cultural and symbolic

life" (Willis 1990 : 30).   The small group of Magic Roundabout devotees would, in the early 1980s, meet in one or other of their homes to "get stoned" in the mid-afternoon and watch the latest adventures of 'Zebedee' and friends.   Such was the extent of their attachment to the programme that video tapes were compiled by the group who would spend time watching sequences of episodes before discussing the hidden significance contained within the storylines.

Coggs, I discovered, was not only a leading figure in the small group of Magic Roundabout devotees, but had also constructed the Black Magic Roundabout piece outside Hartingleigh's Careers Office.   In conversation with Coggs, I sought to draw out the meaning and symbolism of the piece.   Was it, I asked, a significant reference to the 'voodoo'-like quality of television which pacified young unemployed people and distracted them from poverty, wagelessness and the search for jobs?   "Sort of" was his reply.   It transpired that the inspiration for the Black Magic Roundabout piece came from a song of the same title by the local band, 'Slumshine'.   At times, I felt like an interviewer from some Channel Four arts programme trying to tease the meaning of an obscure piece of contemporary sculpture from a moody and recalcitrant artist.   Just as he would refuse all help to develop or promote his undeniable talents (Chapter Four, Section 4.2.4), Coggs similarly refused to talk directly about his work.   "OK, so what's the song about?", I asked - perhaps here would lie the code, the key with which I could unlock the meaning of the piece:

> "It's more than voodoo, it's to do with yer life ... runnin' round in circles an' gettin' nowhere ... like YOPs an' all the other shit.   Watchin' Magic Roundabout ain't bad ... see you've stopped runnin' round.   It's like the 'shine say it ... goin' nowhere when you think you should be goin' somewhere.   That's where the fuckin' grief is man ... goin' round on a fuckin' ride that's goin' nowhere ... That's what the piece is about as well."

There were numerous times during the course of my fieldwork when, intellectually, I felt helpless.   This was one of them.   No amount of academic understanding would allow me to 'get inside' the meaning of the Black Magic Roundabout, certainly not in the way that Coggs understood the piece ... ("Ya university mong!   Ya dosey cunt!   That's it!" -

510

Riseborough 1993 : 228).   Of course, academic meaning was taking shape.   In my field notes I wrote that the piece was "a metaphor for futility".   Located outside the Careers Office, a siting which was not accidental, here was the setting, as far as Coggs was concerned, where illusions were peddled under the guise of careers guidance, or where government schemes were offered as hope for a proper job.   Was this the Black Magic? Coggs became exasperated by my persistent questions and apparent lack of understanding:

> "It's in the fuckin' song ... about an evil spell that makes you blind, fucks you up ... sends
> you chasin' yer own arse like the bastards down the Careers place ... got it now
> University shite ... go an' see the fuckin' band."

In 1984, during a weekend home from University, I was provided with the opportunity to see the band whose song had so inspired Coggs's piece.   'Slumshine' were formed in the late 1970s post-punk period and included musicians who were contemporaries of my study participants.   Band members were drawn from nearby Moat Pitton and, as they were playing their first local gig in almost a year (having been away from North Manchester on a minor venue national tour), there was a 'buzz' of anticipation amongst the young people in the community.   Though not signed to a major record label, it was felt that the musicians were on the verge of national success and there was a good deal of local identification with the band and for its potential future career.   Local identification explained only part of their popularity;   another consideration was the music itself - a unique blend of post-punk psychedelia - which was at the time attracting a growing number of devotees.   The music was circulated informally among the young people of North Manchester on cassette tapes recorded and produced by the band themselves.   The cassettes were marketed for local distribution, at a nominal cost, at their live gigs.   The venue for the gig was a club called 'The Dome', which had been converted from an old cinema in the late 1970s and was situated on the main Manchester Road in Moat Pitton. The club provided the main local venue for several bands in North Manchester in the early 1980s including 'Northside' and 'King of the Slums' which were both later destined to gain national prominence and popularity during the 'Manchester Scene' music phenomenon of the mid- to late 1980s.   Years later, the 'quality' press 'discovered' the music and described

it in the following terms: "The Manchester sound is strong stuff, from a flourishing club circuit, true 'garage bands' playing home made, survival kit music" (*The Guardian*, 29.11.90 : 25).

I travelled to the 'Slumshine' gig together with a mixed group of people from the Youth and Community Centre including research participants, Coggs, Dilly, Maz, Digger, Willie, Stella, Susan Hargreaves, Amanda Gardiner and Cathy Tittle. In a packed club, full of "scallies and hustlers, totters, wheelers, dealers, blaggers and dossers", which is how Stella described the crowd, 'Slumshine' played an inspired set to a rapturous audience. The band played for over two hours and then, because of the danger of a mini-riot by the seemingly ecstatic crowd, returned for a series of encores which lasted for a further hour. Even then, when the band departed for what was surely the final time, the cheers and whistles of the crowd refused to abate. Five minutes passed and the house lights were switched on, and still the crowd continued to roar; a rhythmic chant developed, assisted by the improvised percussion of ashtrays and cans. Hundreds of feet stamped in unison, urging the band to return. Perhaps another ten or fifteen minutes elapsed but the noise would not abate and no one in the club seemed to want to leave. More time passed and finally the band's singers, Julie Train and Vinny Marshall, appeared suddenly on The Dome's tiny stage. Once again the crowd erupted, the house lights were dimmed and the singers urged the crowd into an expectant silence. Unaccompanied, the two singers began a gentle, hypnotic, accappella version of the song which had so inspired Coggs's mural outside the Hartingleigh Careers Office and which was also to provide the inspiration for this Chapter:

> "Round an' round an' round we spin
> there's somethin' evil hems us in
> But it won't be long, remember your song
> It won't be long.
>
> Round an' round an' round we spin
> their evil games are made of sin.
> But it won't be long, keep your faith strong.
> Don't crave their illusions, or deal in delusions
> just keep your faith strong.
> It won't be long.

Round an' round an' round we spin
their evil system hems us in, but it won't be long.
It won't be long.
Keep your faith with the dreamers
not the Y.T.S. schemers, they'll make you spin.
They'll make you spin an' do you in
but it won't be long, it won't be long.

Round an' round an' round we spin
there's somethin' evil hems us in.
But it won't be long, it won't be long.
Don't let yourself bleed.
Keep your faith strong.
Take just what you need.
It won't be long.
All else is but greed.
But it won't be long, keep your faith strong.

Round an' round an' round we spin
their evil system hems us in, but it won't be long.
Don't crave their illusions
or deal in delusions.
Just keep your faith strong.
It won't be long.
It won't be long.

Round an' round an' round we spin.
Round an' round an' round we spin.
Round an' round an' round we spin.
Round an' round an' round and round.

Marvellously atmospheric, I recognised the melody as a gentle pastiche of an old Neil Young song, except this was something uniquely different with rawer edges, evocative of the post-punk urban angst.   The song seemed redolent with the imagery of futility and yet at the same time conveyed the message of hope in resistance.   In part, the atmosphere of the song was created by the contrasts and tonal shades of the singers' voices as they bounced the lyrics between themselves and the audience.   Their mesmeric vocals were enhanced by some form of electronic echo-phasing device, so that the sound reverberated over the heads of the crowd and around the darkened, compressed, now silent club. What had been a celebratory, party atmosphere was transmuted into something weirdly supernatural;   the song at times, like a strange ethereal Gregorian chant, but one suffused with local significance and meaning - or so it seemed - as people I recognised as 'tough customers' joined in with the song's communal 'hook-lines'.   Julie Train whirled around and around like an anguished dervish whilst she simultaneously maintained the flow of the

dreamy, mesmeric, vocal passages. Overall, the effect was electrifying. I felt the hair at the base of my neck stand on end and involuntary shivers ran down my spine - responses generally reserved for an Aretha Franklin high note, Little Walter blues harp solo, or early Motown bass-line. This was popular music at its very finest, an accidental conjunction of time, place, mood, and audience need and response. According to Frith: "rock can express the values of specific communities only briefly" (1983 : 52); nevertheless, for a brief subcultural 'moment', 'Slumshine' appeared to offer a salve for the depredations of young lives lived out at the margins of opportunity.

If there is one insight that comes from the most noted novels, television drama series, and plays of the 1980s, it is that, during the Thatcher decade, the nation was "overtaken by something malevolent" (Brenton 1990). It may seem like an exaggerated claim to make for a political era characterised by economic stringency and political cynicism, but contemporary culture, the arts, theatre and literature gave voice to something else, some form of 'black hole of amorality' in the political sphere which informed social values and attitudes. The growth of an unemployed urban 'underclass', for example, was not some unforeseen and unintended side-effect of government social and economic policy interventions but was revealed as a necessary part of wider strategic thinking: "The role ascribed to them by the radical right [was] restraint on wage claims" [*The Guardian*, 13.12.92 : 16). The social and economic strategies pursued by the Thatcher governments from 1979, and Major's government from 1991, gave priority to reducing inflation and industrial 'overmanning'. Unemployment was regarded as a largely unavoidable by-product of deflationary policies:

> "Although the Government was aware of the consequences of their economic and political decisions, the benefits of increased industrial efficiency were seen as outweighing the human costs of unemployment" (Furlong 1992 : 71).

Any "adverse social by-products" of unemployment were considered "as necessary casualties in pursuit of the overall [economic] objective". These quotations, taken from a confidential Metropolitan Police discussion document circulated in 1986, also outlined that

such "necessary casualties" of the "overall objective" were the consequence of a "Treasury driven social policy with one goal, the reduction of inflation" (quoted in *The Observer,*. 5.7.92). According to Brenton, "it was as if some kind of evil was abroad in our society, a palpable degradation of the spirit" (*The Guardian*, 29.11.90 : 25).

Writers and artists sought to capture this eighties "state of the soul". In television drama, for example, there was Alan Bleasdale's memorable series of plays, *Boys from the Blackstuff*, about the loss of identity and dignity in worklessness. Martin Amis's novel, *Money*, contained the ultimate yuppy hero, "John Self", who epitomised Thatcher's spiv morality of 'no society', individualistic, lascivious, materialist, ambition. Salman Rushdie's classic, *The Satanic Verses*, beneath the religious furore engendered by its publication, provided an attack on contemporary manifestations of the degradations of humanity. Alan Ayckbourn's 'boulevard' comedies also began to take on a darkened viewpoint, "the poet of the lower middle classes ... began to smell something putrid behind the privet hedges and net curtains of Thatcher's natural constituency" (*The Guardian*, 29.11.90 : 25).

The themes of the 1980s were explored and articulated in a variety of forms by the culture industry as writers and artists sought to examine the darkness, social cruelty and suffering behind the political rhetoric of monetarism. "The right to choose", "freedom under the law", and "rolling back the state", were exposed as Orwellian double-think, 'newspeak' in the decade of subservience to the Market; a single-value culture with one creed, "by their sales returns shall ye know them" (*The Guardian*, 29.11.90).

Profane culture (Willis 1978), as the spontaneously formed expressions of the dispossessed, also articulated the same concerns and anxieties, particularly during the Thatcher decade; except, of course, such expressions of what Willis (1990) has more recently described as "common culture" rarely made the Arts pages of the 'quality' newspapers. But common culture was also a culture of heightened sensibility to the depredations of the decade, more so perhaps as its finest exponents were members of

those social groups who were at the cutting edge of governmental amorality. The pictorial and musical metaphor of the Black Magic Roundabout, for example, takes it meaning and significance from the social and political climate of the 1980s. According to Willis, popular expressions of common culture such as graffiti art and locally generated popular music are not just something young people like, do, and participate in. Under certain circumstances, "in a context where the priorities are those of day to day economic survival, independence from state control and the use and meaning of leisure" (Willis 1990 : 81), such 'common' cultural pursuits articulate, give meaning to, and reflect "the ways in which young people make sense of the social world and their place within it" (Willis 1990 : 82).

Popular music that is generated within a commonly shared cultural context is not just the passive consumption of a commodity as exists in the pop-music industry. To describe it as such would be to ignore the vital creative relationship between local production and consumption. The popularity of local bands like 'Slumshine', 'The Refugees', 'Northside', and 'King of the Slums' among the young working class of North Manchester was based on the consumer's ability to make value judgements, to talk knowledgeably and passionately about the locally generated genre and to place the symbolism and meaning of the music within the context of their lives. The local music scene generated a symbolic subcultural community based on shared experience and resistance. Lyrics contained in such songs as 'Refugee' by 'The Refugees', for example, had in the mid-1980s enormous local significance for unemployed study participants, as this was a band generated from within their community singing about their lives and experience:

> "No hope, no help, no identity
> just another free West refugee ...
> ... On the outside of the outside
> on the side with no share in the deal"

In the song "Wrote for Luck", the Manchester band, 'The Happy Mondays', provided a scathing condemnation of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the economic policies of Thatcherism:

> "I wrote for luck, they sent me you,
> I ordered juice you gave me poison."

The popularity of certain local bands was also based on their selective use of popular symbols or objects drawn from the conventional cultural discourse of, for example, children's day time television. Like the Magic Roundabout cartoon characters, this cultural discourse was reinvented and invested with symbolic meanings used for their own imaginative purposes. As with the symbolism of the Black Magic Roundabout song and graffiti murals, the new meanings sought to reflect participants' particular experience of the social world and their place within it. According to Willis, such processes involved the exercise of -

> ".. critical, discriminating choices and uses which disrupt the taste categories and 'ideal'
> modes of consumption promoted by the leisure industry and break up its superimposed
> definitions of [cultural] meaning" (Willis 1990 : 60).

At the 'Slumshine' gig, I finally grasped the code of the Black Magic Roundabout. For me, it was an empathically understood metaphor for the political spell cast over the broken dreams of the young working class; an endless roundabout of diminished opportunity and thwarted aspirations with the hope for proper jobs being cynically peddled through the Job Centre and Careers Office under the guise of (un)employment training schemes; a roundabout fuelled by the constant desire for non-existent jobs, with morally duplicitous government agencies turning the wheel, massaging statistics, reducing benefits, benefit entitlements, and robbing young lives of the opportunity for adult citizenship.

The Black Magic Roundabout is an ideological spell cast over the young unemployed which directs some to believe their broken transitions are a product of their own failings or skill deficiencies; an ideological spell which leads into the classic reactionary strategy of 'blaming the victims', a strategy which seeks to direct attention away from the culpability of the Nation's political and economic decision makers. In the famous words of John Milton:

> "They who have put out the peoples eyes reproach them of their blindness."

Such a strategy renders some young people "MSC junkies", waiting for a next fix of job search skills, social and life skills training, or employment attitudes training, with which to "conjure up the illusions" of proper jobs (Coles 1986 : 192).

The Black Magic Roundabout is, in strictly sociological terms, a cyclical post-sixteen transition, a (not so) merry-go-round into adulthood; a cyclical transition into an adulthood frequently distorted by institutionalised social and economic insecurity. Cyclical transitions have in some cases resulted in desperate survival adaptations to the "mumbo jumbo of the dark towers of monetarism" (McIlvanney 1992). In the welfare ghetto, such survival strategies are now part of the folk-lore and street wisdom of the urban young; survival strategies that enable some to withstand and resist the cumulative impact of government policy interventions which since 1979 have cast a shroud over employment, post-school training, housing and welfare benefits. The social cost in terms of the gulf created between the dispossessed and the majority is alienation and crime: "All over Britain we can see developing pockets of disenchantment, large and small, filled with young people alienated from society (Dobson 1992); young people for whom "crime and attacks on the police [are] acceptable social norms" (Rose 1992).

The Black Magic Roundabout is a "long" (Hollands 1990), "extended" (Furlong 1992), "uneasy" (Corbett 1990), "fractured" (Wallace 1987), and "broken" (Griffin 1986a) post-school transition into non-citizenship (Dahrendorf 1987). It is a cyclical transition through unemployment, government schemes, underemployment, work in the informal sector, more unemployment, more schemes, and so on. Such a life-course has prompted at least one sociologist to raise the question, "transition to what?" (Bynner 1987b). According to Ken Roberts, the cyclical transitions of those trapped on the Black Magic Roundabout involve -

> "... early careers in which young people become trapped in special programmes, youth jobs and secondary labour markets" (1987 : 17)

It is a life-course which has -

518

"... cut a swathe through young people's landscapes, leaving an open wound filled with broken transitions, massive disillusionment and smouldering resentment" (Chisholm 1990 : 42).

8.2   Cyclical Transitions : Career Components

In the third phase of my study (1985-1986), during preliminary sampling and fieldwork, I compiled a 'snapshot' of the employment/unemployment of study participants (see Table 9, Chapter Four, Section 4.4). At that time, twenty-five participants (14 male, 11 female) were unemployed, and seventeen study participants had been without employment for more than twelve months. In the final year of the fourth phase of my study, 1989-1990, I compiled a second 'snapshot'. This revealed some limited individual movement both into and out of employment but the actual numbers of study participants who were unemployed remained remarkably constant (See Table 11, Chapter Five, Section 5.5). By this final stage of fieldwork, there were still twenty-five study participants unemployed (14 male, 11 female), and the overwhelming majority of these had virtually no experience of full-time employment within the formal sectors of the labour market. Of the eleven women who were unemployed in 1985-1986, for example, nine were still unemployed in 1989-1990. The majority of the unemployed women were characterised by a general withdrawal from the formal labour market into home-based domestic and child-rearing careers (Section 8.4.3). Of the fourteen men who were unemployed in 1985-1986, thirteen were still unemployed in 1989-1990. All the long-term unemployed males were characterised by withdrawal from the formal labour market into alternative careers within the local informal economy, or through proactively developed careers and identities based on more socially proscribed modes of income acquisition (Section 8.4.4; 8.4.5).

Of the twenty-five study participants who by the fourth phase could be identified as long-term unemployed, most had early post-school careers which were characterised by a cyclical mode of transition. Typical transitions involved protracted periods of post-school unemployment, movement into and out of government inspired (un)employment training

schemes and special programmes, frequently punctuated by short periods of employment in youth jobs, secondary labour markets, and the informal economy, followed by a return to unemployment, more schemes, and so on. This was also the post-school experience of the protracted transitionaries examined in Chapter Seven. However, unlike the protracted transitionaries, for those study participants undergoing a cyclical transition, primary employment was not an end result. In some respects, it was difficult to distinguish between the participants who had made a protracted four, five, six,, or even seven year, transition to their first proper jobs and those who had not, except, of course, in terms of their final labour market destination.

In earlier Chapters, I sought to outline, explore and document the main career components involved in a cyclical mode of transition (see, for example, Chapter Four, Section 4.5; Chapter Seven, Section 7.3). In order to avoid the lengthy repetition of similar biographical material, I propose not to duplicate such labour market and life-course biographies here. Much of the material relevant to a cyclical mode of transition was explored earlier with reference to the post-school careers of the protracted transitionaries. The eight study participants who made protracted transitions to proper job had all experienced a mixture of the elements which constitute a cyclical post-school transition. The post-school careers of the protracted transitionaries contained, for example, early movements into and out of unemployment interspersed with participation in one or more varieties of (un)employment training schemes or special programmes (Chapter Seven, Section 7.4).

Further career components characteristic of a cyclical mode of transition were also highlighted in the post-school trajectories of the protracted transitionaries. These included underemployment in casual, contract, or part-time employment (Chapter Seven, Sections 7.3.1; 7.3.2), as well as work within the cash-in-hand, informal economy (Chapter Seven, Sections 7.3.3 and 7.8.3). For three of the protracted transitionaries, post-school careers also included routinised theft and other illegal modes of income acquisition

(Chapter Seven, Section 7.3.3). Such socially proscribed 'alternative careers' eventually formed a major focus in the lives of several female and the majority of male long-term unemployed study participants, for whom the hope of legitimate employment had receded into a distant and diminished possibility. Details of the nature and development of such alternative careers, I previously examined in Chapter Four (Section 4.8).

In an earlier Chapter, I also examined in some detail the nature and consequences of multiple participation in government schemes with direct reference to a cyclical mode of post-school transition (Chapter Four, Section 4.5). As was revealed in Wendy Fisher's case study, a not untypical, embittered and fundamental cynicism was the consequence of her cyclical movement into and out of a variety of government schemes and special programmes (Chapter Four, Section 4.5.2). As such disillusionment precedes the slide into long-term unemployment and often results in withdrawal from the orthodox labour market, it is worth briefly documenting some of the reactions produced among study participants as a consequence of cyclical scheme participation.

8.2.1 Government Schemes and Cyclical Transitions

Discussions with the long-term unemployed participants produced reactions to scheme participation that were ranged on a continuum from unfavourable:

> "I don't know whether they're a good thing or what. I suppose they're good in a way, but not in another ... When I did [work experience in a local department store] ... they was able to take yer on, pay yer dirt, then they say you was gettin' experience but what experience? I was fillin' shelves ... It's stoppin' 'em takin' on someone else ... They might be able to 'ave say ten over from the Careers [Service] but they couldn't really afford to pay for ten proper workers if you wasn't doin' it through the scheme like ... It's silly really, they get you to do it for nothin' ... The business 'u'd be knackered if they paid proper wages ... it's silly" (Spider).

to bitterly hostile:

> "If the government stopped thinkin' we was so fuckin' 'divvy', they'd stop tryin' to piss us about. I'd rather fuckin' die than go on another [scheme] ... It fuckin' gets me steamin' just talkin' about it. On my last 'un I was supposed to be apprentice carpenter ... a trade like, so I thought yeah fuck it we'll 'ave a go like ... within two days I was in the fuckin' canteen washin' pots and peelin' spuds, 'cos they sez they was short ... fuck 'em I'd rather go 'graftin'' man, at least you get to 'old yer fuckin' 'ead up ... Well you can laff ... would you do it, peelin' hundreds of fuckin' spuds, washin' pots ... fuck off I told 'em, put me on

carpentry or I'm off ... He said I 'ad the wrong attitude ... snotty fuckin' git ... I told 'im to stuff it an' walked out ... That's it ... never doin' another. Nothin' else to say" (Poolie).

References were also made to the poor working conditions:

"They 'ad me cleaning out the bogs [toilets] ... it made you 'eave, honest the drains were all rotten an' kept floodin' up like ... It was degradin' ... I thought yes it's come to this, cleanin' up someone else's shit. I complained but they said, well we'll get you some overalls!! What's the point? I couldn't stand it in the end an' went on the sick" (Lynda Willcox).

And the failure of such schemes to provide the amount or type of training promised:

"They said it was [a training placement] learnin' telephonist [skills] but when I got there it was packin' [cartons of children's toys for transportation] ... six months ... I can tie a pretty good parcel now! (Heather Lawley).

"I was supposed to be doin' double glazin' ... my Dad says it's a trade sort of, so I says o.k. ... what a mistake ... I 'ad a week with the glazier, out on the vans ... It was 'top' ... the rest of the time was [in the factory] brushin' up an' makin' brews ... total waste of time" (Mick Kenney).

Complaints were also made about the derisory 'training allowances'. In 1981, the training allowance on the work experience component of the Youth Opportunities Programme was £23.50 for a forty hour week. The same rate was payable to participants entering a Training Workshop. Weekly supplementary benefit was paid at a basic rate to those participants who were unemployed and not participating in schemes or special programmes. In the early periods of post-school unemployment, the supplementary benefit rate was £16.85 for unemployed under-eighteen year olds. After the age of eighteen, this rose to almost £19, then to £22.85, and subsequently £23.65. However, the government retracted £3.10 housing allowance from participants living in the parental home; thus, by 1984, most participants who were unemployed and living at home received a basic benefit level of £20.55. During the same period, the rates of training allowance for participation in schemes and special programmes increased to £25 (in February 1982) and then in Autumn 1984 it went up to £26.25. In effect, participants on work experience schemes were only "£6 a week better off" for working forty hours on work experience placements. Often schemes were undertaken on the basis of threats, either direct or implicit, of benefit withdrawal if schemes were refused. Participants

bitterly complained about the sense of being trapped between these two options, and of being substantially "ripped off" for working on work experience placements alongside full-time employees who were earning up to four times the amount of training allowance for doing exactly the same work:

> "I was exactly six quid better off [on a work experience scheme]. I was doin' a forty hour week, eight o'clock [a.m.] start ... forty minutes for dinner while the others [full-time employees] were gettin' an hour. The job was exactly the same, 'takin' t'cartons off t'carousel [conveyor belt] an' stackin' 'em on pallets. I was gettin' twenty odd [pounds] a week, they was gettin' over a 'undred, an' that was without the bonuses. Schemes it's all a con, a rip-off (Wilf).

There were further expressions of bitter complaint concerned with the sense of being patronised by training supervisors on the community-based schemes, or within the Training Workshops (see also Chapter Four, Section 4.5.2; Chapter Seven, Section 7.4):

> "He [the Training Supervisor] treated us like some sort of moron ... if you was late it was all this 'assle 'about fillin' in t'time cards what you needed for t'giro [training allowance]. He used to say 'you shouldn't be a naughty boy' ... 'late for school', an' that! Or, like, usin' posh words to talk down t'yer ... they all thought 'e was 'bent'; but if yer let off at 'im [answered back] 'e'd fuck up yer time card so yer'd lose some of yer giro ... 'e was a twat like that ... I couldn't wait to get out" (J.W.)

> "I 'ad to go to classes [in the Training Workshop] an' the cunt [Training Supervisor] used to take the piss ... [He would say] ... 'off to College', or 'make sure they give you 'un [a book] with pictures ...' I came close to 'chinnin'' 'im, he was only supposed to be doin' the brickieing [bricklaying] but 'ed be on at yer ... takin' the piss" (Dilly).

Despite the imposition of government policy in the form of youth and (un)employment training schemes, there was no evidence amongst my study participants that scheme participation provided access to employment or compensated for social and educational disadvantage. The most common complaint amongst study participants was that their cyclical transitions into and out of training schemes and special programmes had not produced proper jobs. The thirty-nine participants in my study had amassed between them a staggering total of almost ninety training schemes and special programmes of different styles and varieties. In terms of the aggregate amount of time spent in scheme participation, this represented a total of almost sixty years of their lives. In only one case, that of Georgie B., examined in Chapter Seven (Section 7.4.1), had scheme participation provided direct access to primary employment. From a social policy perspective,

government scheming and policy intervention and the millions of pounds spent on training schemes had, for the majority of study participants, achieved virtually nothing beyond an unsatisfactory exercise in containment and control.

8.2.2   Government Scheming and Cyclical Transitions

The story of the return of mass youth unemployment and the impact of the Manpower Services Commission in radically reshaping education and vocational training, the "New Curriculum" for young people (Edwards 1984), has provided the focus for an avalanche of sociological studies and reports.   In earlier Chapters, I have sought to draw out the main areas of criticism (see Chapter Two, Section 2.6.2;   Chapter Four, Sections 4.4.2, 4.5, 4.5.1, 4.5.2;   Chapter Seven, Sections 7.4, 7.4.2).   I argued that the early, hastily implemented, government policy interventions amounted to an implicit 'national youth policy' concerned with the containment and socialisation of the young working class. They were based on an ideological smokescreen located in a pedagogical model of rectifying deficiency, remedying so-called 'skill shortages' and inculcating work discipline. The schemes and special programmes substantially transformed post-sixteen transitions and firmly established vocational training as a central state strategy for youth containment (Davies 1986).

These early interventions have been gradually revised and formalised into an evolving system of vocational training - the "culture of the New Vocationalism".   In the hands of an employment-based government agency - the MSC - the whole culture of employment and educational planning in the 1980s evolved into an almost classically formulated system of oppression.   Through its control and allocation of massive budgets, the MSC succeeded in restructuring the transition from childhood to adulthood;   MSC thinking became *the* way of thinking:

> "It is not merely the use of asymmetrical power, or force, or only financial control.   But it is 'cultural' domination.   For, to the degree that the MSC has been a success, it has succeeded in making its client groups anticipate its demands, to think its thoughts, even before it has formulated them itself ... it is the oppressed acting in anticipation of the

524

next whim of the oppressors. This is much more powerful than educational accountability. The heart of 'the new vocationalism' is centred not just on financial control and incentives, but in the very language, thinking and culture which has been so successfully spread by the MSC (Coles 1988 : 8)

The system of the new vocationalism now ranges from the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI) for school pupils, through various versions of the Youth Training Scheme (YOP, YTS to YT) for school leavers, to Employment Training (ET, or "extra tenner" as it is locally known due to trainees being paid £10 above the basic level of Income Support) for adults, especially the long-term unemployed.

The unprecedented series of government inspired responses, new 'initiatives' and programmes to change the situation of young people was originally inspired by the Holland Report (DE 1977; Broomhead and Coles 1988; Coles and MacDonald 1990), and what Brown (1988) has described as "the (not so) - Great Debate". The not so Great Debate was engendered by Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan's speech at Ruskin College, Oxford (18.10.76), which was delivered in response to a series of attacks by industrialists upon the education system at that time (CCCS 1981; Coles 1988). Callaghan's speech and the ensuing 'Great Debate' were significant because for the first time:

"Educational aims, standards and accountability were being deliberately and cold-bloodedly attacked in public by an incumbent Labour Prime Minister (Coles 1988 : 2).

As Brown (1988) has argued, the speech finally marked the end of one political consensus and the growth of another which was organised around the principle that "education must be made more accountable to the 'needs' of industry" (Coles 1988 : 2)

The beginning of this process can be located in the Holland Report's attempt to rationalise a whole set of job creation and work preparation measures under the umbrella of the Youth Opportunities Programme. This began as a six month scheme involving a mixture of work experience, skill training, and 'social and life skills' (See Chapter Four, Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). The interventions into the lives of young people making the transition from school to work was subsequently embraced by the radical right philosophy inspiring government policy at the time (See Chapter Two, Section 2.6). The early policy

of keeping potentially unemployed young people 'warehoused' through containment and work creation programmes gave way to a new generation of schemes propagated under a 'deficiency model' of equipping the next generation with the 'new skills' that modern industry supposedly required. The culmination was the white paper *Employment for the 1990s* (DE 1988) and most recently *Education and Training for the 21st Century* (DES 1991).

The problem with the strategy behind the development of national programmes of vocational education and training was that crucially they relied on economic growth to bolster the labour market. However, despite minor economic growth in the mid- to late 1980s, there is little contemporary evidence for any significant upturn in the economy or any immediate prospect for a return to former levels of employment. Economic restructuring has shifted labour from old to new industries and occupations, but new technology usually required fewer production or traditional craft employees. In Chapter One (Section 1.7.1), I highlighted how these processes in local manufacturing industry had resulted in production levels being maintained at the cost of labour shedding with dire consequences for the local labour market.

The strategy of unemployment as a tool for combating inflation, especially the notion of 'market forces' (in the form of unemployment) lowering wages and wage expectations for unskilled workers, also affected the youth labour market. Market forces, especially lower wages for new workers, were, for example, supposed to have arrested and reversed the trend towards the employment of adults in youth sector jobs - areas of employment that were traditionally the province of the unskilled, unqualified school leaver. But, as Roberts *et al* (1988) have argued, there are fewer vacancies for young workers to apply for and stronger adult competition whenever jobs reach the market:

> "Many managements explained how they had virtually ceased youth recruitment because, in recent years, there had always been more experienced and better-qualified applicants ... Young people had been forced out by better competition" (1988 : 29-30).

In Hartingleigh, as a result of processes like these, throughout the 1980s there were very few jobs for the unqualified and unskilled school leavers. Often, as a result, they took on the mantle of 'triple failures'. These were young people who had 'failed' educationally, 'failed' to secure employment after school leaving, and then went on to 'fail' to find employment after scheme participation. Subsidised training on youth allowances aimed at such groups has in practice replaced real training and wages that employers used to provide. The main effect is an overall deterioration in the less-qualified young person's terms and conditions of employment without any equivalent increase in demand for their services. Often the inferior 'sink' schemes and programmes that were available served only to contain participants' unemployment, whilst simultaneously preserving their labour power, and deflating aspirations and wage expectations, in line with the limited prospects available for their future employment; this I have described as the Black Magic Roundabout.

While the economic recession of the 1970s and 1980s inspired these national programmes of educational and training reforms, contemporary studies confirm the case study findings of my own research. The studies report how the new initiatives have failed to make any lasting impact on youth unemployment nationally, or on particular groups of people in specific localities (see, for example: Chisholm *et al* 1990; Corbett 1990; Hollands 1990; Furlong 1992; Kerckhoff 1990; Stafford 1991; Wallace and Cross 1990). Local labour markets shape the choices available to young adults and evidence suggests there are huge regional differences in the structure of opportunities, particularly between the North and the South (DES 1988; Banks *et al* 1992). Government interventions in the form of (un)employment training have produced little measurable effect. If the employment opportunities are not available within a given local labour market, no amount of community programmes or social and life skills training will produce a proper job:

"Although the economic recession has increased the level of youth unemployment nationally, school leavers' chances of employment and 'choice' of work are still greatly influenced by the structure of their local labour market" (Ashton *et al* 1982 : 19).

In Manchester, early evidence for the disappearance of opportunities in the youth labour market was provided by a report prepared by the Planning Department of the City Council. In the academic year 1976-1977, for example, 42.4% of all Manchester minimum age school leavers entered employment within six months of the end of compulsory schooling. Two years later, 1979-1980, in the academic year my study participants left school, this proportion had dramatically shrunk to 17.2% (City Planning Department Economic Briefing Note : No.5, no date). This trend was similarly reflected in the increased levels of school leaver unemployment throughout Britain, a trend that became particularly acute from 1980 onwards (Raffe 1983a; 1984; 1987): "Teenage unemployment in Britain rose by more in 1980 than in the whole of the 1970s" (Raffe 1984 : 4).

In high unemployment areas like Hartingleigh, even full participation in a whole range of schemes and special programmes cannot provide nor guarantee participants employment (Corbett 1990; Hollands 1990; see also Chapter Seven, Section 7.4). As a consequence, the North of England has "some of the best trained dole queues in the world" (MacDonald and Coffield 1991 : 2). Research in the 1980s and 1990s suggests that the post-sixteen progression route to jobs is, at best, an "uneasy transition" (Corbett 1990) or a "long transition" (Hollands 1990); at worst it is a "fractured" (Wallace 1987) or "broken" transition (Griffin 1986a).

"The 'progression' from school into the labour market has been radically disrupted, extended and transformed. And often these extended routes only lead back to the lengthening dole queues" (Coles 1988 : 77).

8.2.3 Government Scheming : The Historical Continuities

The young unemployed men and women in my study sought but were denied the opportunities brought by an independent income and the status of full-time employment. The plight of young adults attempting to gain a foothold in the labour market in order to

effect successful transitions to a working class adulthood is not a new phenomenon. Evidence suggests that, although the conditions faced by the unqualified young during the era of Thatcherism were, to some degree, unprecedented, the problem of youth unemployment and the exploitation of young people on training schemes does have an historical continuity. R.H. Tawney, for example, writing in 1934, could almost be describing the contemporary situation facing young people:

> "The havoc wrought by casual labour, the prevalence in certain industries of 'blind alley' employment, the systematic exploitation of cheap juvenile labour by firms which take on successive relays of children, employ them 'for their immediate commercial utility' and dismiss them, when they demand higher wages, to make room for another batch, which will be dismissed in its turn - all this is an old story" (1934 : 4-5).

As Coffield *et al* (1986) have argued, the problems encountered by the young working class of fifty or eighty years ago have a contemporary ring. There is historical evidence of similar processes of job substitution, the poor quality of 'Juvenile Instruction Centres' instituted in 1918 (the prototype Training Workshops?), and huge regional disparities in rates of youth unemployment: "60 per cent of all the young people in Great Britain unemployed in 1934 were found in the North East, the North West and Scotland" (Coffield *et al* 1986 : 55). Similarly, according to Rees and Rees (1982), government intervention then, as now, concentrated on the "needs of industry"; debate centred around the problem as defined by the industrial and commercial sectors, i.e. 'the failure of education', and the policy 'solutions' were similarly designed to increase the 'employability' of young people.

Significantly, the way that policy was pursued in the inter-war years also reflected concerns over the moral implications of worklessness. Such fears led to the institution of "Juvenile Unemployment Centres" in 1918 and "Junior Instruction Centres" in 1930. In part, these policy interventions were prompted by extensive youth riots directed largely at the police in various parts of London in the period following the First World War (White 1981). The view at the time was that unemployment produced "a generation of people not amenable to discipline and unable to stand on their own feet; filled with desires which

crave satisfaction but not knowing how or where realisation might be sought" (Meara 1936; cited in Rees and Rees 1982 : 17).

Prolonged periods of enforced idleness were seen as undermining the employability of young people and promoting deleterious, even dangerous, consequences. Years later, an elderly participant in a study by Seabrook (1973 : 202) suggested that Juvenile Unemployment Centres and Junior Instruction Centres, the "dole schools", were designed "to keep us off the streets". Thus, the contemporary experiences of study participants, involved in a policy promoted containment exercise effected by cyclical transitions through unemployment and semi-compulsory attendance of government inspired training schemes and special programmes, may be viewed as historically typical of their class.

During the Thatcher decade, successive Tory governments pursued economic policies which exacerbated the demise of employment possibilities whilst cynically implementing training policies which presupposed their existence. In this context, it may be viewed that there is the historical continuity of an ideological agenda concerned with 'the problem of youth'; of middle class fears of an unemployed, or otherwise idle, young working class (see also Chapter Two, Sections 2.2 and 2.6). As outlined and examined in earlier Chapters, these fears have extensive historical antecedents; for example, unemployed working class youth were often regarded as both "parasite and predator" during the mid-to late nineteenth century:

> "Workless youth were ... regarded as the source of contamination of manners, deviance and corruption, just as surely as bacteria, if untreated, would inexorably infest and destroy otherwise healthy organisms ... biological analogies of this sort were much in favour at a time when there was a market for the wilder ideas of eugenicists, social darwinists and other crude forms of biological reductionism" (Mungham 1982 : 31).

In an earlier section (Chapter Two, Section 2.;2), I argued that the historical development of youthwork and youthwork practice, from its philanthropic roots, could best be understood in terms of the Victorian bourgeoisie's near obsessional interest in "the

relationship between crime and poverty, deviance and class membership, and the relationship of the 'dangerous classes' to the labouring population as a whole" (Pearson 1975 : 154). In the first third of the twentieth century, such middle class fears about 'juvenile unemployment' produced policies such as the Junior Instruction Centres referred to earlier whose aim was -

" ... inculcating habits of discipline and self respect and giving some instruction both of an academic and practical character to increase [the unemployed young's] adaptability and to make them more capable of accepting any suitable employment which may be offered them. At the same time ... it is held that attendance at a class which provides any form of organised instruction is better than loafing about the streets" (Public Records Office; cited in Rees and Rees 1982 : 18) (my insert).

In contemporary terms, the evolution of an implicit 'national youth policy' of containment and socialisation *via* the interventions of government policy, mobilised through the MSC (as a central state strategy for youth), also reflects, into the late twentieth century the historical continuity of middle class fears concerning the young unemployed working class (Chapter Two, Section 2.6; Chapter Four, Section 4.5.1). As a consequence, the young unemployed working class have found themselves increasingly 'conscripted' onto schemes and special programmes and thus kept 'off the streets'. The provision of training for jobs has ensured relative compliance. Social control has been effected through time and work discipline, and containment secured through regulation, surveillance, and "schooling for the social order" (Gleeson 1986 : 393).

8.3   Characteristics of the Long-Term Unemployed

8.3.1   Residential Location

The majority of the study participants who endured Government Scheming and post-school transitions on the Black Magic Roundabout had by the mid-1980s entered the ranks of the long-term unemployed. The long-term unemployed participants in my study were characterised by a number of distinctive factors. They were all drawn from Hartingleigh's council estates and a significant number (nineteen) had originated from families who lived on the Chicken Lane estate. The original deck-access flats in the Chicken Lane estate

were built in the mid-1960s and were among the first wave of housing developments under the local authority's planned programme of clearance and redevelopment. Planned as a dormitory development to accommodate inner-City overflow, the Chicken Lane development was something of a model estate in which the 'respectable' working class (in the context of official attitudes at the time) could live respectable lives in modern surroundings:

> "The new deck-access flats of Hartingleigh are of significant interest from an architectural point of view ... they add greatly to the character of the area. The tall, finely proportioned blocks overlook the surrounding landscape and provide variety and contrast to the urban development."

This description of the first wave of redevelopment in Hartingleigh was contained in a leaflet, issued in 1966, which outlined the City Council's housing development proposals for the ward.

Even during the course of my youthwork and during the first part of fieldwork and sampling (1985-1986), long after the Chicken Lane estate's character had deteriorated in many people's eyes, it was still seen in favourable contrast to the district that had been demolished. As Gail Hindle recalled:

> "I remember the old district, some of 'em paint a rosy picture of back to backs, washin' on the line and 'matchstick men' going to an' from the factory, but it was a slum, no doubt about it, a slum. There was damp an' the air was rotten, an' no toilets or bathrooms. Some of 'em cried when they knocked it down, not me ... they weren't fit for decent folk to live in."

Initially, the Chicken Lane flats were considered a desirable place to live. As one local resident remembered:

> "I can remember when we was offered a place [on the Chicken Lane estate] ... all of us came to see it. They'd not finished it then but it looked lovely. In them days you thought bloody hell a new council flat ... it was like goin' up in the world.

However, with changes in local authority housing allocation procedures during the late 1960s, the estate's function changed from overspill accommodation to housing families from areas of slum clearance. This produced an influx of families from some of the City's most deprived areas. Due to the phased construction of council property in Hartingleigh, the newcomers were concentrated in the Chicken Lane flats. The estate gradually

developed a local reputation of roughness and undesirability. 'Decent' or 'respectable' families gradually moved out into more desirable housing accommodation within the public sector or sought home ownership. Allocation procedures tended to exaggerate this distinction in residential patterns; local anecdotal evidence suggests that the Chicken Lane estate became a 'dump' for so-called 'problem' families who, once ensconced in he flats, were then refused council transfers elsewhere.

Changes in the character of the estate were exaggerated as a result of the process of out-migration of 'respectable' families. Flats that were hurriedly vacated were by the mid-to late 1970s subjected to extensive damage. Plumbing was removed, leading to flooding, wiring was ripped out, doors and windows smashed. Sometimes empty properties were used for impromptu parties by young people from the estates and were then occasionally set on fire after the 'guests' had left. As the squeeze on local authority budgets began to take effect in the early 1980s, damaged properties were not repaired or re-occupied, but were boarded up. By the time new tenancies had been agreed for empty properties, damage was so extensive that tenants refused occupation. As a consequence, unoccupied, boarded up flats were a common sight on the Chicken Lane estate throughout the 1980s.

There were further factors which also affected the condition of the housing stock. Some of the flats praised so effusively in the quotation at the beginning of this section were six-storey structures containing twelve two-bedroomed maisonettes, heated by 'under floor' electric central heating. Originally built in the 1960s, these maisonettes were popular as first homes for young married couples. However, because of the growing undesirability of the estate to couples who were seeking to 'get on' (due to its developing 'bad reputation'), the local availability of more attractive public sector housing, and the rising costs of the electric central heating, several of these small blocks fell into disuse. They were extensively damaged and more or less permanently boarded up with corrugated metal sheeting over doors and windows. This served to add to the growing aura of disreputability of the Chicken Lane estate as a whole.

By the early 1970s, there had developed within the Chicken Lane estate a network of 'rough kids'; a large number of young people who were dislocated from their original surroundings in traditional inner City areas and unsettled by the move into the estates. The origins of the masculine status identification with toughness, hardness, criminality, and the Northside tradition of football culture, has its origins in this period (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.3). The Northside Jungle Crew of unemployed male study participants originally drawn from the estate were not an organised gang with a leader and internal organisation but were a 1980s manifestation of a subcultural ethos originally established in the late 1960s and 1970s particularly on the Chicken Lane estate.

The Northside Crew then are not an institution in any concrete sense but may be seen as something akin to Glasgow's "Maryhill Fleet", an umbrella term for the subsumption of small 'teams' within a larger local identity (Patrick 1973 : 36). Membership consists more in terms of a "diffuse symbol denoting membership in a particular ... network" (Jenkins 1983 : 44). It identifies the 'lads' when outside their estates at football matches, for example, and inside the immediate area as distinct from 'snobs', 'shirtlifters' or 'mongs' (i.e. non-estate dwellers). As such, the Northside tradition remains as potent an ideology today as ever. This brief account brings into focus the subsequent circumstances and context for the development of the Youth and Community Project in Hartingleigh outlined in Chapter One (Section 1.8).

When I first arrived in Hartingleigh in 1979, the estate had then, and still has, a reputation as a very 'rough' area. In other districts of Manchester, 'The Jungle' has a distinct reputation as a violent district, a place to be avoided, if at all possible. This was, to some degree, my own view until I got to know the place and its inhabitants better.

Statistics for unemployment levels on the Chicken Lane estate are not available. Local estimations indicate that the unemployment rate, particularly in the early 1980s, was higher than for the ward as a whole. In many respects, certainly in architectural design and

general social profile, the Jungle shares similar features to the deck-access flats known as the 'Crescents' in Hulme; here in the mid-1980s, two out of three economically active males were unemployed (Chapter One, Section 1.7).   In the context of the sub-divisions and employment/residential stratification within Hartingleigh as a whole, the Chicken Lane estate throughout the 1980s was 'rough' rather than 'respectable', populated by unskilled rather than skilled workers, many of whom were unemployed rather than employed.   In following sections, I shall explore how these factors came together and found expression in the lived experience of study participants (Sections 8.4.3 and 8.4.4).

The remainder of the long-term unemployed participants were originally drawn from the Marton housing estate, which, although considered not as 'rough' as the Jungle, became from the mid-1980s onwards increasingly tainted with the same local stigma.   In part, this was a consequence of high unemployment, local authority housing allocation decisions, and the developing reputation for 'undesirability', all of which ensured that vacated properties were not quickly occupied.   As a result of these factors, the flats and houses on the Marton estate were subjected to the same kinds of destructive treatment as were found in the Chicken Lane estates.   From the mid-1980s, empty and boarded up properties on the Marton estate served to confirm its rough reputation in the eyes of local residents (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.1).

8.3.2   Local Unemployment

Research has indicated that local area factors, such as relative social deprivation and above average rates of unemployment, tend to result in restricted opportunities for young people (Ashton *et al* 1988; Garner *et al* 1988; Banks *et al* 1992).   Such areas tend to be districts like Hartingleigh with a concentration of manual workers who were often employed in traditional local industries such as manufacturing.   In 1981, 57% of Hartingleigh's labour force consisted of manual workers (see Table 4, Chapter One, Section 1.5), 35.5% of whom were employed in manufacturing (see Table 5, Chapter One, Section 1.7). Industries such as local manufacturing were exactly those which have experienced the

535

greatest number of net job losses in the Thatcher decade (see Chapter One, Section 1.7.1, for details). Up to 1983, for example, 150,000 jobs were lost in manufacturing (*Poverty in Manchester* 1986 : 5); this represented a fall in employment of 43.3% in the inner industrial core (Mellor 1989 : 4).

According to researchers such as Furlong (1992 : 89), "local all-age unemployment rate tends to be the best predictor of total unemployment among young people". In areas of high all-age unemployment, young people spend a greater proportion of their time, after school leaving, unemployed. Statistics published by the Planning Department of Manchester City Council reveal that, during the period of my study, the unemployment rates in Manchester consistently outstripped the national figures. Between 1980 and 1989, the unemployment rates for the City were almost <u>double</u> the national rates (Chapter One, Section 1.7.2). In January 1986, for example, the unemployment rate was 13.9% for Great Britain; in the City of Manchester the unemployment rate was 24.0%, or almost one in four of the City's resident workforce (*Unemployment in Manchester*, Manchester City Council, City Planning Department, February 1986). However, in certain areas within the Inner City, unemployment rates, particularly among the young, exceeded not only national levels but also those of the City as a whole. In January 1985, for example, almost three-quarters of the young people eligible for work in the Crescents, Hulme, were unemployed (GMC policy background paper 85/1, 1985 : 5). In other parts of the inner City in the mid-1980s, unemployment rates among the under-25s exceeded 50%, particularly in Hulme, Rusholme, St. George's, Hartingleigh, and Central Salford. Unemployment was not a temporary phenomenon in these areas. In 1985, for example, 36% of the inner City's young unemployed had been out of work for over a year (GMC County Planning Department, *Local Unemployment in Greater Manchester : Analysis by Age and Duration*, 1985 : 5). The tendency towards long-term unemployment amongst the young was similarly reflected in the overall marked increase in long-term unemployment amongst the City's workforce as a whole. In July 1980, 25% of the all-age unemployed had been out of work for more than one year and 9% for more than three. By 1986, the figures had

risen to 48% and 21% respectively (*Manchester : A Picture of Ill-Health*, Manchester City Council Planning Department, 1985 : 5).

The long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries were characterised by their original residential locations within families situated at the rough end of the 'rough/respectable' continuum. They were from an Inner City ward characterised by persistently high unemployment and from parts of the ward that suffered a considerable amount of local stigma. In part, such local stigma was due to unemployment levels on the Chicken Lane and Marton estates which appeared to exceed the ward as a whole. Among the young men, the cumulative effect was that unemployment came to be regarded as the norm. In the Square on the Chicken Lane estate where Maz's mother lived, for example, twenty-three out of the thirty surrounding flats contained families he described as "Dole-ies", that is families that were characterised by family members' prolonged unemployment. Similarly, in the low-rise maisonettes on the block in the Marton estate where Digger and Stella lived, thirteen out of the fifteen families who lived there were what Digger described as "Giro-technicians". Stella described unemployment as "the Marton disease, it's summat in the water .. d'ya wanna brew (laughs)". The background of profound unemployment generated its own cumulative social disadvantage associated with long-term benefit dependence. When unemployment was regarded as the norm, there was no use in fighting against it; the longer these study participants were unemployed, the less likely they were of gaining conventional employment: "They were caught up in the spiral of no job experience leading to no job offers" (Gill 1977 : 110). The only options that appeared to be available were those marginal opportunities that existed within their informal networks. These were semi-legal and illegal alternatives which served to further remove participants from commitment to the formal labour market. Such cumulative social disadvantages increased the 'rough' reputation of the area as a whole:

> "Hartingleigh? ... It's full of defaulters, layabouts and thieves ... I don't want to sound like Colonel Blimp but I think in their case there's a good argument for briging back conscription" (Martin Parkray, Community Social Worker).

8.3.3 Cumulative Social Disadvantage : 'The Rough'

Aside from their original residential locations on the estates characterised by persistently high unemployment and from within families at the rough end of the rough-respectable continuum, the long-term unemployed study participants (who had all undertaken early careers involving a cyclical transition into and out of unemployment, government schemes and underemployment) were also characterised by extensive familial and parental unemployment. For twenty-two of the twenty-five study participants who had entered more or less permanent unemployment, their families contained main income providers (generally fathers) who were also long-term unemployed. Generally, the main income providers from such families had formerly been employed in typically unskilled or semi-skilled engineering or manufacturing jobs. Redundancies during the early part of the recession had left many family income providers unemployed in their forties or fifties, at an age when the potential for re-training or the acquisition of different employment had become a diminished possibility. Unemployment within such families was endemic and often such families were also characterised by the unemployment of older and/or younger siblings. Moreover, in the case of eight of the long-term unemployed participants, paternal figures were actually absent from the family household due to death, divorce and separation, or long-term imprisonment.

The literature on youth unemployment has consistently shown that young people from such socially (and educationally) disadvantaged backgrounds tend to experience a disproportionate share of unemployment (Ashton *et al* 1982; Gray *et al* 1983; White and McRae 1989). Unlike the traditional or protracted transitionaries drawn from respectable families, or families at the mid-point of the rough-respectable continuum, the long-term unemployed participants within my study were more likely to be drawn from Hartingleigh's 'rougher' estates, and to have fathers who were absent or unemployed. The unemployed were less likely than those study participants who had secured employment to have come from families whose main income providers were still in employment (see, for example, Chapter Six, Section 6.3; Chapter Seven, Section 7.5).

Using data drawn from the 1980 and 1981 General Household Surveys, Payne (1987) has similarly shown that young people who are unemployed are far more likely than those in waged employment to have another family member who is also unemployed. As I have previously discussed, employed family members are able to bestow social and labour market advantages on job seeking youngsters. In some respects, having family members, relatives, or friends, who supplied the contacts or information which led to that vital first job interview explained much of the variation between the traditional and protracted transitionaries' post-school labour market careers and those of the long-term unemployed. As working family members may be a useful source of unadvertised job vacancies (Manwaring 1984), family unemployment may sever a young person from an important, informal, information network.

The social disadvantages of the unemployed have been emphasised in numerous studies. Family experience of unemployment has a strong influence on the employment chances of a young person, as does coming from a large family, coming from a single parent family, and belonging to an ethnic minority (White and McRae 1989). Educational disadvantage adds to the cumulative impact of such social disadvantage. However, White and McRae (1989) argue that it is wrong to depict the unemployed as an "unqualified residue in the labour market", as they have the same educational profiles as those young workers employed in low-skilled occupations. Unskilled workers are simply more vulnerable to unemployment under specific economic circumstances. As Furlong has also argued:

> "Unemployment is caused by a lack of demand for labour rather than by inadequacies in
> the labour force. Those who are unemployed in a recession are perfectly acceptable to
> employers when labour demand is high" (1992 : 87).

Young people with no or few educational qualifications, those from disadvantaged social backgrounds, and with a cumulative personal and familial history of prolonged unemployment, are particularly vulnerable to unemployment when demand for labour is low.

In the early part of the recession, when my study participants first entered the labour market, there was what has been described as a "disequilibrium" in the supply and demand for jobs for young people within local labour markets (Wells 1987). In some local labour markets, the gap between employment supply and demand was far larger than in other areas (Ashton *et al* 1986; Banks *et al* 1992). In some areas, for example, even highly qualified people from socially advantaged backgrounds found it difficult to get jobs (Ashton *et al* 1986). The 1983 Employment Survey drew attention to the major differences which now divide the North from the South (*Employment Gazette*, February 1987). The much delayed publication of these findings came as a shock because of the magnitude of difference they expressed. The Leicester-based study focused upon a carefully selected sample of 1786 young people aged between 18 and 24 in four locations: Sunderland, Leicester, Stafford and St. Albans. Almost one in three young men in Sunderland had never experienced full-time paid employment compared with only one in thirty-three in St. Albans. These findings have been replicated in the work of Ashton *et al* (1986) who found that in Sunderland, for example, even those young people with GCE A-Levels had problems finding employment, while in areas with low unemployment, such as St. Albans, high levels of post-school employment were reported both among qualified <u>and</u> unqualified school leavers. Employers faced with increasing numbers of applicants for a reduced number of vacancies tend not to make radical changes in their recruitment procedures, but rather accentuate existing practices (Manwaring and Wood, 1984; Roberts *et al* 1988; Wallace 1987). They make greater use of informal networks (Wallace 1987 : 59), recruit experienced workers rather than school leavers (Roberts *et al* 1988 : 29-30), and, when they do recruit young people, they are able to choose from among the better qualified (Furlong 1992 : 87). As a consequence, many young people from socially disadvantaged backgrounds in areas of high intra-generational unemployment "become trapped in a cycle of unemployment and unemployment based schemes from which they ... [find] it increasingly difficult to escape" (Furlong 1992 : 85) (my insert).

Despite the illusion of greater opportunity for young people in the 1980s, and the increased variety of training options presented to those attempting the transition from school to work, research has shown that, throughout the decade it was young people from socially and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds who remained particularly vulnerable to unemployment (Banks *et al* 1992; Furlong 1992). In Hartingleigh where, as I have indicated, unemployment remained high throughout the decade, it was precisely those young people from parts of the ward characterised by residential stigma and social disadvantage, whose family backgrounds contained absent or long-term unemployed main income providers, for whom the school to work transition was most problematic.

To the extent that these young people found it difficult to escape from unemployment, even after participation in a succession of government schemes and special programmes, it can be argued that labour market opportunities were further diminished by their 'training placements'. These inferior, community-based, detached, 'sink' schemes served to produce a Black Magic Roundabout of thwarted aspirations and diminished opportunity, which served only to contain participants' unemployment and produce an additional sense of failure. Cynicism and disillusionment were often the consequences of cyclical transitions through unemployment and unemployment based schemes; such disillusionment preceded the slide into long-term unemployment, scheme refusal, and eventually labour market withdrawal.

8.4 Cyclical Transitions and Labour Market Withdrawal
8.4.1 Introduction
Amongst long-term unemployed study participants, the common response to the enforced idleness promoted by denial of access to jobs was a progressive reduction in commitment to the orthodox labour market. Many of these unemployed young people had become trapped in a cycle of unemployment and unemployment-based schemes which they found increasingly difficult to escape. In such circumstances, they abandoned commitment to proper jobs and withdrew from the orthodox labour market. Labour market withdrawal

enabled participants to "regard themselves as having some control over their life events and to regain some self-esteem" (Furlong 1992 : 98). The escape from a cycle of job-search and rejection, scheme participation and unemployment, allowed them to relinquish the inevitable sense of personal failure which accompanied such a post-school transition.

Reducing the effort put into the search for work can have positive consequences for the unemployed. In a study of unemployed men in the United States (Yancey 1980), it was discovered that research participants protected their self-confidence and self-esteem by restricting their job search. Similarly, the participants in MacLeod's (1987) study of "levelled aspirations in a low income neighbourhood" withdrew from the dominant ideology of individual economic achievement into alternative status systems afforded by the peer-group subculture. In a situation of social and economic disadvantage, this allowed them to "maintain some semblance of a positive identity" (1987 : 150). Labour market withdrawal amongst study participants took three forms: a return to full-time education; a retreat into home-based domestic careers; and the proactive development of 'alternative careers' with Hartingleigh's burgeoning sub- and anti-employment subcultures.

Labour market withdrawal into full-time education was an option pursued by two unemployed women study participants in order to escape from unemployment and unemployment-based schemes. However, post-compulsory education did not result in employment for the two participants and eventually they were undistinguishable from the majority of long-term unemployed women in my study who had withdrawn from the labour market in order to work in the home. The long-term unemployed women study participants had the same social backgrounds and characteristics as the unemployed as a whole, the main difference being that they were more likely to be married or cohabiting and to have the main responsibility for dependent children.

For the majority of unemployed men in my study, who had endured the Black Magic Roundabout of a cyclical transition through schemes and unemployment, there was often a

reaction in terms of retreat into the norms, values, and alternative status systems of their peer group subcultures. This often took the form of proactively developed 'alternative careers' within Hartingleigh's sub- and anti-employment subcultures (Chapter Four, Section 4.8).

For many of the long-term unemployed study participants, a reduction in personal commitment towards employment and the effort put into the search for jobs, and a progressive withdrawal from the orthodox labour market, had positive psychological benefits. For the women, especially those with children, labour market withdrawal was often a socially acceptable alternative to unemployment. For the majority of men, the income derived from 'alternative careers' together with the alternative status systems of the peer group allowed them to "reject the official authorised interpretation of their social situation" (MacLeod 1987 : 150).

8.4.2 Labour Market Withdrawal and Full-Time Education

For two study participants, Lynn Chapman and Spider, cyclical post-school transitions by *the mid-1980s had produced a return to full-time education*. Lynn Chapman's early career was characterised by an early departure from compulsory education at the age of fifteen when she found herself to be pregnant. Her son was born in May 1980 and eventually, after a short period living in her parents' home, she moved into a council flat in Marton with the father of her child. Here the couple made a brief attempt to 'set up home', but her partner's unemployment, and the pressure of financial hardship, produced an early breakdown in the relationship, and separation. For almost a year, Lynn continued to live in the flat with her son and struggled to maintain her residential independence on the income derived from lone parent benefits plus the occasional periods of local part-time work she was able to secure. However, the struggle of coping alone proved too great and she returned with her baby to the family home. Over the next two years, Lynn made several attempts to gain a foothold in the labour market *via* three separate training

schemes secured through the Job Centre, none of which led into or produced the full-time employment she desired.

In September 1985, following advice from the Careers Service, Lynn enrolled for a two year full-time course at Marton College of Further Education. At first, Lynn undertook five GCE O-Level subjects but, because she found the course work too demanding, and also because she had difficulties dividing her time between homework, college work, and the care of her son, she reduced the number of subjects to three. Although the Local Education Authority paid the course fees, there were no statutory maintenance grants available for the course of study Lynn had undertaken. She did receive a nominal sum of just over £400 a year from the LEA to cover travelling and other expenses, but this could not be considered an adequate sum for a mother and child to live on.

In November 1986, just over half-way through her studies, as a consequence of financial hardship and problems with the DHSS, Lynn decided that she "couldn't handle it anymore" and abandoned her course of study. Not only had she found the work demanding but Lynn had also been subjected to financial pressure as a result of DHSS investigation and benefit suspension. Lynn had contravened the rules of supplementary benefit entitlement by maintaining her claim for lone parent benefits whilst pursuing full-time education. When the DHSS discovered this, her benefit was immediately withdrawn and threats were made by the investigating officials that court action would be pursued to recover the outstanding payments which had, in their terms, been "fraudulently claimed". Court action was narrowly avoided when a negotiated sum of £530 was agreed as adequate recompense. Her parents were forced to borrow the money to pay the sum on Lynn's behalf.

Without the basic income derived from benefits, Lynn could not afford to continue her course of study. Despite her appeals, the DHSS would not consider maintaining payments as long as she was in full-time education. As a consequence, Lynn was

compelled to give up her College work in order to regain her only source of income. Following the development of a steady relationship which culminated in the birth of her second child in January 1987, she joined the majority of unemployed women study participants in establishing a home-based domestic and childcare 'career'. However, in March 1990, Lynn did manage to secure a measure of labour market mobility after securing part-time employment in a cake shop. This was only for twelve hours a week but she welcomed the opportunity to "get a break" from the baby.

Spider had similarly undertaken a two-year course in 1985 in order to escape from unemployment and unemployment-based government schemes. At that time, Spider lived with her boyfriend in a privately rented flat in Stretford. Although her boyfriend was in full-time employment, Spider sought to maintain her financial independence by registering as unemployed and claiming supplementary benefit. Again, this was contrary to the rules of benefit entitlement, as a partner's income is taken into account when assessment for entitlement is calculated. However, Spider chose not to declare her relationship to the DHSS and instead registered her claim as an unemployed single person. This strategy, though productive with regard to the income she was able to derive from benefits, produced its own "hassles" in terms of the periodic, semi-compulsory requirement to register for participation in unemployment based schemes. In all, she completed four such schemes during a five year post-school transition before entering full-time education in November 1985.

None of the schemes Spider undertook produced full-time employment. However, it was as a consequence of a post-scheme follow-up interview with Careers Guidance at the Job Centre that she was offered a place on a music technology course run by the Local Education Authority at her local College of Further Education. Although it was LEA administered, the course was one of the earliest MSC financed, post-sixteen, college based, technical and vocational courses - an experimental initiative first introduced in 1983. The course consisted of a mixture of academic subjects like maths and physics and

various practical components concerned with recording technology such as using a (sound) mixing-desk, and other music studio technology.

Although Spider enjoyed the course enormously and for a while harboured hopes of securing employment in a recording studio, the course had not supplied a level of skills which were transferable to the job market. After completing the two years, she once again returned to registered unemployment. Like Lynn Chapman, Spider eventually undertook a home-based domestic career of parenthood with the birth of her first child in July 1987, followed by marriage in 1988, and the birth of her second child in January 1989. These events ensured that her employment aspirations were constrained by the demands of domesticity and child rearing.

8.4.3 Labour Market Withdrawal and Home Based Domestic Careers

For a majority of unemployed women participants, labour market withdrawal often took the form of a realigned commitment to a traditional domestic role of home and child care. Of the eleven women who in 1989-1990 could be identified as long-term unemployed, eight were responsible for the care of two or more dependent children, and ten were either married or cohabiting with male partners. Westwood (1984) has suggested that domestic life is often viewed as an attractive option by women employed in boring or repetitive jobs; although among study participants the subsequent reality of domestic life often conflicted with the romantic ideology surrounding marriage and domesticity (see Chapter Four, Section 4.7). The majority of young women who had found it difficult to secure employment, and who suffered the effects of prolonged unemployment in terms of their social identities and the transition to adulthood, came to regard motherhood and domesticity as an escape from wagelessness (see also Griffin 1985 : 56-57; Roberts 1987 : 20; Wallace 1985 : 24). For a young woman without a job, parenthood (and/or marriage or cohabitation) was often the only route to securing independent adult status, either within or outside the natal home (Wallace 1986a : 24; see also Campbell 1984; Willis 1984a, b, d; and Chapter Four, Section 4.7.1).

As I have illustrated throughout my study, the social and occupational lives of women participants were circumscribed by a traditional, taken-for-granted, adherence to domestic roles and duties. As Griffin has demonstrated, monogamous, heterosexual, partnerships, motherhood, and the responsibility for domestic chores, are regarded as an inevitable feature of adulthood for working class girls (1985 : 48-53). However, it was evident from some study participants that this was not an actively planned alternative to prolonged unemployment, but one that they turned to when other options appeared unattainable:

"I could 'ave 'ad 'n' abortion but I couldn't stand the thought, no, I thought at least with a baby to look after I can take care of it an' make sure it's alright ... I knew they'd give me a [council] flat, an' anyway there was no work ... nothin' else in my life ... " (Lynda Willcox).

S.C.: "Do you think you'd have done it differently if you'd got a job when you left school?"

Janet Wallace: "Oh I don't think so ... It's sort of expected innit? Women 'ave kids an' stay 'ome, men go to work. It's always been like that ... No, there again I suppose if it'd been a good 'un [a good job] maybe I'd 'ave changed me mind, but that's just dreamin' ... there's no good 'un's round 'ere, not for the likes of us anyway."

Although, like the women in the studies by Griffin (1985) and Wallace (1987), the women in my study had grown up serving a 'domestic apprenticeship' within the natal home, there were, in general, important distinctions made between their role as domestic assistant in their mother's home and their roles as "houseworker" within their "own home" - "with the possibilities of status, independence and control that this implied" (Wallace 1987 : 83):

"At 'ome it's like I 'ad to do it ... me Mam would go on an' that, but in yer own place you want to do it ... Keep it nice ... for the kids an' that. I 'turn it out' every Friday, top to bottom, just like at Mam's ... when it's done an' all sorted out I sit back an' feel nice ... You could eat yer dinner off the floor it's so clean" (Heather Lawley).

Some participants, like Heather, embraced their domestic roles wholeheartedly, regarding it as proof of adulthood, especially when combined with residential mobility, cohabitation or marriage, and parenthood. A home of one's own had a special status and ordinarily this was achieved within the provisions of public sector housing following a heterosexual partnership and/or parenthood (see also Chapter Seven, Section 7.7.3).

Others, however, were critical of marriage or motherhood and home-based domestic careers and expressed the desire for work outside the home (Chapter Four, Section 4.7). Nevertheless, the lack of other viable options, such as the possibility for a good job or an independent life-style, made motherhood a higher status occupation than long-term unemployment. "It's not all love an' roses, I've learnt that much ... but at least I've got the kids, I wouldn't change that for the world" (Lynda Willcox).

Cohabitation, marriage, and parenthood, were sometimes a haphazard, unplanned state of affairs, rather than being actively espoused statuses, a product of 'a drift into' rather than, as was the case with the traditional transitionaries (Chapter Six, Section 6.5.6), a product of forward planning and prudent financial management. In part the romantic ideology surrounding young women's sexual liaisons conflicted with the de-romanticising role of condoms. 'Accidental' pregnancies were common, though these were less the product of irresponsibility than the result of fatalistic ethos generated within the context of economic uncertainty. In such a context, there was really no point in 'planning' a relationship or a family when insecurity was a psychological and economic (institutionalised) fact of life. The solution was either to actively 'choose' not have children, or simply to allow them to happen: "It stops you from making plans, what's the point ... Planning ahead, what's that mean? You just think about today, just try to survive. You can't plan anything" (Julie Birchall).

Wallace's research (1986a : 28) confirms that unemployed women "drift into" parenthood, "for lack of any positive alternatives". Although participants would not necessarily 'plan' to have children whilst unemployed, family planning was haphazard. Ideally, couples would have preferred to have waited until they had a job and a home. However, there was a general fatalism associated with the knowledge that this was a remote possibility. In fact, some couples actively pursued parenthood as a means for augmenting their council house applications (see Chapter Four, section 4.7.1; Chapter Seven, Section 7.7.3). Moreover, some unattached women had accepted pregnancy and

early careers of lone parenthood as a means for demonstrating adult identity and securing residential independence, just as others had sought to demonstrate their rebelliousness and autonomy through lone parenthood:

> "They tried to say I couldn't cope, but I knew I was gonna make it work ... this was something for me, no-one was gonna talk me out of it" (Tricia Hartley).

Of the four women who were registered for benefit entitlements as lone parents in 1985-1986 (see Table 10, Chapter Four, Section 4.7), only one (Tricia Hartley) was by 1989-1990 still bringing up her child without a regular male partner. Ten of the eleven unemployed women were by 1989-1990 either married or cohabiting and living in privately rented or council accommodation.

Labour market careers were progressively relinquished as women's daily activities became circumscribed by childcare and domestic duties. In cases where both partners in a relationship were unemployed, benefit claims were usually registered by the male partner on behalf of the family. In these cases, women were not required to attend the Job Centre in order to sign on, and thus were separated from even the tentative possibility for the acquisition of employment through Job Centre attendance. Labour market withdrawal into home-based domestic careers was an accepted fact of life, and one which contributed to the reproduction of traditional working class gender roles. According to Wallace (1987 : 85), the reproduction of traditional gender roles takes place on three levels. Gender roles are reinforced materially by the fact that child rearing women are generally economically dependent on support, either by family or, more usually, a male partner; traditional roles are reinforced socially through the inherited expectations of appropriate adult roles and behaviour; these are reinforced symbolically through codes of conduct that prescribe social behaviour for both genders. Women who had sought to escape unemployment through education (Section 8.4.1), lone parenthood (Chapter Four, Section 4.7.1), or even full-time waged employment (Chapter Six, Section 6.6.9), eventually succumbed to full-time domestic and child care careers based within the home; generally such careers involved a fundamental withdrawal from the labour market.

However, it was not all domesticity and child rearing for the unemployed women. Financial hardship and restricted labour market opportunity had led four into more or less full-time alternative modes of income acquisition. For Susan Hargreaves, this took the form of multiple activities (including cheque and credit card fraud and 'dealing' proscribed drugs including methadone, heroin, and cannabis) through which she sought to maintain her own 'habit' (addiction to opiate drugs). Tricia Hartley worked regularly 'off the books' as a 'masseuse' in a sauna club. Lynda Willcox and Wendy Fisher also had regular 'fiddle jobs', Lynda as an artists' model in a Manchester School of Art and as a barmaid in a City Centre nightclub, and Wendy as a regular helper on a market stall owned by the Donaghue family. These were the minority. Amongst the long-term unemployed women, withdrawal from orthodox labour market activity was generally articulated in terms of a retreat into home-based domestic and childcare routines. In contrast to the long-term unemployed men, most of whom were involved in 'alternative' economic activity, proactive criminality was a significant, but nonetheless minority, status role amongst the women in my study.

Why there is no female equivalent to the 'alternative' economic activities of Hartingleigh's male dominated sub- and anti-employment peer group subcultures can be explored with reference to research by Brake (1980 : 137-154) and Jenkins (1983 : 44). Among other reasons, the following factors are important: firstly, the ideology of working class 'decency' for girls as this relates to their future marriage prospects and generally circumscribes their subcultural activities; secondly, their atomistic culture which precludes the ongoing peer group solidarity upon which alternative subcultural careers are based; thirdly, the relative subordination of girls and young women to the social demands of their male partners often precludes autonomous subcultural activity; fourthly, their ongoing domestic responsibilities associated with home and child care routines; fifthly, the distinction between the public domain of men and the private world of women generally inhibits the creation of a socially active 'rough' female subculture or life-style; and, lastly, the disappearance of manual labour as a traditional domain for the articulation of the

'normal' working class male status role of breadwinning provided an added impetus towards the creation of alternative routes for defining adult masculine psychological and economic potency, whereas for women, the traditional routes towards displaying working class adult femininity through domestic labour and child care remained open.

8.4.4. Habitus and Labour Market Withdrawal

Perhaps the most useful theoretical construct available to explain the labour market withdrawal of the long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries is Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which he defines as -

> " ... a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions" (1977 : 82-83).

Bourdieu's model has been criticised as "a deterministic materialist epistemology, regardless of how far removed the final instance of that determination might be" (Jenkins 1983 : 8). Bourdieu's model also does not account for cultural innovation or subcultural resistance (Giroux 1983). Nevertheless, his view that culturally induced aspirations reflect an individual's internalisation of the objective probabilities for social mobility has much to recommend it. Put simply, the habitus is composed of the beliefs, attitudes and experiences of those inhabiting an individual's social world. This conglomeration of deeply internalised values defines attitudes towards employment, for example. The structure of employment with its in-built regard for educational credentials, the "cultural capital" of the middle classes, promotes a belief among working class pupils that they are unlikely to attain high status employment. Thus there is a correlation between objective probabilities and subjective aspirations, between institutional structures and cultural practices (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 : 156).

Work commitment and aspirations reflect an individual's view of their life-chances and are an internalisation of objective probabilities. But work commitment and aspirations are not the product of rational analysis; rather, they are acquired in the habitus of the individual. A disadvantaged working class child, for example, growing up in a context

where success is rare, is much less likely to develop strong occupational aspirations than a middle class child growing up in a social world peopled by those who have experienced social mobility through academic and occupational success. According to Bourdieu:

> "The habitus is the universalising mediation which causes an individual agent's practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be none the less 'sensible' and 'reasonable'" (1977 : 79).

The habitus engenders attitudes and conduct that result in the reproduction of social formations. The educational and employment opportunity structures are such that disadvantaged working class individuals have significantly reduced chances of securing professional or managerial occupations. Bourdieu's argument is that subjective responses to objective structures are engendered from the habitus, from the experiences and attitudes of the cultural milieu. Bourdieu's determinism is a result of the circular relationship he posits between structures and practices in which "objective structures tend to produce structured subjective dispositions that produce structured actions which, in turn, tend to reproduce objective structure" (Swartz 1977 : 548). Bourdieu's argument that subjective hopes mirror objective chances, although positing too mechanistic a relationship, is, nevertheless, a very useful explanatory device with respect to the cyclical transitionaries' labour market withdrawal.

The long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries viewed their prospects for substantial social mobility as very remote, which accounted for their realistic occupational aspirations. Reference to the 1980 Youth Survey questionnaires of these study participants revealed the typical desire for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs such as "labourer", "factory worker", "gardener", "shop work", "milk man", "building work", "driver", and so on. Moreover, drawing on the wider experiences of their families, peers, and later their own encounters with the job market, participants' appraisals of the possibility for what Bourdieu has described as "social upgrading" often precluded the formation of any occupational aspirations (which, incidentally, perhaps accounts for the significant number of "don't knows" in answer to the question, "What do you think is ... likely to be your first

full-time job?", in the Youth Project questionnaire (see Appendix A). The available evidence indicated that the absence or unemployment of the parents of the long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries precluded parental intercession in terms of the development of participants' work commitments or aspiration formation (see Section 8.3). In general, the parents of the long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries exerted little significant influence on their children's lives, either in terms of the ability to bestow social or labour market advantages, or to inculcate work commitment and aspirations. This was in stark contrast to the significant degree of parental influence and intercession exercised by the families of the traditional transitionaries (Chapter Six, Sections 6.2 and 6.3) and, to a lesser degree, the protracted transitionaries (Chapter Seven, Section 7.5). In contrast to the long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries, both the traditional and protracted transitionaries displayed a firm commitment to employment and employment aspirations. In the case of the protracted transitionaries, work aspirations and commitment were maintained even in the face of protracted transitions to primary employment which, in some cases, lasted for over seven years (Chapter Seven, Section 7.5).

Like most parents, those of the long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries "wanted the best" for their offspring but, as was indicated by Dilly's mother, she was hesitant about encouraging exaggerated expectations for fear of laying the basis for subsequent disappointment:

> "I told 'im 'e'd got no chance an' I was right ... All our lives it's bin the same, rich wot gets the pleasure, poor wot gets the pain. 'Ow could I tell 'im different?"

Or, as Maz revealed in Chapter Four (Section 4.8.5):

> "We knew there was nowt' down for us. It's what they was tellin' us right from the off ... teachers, probation, my ol' man ..."

Although the families of the unemployed cyclical transitionaries did not contribute significantly to the inculcation of work commitment and aspirations, most participants nevertheless, unsuccessfully, attempted post-school entry into the formal labour market. In their struggles to find regular, stable employment, all were subsequently thwarted.

Work commitment and employment aspirations were "cooled out" (Goffman 1952) both by these initial labour market experiences and also by their subsequent experiences on the Black Magic Roundabout of cyclical transitions through government inspired 'sink' schemes. These types of first-hand experience within the formal labour market further deflated any illusions participants might have had about the openness of the opportunity structure, and such experiences often preceded the slide into disillusionment and cynicism:

> "It was like a bloody circus 'cept we were the clowns" (Tracy Smith).

> "I'd rather fuckin' die than go on another [government scheme]" (Poolie)

> "I'd rather go beggin'. I'm tellin' you, I mean it, I'm never doin' another bloody scheme" (Wendy Fisher)

> "I'd rather go graftin' man, at least you get to 'old yer fuckin' 'ed up" (Poolie)

> "So what's the fuckin' choice? ... Oh yeah do Y.T. fuckin S. for buttons don't be a cunt. Sign on with the sheep ... 'ands an' knees job forra packet o' straights [cigarettes] ... Fuck it ... I'd rather do bird [go to jail] ... [Hustling] ... it's all I know an' it's all I want to know, the rest of it's for cunts" (Willie)

> "D'ya wanna know what my motto is now, fuck 'em all!" (Mick Kent)

> "Fuck 'em all, no work, no money we knew it was up to us to get it sorted" (Maz)

Such disillusionment and embittered cynicism provides a partial explanation for the development of anti-employment subcultural norms and values and for the progressive abandonment of commitment to the formal labour market.

In attempting to understand the impact of social disadvantage, family influences, and labour market experiences on the employment commitment of the unemployed cyclical transitionaries, Bourdieu's theory that the habitus engenders aspirations which reflect objective probabilities seems accurate. However, the concept of the internalisation of objective probabilities - because it limits the scope for human agency, creativity and subcultural resistance - has little explanatory value when considering the influence of the peer group (Chapter Three, Section 3.5), or the economic and psychological benefits of subcultural affiliation and labour market withdrawal (Chapter Four, Sections 4.6.3, 4.8.4, 4.8.5, 4.8.6). These are considerable theoretical deficiencies because, according to the

ethnographic sketches provided in Chapter Four, the subcultural milieu is of primary significance in the articulation of resistance (Giroux 1983) and procreativity (Fryer 1986a), particularly for the unemployed males of my study group. Subcultural resistance and procreativity were articulated in terms of a progressive reduction in commitment to the formal labour market, leading eventually to an ethos which stressed the value of labour market withdrawal. As Maz put it: "You're never gonna make big quids if you're out at work all day". The ability to reap high rewards for the minimum of effort provided status and self-worth within the subcultural milieu. As Tex put it: "A job?! Fuck that! I can make more in a coupla 'ours than my 'ol man used to make in a week. Fuck workin'".

In a situation where success is defined largely in terms of income and occupational status, the long-term unemployed of Hartingleigh have a problem. Unemployed, living with their parents or in public or privately rented accommodation, and located at the very bottom reaches of the Social Division of Welfare (Chapter Four, Section 4.6.1), they are, in objective terms, 'triple failures'. Participants are seen to have 'failed' educationally, 'failed' to secure employment upon school leaving, and to have subsequently 'failed' to get into a working class adulthood through employment, even after participation in a succession of government schemes and special programmes. This hardcore of the young unemployed working class are frequently viewed as 'failures' by potential employers and the Careers Service (Roberts 1987; Furlong 1992) and, to some extent, by themselves (Sennett and Cobb 1977). They have been semi-compulsorily 'conscripted' onto (un)employment training schemes and special programmes designed for "mongs and fuck ups" (as Poolie put it); they have been subjected to periodic harassment by the Social Security (Chapter Seven, Section 7.3.2), even in circumstances when attempting mobility through education (Section 8.4.2). The unemployed may feign to have little of their self identities tied up in formal employment but, nevertheless, they cannot help but feel the judgement of failure and social inferiority cast upon them. As was revealed in Jimmy Bee's biography (Chapter Seven, Section 7.8.3), a cyclical transition, protracted

unemployment, and the consequent failure to provide a "decent start" to married life for his partner and child, had left him feeling "a blown out nobody".

The retreat of unemployed female participants into a realigned commitment to home-based domestic careers (Section 8.4.3), the evolution of sub- and anti-employment subcultures among Hartingleigh's unemployed males, together with the fundamental withdrawal from formal employment that these strategies entailed, must be understood as an attempt by study participants to insulate themselves from negative social judgements and evaluations. Such strategies provided contexts within which some semblance of self-respect and dignity could be upheld.

To characterise the sub- and anti-employment subcultures of Hartingleigh as a defence mechanism against onslaughts to self-esteem would, however, be incomplete. As Willis (1977) has argued, counter cultures have both defensive and independent, creative characteristics. The Northside Jungle Crew, whose adherents and affiliates eventually comprised membership of both the sub- and anti-employment subcultures, have their own distinct set of norms and values (Chapter Four, Section 4.2.3). Such norms and values are indigenous to the parent working class culture; they do not arise simply out of subcultural oppositionality, either to the school (Willis 1977) or towards the conventional labour market. The Northside tradition, for example, with its valuation of physical hardness, emotional resilience, quick-wittedness, masculine potency, group loyalty and solidarity points to norms and values which have been transmitted inter-generationally. Through the utilisation of cultural resources that are largely based on indigenous working class principles and practices, the Northside are able to re-create subculturally traditional procedures for survival:

> "They understand some of the elaborate ways of subverting authority, getting round the formal, squeezing some enjoyment out of a dry context and making extra cash on the side" (Willis 1977 : 109).

Such informal "cultural continuities" are part of the fund of experience built up historically within working class communities. This informal cultural continuity can be seen as the fundamental bass-rhythm of "experience and response which informs the whole of working class culture in its long arc of adaptation to hostile conditions and its development of particular kinds of social relations" (Willis 1977 : 95).

8.4.5 Labour Market Withdrawal and Alternative Careers

By far the largest group amongst my research participants were those who had moved from school into early cyclical transitions through unemployment, unemployment-based government schemes, and had then entered the ranks of the long-term unemployed. By the mid-1980s, the progressive disillusionment and embittered cynicism of many unemployed participants who had endured early post-school transitions on the Black Magic Roundabout resulted in a retreat into the norms, values and status-systems of their peer groups. My fieldwork during the third phase (1985-1986) illustrated how the fourteen unemployed males progressively restricted their social networks to contacts with others in a similar position. They came to recognise and build on a common sense of identity with others sharing their economic circumstances and social background. Generally, their social networks were characterised by an ethos which involved a progressive reduction in commitment to formal labour markets and to the conventional working class routes for 'getting into' adulthood through waged labour. As I discussed earlier (section 8.3), these were socially disadvantaged young people who had become trapped in early careers located in a cycle of unemployment and unemployment-based schemes. Denied legitimate access to opportunity, they found it increasingly difficult to 'get into' the adult working class world of waged labour. In such circumstances, there was a general reaction in favour of their subcultural milieu within which they gave up hope of finding 'proper' or 'straight' jobs and progressively relinquished their commitment to conventional labour markets.

For all the unemployed males and four of the unemployed females in my study, cyclical transitions had produced proactively developed "escape attempts" (Cohen and Taylor 1976) in the form of alternative careers. Through the utilisation of actual and symbolic resources, tactics, and strategies of the local community, these participants were able to proactively construct social identities that were independent of the status supplied by the formal labour market. For the long-term unemployed males in my study, such alternative careers were located within Hartingleigh's sub- and anti-employment subcultures. In part, these subcultural formations were generated within the cultural ecology of an "alternative enterprise culture", sponsored by the legal, semi-legal, and illegal, entrepreneurial activities of two local 'hard families', the Hattons and the Donaghues (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.2).

Throughout the 1980s, the sub-employment subculture was characterised by a loose interlocking network of male study participants and their peers. What often began as 'coping' on the minimal provisions of welfare benefits solidified into a distinctive subculture. According to Turner *et al* (1985): "Among the younger generation ... the only way to cope on social security is to develop a new strategy of ... 'cheating'" (1985 : 487). 'Cheating' among study participants involved such strategies as fraudulent benefit claims and various forms of legal but undeclared, 'off the books', 'fiddle jobs on the side'. Within the sub-employment subculture, participants sought to maintain benefit entitlement and claims by not declaring the extra income derived from sub-employment to the Social Security (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.1). Within the sub-employment subculture, participants' lives were organised around, "moves between full worklessness and 'fiddle jobs'. This shady world blends imperceptibly into the full criminal existence" (C. and L. Goffon 1984 : 282). Through a life-style organised around movements into and out of sub-employment, participants were able to derive income, autonomy and status from living off their wits. However, through adherence to the subcultural norms, values, and status systems of the peer group, participants increasingly drifted into a semi-legal, marginal existence. This produced a gradual withdrawal from the formal labour market and from conventional routes to adult status and identity formation (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.3).

An intermediate set of careers grouped together under the local terms 'hustling' and 'totting' involved a range of semi-legal and illegal occupations (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.4). Generally, these careers involved participants and their peers in a progressive movement into illegality through such activities as street-level, relatively unorganised, drug dealing or handling stolen goods (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.4). Both Susan Hargreaves and Tricia Hartley had developed full-time careers involving, in Susan's case, cheque and credit card fraud and dealing proscribed drugs, and in Tricia's case, prostitution. Both participants described their activities as 'hustling'. Such activities blended into a fully criminal anti-employment subculture within which could be located a range of alternative careers including 'hoisting' (organised shoplifting), 'dealing' (organised dealing of proscribed drugs), 'grafting' (burglary and theft) and 'blagging' (robbery). The anti-employment subculture was characterised by a full-blown commitment to an anti-employment ethos. This involved not merely the rejection of conformist values, such as work commitment, but also an inversion of such values, so that, for example, the ability to prosper without recourse to paid employment of any kind, including that available within the informal economy, became a virtue in itself (Chapter Four, Sections 4.8.5 and 4.8.6).

The overarching context for study participants labour market withdrawal and the proactive development of semi-legal and illegal subcultural alternatives was the institutionalised social and economic insecurity of endemic local unemployment: As Hakim (1982) has argued:

> "There is extensive evidence ... that unemployment is a factor contributing significantly
> to crime and delinquency ... Unemployment is generally found to be associated with
> property crimes ... in particular burglary and theft" (1982 : 450).

The unemployment/crime link (Chiricos 1987; Crow 1982; Dean 1982; Farrington *et al* 1986; Glaser 1979; Liu and Bee 1983; Lieberman and Smith 1986; NACRO 1982, 1986; Pyle 1987; Raskin-White *et al* 1985), though repeatedly denied by Conservative politicians, has been generally acknowledged by some of the country's most senior policemen; including, for example, Scotland Yard Chief Commissioner, Sir Peter Imbert

(quoted in Chapter Four, Section 4.8.6), Commander David Stevens (quoted in *The Guardian* 19.2.92) and the former Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, James Anderton. Anderton explicitly proclaimed the link between unemployment and crime in his Chief Constable's Report (1985) when he maintained: " ... burdens on police in Greater Manchester have grown against a background of alarming unemployment" (1985 : 3)

The long-term unemployed participants in my study, through the proactive development of alternative careers within the legal but undeclared informal economy, through the intermediate range of occupations known as hustling and totting, or through anti-employment careers such as dealing, hoisting, grafting and blagging, were effectively developing an alternative career structure. Such an alternative career structure has also been noted by Lucas (1973 : 1-27). According to historical evidence provided by Humphries (1981) and Pearson (1983), this alternative career structure was also present in the male informal street networks from the Victorian era onwards. Historically, these loosely and informally structured groups tended to be concentrated in inner-city areas of deprivation and high unemployment, among white working class boys in their mid to late teens, and they proliferated at times when parental and police control was relaxed, notably as a consequence of wartime recruitment.

The street culture of such groups derived to some degree from the parent culture which valued physical strength and was tolerant of displays of assertive aggression. According to Humphries, such a street culture offered working class males "momentary reprieve from their inferior social identity" (1981 : 175), and offered the opportunity to conquer feelings of "failure and insignificance ... to assert a proud and rebellious identity through which its members could feel masters of their own destiny" (1981 : 179). Some developed into 'delinquent subcultures' with their own alternative argot, skills, and hierarchy of status which often "reversed respectable values" (1981 : 177). Some subcultures were geared to exploiting conventional society through "bag-snatching" (Pearson 1983 : 35-36); and street robberies involving, among other things, coshes (*ibid* 21), garotting (*ibid* 128-129),

and pistols (*ibid* 101-106). In Manchester in the 1880s to early 1900s, such street gangs were known as 'scuttlers', who developed their own distinctive subcultural style:

> "You knew him by his dress. A loose white scarf would adorn his throat; his hair was plastered down upon his forehead; he wore a peaked cap rather over one eye; his trousers were of fustian, and cut like a sailor's - with 'bell bottoms'. This fashion of the trousers was the most distinctive feature of his attire" (Russell 1905 : 16).

Charles Russell's *Manchester Boys, Sketches of Manchester Lads at Work and Play* (1905) provides some insight into the ways in which the informal street networks of Manchester's working class males, in the 1900s, provided an inarticulate and immediate solution to the problems of disadvantage that confronted them. The 'Ikes', 'Street Arabs', 'Scuttlers' and 'Loafers' were sometimes comprised of older youths who could find no regular employment, or who rejected regular employment in favour of itinerant street trading and petty crime:

> "What eventually becomes of such youths? Too often they drift into the ranks of the railway tout or the racecourse frequenter, living on from day to day with an odd honest job, or by some achievement which would not bear that description" (1905 : 15).

According to Humphries, though only a minority, these "delinquent subcultures" of working class youths -

> " ... formed a link with the underworld of professional gangsters and criminals whose network of protection rackets at racecourses ... [and] ... drinking clubs provided an alternative career structure for juvenile gangs" (1981 : 177) (my emphasis).

The historical continuity of this alternative career structure has also been examined by Raphael Samuel (1981) based on interviews with Arthur Harding, a man brought up in the 'Jago', the most notorious of Victorian criminal slums. It contains a remarkable reconstruction of a boy's passage through delinquent gangs and the criminal underworld of London's East End leading to Borstal and prison.

Contemporary criminologists have described the similar biographical pattern of young adult offenders as "crime career trajectories". This phrase conjures up a picture of people firmly in control of where they are heading and consciously choosing a deviant career structure. But (as Marx has indicated), though participants were actively involved in

making their own history, it was not under circumstances of their own choosing. As such, the alternative career structure available to study participants could be understood as a "careering structure":

> "The young person may nominally be in the driving seat - after all it is his car - but in fact he is being given a whole set of contradictory instructions by a large number of back seat drivers, some of whom are selves, some of whom are others. Although everyone may think they are in control, the car itself is quite out of control, and often finishes by crashing into a dead end turning" (Robins and Cohen 1978 : 162).

Nevertheless, the proactivity involved in developing non-conventional options within the local alternative career structure of Hartingleigh enabled male participants in particular to recover a sense of personal autonomy and dignity in a situation where unemployment had rendered obsolete conventional access to the adult working class status roles associated with waged labour. The traditional post-school transition to work for the disadvantaged school leaver in Hartingleigh had been broken; the conventional route to 'getting in' to a working class adulthood no longer existed. In such a context, where the only viable option was the futility of the Black Magic Roundabout, participants explored, constructed and pursued alternative economic options. These not only provided alternative routes to income but also ensured a measure of psychological survival in a situation of institutionalised social and economic insecurity.

Research has similarly indicated that to those for whom full-time paid employment is only a distant possibility, alternative status systems, alternative routes to self-esteem and, as a consequence, alternative modes of identity formation, are proactively developed (Chapter Four, Section 4.6.3). Relevant to a discussion of the psychological benefits for study participants stemming from their withdrawal from the formal labour market is the social psychological research which has shown that low self-esteem is not an inevitable outcome of negative or 'deviant' social labelling (Stager *et al* 1983 : 9). On the contrary, research has indicated that individuals within peer group subcultures reject or invert the negative evaluations of their group held by the larger society, and those who are most committed to 'deviant' identities have high self-esteem (Hall 1966; Kaplan 1980;

Rosenberg and Rosenberg 1978; Schwartz and Stryker 1970; Hammersmith and Weinberg 1973). Similarly, in MacLeod's (1987) study of the 'deviant peer group subculture' he identifies as the "Hallway Hangers", a process of inverting negative labelling was developed as part of the alternative status system of the group.

The Hallway Hangers were subject to the same stigma and social disadvantage as my study participants; social disadvantage associated with, for example, educational failure and residence in a deteriorating public housing development (1987 : 150). Within the peer group, the Hallway Hangers inverted the dominant culture's definitions of achievement in a way that provided access to 'success' in their own terms. However, this occurred in forms the dominant culture commonly recognises as failure, for example, through drug taking and petty crime (1987 : 29-32). Nevertheless, through hardness, emotional durability, and alternative enterprise, the Hallway Hangers developed subcultural strategies which provided a self-protective means of "maintaining a measure of dignity and self-respect" (1987 : 151):

> "The Hallway Hangers, who have developed alternative criteria for success, understand
> their situation in a way that defends their status; they manage to see themselves
> differently from the way the rest of society sees them" (1987 : 118).

Within the sub- and anti-employment subcultures of Hartingleigh, the alternative status systems of the peer group were not entirely a self-protective psychological inversion; their ways of understanding their situation were also real. The long-term unemployed study participants were not living an illusion. The Black Magic Roundabout of cyclical transitions and protracted unemployment exists - they are the 'adverse social by-products' of Conservative social and economic policies, the policy-driven shadow accompanying a society that is not as open as recent announcements from Prime Minister John Major would wish us to believe. In this context, the Northside Crew have drawn upon their indigenous skills and qualities. The Crew are physically hard, emotionally resilient, and enterprising in a situation of severely restricted opportunity. Those of us who are claiming success in conventional terms need only to venture into their world for the

563

briefest amount of time to understand how conventional success through, for example, educational achievement, is, in that environment, about as substantive and 'real' as the 'emperor's new clothes': "They understand that everything is not as written in the book" (Willis 1977 : 109).

8.5   Domestic Careers, Cyclical Transitions : Masculinity
8.5.1 Introduction

A fundamental aspect of habitus is gender: As males, the long-term unemployed cyclical transitionaries within the Northside Crew could inhabit subcultures whose values received a good deal of distorted validation from the dominant culture. Moreover, the subcultural process of status inversion, employed to convert negative labelling into a positive status identification, was based on an exaggerated valuation of working class machismo - taken to the extreme. Being hard, cool and resistant, all derived from an exaggerated pride in working class masculinity which, in turn, may be viewed as located in the traditions and focal concerns of the parent culture. As Willis has argued:

> "Physical labouring comes to stand for and express, most importantly, a kind of masculinity, and also an opposition to authority ... It expresses aggressiveness; a degree of sharpness and wit; an irreverence that cannot be found in words; an obvious kind of solidarity. It provides the wherewithal for adult tastes, and demonstrates a potential mastery over, as well as an immediate attractiveness to, women: a kind of machismo" (Willis 1977 : 104)

In the late twentieth century, such masculine ideals receive further exaggerated 'external' validation from the 'video heroes' of contemporary commercial culture. Figures like Sylvester Stallone ('Rocky' and 'Rambo'), Arnold, 'Arnie' ('The Terminator'; no pain, no gain) Schwarzenegger, and Clint ("make my day punk") Eastwood, are contemporary cultural heroes who represent just such an overstated pride in toughness, emotional illiteracy and violent masculinity. The Northside Crew manipulate these ideals investing them with new dimensions until they embody such contemporary distortions as an exaggerated reverence for guns and the use of guns (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.6):

"Teenagers involved in a new Moss Side gun battle are sporting bullet wounds like trophies ... The sad truth is that this type of bullet wound raises this type of kid's street cred. It's like having a key to club membership" (*Manchester Evening News*, 25.11.92 : 12).

Even commercial culture's most recent anti-hero, the psychopathic, cannibalistic serial killer, 'Hannibal Lectern' from the popular film *Silence of the Lambs*, can be invested with a distorted masculine subcultural identification. With the growing popularity of the film and its psychopathic anti-hero, a new song could be heard on the terraces at Old Trafford:

"Hannibal the Cannibal is our friend
is our friend, is our friend,
Hannibal the Cannibal is our friend
he eats coppers!"

This was the 1990s version of a similar terrace song developed by Manchester United's 'Stretford End' in the late 1960s and dedicated in honour of Harry Roberts who, in 1968, murdered two policemen, went on the run, and was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment. In the late 1960s, Harry Roberts became a hero to Manchester United's skinhead soccer fans:

"Harry Roberts is our friend
He kills coppers
Put him on the streets again
Let him kill some others
Harry Roberts is our friend
He kills coppers!"

(Robbins 1984 : 135)

A combination of profound social disadvantage and post-school cyclical transitions into long-term unemployment have ensured that the Northside Crew lack nearly every social attribute that defines status or success in conventional terms. Against such a background, the Northside Crew have continued and perpetuated the cultural/subcultural inheritance of their forebears. The Crew have latched onto, and subculturally inflated, the one quality they still possess: their masculinity. This provides the focus for group bonding and solidarity in the face of social and economic disadvantage in every other respect.

8.5.2 Masculinity : The Subcultural Context

The subcultural inheritance of group bonding, loyalty and solidarity, is among the Northside Crew very strong. As Jimmy Bee revealed (Chapter Seven, Section 7.8.2): "Goin' out with a bird's just what you do, but your mates are more important". Jimmy was only a peripheral affiliate of the unemployed males peer group network. At the core of the group were held even more discriminatory views:

> "Women'll let yer down, mess up yer 'ead, but yer pals, the boys're what counts ... when
> it's on top like, it's down to yer pals coverin' yer back" (Summers)

For most of the long-term unemployed males, protracted spells of post-school unemployment ensured that the peer group affiliations, fostered in their early teenage years, remained central to their lives. As a consequence, same-sex friendship patterns formed the predominant focus for their domestic career transitions, even into adulthood. Within the informal group, there was a general suspension of individual interests, even with regard to courtship and heterosexual relationships; the overwhelming focus was a commitment to the reality of the group and its aims. The decision to break away from the group to pursue a sustained pattern of heterosexual courtship was partially constrained by a generalised ethos of subcultural loyalty and the bonds of cohesion engendered from the mutual interdependence of individuals within the group. Such interdependence existed not only at the level of psychological necessity, in terms of the perpetuation of group norms and status-systems, but also in respect of the need to rely on other group members for the successful commitment of crime and for support in dangerous or threatening situations. As Summers maintained, when it was "on top", either in the form of physical confrontation with other male informal groups, or the police, store detectives, or 'Joe's' ('have a go Joe' - citizens or employees seeking to prevent a theft or robbery), often it would be "down to yer pals coverin' yer back".

In 1985-1986, partly as a consequence of their loyalties to the informal group, there was little evidence of unemployment propelling the Northside Crew into early marriage, heterosexual cohabitation or paternity (see Chapter Four, Section 4.7.1). At that time,

only four unemployed male participants cohabited with young women. These were: Digger, who shared a council flat on the Marton estate with Stella; Willie, who shared a privately rented flat with his girlfriend in nearby Collington; and Barlow and Summers, who both lived with young women in privately rented flats in Hulme; none of these were child rearing partnerships. Two other participants, Coggs and Wilf, shared a large sub-divided house in Hartingleigh with Mick Kent who, at that time, was in full-time employment (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4.2); these three study participants shared the house with two other male friends from their peer group network and the house became a location for informal sociability among the unemployed. Six of the unemployed males were still living in the parental home. These were Maz, Dilly, Mick Kenney, J.W., Davvo and Jimmy Bee (who, after a protracted post-school transition, eventually found full-time employment in March 1988; see Chapter Seven, Sections 7.3.2 and 7.8.3). Two other unemployed male study participants lived alone in privately rented flats; Tex lived in Collington near to Willie, and Poolie lived in Sale, which is a suburb in the south of the Greater Manchester conurbation.

Of the fourteen male participants who were unemployed during the period of my preliminary fieldwork, none were in child rearing partnerships. In contrast, during the same period, four of the six males who were in full-time employment were in child rearing relationships and either married or cohabiting. These early observations provide tentative support to those studies of post-school transitions which emphasise the significance of waged employment for your working class men in the transition to the adult role of father, and the adult statuses of husband/breadwinner. My preliminary fieldwork suggested that the conventional working class transitions to male adult roles and statuses had been fractured by the interplay of youthful unemployment and the consequent propensity towards increased subcultural affiliation. What has been described by Roberts (1987 : 20) as a "deceleration theory" appeared to hold good for the majority of unemployed young men in my study group - with a combination of unemployment and the subcultural norms

of the male informal group delaying the processes of sustained courtship, marriage and parenthood.

Geographical mobility, stable employment, courtship and marriage appeared to be factors which had enabled both Charlie Dougan and Berksy, former core members of the Northside Crew, to relinquish their propensity towards adolescent criminality (see Chapter Seven Sections 7.3.3; 7.6.4; 7.8.2). Whereas Charlie and Berksy had both been able to break the adolescent bonds which tied them to the norms and values of their peer group subculture, for the majority of unemployed males economic necessity, a fierce localism, and overwhelming loyalty to the group ensured that patterns of adolescent law-breaking were perpetuated into adulthood. As I have previously argued, such adult criminality often depended on exaggerated masculine concern with projected images of potency, dominance, aggression and mental and physical 'hardness'. The tension and contradictions engendered by adherence to these focal concerns have been marvellously captured by local poet Johnny Creschendo (1986) in his poem, *Bother*:

> "I'm not looking for trouble but
> If that's the way you want it
> Don't push me around buddy boy
> You know what you can do with it
> Listen pal
> O.K. Chum
> (sorry seems to be the hardest word)
> Step outside and say that
> You cringing little turd
> Are you calling me a liar
> Can't you say it to my face
> You and who's army pal
> You're sitting in my place
> Look, don't get excited
> Call yourself a man
> Up yours, stuff you anyday
> Excuse me sir, you're banned
> None of your bleedin' business
> Who asked you anyway?
> No one talks to me like that
> You get this if you don't pay
> And your wife as well you silly creep
> Excuse me I was first
> Manchester United
> Come on then, do your worst."   (1986 : 25)

568

Such focal concerns often precluded the emotional repertoire necessary for sustained courtship. Displays of compassion, tenderness, gentleness, kindness or regret were interpreted as weakness ("sorry seems to be the hardest word") and were aggressively confronted ("step outside and say that, you cringing little turd"); or were ridiculed and often derided in homophobic terms. In the following extract, Mick Kent had been observed giving a bunch of flowers to his girlfriend on Valentines Day:

> **J.W.:** "I seen it ... 'e gets off the one twelve [bus] with a fuckin' big bunch of flowers.
> **Tex:** Aaaah what a twat!
> **Mick Kenney:** Fuckin' dick-diver.
> **J.W.:** Yeah ... Yeah then 'e goes up to this tart like ... an' 'ands 'em over.
> **Coggs:** An' all 'cause the lady loves milk-tray.
> **Tex:** fuckin' shirtlifter.
> **J.W.:** 'e doesn't even poke 'er.
> **Coggs:** That's it e's a shit-stabber."

On one occasion during my early youthwork practice when Georgie B. was being manhandled into a large pool of stagnant rainwater outside the Centre, Tony Boyle and myself sought to intervene on his behalf. At the head of the pack of tormentors were several 'lads' from the Crew. A 'stand off' ensued and, after strong words and a few desultory blows had been exchanged, Tony and I were subjected to a torrent of homophobic abuse with the implication that not only were we "up each others arse-'oles", but also Georgie's as well. Humour and goodwill were only returned to what was potentially an ugly situation when Tony sought to affect a camp demeanour and attempted to extract a 'french kiss' from the main combatants.

Adolescent courtship patterns among the group were generally articulated through predatory sexuality and often these patterns continued into adulthood. The masculine 'code of honour' among the Crew ensured that aggressive sexism and a reputation for "pulling the birds" were paramount. Not being "under the brush" (dominated by women), "tied down", or otherwise encumbered by the demands of emotional commitment were generally what guided heterosexual encounters. Even when participants had established

regular relationships with women, as was the case with both Summers and Barlow, they continued to regard their "tarts" in objectivist terms:

S.C.: "Do you think you'll get married ... settle down?
Summers: To that tart, fuck off, she's 'ad more pricks than a second 'and dart-board ..."

"It's allright fer pokin', but she's a tart man ... ah'll gerranother when ah've finished with it" (Barlow).

Beneath the bravado, however, there often lay an insecure masculinity which needed to be continually reaffirmed. This imposed implicit rules upon social behaviour with the danger that lack of conformity, such as Mick Kent's presentation of flowers to his girlfriend, would invoke the accusations of being a "shirtlifter", "shit-stabber", or "dick-diver". Not that any of the Crew displayed any propensity towards homosexuality, but homosexuality implied an ambiguous masculinity and masculinity, as I previously argued, was their main psychological defence against a self-diminishing position within the wider social order. Masculinity was lost, won or redeemed through their status within the peer group. Consequently, the group was bonded through the celebration of 'non-feminine' attributes and qualities. This included exaggerated acts of violence, criminal daring and ingenuity, or the "self-immolating heroism" (Wallace 1987 : 89) of excessive drinking and drug-taking.

Occasionally proprietorial rights over women would be exerted through threats or acts of violence, either towards the woman or towards another male interloper. As Wallace has similarly noted: "If their wife or girlfriend betrayed them, they were expected to extract revenge through an 'irrational' frenzied burst of rage mostly against the other man" (1987 : 87). Amongst my study group, however, protection of the male code of honour was sometimes a much more sinister and calculated affair. During the course of my study, there were several incidents of perceived domestic betrayal among male study participants and their peers. Generally these were resolved through the cuckolded male exacting spontaneous revenge upon the interloper and occasionally, the 'adulterous' wife or girlfriend. However, in two cases I was aware of during the ten year period of my study, the first of which directly involved study participants, extreme violence was carefully

orchestrated. In the first case, a man who had been deemed to have transgressed another's proprietorial rights was permanently crippled by shotgun blasts to his legs and shortly afterwards his business was destroyed in an arson attack. In the second case, which did not directly involve study participants, the unfortunate transgressor was traced and 'paid a visit' on three separate occasions by young men from the local community. On the first visit, his house was ransacked and property was taken and destroyed. On the second, his car was smashed beyond repair. Shortly afterwards, when it was discovered that the couple had been seen together again, the man, who had narrowly escaped on the two previous visits, was killed.

Such extreme acts of orchestrated revenge appeared to have been fuelled by the apparent status of the 'transgressors'. Both were moderately successful young businessmen from the more affluent suburbs. As a participant explained:

> "Rich bastards ... they deserved what they got ... How d'ya think they got their money?
> By pissin' on the likes of us ... They think they can piss all over us an' fuck around with
> our women ... they got it wrong didn't they ... The fuckin' message is you're messin'
> with the wrong boys."

The crimes of these unfortunate men were not only to have been successful in instigating casual sexual liaisons with women from the area, women over whom - in the eyes of their boyfriends - claims had already been established; but also to have been sexually attractive to the women in terms of their affluence and material success. The latter added an extra dimension to what became a collective sense of male outrage. As one of the participants put it ... "fancy fuckin' 'ouse, fancy clothes, fancy car, she wasn't even my fuckin' woman, but I wanted to do 'im proper style". The extremity of response by the 'cuckolded' males and their peers - to what was commonly seen as an incursion on their proprietorial rights, and perhaps more significantly, their self-esteem - may also be interpreted as a recessive affirmation of primitive, patriarchal, working class solidarity. I say this neither to justify nor condone the tragic horrors which ensued but rather to understand them as a lethal combination of distorted group loyalties and an attempt to reinforce an otherwise fragile masculinity.

A generalised threat of violence and aggression was the context in which the young men of my study area lived. This was part of their taken-for-granted world, an accepted fact of life. They were careful, however, not to run risks. Some had reason to act cautiously, particularly those who had been involved in violent confrontations outside their locality. As a general rule, lads rarely 'went out' for entertainment or leisure alone; within their locality, where they were known and had friends, there were few risks. Travelling out of the area, as a crew, either for entertainment, football matches, or 'business', usually involved carrying weapons. In the early 1980s, the favoured 'tool' was a 'Stanley' (knife) as it was light, easy to conceal, lethal in a fight, and could be explained away should the carrier come into conflict with the law. Later, as a result of greater police surveillance and intervention, weaponry was consigned to a single, nominated 'Joey' or carrier. The 'Joey' was often selected on the basis of a 'straight' appearance which was sometimes 'impression managed' through the utilisation of a tradesman's overalls and vehicle. The 'Joey' would travel with, but separated from, the main group, particularly when travelling 'to do business' which often meant travelling to other Inner City estates to buy or sell drugs or stolen property. By the late 1980s, a minority of participants were carrying guns to do "serious business" in the drug trade, or for robberies (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8.6).

In their early post-school years, the Crew rarely made formal arrangements to meet, except for parties, football matches, to co-ordinate drug distribution or theft routines, or organise 'hoisting' expeditions. Though there was no apparent formal structure, everyone appeared to know when or where a particular person or group could be found at any given time. During the day, the Drop-In Centre, organised by the Project but self-managed by the unemployed, was a favourite haunt for meetings, as was the subsidised lunch time meal - 'dinner' - available to the unemployed at the Youth and Community Centre. The flats in Collington occupied by Willie and Tex and the house in Hartingleigh in which Coggs and Wilf lived were also significant ports of call. In the evening the Crew would generally

congregate in the 'Vic', one of the pubs that serviced the Chicken Lane estate, to play pool, drink beer and smoke draw.

8.5.3 The Vic

The Vic is a fairly modern functional structure typical of many of the pubs that have been built since the mid-sixties to service the Inner City housing estates. Architecturally brutalist, the pub appears to have been designed to house the maximum number of potential customers at the minimum amount of building costs. Built in the early 1970s, after the first wave of council flats had been erected on the Chicken Lane estae, it quickly developed a reputation for being a 'rough' working class pub in the terms outlined by Michael A. Smith (1983; 1985):

> "Public houses ... can be defined as 'rough', 'respectable' and 'posh' - to use the categories deployed by 'regulars' ... pubs approximate working class and middle class types adjudged by geographical location and the dominant group of users (1983 : 1) ... the 'rough pub' is certainly distinguishable by its clientele, hard drinkers characterised by tough masculine values (*ibid* : 8).

Situated at the heart of one of two focal squares on the Chicken Lane estate, the pub is an anonymous box-like structure surrounded by the deck-access flats described earlier (Section 8.3.1). Nevertheless, despite its graceless design and cheerless location, the Vic came to occupy a central location in the sociability patterns of the unemployed males in my study.

During their early teens, the majority of young men from the estate started hanging around together, and when they looked old enough to get served graduated from the streets and walkways of the estate to the local pubs. This was a significant 'rite of pasage' and was sometimes initiated by fathers inviting sons to join them for a pint. The movement signified entry into the adult working class world and served to establish a pattern of asociation which connected drinking to adult masculinity. At first an apprenticeship was served through the process of the most mature-looking lad buying the alcohol, sometimes with the assistance of older regulars, and distributing it to the others who hung around outside the pub. By the tme they had left school, most of the male

informal group were 'going out' and drinking regularly. The Vic became the most favoured venue.

The Vic was divided into two main sections, the 'Public' (bar) and the 'Lounge' (bar). Originally, this division had served to separate heavy drinking manual workers in the Public from the social drinkers in the Lounge. The floor of the Public was tiled and the floor design had formerly contained two small "chuckin'" or throwing areas designated for playing darts. The Public's minimal seating provision was afforded by a single padded bench that ran along the length of one of the internal walls. With the deepending recession and changes in the social character of the Chicken Lane estate, the pub's internal boundaries became blurred; both sections of the pub became, for example, more ore less male preserves. The Public evolved into an improvised games room which reflected the changing age group of the pubs regulars. By the early 1980s, the majority of regulars were males in the 17 to 30 year old age range. In the late 1970s, early 1980s, three pool tables were installed in the central area of the Public, followed by several electronic 'one-armed bandits', and then two 'space-invader' game machines, all of which were located on the internal wall opposite to the padded bench. Here was also to be found the pub's wall-mounted 'juke-box'. The juke-box differed from many to be found in working class pubs in that, rather than containing the usual range of commercial pop and chart 'hits' of the day, it reflected the subcultural musical tastes of he pub's youthful clientele. The juke box contained music from Manchester artists who had become commercially successful during the 'first wave' of the City's musical success, with such groups as the Buzzcocks, Joy Division, and punk-poet John Cooper-Clarke. The mid-1980s 'second wave' of 'Manchester Scene' music was also reflected in the juke box listings, in particular, the Smiths, the Stone Roses, New Order, Happy Mondays, the Sundays and Inspiral Carpets. In the late 1980s, the juke box also contained commercial hits from the 'third wave' of electronic 'house'-inspired, Manchester music which included the 'ambient-house' of 808 State; the 'techno-dance' of A Guy Called Gerald; and the home-grown 'rap' style of the

Hulme-based Ruthless Rap Assassins, whose local hit, *"Ain't no justice - just us"* became something of a subcultural anthem in the late eighties.

The Lounge of the Vic retained its original carpetted floor and was, in contrast to the Public, more of a seated area with padded benches running along the length of two internal walls and tables and chairs ranged throughout the central area. The Lounge also contained a large wall-mounted colour television which provided a background focus for sociability. In the mid-1980s, the television contained a video capacity operated from behind the bar and occasionally commercial films would be featured. The long-established institution of 'after-hours' drinking, when the pub's external doors would be locked, also on occasions produced videos of hard-core pornography. Major sporting events, such as the World Cup, or televised highlights of other big football matches, especially those which included Manchester United, often provided a dominant focus for activities in the Lounge. When a televised football match was to be shown, tables and chairs would be rearranged by the clientele in order to afford better, and more comfortable viewing. Though there was a constant flow of human traffic between the Public and the Lounge, on the occasions of a 'big match', the Public would empty into the Lounge and people would kneel or sit on the floor in the empty spaces between tables.

Throughout the 1980s, the Vic was increasingly colonised by unemployed young men, with a preponderance in the 17 to 30 age group. Even before pub-licensing hours made it legitimate, the Vic had an informal 'all-day' drinking policy which made it a significant haunt and meeting ground for the long-term unemployed. The newer, younger entrants to this established domain of masculine sociability were generally concentrated in the Public - playing pool, drinking beer and smoking draw. Although smoking draw was an activity openly practised in both the Public and the Lounge, it was generally concentrated in the Public and participants would occasionally move from the Lounge to the Public for "a game [of pool] an' a draw" before returning to their seats in the Lounge. Generally, older groups were concentrated in the Lounge and younger groups in the Public. Although

there were sporadic and spontaneous outbursts of locally engendered antagonism and violence, in general terms the Vic provided a reasonably safe social context for its regulars. It provided a significant landmark in the local cultural terrain, a context for "fairly localised social relationships and interactions ... a social context for encounters with known others - mates rather than friends" (Smith 1983 : 17).

In part, the relative harmony of the Vic was ensured by the presence of significant members of the Hatton and Donaghue families who utilised the pub to monitor and maintain their commercial interests in the community; for the Donaghues, these included the various market stalls they owned in the area. The Donaghues were also understood to be "taxing" the Vic, that is, being paid by the pub landlord to assure "protection". Other commercial interests in the area were also reputedly "taxed" by the Donaghues and these too, by dint of the family's reputation, remained remarkably free from the perpetual violence experienced by other commercial sites of entertainment and leisure in the Inner City.

Other participant observers have noted the significance of the local pub not only in terms of the cultural ecology of a particular area (see for example Gill 1977 : 75-95) but also for the alternative career structure of locally conceived, informal enterprise cultures (see for example Hobbs 1988 : 142-147). The local pub operated as a socialising institution for the young people of the neighbourhood, particularly the male adolescents: "It is here that they learn about adult life and how to deal with it" (Gill 1977 : 77). The Vic provided a context within which study participants could learn about alternative economic options, about the necessary attitudes, pose or demeanour necessary to promote, maintain or enhance subcultural status, and about what attributes were required to attract 'business' opportunities. In the early periods of their post-school unemployment, the Donaghue and Hatton brothers, among others, provided role models and opportunities for movements into the bottom rungs of the informal career structure. As previously mentioned, members of both families utilised the pub for 'business' purposes, and

participants were periodically recruited for a variety of legal,semi-legal and illegal tasks.

Dilly recalled his first attempt to negotiate 'business' from the Hattons at the Vic:

"The first 'un? It was shit-shovellin' [bagging up: see Chapter Four, Section 4.8.2] with Maz, Digger, Davvo an' Poolie, we was thirteen ... United was playin' Liverpool in the [1977 FA Cup] Final an' we was fuckin' skint ... not a quid between us an' fuckin' desperate to go [to Wembley] ... yer know 'ow it is ... We couldn't talk 'bout nothin' else like, 'ow can we get to fuckin' Wembley ... We was 'angin' [around] down the Vic an' [the Hatton brothers] turn up, big black 'Merc', like the fuckin' Krays, ah'm tellin' yuh ... four of 'em like, an' big Tom [Hatton] 'e chucks us a quid an' sez mind the motor like ... After they'd gone in [to the Vic] Maz sez go on, like, ask 'im ferra job ... Fuck that I sez, go on Dilly, 'e sez, ask 'im ferra job ... An' they all started ... aww go on Dilly ... go on ... go on in, they sez ... go in the Vic an' ask 'im ferra fuckin' job ... So ahm sayin' fuck off like, ask 'im yerself ... but they kept on so I 'ummed an' aahed ferra bit an' they kept on, 'go on Dilly ... go on Dilly', an' then it was a 'trip' [high status dare] ... go on ask 'im ferra job ... but I was shittin' it ... It's a fuckin' big thing innit, I was only thirteen, but it was a 'trip' an' I thought fuck it ... Jumped up pushed open the doors an' ahm in there ... fuckin' shittin' it but not lettin' on like ... kept me 'ead up an' walked up to 'em an' when I open me fuckin' gob I sounds like a mong [imitates person with a severe speech impediment] ... They just started pissin' 'emselves an' I was sweatin', all cherried up [blushing] an' stutterin'. Then [Tom Hatton] 'e starts takin' the piss [imitates] ... 'p p p p p please ... m m m m m m Mister ... H H H H H H Hatton' ... an' they're all crackin' up ... 'E sez 'best laff 'ahv 'ad all week', an' ends up givin' us a fiver ... Told us to meet 'im an' we was set on, 'shit shovellin' ... Did it ferra week, coach to Wembley, jibbed under t'turnstile, stuffed the Scousers [Liverpool] ... 2-1 ... fuckin' magic. After that 'e [Tom Hatton] used ter look out fer us ... 'e used ter say [imitates] 'D D D D D Dilly d'ya wanna J J J J J J Job' ... That's 'ow it all started really."

After serving the necessary early apprenticeships, some study participants evolved alternative strategies and careers of their own such as hoisting (organised shoplifting), hustling (street level drug dealing) and totting (buying and selling stolen property). The Vic contined to occupy a significant position for these sub-groups within the alternative enterprise culture as it provided a relatively safe context for the exchange, temporary storage, movement or distribution of goods. It was also a significant location for the exchange or acquisition of skills, services or information,as well as a domain for the display of status and identity. In part, the cultural ambience of the Vic was due to the tolerance and 'alternative career' of the landlord who was not only prepared to "keep it buttoned and cock a deaf 'un" but was also actively involved in a measure of alternative enterprise himself, providing "ever-ready's" (cash) as a "fence" for certain commodities. All the above facets of the role of the Vic within the local community have been succinctly summarised by Hobbs: "It is in the pub that deals are struck, and information regarding

cheap goods,stolen commodities and exchanges of skills are relayed and it is in the pub that businesslike behaviour is presented for display" (1988 : 142).

Because the Vic had all the connotations of being a rough pub in a rough area, it was almost exclusively a male domain. Male participants viewed the pub as a central context for social meeting and interaction. It was a place where men were mates and the explicit maleness was revealed by the masculine codes and values embedded in the modes of sociability. The ratio of gender representation varied by as much as six or seven men to every one woman on mid-week evenings, to three or four men to every one woman at the weekends. When women were present, it was in a "parallel rather than shared social world" (Smith 1983 : 17). The women who came into the Vic did so usually in the company of their husband, partner or boyfriend, or occasionally as a small group of friends. When women were present, they rarely accompanied their menfolk throughout the evening but rather joined other women to sit at separate tables in the Lounge, though occasionally a group of women would venture into the Public to play pool or the games machines. This informal separatism is part of a traditional, almost ritualised, format in working class 'rough' pubs. As Gill noted in the Luke Street area of Liverpool: "It is not unusual for a Luke Street man to arrive in [the pub] with his wife, buy her a drink and then for both to separate for the evening ... [The woman] will sit at a table with other women separate and distinct from their menfolk" (1977 : 80). (my inserts)

Lone women seldom ventured into the Vic and, if they did, were regarded as "fair-game" for predatory sexual approaches. All the unemployed male study participants regarded the Vic as a male preserve and their general comments revealed a clear sexual stereotyping which viewed unescorted women as notionally sexually available:

"Women who go in on their own are out for what they can get ... they're after a good pokin'" (J.W.)

"If a tart's on 'er own she's askin' fer it, no danger, it's a knob-job. I wouldn't let my tart go in there, not by 'erself - there's a lot of bad bastards 'ud be into 'er knickers" (Mick Kenney)

Such views were pervasive and reinforced the notion of the Vic as an all-male club. Women who came to the Vic understood it as a masculine world, they accepted it as a place of men's talk, men's jokes, men's focal concerns, a place where men went to be in the company of other men - their 'mates'. Most women chose not to enter this world. Throughout the period of my study, it was a "hard pub in a hard area" (Gill 1977 : 79).

The Vic's central role in the network of sociability among the long-term unemployed males examplified its position as a bastion of masculine focal concerns and values. Such values were to have enormous implications for the domestic career transitions of the male long-term unemployed study participants.

8.5.4   Leaving Home

As I noted earlier (Section 8.5.2), up to 1986 the fourteen long-term unemployed males in my study group could be clearly divided into two distinct sub-groups according to housing tenure.   At that time, there were eight participants who, by their early twenties, had effected residential independence and six who had not.   In respect of the six participants who in 1986 were still resident within the parental home, their domestic careers conformed to a pattern of delayed residential mobility as was similarly noted among the protracted transitionaries (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.7.3).   The early housing careers of the eight participants who had effected accelerated movement towards residential independence conformed to the pattern discernible among the traditional trransitionaries (see Chapter Six, Section 6.5.5).   The three traditional transitionaries were able to sustain residential independence by their early twenties on the income derived from stable full-time employment.   The eight long-term unemployed participants were similarly able to undertake residential mobility and sustain residential independence on the income generated from fiddle work or acquisitive crime.

There were several factors that contributed to the delayed residential mobility of six of the unemployed males.   Firstly, despite the appearance of residential dependence, the six

579

participants still resident in the homes of their parents in 1986 enjoyed an unlimited amount of free movement. This was also a factor in the early domestic careers of the male protracted transitionaries examined in Chapter Seven. Like the male protracted transitionaries, all six of the unemployed participants in their early teenage years were granted their own front door keys and allowed free access to and from the natal home. Secondly, the 'home comforts' of domestic servicing, which included meals and laundry, were generally provided by their mothers. These were services which tended to sustain residential dependence. As Maz proclaimed: "I couldn't do it [live in a flat] like Willie ... all the 'assles, an' yer 'ave to cook 'n clean ... Sod that ...".

The six participants were characterised by a significant degree of local attachment and all were involved in daily routines in and around their estates. Freedom of movement, being able to come and go as they pleased, local loyalties and affiliations, and freedom from the constraints of domestic responsibility, ensured that these participants did not undertake early movement towards residential independence. However, living at home did not imply lack of independence. As Maz put it: "[Living at home] doesn't mean you're not free, I can do what I want. Why the fuck should I move out, you can still live at 'ome an' be free".

In the case of four of the six unemployed participants still living at home, absentee fathers ensured the traditional breadwinning role fell to the sons, and also that father-son conflicts were avoided. In the two other cases, paternal unemployment was also a factor delaying residential mobility. Periodic success in subculturally conceived alternative careers (as well as access to goods and services in the informal peer group network) enabled these participants to offer significant contributions to the household economy, a point similarly made by Banks et al (1992 : 85) and Riseborough (1993 : 172-173). The necessity of such contributions to family living standards ensured that parental pressure to move out was non-existent and that conflict over life styles was minimal. Within the families, there was a great deal of acceptance, even tacit (and sometimes active)

encouragement of adolescent law-breaking, which was also reflected in the general tolerance of such behaviour within their estates. On one occasion, for example, Dilly pointed to various flats within the square where he lived itemising a 'roll-call' of the degrees of illegality to be found in his immediate locality:

"Number seven - she's tottin' from the social an' 'e's in Strangeways [prison].
Number nine - she's doin' part-time [fiddle work] an' 'e's graftin'.
Number eleven - she's on the game an' 'e's a 'beer monster' (laughs).
Number thirteen - she's fucked off with the kids 'cause 'e' was banged up [in jail], now 'e's workin' for Pat Donaghue.
Number fifteen - 'e's puntin' bent vids [stolen video recorders].
Number seventeen ... "

S.C.:   "That's Maz's house, you'd better watch what you say!"
Dilly: "Yeah ... anyway you get the picture."

There is historical evidence to suggest that, despite its illegality, acquisitive social crime has been tolerated for generations and even "condoned as legitimate" within lower working class communities (Humphries 1981 : 151; Rule 1979). In Inner City Liverpool, for example, as Gill (1977), Mays (1954; 1972), and Parker (1974) have illustrated, juvenile law-breaking is part of an identifiable lower working class pattern of behaviour and one to which the majority of young people within their study groups conformed. Acquisitive crime and routinised employee theft, 'lifting', has also been identified as an accepted pattern of behaviour in certain communities, towards which is displayed a high degree of local tolerance (Downes 1966 : 204; Hobbs 1988 : 140-182; Mays 1954 : 117; Willmott 1966 : 148). Other research has investigated the ecological factors involved in the creation of an ethos of, and tolerance towards, law-breaking in so-called "delinquent areas" (see for example Baldwin and Bottoms 1976; Ferguson 1952; Gill 1977; Hobbs 1988; Jones 1958; Mannheim 1948, Morris 1957; Spencer 1964). Some of this research has indicated the significance of declining inner city council estates as a generating milieu for social/acquisitive crime, especially those estates which, like the Chicken Lane estate, had been utilised to rehouse 'slum-dwellers' (see especially Ferguson 1952 : 17; Gill 1977 : 16-41). In the light of such research, it may be argued that juvenile law-breaking and the tolerance shown towards social/acquisitive crime is best understood

as a combination of social ecology and the subcultural ethos generated within lower working class areas, particularly within the subcultures of male adolescents (Downes 1966; Willmott 1966). As I argued in an earlier section (8.4.5), such an ethos is part of an inherited cultural tradition with extensive historical antecedents (Humphries 1981; Hobbs 1988; Pearson 1983).

The significant degree of parental acceptance of their adolescent criminality partially explained participants' reluctance to undertake residential mobility. As Dilly's mother put it on one occasion after visiting her son in the cells at Manchester's Central Detention Centre: "'E's not a bad lad, none of 'em are 'round 'ere ... gettin' done't's part o' growin' up ... Next time 'e'll be more careful." Moreover, the feelings of security participants derived from the general tolerance shown in their immediate localities towards social/acquisitive crime provided further insight into their reluctance to leave. As J.W. put it: "Everyone's the same round 'ere, fuckin' bent, no snobs, no 'assles, no grasses ... it couldn't be sweeter."

Such factors, when combined with the willingness of parents to allow their sons relatively unconstrained movement, plus freedom from day-to-day domestic responsibility, ensured that the six participants did not undertake early moves towards residential independence. As J.W. proclaimed:

> "Leave 'ome, no fuckin' chance, why should ah? ... It's fuckin' 'top' round 'ere ... sorted
> ... why should ah leave?"

Or, as Dilly put it in response to the question:

> S.C. : "Why don't you move out and get a gaff on your own, just for a change of scene?"
> Dilly: "You're fuckin' jokin' ... leave 'round 'ere ... naaw, I couldn't. Anyway what's
> the point ... ah've got everythin' I want at 'ome ... 'Round 'ere yer can do yer biz, no
> bother ... all me mates are 'ere, naaw ... move out? ... naaw, maybe sometime but not
> now ..."

It is inadequate to suggest that the cultural constraints engendered by the long-term effects of high unemployment prevent movement towards residential autonomy for all young people (Hudson and Jenkins 1989). Certainly for the remaining eight male long-

582

term unemployed participants, a combination of domestic disharmony within the parental home and a measure of financial independence afforded by 'successful' alternative careers, facilitated early moves towards sustained residential independence. As previously outlined (Section 8.5.2), seven participants were, by their early twenties living in privately rented flats and one was living in a council flat. Such early movement towards sustained residential independence was in contrast to the protracted transitionaries, most of whom were still resident in the natal home until their mid to late twenties.

For the eight long-term unemployed participants, sustained residential independence was achieved primarily through the income derived from fiddle jobs or acquisitive crime. Summers and Barlow, for example, who both left home for the first time in their late 'teens undertook privately rented flats within walking distance of each other on the strength of the proceeds of a post office robbery. The money generated from this anti-employment career enabled them to pay the substantial deposits that were required and also allowed them to internally decorate and equip their new homes. At the age of eighteen, Willie was similarly able to undertake the rental of a flat in Collington on the income he had derived from 'hustling draw'. Residential mobility also enabled Willie to get 'off the streets' in terms of his alternative career. Residential independence allowed him to move up the informal career structure from street level, relatively unorganised, hustling of cannabis into the more organised dealing of larger quantities to fewer punters (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8.6).

Of the eight participants who had effected early moves towards sustained residential independence, only one had secured local authority rented accommodation. In 1984, Digger, together with his girlfriend Stella, who was also a member of my study group, managed to acquire tenancy of a council flat on Hartingleigh's Marton estate as a result of "pullin' a nine-ball on t'Council" (that is, deceiving the Council). Stella and Digger had secured local authority rented accommodation as a result of Stella's older sister moving out of the flat in order to get married. Neither Stella nor her sister sought to inform the

Council of the change of tenancy. It was unlikely that the Housing Department would have approved the move as neither Stella or Digger were on the council house waiting list. As a childless couple attempting to gain council accommodation, the couple would probably have encountered the prolonged three year wait which Russell Robinson and his partner experienced (Chapter Seven, Section 7.7.3). Stella and Digger were able to circumvent the formal procedures by simply occupying the flat and taking over the rent book and rent payments.

8.5.5 Residential Mobility, Partnerships, Family Formation

Thus, up to 1986, there were two groups within the fourteen long-term unemployed males, eight participants who had sought and sustained residential independence, and six who had not. Within the group of eight who had effected early movement towards residential independence, four were cohabiting with young women; the remaining ten participants were not sustaining 'serious' heterosexual relationships (Section 8.5.2). For the six participants who were resident in the parental home, living at home also partly accounted for their limited movement into sustained heterosexual relationships. Commitment to the masculine codes of their peer group, when combined with the inevitable limitations on courtship rituals imposed by residence in the parental home, ensured that contacts with young women were typically conducted in terms of an adolescent, predatory sexuality. Their contacts ranged from what J.W. described as "one night bangs" to a series of 'dates', which in Jimmy Bee's words "soon fizzled out". However, 1986-1990, the years of the fourth phase of my study, saw a considerable amount of complex movement within the domestic career trajectories of the long-term unemployed males as a whole (see table 13).

584

TABLE 13: Unemployed Males by Domestic Career and Housing Tenure (1990)

Domestic Career	Housing Tenure			
	Owner Occupied	Public Rented	Private Rented	Total
Unattached at home		3		3
Unattached not at home	1		4	5
Childless (couple) not at home	1	1		2
Childrearing (couple) not at home		3	1	4
				14

These cross-sectional snapshots of male study participants as they were entering their late twenties do little justice to the complexity of the 'process' of domestic transitions. There were a number of intervening stages between family of origin and that of destination. These occurred at different times and in different orders. Some participants moved directly from home to family of destination, some cohabited and remained childless, some cohabited or married and had children, some preferred to live alone, some lived with friends, and several lived alone after partnership/childrearing relationships had broken down. There was more complex variation among the group of unemployed males than was displayed in the domestic career transitions of either the traditional or protracted transitionaries.

Of the six participants who were in 1986 resident in the natal home, four undertook residential mobility as a consequence of forming relationships with young women, and two continued to live within the family home. Of the four participants who developed partnerships, two of these couples moved into privately rented accommodation, and two into council accommodation. All four partnerships produced one or more children. However, by 1990, when my research terminated, three of these relationships had not endured and the couples had separated. By the end of my study, two of the male participants who moved with their partners into council flats had abandoned their relationships, leaving their partners and child(ren) in council accommodation; one

returned to the natal home on the Chicken Lane estate, and the other bought a flat in Newmarch Heath. In the third case, when the couple decided to separate, the partner of the unemployed male returned with her child to the home of her parents, leaving him alone in privately rented accommodation. Thus, by 1990, of the six unemployed participants who in 1986 were living in the natal home, only three had sustained residential independence, and only one of these participants had established an enduring, childrearing, relationship.

Four of the eight males who had achieved residential independence in 1986, but who were not at that time cohabiting, displayed similar complex domestic transitions. In the period 1986-1990, all four formed child-rearing partnerships. However, by 1990, only two of these relationships had endured. In the two cases where the couples sustained their partnerships, both had married and were living in council accommodation. In the two cases where the relationships had broken down, both male participants abandoned the homes they had established with their partners (one in the public sector, one in the private sector). In one case, the male participant left to live with another woman and her children in a council flat on the Marton estate and, in the second case, the male participant left to live in a shared house with other unattached male friends from the informal peer group network.

Of the four unemployed participants who in 1986 had sustained residential independence and who were at that time cohabiting with young women, only one couple, Stella and Digger, maintained their relationship throughout the fourth and final phase of my study. The couple remained childless and continued to live in the council flat they had secured in 1984.

In 1986, Willie was also cohabiting with his girlfriend in a privately rented flat in Collington. However, in 1987, during the fourth phase of my study, the couple separated. They had lived together for almost four years but the lack of stable routine associated with

586

a dope-dealer's life style, together with the pressure engendered by the gradual expansion of his alternative career, took its toll on the relationship. After a prolonged series of heated rows, Willie's girlfriend left the flat to return to her parents' home. Willie lived alone until 1988. During that year, he gradually developed a relationship with a young woman from nearby Moat Pitton, a woman who had formerly been the girlfriend of one of his 'punters'. In the same year, the profits from his alternative career allowed Willie to purchase a ground floor flat in Newmarch Heath. Willie's new girlfriend quickly moved in with him and the couple were still living together when my research terminated in 1990.

The couple had no plans to start a family, although rather than shared, the decision appeared to have been one Willie had made and was, as he later explained, connected to the instability and dangers of his dope-dealing life style:

> Willie: "I told 'er before she moved in that kids was out ..."
> S.C.: "Why Willie - don't you fancy being a dad?"
> Willie: "It's not that, it's the [drugs] scene man, 'ow can yer bring a kid up with all that
> goin' on ... I could be 'banged up' [in jail] next week, or some nutters could [decide to]
> blag [rob] us with an Uzi [sub-machine gun] ... Kids 'ud cramp me style."

To the neutral observer, unfamiliar with the social milieu of the Inner City, the concerns Willie expressed to me in 1989 may seem fanciful and over-exaggerated. However, his alarm was realistic and partly fuelled by a spate of predatory robberies on dope-dealers in North Manchester. These appeared to have been carried out by armed groups of young men seeking a short-cut to profit or may have been part of a wider campaign conducted by certain groups who were seeking to establish territorial dominance in the City's drugs trade. Predatory robberies were usually conducted on the homes of established dealers and money and/or drugs would be taken. Such robberies were generally carried out with a high degree of violence, which sometimes resulted in serious injury to the dealer or members of the dealer's household. Because of the illegality of the dealer's occupation, predatory robberies were generally not reported to the police and went unrecorded. During the ten year period of my research, I personally encountered three such robberies and as one victim told me: "'ow could I go to the Bizzies [police] ... (mimics in sarcastic

tone) ... 'scuse me officer, someone's shot me wife in the leg an' blagged two grand an' 'alf a weight [half pound of cannabis] out me 'ouse ... There's nowt yer can do" However, such robberies and an escalating climate of fear within the drug-dealing community had led some to invest in guns for self-protection. As the above dealer angrily proclaimed: "If the fuckers cum again, they'll get this (brandishes a 'sawn-off' shot-gun)".

According to recent reports in the national media, certain of Manchester's Inner City estates are "overwhelmed by drug wars ... enforced by teenage hitmen armed with Uzi sub-machine guns and sawn-off shotguns" (*The Guardian*, 8.7.92 : 23). A local detective in one of these areas explained that within the drug-dealing milieu a new younger element had sought to enter the trade and gain monopoly over the dealing networks: "The younger kids coming through seem far more ruthless than the 25-year-old 'veterans' of the streets" (*Manchester Evening News* 24.11.92). In part, these developments reflected the changed nature of the drugs scene, changes which coincided with the most severe period of the mid-eighties recession. Until the mid-eighties, Manchester's drug trade was largely focused on 'soft' drugs, such as cannabis in its various forms (hash - cannabis resin; grass - the dried cannabis plant; hash oil - tincture of cannabis). Since 1986, younger dealers in 'heavier' and more profitable drugs (such as cocaine; and its smoking derivative 'crack'; the 'party-drug' Ecstasy; LSD or acid; and smack or heroin) have increasingly sought to colonise and dominate the informal networks of the drugs trade. Heavier drugs, bigger rewards, and younger, more "ruthless" dealers, have 'upped the stakes' for established dealers like Willie, operating in Manchester's most deprived Inner City areas. These developments have added an extra dimension of danger to what was already an insecure occupation. Such insecurity and danger, generally associated with the dealer's life style, provided part of the explanation for the break-up of Willie's first relationship and his decision not to pursue parenthood in his second relationship.

Like Willie's original relationship, the partnerships developed by Summers and Barlow similarly did not endure. In 1986, both participants were cohabiting with young women.

However, Barlow's girlfriend was compelled to leave when he discovered that she had

become pregnant as a result of a relationship with another man which had begun whilst he

was in prison:

> "I kicked 'er out fuckin' slag ... She'd bin screwin' some fuckin' nigger 'adn't she ... Ah
> give 'er a slap an' fucked 'er off".

Beneath the coarse and sexist rhetoric of justification, however, lay a considerable amount

of regret.   In coming to terms with the separation, Barlow highlighted the unstable

routines associated with his alternative career and life style as being partially responsible:

> "Ahm to blame if ahm honest ... I was never in, out 'n' about all the time ... She was
> always moanin' but I never listened ... Tell yer the truth, ah miss 'er bein' 'bout the gaff,
> yer know ... 's funny never thought I would."

In contrast, Summers sustained his relationship until 1989, a partnership which had by

then produced two children.   However, the demands of rearing two small children in

conjunction with the instability of his lifestyle produced a fundamental breakdown in his

commitment to the relationship.   Overcrowding in his flat, which, since the birth of the

children had become a cramped environment, formed part of the explanation for the

withdrawal of his emotional commitment.   In 1989, his partner returned to live with her

parents, taking the two children with her.   Unlike Barlow (above), Summers expressed

few regrets;   in fact, the reverse.   He was "glad to see the back of 'em".   As he explained:

> "The first 'un [child] was all right, I could 'andle that ... Our Sammy [the first child] 'ud
> sleep through [the night] no prob [problem].   Ah wus gettin' into it, no joke, then ah
> turns me fuckin' back an' there's another 'skrikin' [crying] bleeder ... Fuck me, one
> minute it was 'Cock o' the bleedin' Walk' [Jack the Lad] ... next 'un I was up ter me
> bleedin' eye-balls in nappies an' shit ... Ah couldn't 'andle it ... Rachel [the second
> child] was up all night bleedin' skrikin' ... yud 'ave yer mates 'round an' it'd be skrikin'
> kids all bleedin' night ... Ah wus goin' off me 'ead ... At the death [in the end] I told 'er
> ter do one [leave] an' take the kids with 'er ... Ah wus glad to see the back of 'em."

The domestic constraints of childrearing were also at odds with Summers's carefully

cultivated image of hardness ('Cock o' the Walk') and he was subjected to taunts by his

peers which cast aspersions on his image and reputation within the group.   As a result of

turning down the opportunity to participate in an armed raid on the payroll of a large

supermarket, for example, he was accused of "goin' soft":

"Ah blanked it [turned down the robbery] 'cos it was 'on top' [too dangerous] ... too much front [too public] ... 'fuckin' Joe's [members of the public], security [guards] an' [supermarket] trollies, ah told 'em no chance. [They] ... said I'd nonced out [gone soft]. [They said] ... stay at 'ome with the 'missus an' wipe yer kids arse ... It made me think ... was ah goin' soft?"

Towards the end of my research, both Summers and Barlow readopted their adolescent patterns of uncommitted, spontaneous, sexual liaisons. Often these encounters were with young women who worked in the sauna clubs the pair 'managed' on behalf of the Hatton family. Summers considered such sexual favours a 'perk' of the job.

By 1990, the following overall picture of the domestic career transitions of the fourteen long-term unemployed males could be discerned. Three participants were resident in the natal home and unattached, although one participant had separated from his partner and child. Five participants had effected residential independence and were unattached, although four of these participants had separated from childrearing relationships with young women. Four participants had effected residential independence and were sustaining ongoing childrearing relationships, although one participant had separated from his original partner and their child in order to establish a second relationship with a young woman and her two children. Two participants had effected residential independence and were cohabiting and childless, although one of the participants had formerly cohabited with another young woman.

The complex variation in domestic career transitions and the lack of success among participants in generally sustaining ongoing relationships may be attributed to various factors. The pressure, insecurity, lack of stable routine and sometimes danger associated with the lifestyle of participants' alternative careers militated against stability or emotional commitment in partnership/family formation. Sometimes, continuity in the establishment of relationships and families was broken by male participants' conflicts with the law which occasionally resulted in periods of absence spent on remand or in prison. Although the majority of participants had undertaken childrearing relationships and fathered one or more children, only three managed to sustain relationships with their original partners. The

590

masculine 'code of honour' and the exaggerated subcultural emphasis on hardness, emotional detachment, and perceived machismo, also inhibited the development of a durable intimacy with women.

There was a general pattern among the separated male participants of absentee parenthood, of visiting their former partners periodically, ostensibly to "see the kids". Sometimes, these 'visits' would last for several weeks until participants were called by a combination of financial necessity and the demands of 'the street' and its networks to resume their status-roles within them. Others were less ambiguous about their "droppin' in, droppin' out" of the lives of their former partners. As one participant put it: "Ah go 'round once a week, ah can't stand 'er but ah gets me 'ole [has intercourse] so it's orright ferra night".

Some lived semi-nomadic lives moving between their own flats, the homes of their friends and girlfriends, their parental home and the homes of their former partners. The restless instability was fuelled by drug-taking and the lack of routine associated with a fundamental detachment from the disciplines of full-time employment. Such instability was also reflected in the 'booms and slumps' of their anti-employment, sub-employment careers. When participants had successfully 'done-one' and money was available, often it would be conspicuously consumed in extravagant purchases of clothes, drugs and drink. At these times, their former partners and offspring would also be the recipients of a frenetic burst of indulgence. As Summers recalled after one successful robbery:

> "We took the kids to Blackpool, fuckin' top ... 'otel with swimmin' pool an' sauna ...
> spent 'undreds man, it was fuckin' sound ... took 'em on every ride on t'golden mile,
> fuckin' all of 'em ... new clothes, pushchair, gold fer Julie-Anne [his partner], fuckin'
> champagne, the lot ... When I got 'ome I only 'ad three quid in me bin [wallet] ... but
> we'd 'ad a fuckin' time an' 'alf."

For the unemployed women of my study, who generally inherited the inevitable responsibility of home and childcare, such a life style was generally out of the question.

591

8.6 Domestic Careers, Cyclical Transitions : Femininity

8.6.1 Introduction

Studies of the transition from school to work have been criticised for failing to adequately acknowledge the distinct nature of young women's experiences. Most studies until recent years have either explicitly excluded girls or assumed that young women's experiences were the same as young men's (see Section 8.4.3 and Chapter Four, Section 4.7). Willis (1977), for example, excluded girls from his analysis whilst Ashton and Field (1976) described "young workers" in an ungendered way. Feminist critics on the other hand have maintained that the post-school transitions of young women are structured by patriarchy as well as class. They argue that young women's experiences and transitions in the labour market are different from those of young men and require a separate understanding and explanation (Griffin 1985; Griffiths 1986; Wallace 1987).

The distinct yet intertwined threads of influence of class and gender are manifested in the different processes of socialisation between working class boys and girls. Throughout my study I have pointed to the gendered differences in cultural expectations circumscribing the domestic 'apprenticeships' experienced by boys and girls in the home, and on the street. In education too, as many researchers have revealed, girls are encouraged to undertake 'feminine' subjects, and to generally subordinate career ambitions in favour of marriage and motherhood (Deem 1978; Griffin 1985; Sharpe 1976; Spender and Sarah 1980). Some of the processes involved are extremely subtle.   Some research has shown for example that teachers have stereotyped attitudes to boys and girls and that experiences within the school reinforce rather than challenge gender divisions (Wolpe 1977; Stanworth 1983). Although schools are often co-educational, gender differentiation is nevertheless reflected in the organisation of the school curriculum; because classroom control is a key issue for teachers, materials for lessons that gain the attention of boys, when combined with more frequent teacher contact with boys, reinforces a common recognition that certain subjects are "boys' things' and others girls'" (Clarricoates 1980). Subject differentiation is further

reflected in parental and teacher expectations (Kelly 1982) and the ways in which the timetable and subject choices are organised (Pratt *et al* 1984). These choices prepare girls for domesticity and also to some degree determine the occupations which are open to them (Abbott and Wallace 1990).

Once they leave school, girls' opportunities are further circumscribed by patriarchal assumptions in the labour market (see below) and sexism in employment scheme allocation procedures (Cockburn 1986; 1987). In a declining local labour market like Hartingleigh, informal processes of gender differentiation based on untested assumptions may further inhibit young women's work experience and employment aspirations. As one local careers officer confessed:

> "To be honest, there is discrimination in the system [of Careers Guidance]. We know that most of them [unqualified girls] are going to end up pregnant ... employers also recognise it ... there's an inbuilt tendency not to take them quite so seriously."

The ideology of men as breadwinners and women as childrearers and domestic carers is so pervasive that it is, moreover, part of women's own taken-for-granted common sense and is rarely challenged or questioned (Wallace 1987; Edgell 1981)). This ideology is reflected in employers' views of what is appropriate work for women, and women generally share these views (Yeandle 1984). Obviously, in the light of the recent restructuring of the labour market, which is often dependent upon women with domestic responsibilities to undertake full or part-time employment, such an ideology is anachronistic. The 1991 Labour Force Survey, for example, revealed that over 70% of women of working age were economically active. Women accounted for 43% of employed people of working age, of whom just over two-fifths worked part-time. 1.89 million women worked usual hours of 15 or less per week (*Employment Gazette*, Sept. 1992 : 433). Projected trends in the labour force (between 1992-2001) further indicate that almost all of the projected net increase in the labour force will be among women, who are expected to make up 45% of the labour force by 2001 (*Employment Gazette*, Sept. 1992 : 173). Moreover, not all women marry. Many, including those that do marry,

have a life-long commitment to the labour market (Dex 1987). Many of these women seek employment not for 'extras' or 'pin-money' but out of profound economic necessity (Land 1981; 1982; 1987).

Because employers (and careers officers) believe that girls' lives will be dominated by domestic responsibility, they are considered not worth training. When training is semi-compulsory, undertaken through (un)employment training schemes, it is usually on the inferior sink schemes which do not produce jobs. When employment is secured, they generally get lower-paid employment, in part-time or low-status occupations, where working conditions are frequently poor (Land 1982; Beechey and Perkins 1986). Patriarchal assumptions in the labour market, including indirect as well as overt sexism, are reflected in girls' own preoccupations with romance and motherhood (Deem 1978; McRobbie 1978; McRobbie and Garber 1976; McRobbie 1982; Sharpe 1976 : see also Section 8.4.3). With this general picture in mind, how was the transition from school to work experienced by the young long-term unemployed women in my study group?

8.6.2 Femininity : The Cultural Context

It has generally been argued that, whereas male youth subcultures have taken visible forms, working class girls adopt a more invisible and passive consumer subculture (McRobbie and Garber 1976; McRobbie 1982). Within the group of eleven long-term unemployed women of my study, it would be true to argue that their activities were circumscribed, both culturally by the 'domestic apprenticeship' inherited by working class girls generally, and also in an ideological sense in terms of the ideology of romance (concerned with clothes, make-up, finding a boyfriend, marriage and eventually motherhood). However, there was some evidence of contestation and resistance. In Chapter Seven (Section 7.7.2) I illustrated how economic insecurity prompted by protracted unemployment limited some participants' leisure mobility. I also argued that the sexual division of labour and power within the home further restricted leisure mobility, particularly for unemployed women, but that there was significant contestation over

594

traditional domestic duties and roles. Moreover, in the same Chapter (Section 7.8.5), I highlighted the significance of the Youth Project's Girls Night and the Girls' Night Out as important resources for the creation of an autonomous girls' culture of resistance and solidarity - particularly in their early post-school years (see also Chapter Four, Section 4.2.2). Thus, aside from resistance articulated within the parental home over the traditional assignment of domestic duties and roles and the feelings of solidarity provided by the resources of the Girls' Night and Girls' Night Out, a third discernible mode of resistance was articulated through the very medium of sexuality and the ideology of romance.

In Chapter Three (Section 3.4.5), I examined the tradition of androcentric bias in he earlier 'New Wave' explorations of youth subcultures and in Chapter Four (Section 4.7) I argued that such bias had been reproduced in some studies examining the experiences of transition of young people in the labour market. Jenkins (1983), for example, argued that girls were almost entirely absent from the 'rough' street culture of the 'lads' and were more often found amongst the more conformist and respectable 'citizens'. Despite the force of his arguments and their basis in empirical research, his work represents girls as passive and retreatist. Other studies provide a different picture; in Griffin (1985), Davies (1983) and Wallace (1987), for example, girls can be seen to resist pressures to conformity imposed by structural/cultural factors or by institutions such as the school. However such resistance, because it is often articulated through the medium of sexuality, utilising clothes, cosmetics, and flirtatious behaviour, may be misrecognised as conformity. In their early teenage years, individual biographies of the unemployed women revealed time after time how boys had been "wound up", or "chucked"; sexual advances had been encouraged, manipulated, resisted or even caricatured (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.1 for two classic examples of the latter).

Often, as teenagers, these young women would utilise their sexual attractiveness to gain power over a boy, or mastery in a difficult situation. Sexual attractiveness was also a

resource employed to win material rewards or favours such as free drinks and/or the price of admission to places of entertainment. Tricia Hartley, for example, recalled how, "when money was short" during her early post-school periods of unemployment, she would "pick up some dork" in order to "get paid in" to a club or disco. Once inside the place of entertainment, Tricia would "scrounge a few drinks" from the unfortunate young man before abandoning him in favour of someone more attractive. She would then explain to the unwitting "dork" that her new partner on the dance floor or at the bar was in fact her "husband, older brother, fiancée, my Dad's partner, whatever it took to get rid o' the dork".

The pervasive feelings of solidarity engendered by a "good Girls Night Out" also often provided the basis for resistance among the unemployed women. After the Girls Night Out to Foo Foo's Palace for example (outlined in Chapter Four, Section 4.2.2), double-entendre based on the phallic imagery of vegetables and the wider connotations of greengrocers, vegetarianism and so on - for a while at least - provided a humorous basis for in-group solidarity and resistance. Because the men of the local community had been excluded from the visit to Foo Foo's, they were not privy to the in-group 'code'; as such it provided an exclusive private language for the articulation of men-demeaning humour, as well as significant ammunition in the girls' resistance to unwanted advances. On one occasion, for example, Dilly and Poolie were left feeling distinctly uncomfortable and more than a little confused after approaching two of the girls in the Centre for a 'date'; in reply the pair were told "we'd rather have a marrow". The girls were convulsed with laughter, the volume and intensity of which increased when Poolie's response was to wonder aloud "what did I say?".

In the long-term, however, despite such instances of solidarity and resistance, the girls had tacit recognition of the roles they would come to occupy in the future and, moreover, saw these as natural and inevitable. As Janet Wallace put it: "[As a teenager] I was just

out fer a good time, I wanted it all ... but even then I knew I'd get married an 'ave kids one day".

Some women sought and effected early moves towards geographical mobility and residential independence "in order to see the world 'an live a bit" (Maggie). But, as Maggie's written testimony illustrated (Chapter Four, Section 4.7), subsequent cohabitation, parenthood, and the overwhelming domestic constraints of home and childcare, curtailed and diminished her adolescent aspirations. In the short-term, several women, certainly in the early periods of their post-school transitions, were critical of traditional domestic roles and sought to resist them (Chapter Seven, Sections 7.7.2; 7.8.5). As Tracy Smith put it: "I wasn't gonna end up like Ma, runnin' 'round after that lot all day". Indeed, some women participants were very critical of the domestic roles which awaited them, including motherhood. As Amanda Gardiner put it: "There's too many kids in the world". Nevertheless, lack of realistic alternatives combined with the disillusionment that typically accompanied post-school cyclical transitions ensured that the majority of unemployed women found themselves in childrearing relationships. By 1990, of the eleven long-term unemployed women, eight were responsible for the care of two or more children and ten of the eleven were either married or cohabiting with male partners (Section 8.4.3). In contrast, two of the women who had effected protracted transitions to primary employment succeeded in resisting the pressures to conform to the traditional roles of motherhood and heterosexual monogamy and, partly through the economic independence generated by full-time jobs, created alternative life styles for themselves (see Chapter Seven, Sections 7.8.6 and 7.8.7).

Despite the pervasiveness of the ideology of romance, girls' own experiences with predatory male sexuality ensured that some participants had very prosaic expectations for married life. Sometimes expectations for marriage were conditioned by experiences of domestic violence within the parental home. Four of the eleven women had encountered repeated instances of paternal violence directed either towards themselves or their mothers. Tracy Smith, who was unemployed until August 1986 when she secured

employment within the Hartingleigh Project, was one study participant who had suffered violence both at the hands of her alcoholic father and later in an early relationship with a boy who was addicted to heroin. Only after therapeutic counselling was she able to disentangle the complex web of violent influences. Tracy's therapy enabled her to establish a link between childhood experience and her early adult disposition towards heterosexual relationships that mirrored her past (Chapter Seven, Section 7.8.5).

Research has pointed to the role of romantic escapism for young women (McRobbie and Garber 1976; Pollert 1981; McRobbie 1982). However, the ways in which romance operated in the lives of the unemployed women was often complex. Their own experiences would not allow them to fully accept the ideology of romance and heterosexual monogamous love. As Stella once put it:

"Love, white weddings, tinkly bells, happy babies, smiling faces, nice houses, nice men ... SHOW IT TO ME THEN I'LL BELIEVE IT!" (original spoken emphasis)

Nevertheless, romance did constitute a terrain of meaning which helped women structure an identity in what was frequently a difficult and oppressive domestic situation. In some cases, it enabled them to constitute an "imaginary reality" (Cohen and Taylor 1976) through which situations were made bearable. Moreover, falling 'in love' was the necessary precursor to the desired adult status of 'going steady' or being involved in 'a serious relationship', and also provided a rhetoric of justification for early pregnancy. Romance thus provided an "escape attempt" in the face of diminished opportunity. Yet such an escape route often had 'real' consequences and for several participants their romantic involvements had resulted in early pregnancies and lone parenthood. Yet, even in the midst of being 'in love', participants were sometimes able to recognise the 'imaginary reality' that was being constructed: "'E told me 'e loved me ... 'ah knew really ... 'e jus' wanted sex - but I let meself believe 'im ... I wanted too really" (Heather Lawley).

The ideology of romance also served the instrumental function of allowing sexually active women a rhetoric of justification for resisting negative labelling. The sexual

behaviour of young women is locally circumscribed by the risk of sexual labelling, especially the distinction made between "nice girls" and "slags" (Cowie and Lees 1981) or, in its local manifestation, girls who are "sorted" and "tarts". 'Sorted' girls were those who were usually somebody's girlfriend, 'tarts' were potentially anybody's. Certainly as far as the lads were concerned, and it must be said, also those young women committed to monogamous relationships with young men, sexually active unattached women (tarts) were 'fair game' for the men and therefore potential rivals as far as the women were concerned. As such, negative labelling was a process engendered by both sexes and it served to prescribe sexual behaviour for young women. One means for avoiding such negative labelling was through 'serial' monogamous romantic relationships. To be too sexually available was to risk status loss through labelling, but to be 'in love' allowed for sexual involvement which, to some extent, was tolerated socially. Indeed to be 'in love' was among the young women a status role, especially if connected to the possibility of engagement and future marriage. If these latter options were unavailable due to the unwillingness of the male partner to undertake the necessary commitment, then to be 'in love' was the next best thing. Being 'in love' and sexually involved often preceded single parenthood and provided the necessary justification to offset the stigma of pregnancy outside marriage. However, sometimes even the most inappropriate relationships were 'glossed' with the rhetoric of 'love', and 'being in love' behaviour. Tricia Hartley, for example, was forced into prostitution after threats and violence from her boyfriend, who also subsequently became the father of her child. Indeed, it was as a consequence of pregnancy that she was able to separate herself from the relationship after her boyfriend had insisted that she should have an abortion. Nevertheless, even after she had made her escape and had her baby, and even in the face of subsequent threats of violence from her former boyfriend, she still maintained he loved her and that moreover, she loved him. The ideology of romantic love thus served to sustain fantasised relationships and identities.

Romantic love was also used instrumentally by young women as a source of power within relationships in order to exert proprietorial rights. Under the guise of romantic

love, sexual favours were granted within a steady relationship to maintain a boy's interest, or to prevent him seeking sexual relationships elsewhere. Partly, such behaviour was necessary because of the loss of status to a young woman if her partner was seen to be sexually active elsewhere. Romantic love was therefore strategically employed by young women to maintain a measure of control within a relationship. Julie Birchall lived alone as a lone parent for four years before she eventually developed an ongoing relationship with a young man who eventually took on parental responsibility for Julie's first child from a former relationship. Julie confessed to utilising her sexuality under the guise of romantic love to win the man away from a relationship he was already involved in. As she put it:

> "I was ruthless, he didn't know what 'it 'im. Honest, I can really turn it on ... Two
> nights with me an' he though he was Rambo ... But I knew I wanted 'im an' I also knew
> there was someone else an' I'd have to move quick - so I did."

On other occasions, the strategy took different forms such as exaggerated public displays of sorrow (when a relationship was threatening to 'break up') or jealousy (if a male partner was threatening to become involved with someone else). At other times, romantic love provided a language for expressing sexual desire (Lees 1986) or complicated emotions hinged on the need to belong to, or be part of, a relationship. In contrast to the typical portrayal of girls within subcultures as passive and subordinated, the unemployed women in my study were also occasionally prepared to assert themselves physically with young men or with other women deemed rivals or outsiders (see for example Chapter Six, Section 6.6.2). Examples of forceful femininity, resistance, solidarity, and manipulation of the codes of romantic love can be gleaned from the biographies of women research participants. This is in contrast to the passive retreat into romance, domesticity and motherhood described in other studies. Nevertheless, the powerlessness and subordination of the unemployed women was ultimately reinforced. In the case of romantic love and romance, for example, resistance was articulated through the local manipulation of an ideology which nevertheless often placed the young women in positions of domestic and economic subordination. In those cases where, for example, an

unemployed woman in receipt of benefits married or cohabited with an employed man, she automatically lost her individual right to supplementary benefit (or income support as it is now known). Because a male partner's income is taken into account when entitlement is assessed, the male partner's income from employment usually precluded entitlement. Moreover, means-tested benefits also treat cohabitees as 'couples'; single claims for benefit are disallowed when a young woman enters into a relationship and lives with or marries a young man. In cases where both partners are unemployed, benefit claims for the couple are typically registered by the male partner on behalf of the family. Thus, whenever an unemployed woman entered a relationship with a man, she generally forfeited her right to the marginal economic independence afforded by non-contributory benefits, even in those situations where her male partner was also unemployed.

Women in childrearing relationships were doubly disadvantaged. Not only did they forfeit marginal economic independence (by losing benefit entitlement when entering a live-in relationship) but they also generally found themselves undertaking the bulk of the responsibility for domestic work and for rearing dependent children. Of the eleven unemployed women, eight had two or more dependent children. Mothers of young children were generally unable to compete in both the formal and informal labour markets, and, when work was obtained, as was the case for another four women in my study group (who were not classed as long-term unemployed but who also had children), it was part-time, low-skilled, and low-paid. However, even such part-time employment was generally beyond the scope of most of the unemployed women, as such income would affect benefit entitlement. The four who had negotiated part-time work were all married to employed partners and were not therefore benefit-dependent. In such cases, part-time work was a realistic option as it generated extra income for the family budget, provided the women with a measure of financial independence, and also allowed them a respite from domestic and childcare routines. For the eleven unemployed women, such part-time work could only be undertaken 'off the books' as any income generated from legitimate 'cards in' part-time work would be immediately cancelled out by deductions from benefit. In some

cases, participants would have actually been worse off for undertaking lowly paid part-time employment in terms of the negative impact on benefit entitlements. As Heather Lawley explained:

> "I was offered a job about four months ago ... They wanted to pay me £60 for twenty hours and there was tax and insurance out of that. I worked it all out, by the time we'd paid the rent and the other bills, we'd have been worse off than we are now. The Social's paying the rent, and there's money for the bills and everything. So if I had to pay my own rent, which is £40 odd, we'd be worse off ... Anything you earn they take out of your benefit so there's not a lot of point is there?"

Aside from the negative impact on benefit entitlement, full-time or part-time was also ruled out because of lack of childcare provision. Thus, early domestic careers of pregnancy, childrearing, and home-caring, often undertaken under the ideology of romance and romantic love, served ultimately to fix women into situations of economic and domestic subordination. The four exceptions to this general picture among the eleven unemployed women were Susan Hargreaves, Lynda Willcox, Wendy Fisher and Tricia Hartley. Whilst still maintaining benefit entitlement and claims, all four had created independent means of acquiring extra (undeclared) income (see Section 8.4.3). However, despite a measure of economic independence generated by their fiddle jobs, two of the four, who were both married, still had the main responsibility for domestic and childcare routines. Even Wendy Fisher and Tricia Hartley, who both remained unattached throughout the fourth and final phase of my research, were not entirely independent. Tricia was a lone parent and undertook sole responsibility for the upbringing of her child and Wendy Fisher, who was unattached and childless, had not sought residential independence and was still resident in the natal home when my research terminated in 1990. Thus, despite these exceptions, the general picture remained of post-school cyclical transitions, combined with the economic constraints of differentiation (and discrimination) in the job and employment training markets, producing early domestic career moves often undertaken under the ideology of romance and romantic love. Such domestic career moves were informed by the cultural traditions of domesticity and childcare which working class girls inherit as a 'domestic apprenticeship' within the natal home. However, early

domestic careers, of pregnancy, childrearing and home-caring, served generally to locate women in situations of economic and domestic subordination, where the hope for independent opportunity was increasingly diminished. In such situations, there was a fundamental withdrawal from labour market commitment and aspirations, into a fatalistic acceptance of the taken-for-granted roles of domestic and childcare responsibility (Section 8.4.3).

8.6.3 Domestic Labour and Caring Work

The view that domestic labour is the responsibility of women is widely held (*Social Trends* 16 : 1986 : 36). In a national survey in 1984, women were found to be almost solely responsible for domestic tasks: 88% for washing and ironing, 77% for providing an evening meal, 72% for house cleaning, and 63% for care of dependent children (*ibid* : Table 2.12 : 36). According to Oakley (1974), 93% of non-employed women classified themselves as "housewives". Among study participants generally, housework was viewed as women's work and it was assumed that women would take responsibility for it within a household. The general assumption was that women could do domestic tasks naturally and men could not. Oakley (1974) has argued that housework is unrecognised, unpaid work, not regarded as 'real' work because it is unwaged. However, her study also revealed that women on average undertook 77 hours housework per week.

The unemployed women in my study got little pleasure from a realigned commitment to the domestic realm. Although they invested time, energy and identity in the housewife role, they derived little satisfaction from it. The commonest complaints were tedium and loneliness. As Lynda Willcox put it: "Sometimes I feel like I don't live anymore. I get so down ... I'd love a little job ... it'd be nice just to get out of the flat sometimes". However control over domestic tasks and childcare routines provided some participants with a sense of autonomy. Control over the pace and order of tasks and the routines and goals women set themselves within the home ensured a method for emphasising autonomy and, moreover, provided psychological benefits if 'high standards' were achieved. As

Heather Lawley maintained: "When it's done an' all sorted out I sit back an' feel nice ... You could eat yer dinner off the floor, it's so clean".

Domestic labour is seen by feminists as real work. It reproduces labour-power both in terms of the bearing and rearing of future workers and also in terms of the mental and physical servicing of the existing labour force (Beechey 1977; Barrett 1980). However, the demands of housework, and the economic and personal circumstances under which it was often performed, mitigated against the formation of an enduring sense of solidarity among the unemployed women. Domestic labour is a solitary activity and women become bound to housework by ties of love and identification. Generally women participants sought to feel good about their domestic labour. In the absence of other ways of structuring identity, for example, though employment, "keeping a tidy home and the kids decent" became a method for assessing self-worth, a way of signalling moral standing or respectability, both to oneself and to the wider community. As Maggie put it: "We might be stuck on the dole but me 'ouse an' me kids are spotless, no-one can say anythin' against me for that".

Housework and the isolation of domestic labour tended to divide rather than unite women. In the absence of clearly defined domestic standards, women tended to use other women as the competitive standard against which to measure performance. Generally, the divisions were demarcated along the rough/respectable continuum. Rough women were identified as follows: "[She] ... never cleans, the place is filthy ... 'er kids 'ave got their arses 'angin' out their trousers ... They live like pigs, it's not right an' it's not decent" (Janet Wallace). Respectable women, on the other hand, sought to keep their homes "decent" and their kids "clean".

Women's unpaid labour extended beyond what is generally viewed as housework. Women were expected to care not only for their male partners and their children but also for other family dependants. Sometimes this would involve care of a sister's children or

older/younger siblings who had been ejected from the parental home. In the case of John Conleigh, for example, such a care-role extended to looking after his handicapped mother. However, it was John's sister who was eventually allocated the full-time primary role of caring for their mother, and it was she, rather than John, who gave up her full-time job in order to do so (Chapter Six, Section 6.5.4). Women could also be seen as necessary to their male partner's work role even if this was supportive of illegal work undertaken through crime or the informal economy. Goffee and Scase (1985) have suggested that wives play an important role in assisting self-employed husbands in their businesses. Self-employed men are often dependent upon unpaid clerical and administrative duties undertaken by their wives. Similarly, the unemployed males involved in alternative careers depended upon their wives and girlfriends to at least 'know the score' and be tactful about what they said and to whom. Moreover, the men also occasionally relied on their partners to conduct deals in their absence, accurately relay messages or information, and sometimes provide alibis when they became embroiled with the law. Women were also expected to remain loyal and faithful when their partners were arrested and jailed. They were, moreover, expected to visit their male partners in jail and provide access to supplies of prohibited drugs and money. On a typical prison visit, drugs and money would be orally passed from visitor to inmate during a passionate kiss. Often the tightly folded banknote or piece of cannabis was sealed in plastic or in a condom. These could then be swallowed if it became necessary and retrieved once the inmate had returned to the safety of his cell. Such tasks were willingly undertaken by some women on behalf of their menfolk despite the dangers and risk of prosecution to themselves.

Domestic labour and supportive work were often an extension of the 'mothering option'. It is here that the distinct yet intertwined threads of influence of class and gender were most visible.

8.6.4 The Mothering Option

The long-term unemployed women study participants shared the same background of social disadvantage as the men. However, they were subject to even more structural limitations because they had to contend with patriarchy as a mode of domination, as well as class. The socially disadvantaged women of my study faced a future that held little real promise. The structural constraints of class and gender were radically different for the women as compared with the men. Certainly sustaining commitment to childrearing relationships (either through marriage or cohabitation) marked a fundamental difference between the genders. As I outlined earlier (Section 8.5.5), only three of the nine unemployed male participants who had entered childrearing partnerships sustained their original relationships and were taking an active part in the upbringing of their children. In contrast, all the unemployed women with children, whether or not they had separated from their male partners, retained the bulk of childrearing responsibilities.

Cyclical transitions, limited opportunities and long-term unemployment were the structural forces acting upon the disadvantaged young women of my study. However, resolution of these forces for the women was radically different than for the men because, among other things, the young women were able to realise a sanctioned goal that appeared to promise freedom from the forces by which they, like the Northside males, felt themselves to be trapped. It was at this juncture that the mothering option often appeared.

As teenagers, the young unemployed women underwent the same hardships and lived the same stigma as their male counterparts. They understood that their families were relatively poor, living in rough districts, and that they were living different lives than the ones depicted on television or in other media. However, the girls, through the ideology of romance and romantic love, could react to these pressures and construct an 'imaginary reality' (Section 8.6.2) to escape them in ways that boys could not. Within mainstream culture a clearly defined and lauded path existed for the girls to follow. No matter how

educationally unqualified they were, or how hopeless their future in the job market appeared to be, they had a route to adult status. The importance the aspiration to motherhood had in their lives cannot be overestimated. In the midst of what were often tumultuous childhoods, it gave them something concrete to hang identity upon. Unlike the status roles which had to be negotiated through a differentiated job market, motherhood was something that could not be denied to them. A baby was something that could not be taken away or removed in the way that the other opportunities for realising adult status had been. Unlike their fathers, brothers and boyfriends, for a while they believed themselves headed for a future they desired, one of which society generally approved. They could be mothers, and, for some who undertook early childrearing, nothing and no-one could keep them from realising their goal. As Tricia Hartley put it: "This was something for me, no-one was gonna talk me out of it". As young mothers, some women were seeking to demonstrate their adulthood, independence and maturity through having a recognised status role: "Before [I had the baby] I was always bored ... nothin' to do, d'ya know, but now it's like there isn't enough hours in the day" (Spider). Motherhood was also undertaken as a route towards residential independence: "I knew they'd give me a [council] flat an' anyway there was no work ... nothin' else in my life" (Lynda Willcox).

Of all research participants, the long-term unemployed women were those who had most successfully undertaken early movement towards sustained residential mobility. In 1985-86, ten of the eleven unemployed women had effected sustained residential independence, seven in public rented accommodation and three in private rented accommodation. In general terms, whilst the Northside Crew looked towards the self-protecting milieu of their peer group network with its celebration of masculinity, the young women sought parenthood and maternity as the only viable option for displaying adult status and residential independence.

However, the relief from status frustration and thwarted aspirations that motherhood held out was largely illusory. Although none of the women regretted having children, they came to quickly realise that poverty and parenthood, especially lone parenthood, is fraught with inestimable difficulties. As Susan Hargreaves confessed: "After six months I though oh no! I've shit it, fuckin' broken nights, breastfeeding ... Then it was teethin' an' more broken nights ... I was really really sorry then". Four of the unemployed women were in 1986 coping on their own rearing one or more dependent children. In these cases, the 'celebration of motherhood' took on a different hue:

> "I was sick of it ... sick o' 'im bein' around the 'ouse, money always short, ah just got sick of it ... Then I started takin' it out on 'im and the baby an' the rows started, that's when we split up" (Julie Birchall).

Julie lived alone with her baby for almost four years before she eventually married, a relationship which produced a second child. After the birth of her second child in 1988, Julie became depressed. She felt "let down": "I'd done the mother bit, made nice babies but there was only struggle and debt. I felt let down somehow". Or, as Linda Willcox put it: "It's not all love an' roses. I've learnt that much". What Julie and other participants experienced was the denial of status that poverty brings, when they had fulfilled the traditional role allocated to them. Poverty and benefit dependence were a sign that the wider society was reneging on its part of the deal. They had done what they understood they were supposed to do and were subsequently "let down".

If motherhood, in spite of its promise, offered no relief from the structural forces impinging on lower working class girls, neither could participants expect consolation from a supportive peer group subculture. Whereas the boys constructed a subculture offering alternative ways of maintaining some self-respect and dignity, the girls had no such avenue open to them. As Campbell has similarly argued in respect of the lives of girls in New York street gangs:

> "For these girls, there was no escape in the gang from the problems they faced: their female role could not be circumvented ... in the end, gang or no gang, the girls remained alone with their children, still trapped in poverty and in a cultural dictate of womanhood from which there was no escape" (1984 : 226).

608

Generally denied the camaraderie and solidarity that male bonding affords, the long-term unemployed women fulfilled the roles that patriarchal society had defined for them. Such roles effectively kept them divided, dependent and subordinate. In contrast, Amanda Gardiner and Cathy Tittle whose nonconformist life styles were examined in Chapter Seven (Sections 7.8.6, 7.8.7) both remained childless and free of commitment to heterosexual relationships. Nonconformist girls may well drop out of the race, but, as was revealed in both Amanda's and Cathy's post-school transitions, unconventional routes to adulthood depended on the economic independence of full-time employment and the solace of a peer group with modified definitions of success. Without such resources and in the face of the "impertinent courtesy" of the myth of equality of opportunity ("an invitation offered to unwelcome guests in the certainty that circumstances will prevent them from accepting it"(Tawney 1938 : 110)), the sole option remaining to the long-term unemployed women seeking to effect a transition to adulthood was that of the mothering option.

8 .7 Summary and Conclusions

The journey of this Chapter began with a short trip on the Black Magic Roundabout, a "member-identified-category" (Lofland 1976) of personal and collective experience. For study participants, the Black Magic Roundabout of post-school cyclical transitions was a (not so) merry-go-round into adulthood; a roundabout of diminished opportunity and thwarted ambition which frequently resulted in massive disillusionment, smouldering resentment, long-term unemployment, and labour market withdrawal. The career components of the cyclical transition typically involved protracted periods of post-school unemployment interspersed with participation in one or more varieties of (un)employment training schemes, underemployment in casual or part-time employment, work in the informal economy, and routinised theft or other illegal modes of income acquisition.

The cyclical movement into and out of government schemes and special programmes produced reactions to scheme participation that were ranged on a continuum from

unfavourable to bitterly hostile. Government Scheming served to contain participants' unemployment whilst preserving their labour power and deflating aspirations and job/wage expectations in line with their limited future prospects. Government Scheming can be understood within a context of historical fears concerning the young unemployed working class. As a consequence of such 'respectable' fears, the young unemployed working class have found themselves increasingly conscripted onto schemes under the direct or implied threat of benefit withdrawal. Scheme participation served to remove participants from the street; the provision of training for jobs ensured an initial compliance. Social control was imposed through time and work discipline and containment secured through regulation, surveillance, and 'schooling for the social order'. Despite amassing a total of over ninety training schemes and special programmes of different styles and varieties, representing a total of over sixty years of participants' lives, in only one case had scheme participation provided direct access to primary employment. I have argued that Government Scheming amounted to a 'national youth policy' concerned with the containment of the young working class. The policy interventions have been based on an ideological smokescreen located in a pedagogical model of rectifying so-called 'skill deficiencies' in the labour force. Government Scheming has substantially transformed post-sixteen transitions and firmly established vocational training as a central state strategy for youth containment. An embittered and fundamental cynicism was typically the consequence of cyclical transitions through Government Scheming. Such disillusionment preceded the slide into long-term unemployment and labour-market withdrawal.

Study participants who entered the ranks of the long-term unemployed could be distinguished by a background of social disadvantages such as stigmatised residential location, absentee fathers, or inter-generational unemployment. Such cumulative social disadvantage typically produced a response of labour market withdrawal. Labour market withdrawal took three forms, a return to full-time education, a retreat into home-based domestic careers, and the proactive development of alternative careers within Hartingleigh's burgeoning sub- and anti-employment subcultures. For many long-term

unemployed participants, a reduction in personal commitment to the orthodox labour market and the effort put into the search for proper jobs had positive psychological benefits and allowed participants to "reject the official authorised interpretation of their social situation" (MacLeod 1987 : 150). In seeking to explicate labour market withdrawal, I utilised Bourdieu's concept of habitus to explore how habitus engendered a reduction in work commitment and aspiration formation, which reflected objective probabilities. However, the concept of the internalisation of objective probabilities limited the scope for creative human agency, and so I also argued that peer group affiliations, whilst providing participants with economic and psychological benefits, at the same time supplied an arena for the articulation of resistance (Giroux 1983) and proactivity (Fryer 1986a). Subcultural resistance and proactivity were, for example, given voice through the magically appropriated symbolism of the Black Magic Roundabout.

Cyclical transitions, labour market withdrawal, and long-term unemployment, had significant consequences for participants' domestic career transitions. For male study participants, cyclical transitions and labour withdrawal resulted in a retreat into the norms, values and alternative status systems of their peer group subcultures. Such withdrawal involved the restriction of social contacts to social networks containing others in a similar position. Participants came to build on a common sense of identity constructed out of an exaggerated valuation of working class male machismo. Group bonding, loyalty, and solidarity remained a central feature of male participants' lives. The peer group affiliations fostered in participants' early teenage years were not severed by transitions to employment and, as a consequence, same-sex friendship patterns and affiliations formed the predominant focus for domestic transitions into adulthood. The Vic as a 'hard pub in a hard area' occupied a central role in the network of sociability. It provided a bastion of male values and focal concerns, a generating milieu for social and acquisitive crime, a place where deals were struck, information exchanged, 'scams' worked out, and a context where status and identity were expressed. The Vic also provided access to the informal

alternative career structure, for example as a recruiting ground for the alternative entrepreneurial activities of the Donaghue and Hatton families.

Once embarked on alternative careers, male participants' commitment to the generating milieu of their localities and peer groups inhibited the evolution of heterosexual relationships. For six participants, this resulted in delayed residential mobility, which also partly reflected the differential pattern of parental freedom allocated to unemployed males as compared to unemployed females within the parental home. For eight male participants, however, early sustained residential independence was secured primarily through the income derived from fiddle jobs or acquisitive crime. The unemployed males displayed a complex variation in domestic career transitions but were generally unsuccessful in sustaining ongoing childrearing relationships. The pressure, insecurity, lack of stable routine, and sometimes danger, associated with the life style of participants' alternative careers militated against stability or emotional commitment in partnership/family formation.

The domestic career transitions of long term unemployed women participants were circumscribed by the cultural emphasis on a domestic apprenticeship of home-care and childrearing. Aspirations and opportunities were further circumscribed by patriarchal assumptions in the labour market and sexism in scheme allocation procedures. Resistance was articulated within the home in terms of contestation over the traditional assignment of domestic tasks, within the solidarity engendered by the Hartingleigh Project's Girls Nights and Girls' Night Out, and through manipulation of sexuality and the codes of romance and romantic love. Nevertheless, early domestic careers of pregnancy, childrearing and home-caring served generally to locate women in positions of economic and domestic subordination. Domestic roles and duties effectively kept women divided and dependent. In such situations, there was a general withdrawal from labour market commitment and aspirations into a fatalistic acceptance of the taken-for-granted roles of domestic and childcare responsibility. The mothering option provided a socially acceptable alternative

to unemployment; lack of other viable options, such as the possibility for a good job or an independent life style, made the mothering option a higher status occupation than long-term unemployment. Generally the unemployed women fell back into a domestic version of working class femininity, whilst the unemployed men fell into an exaggerated and predominantly aggressive version of masculinity.

In attempting to explicate the impact of cumulative social disadvantage, family and locality influences, and labour market experiences, on participants' employment commitment, the significance of protracted unemployment and cyclical transitions on the Black Magic Roundabout cannot be overstated. Cyclical transitions engendered a fundamental cynicism which fuelled participants' withdrawal from the limited opportunities which were available in the orthodox labour market. Such cynicism preceded the slide into the sub-economy, long-term benefit dependence, and the proactive creation of alternative career options.

Of all the post-school transition routes, the slide into the sub-economy and acquisitive criminality is the most under-researched. This glaring gap in the recent youth research literature may be partially explained by the potentially controversial nature of studies in this area; the ethical and political implications are formidable. Nevertheless, in the following Chapter, I will seek to draw together a typology of the locally constructed alternative career options, supported by case studies and other ethnographic material, which detail the progressive development of such strategies by research participants. Inevitably, this will be a partial and fragmented glimpse of study participants' endeavours to create meaning and sustain identities from the inconsistencies and contradictions they encountered. Detailed exploration of these non-conventional routes to meaning, status, income, and adult identity will, I hope, provide some contribution towards a more comprehensive knowledge of the critical 'career' points through which this progression occurs and lend greater overall understanding of the 'choices' made by the young adult long-term unemployed within my study group.

CHAPTER NINE

ALTERNATIVE TRANSITIONS

"The City has a million faces and no man ever knows just what another means when he tells about the city he sees. For the city that he sees is just the city that he brings with him, that he has within his heart ... made out of sense but coloured and unalterable from all that he has felt and thought and dreamed about before" (Thomas Wolfe (1939 : 223)

9.1   Introduction

In Chapter Eight I argued that, economically disadvantaged and therefore culturally distinct, high unemployment areas like Hartingleigh have developed a marginalised and stigmatised position in relation to the City as a whole.   The traditional sites for local employment, which included engineering and manufacturing industry, have been decimated, particularly during the past fifteen years of economic restructuring.   Within the cultural ecology of Hartingleigh, and exacerbated by the processes of local economic decline, Hartingleigh, and the Chicken Lane Estate in particular, developed the negative reputation as the 'roughest' areas in North Manchester.

The estate's high levels of poor, undermaintained housing stock, trans-generational unemployment, delinquency, acquisitive and, more recently, violent crime, are not discrete areas of disadvantage, but a product of inter-connected and cumulative forms of inequality.   It is from this interlocking network of inequalities that the local subcultures have revived the traditional survival scripts of social and acquisitive crime.   These subcultures illustrate how poverty, inferior education, the lack of even minimum opportunities, a steadily deteriorating economic situation, and the cumulative impact of government policy interventions in employment, benefits, housing, and training, have all combined to produce feelings of cynicism, bitterness and alienation.

Some writers have described the social trends of the past decade, or more, in terms of a process of "marketisation" (Hutton 1992).   Elliot Currie has similarly argued that Britain

has been transmuted from a market economy to a market society and that the pursuit of private gain has become the organising principle not only within the economic sphere but also all areas of social life:

> "In the market society, all other principles of social organisation become subordinated to the over-reaching one of private gain" (*The Guardian*, 30.8.93 : 9).

The growth of inequality is strongly correlated both with the processes of marketisation and with the growth of crime. Britain in the 1980s had the most rapid crime growth in Europe and it was also a country where the top 20% had six times the disposable income of the bottom 20% at the beginning of the decade. By the 1990s, the top 20% had nine times the disposable income (Hutton 1992). According to a survey by Young (1992), recorded crime under the present government has risen twice as fast as under any other government, Conservative or Labour, in the past 40 years. Figures from the government publication, *Social Trends*, show that there were 1.7 million reported offences in 1971; by 1991 this figure had risen more than threefold to 5.3 million. All statistics have to be interpreted with care and one of many problems with data on crime is that the increased willingness to report offences may have fuelled some of the increases in reported crime and exaggerated the rise. Nevertheless, evidence from the British Crime Survey suggests that crime has increased by at least 50% over the past decade, with burglaries and thefts doubling (cited in *The Guardian*, 30.8.93 : 9). The "invisible hand" of marketisation behind the inexorable increase in the rate of crime is, according to Currie, linked to economic inequality and recent figures indicate that the real incomes of the poorest 10% of society have fallen by 14% since 1979 (*The Guardian*, 30.8.93 : 9). However, despite the rise in recession-crime, it is worth briefly emphasising that the physical, economic and social costs of corporate crime far outstrip comparable costs of 'conventional' crime (see Box 1983 : 25-34 for examples of research in this area).

Within a cultural ecology circumscribed by the cumulative social and economic disadvantages of stigmatised residential location, contracting adult and youth labour markets, high levels of trans-generational long-term unemployment, and the profound

cynicism engendered by their labour market experiences (particular on the 'Black Magic Roundabout' described in the previous Chapter), the Northside typically made early movements into the bottom rungs of the local alternative career structure. In attempting to present the full richness, texture and variation of alternative economic possibilities available to, or proactively constructed by, study participants, I have constructed a typology of alternative careers which follows the one outlined in Chapter Four (Section 4.8). Here I will sketch out the typology of alternative economic options, supported by brief ethnographic references and case studies. However, for the obvious reasons of confidentiality and also to protect both study participants and myself from retrospective police investigation, the issues dealt with are addressed in the broadest possible terms. I have taken quite complex steps to alter names, dates, locations, settings and, where necessary, identities whilst at the same time seeking to maintain the veracity of the material presented. The ethical and methodological issues, implications, and ramifications are addressed in Chapter Five (see Section 5.3).

The categories utilised in the following sections are not exhaustive and in a sense are a series of snapshots in time which only partially capture the movement of participants between and within categories. Nevertheless, the typology does focus on typical behaviours in what Lofland (1976) has described at "member-identified-categories".

9.2   Early Careers

One important organising concept which provides understanding of the evolution of participants' alternative modes of income acquisition is that of 'career'. The concept as I utilise it is concerned with a notion of "status sequences which involve choice patterns" (Coles, forthcoming). The concept of career allows for an examination of the interplay between what Giddens has termed "structuration and agency" - the relationship between institutional and structural development and participants as proactive agents, responding to changes rather than being simply driven along by them (cf Coles, forthcoming). However, the phrase 'career choice' conjures up a picture of the individual distinguishing between a

number of alternatives; in reality there are a limited number of options which change over time. Moreover, 'choices' are seldom immediately recognisable as such and are influenced by others who share the career option.

I have previously indicated that alternative careers were evolved within, and circumscribed by, a cultural ecology of alternative enterprise that was, to some degree, tolerant of acquisitive criminality as a domain for the articulation of a traditional cultural oppositionality or resistance (Chapter Eight, Sections 8.4.4; 8.4.5; 8.5.2; 8.5.3; 8.5.4). For the long-term unemployed males, alternative careers were sustained by the inherited focal concerns of the parent culture which found form and articulation within the sub- and anti-employment subcultures. Moreover, these subcultural formations were generated within a cultural ecology of alternative enterprise partially sponsored by the Hatton and Donaghue families. As was revealed by Dilly's recollections of his initial encounter with members of the Hatton family in 'the Vic' (Chapter Eight, Section 8.5.3), sometimes such early career moves were initiated and encouraged even before school-leaving.

For Becker and Strauss (1956), the first step is the most important in commissioning a new career. Becker (1963) also notes that the most significant component in the development of a non-conformist career is the initial 'deviance'. There is, moreover, considerable research evidence which indicates that it is common for a majority of young people to contravene societal laws (eg. Osborne and West 1978), and that, in certain lower class communities, a high degree of local tolerance is displayed towards law-breaking behaviour (Downes 1966; Hobbs 1988; Mays 1954; Willmott 1966). In terms of the generating milieu of the Chicken Lane estate in Hartingleigh, social ecology (cf Baldwin and Bottoms 1976; Gill 1977; Hobbs 1988) and an inherited subcultural ethos of law-breaking behaviour among the informal male network may also be considered significant factors circumscribing early career 'choices' (see Chapter Eight, Sections 8.5.2; 8.5.4).

In a conversation recorded during my preliminary fieldwork, Davvo provided the following account of the inter-generational transmission of subcultural norms and values:

"We was all brought up 'round 'ere ... all we seen is our [older] brothers and their mates gettin' done, pullin' stunts an' goin' ter jail, y'know ... just seein' people 'ustlin' like, makin' out one way or another ... You seen all the dope man ... It's always bin that way 'round 'ere ... all the fuckin' tokin' [smoking cannabis], robbin', graftin' ... pure crime, it's 'ow we grew up ...   It was me dad, then our kid [older brother] an' 'is mates, Northside ... the first Northside, an' then it was us, an' now the kids are comin' through ... It's the same scene ...   Just survivin' ... Ya grow up an' they're all pullin' stunts, sometimes it's their ol' man ..., y'know graftin' .. or like our kid .... an' ya look up to 'em ... they're makin' out, not givin' a fuck y'know ... An' 'e's doin' this an' that, rippin' off, tottin', 'avin' a draw, listenin' ta sounds, goin' ta Town, goin' tat' Match ... pure Northside y'know ... An' 'e's doin' good, gotta motor an' a nice gaff ... So now it's up to us y'know, our turn, this 'is where we are ... an' y'know there's fuck all in yer 'ands an' if ya wannit yer gonna 'ave ter tek it, an 'yer do.   That's it ... yer 'ave ter do it so yer work summat owt wi' yer mates, bit o' this, sum o' that ... a few quid 'ere, sell a bit o' that over there ... 'ustlin, tottin' like ... An' the kids're lookin' up ter ya ' cos they know it'll be them next."

By providing a domain in which to be respected, or successful, is to be 'bad' in societal terms, the subcultural context reverses or inverts conventional cultural norms.   In terms of the development and progression of law-breaking careers, Sutherland and Cressey (1970) have indicated that law-breaking seldom begins as a solitary activity, but is rather initiated by groups utilising codes which supersede those of the dominant culture.   There are many empirical studies which indicate that law-breaking acts are committed in association with others (see for example West and Farrington 1973; West 1967, 1982). Moreover, evidence from social psychological studies have been utilised to explain the dynamics of small groups contravening the dominant moral order, occasionally leading to crime (see, for example, Little 1990 : 36-37).   Matza and Sykes (1957) have similarly found that, through "techniques of neutralisation", groups of delinquents cancel out the disapproval of the wider society towards law-breaking activities.   This may be demonstrated through reference to specific utterances gleaned from my fieldwork.   For example: "It's just what you did there" may be translated as a denial of responsibility, and "I didn't mean ta damage 'im" is a re-interpretation of injury.   Other examples include: "Rich bastards ... they deserved what they got" (denial of the victim); "I don't think it's wrong, it's them that's wrong" (condemning the condemners); "When it's on top like, it's down to yer pals coverin' yer back" (appeals to higher loyalties).

The disillusionment and embittered cynicism which often characterised cyclical transitions and labour market withdrawal also informed techniques of neutralisation and allowed participants to reinterpret their situation in order to take what Box (1981) has described as a "moral holiday". Matza (1969) has also shown that there can be a whole-scale reinterpretation of particular acts, or actions, in order to render them acceptable within the alternative moral framework. The ability to negate and invert societal disdain in order to view law-breaking in a positive light provides an explanation for the persistence of law-breaking behaviour and the evolution of subcultural status-systems, which accord prestige to law-breaking endeavours.

Initial 'deviance' among study participants consisted of the whole panoply of adolescent law-breaking, the most serious of which included TDA (taking and driving away), GBH (grievous bodily harm), ABH (aggravated bodily harm), burglary, petty theft, unorganised drug-dealing, unorganised shoplifting, and receiving stolen goods. The majority of unemployed male study participants had appeared before the juvenile courts for one, or more, of these offences in their teenage years and had, between them, received the range of sentencing options available, from absolute or conditional discharges, through to ACs (Attendance Centres), DCs (Detention Centres) and YCs (Youth Custody or Borstal). However, the juvenile justice system, rather than undermining early careers, actually reinforced the criminal identity by unwittingly supplying the young offender with a source of status within the processes of re-definition and re-evaluation of the subcultural context. As Charlie put it after his experiences of Borstal training:

> "When I came out I felt like fuckin' Pop-Eye; ah'd bin doin' circuits [circuit training] an'
> weights [weight training] every day ... Ah wus 'pumped up' ... Ah'd done me 'bird'
> [successfully completed his sentence] ... ah knew ah could 'andle it. There's nowt they
> could do ter me ... ah wus ready ter take on the fuckin' world."

Successfully doing one's 'bird' meshed neatly with the subcultural focal concerns which emphasised an exaggerated masculinity. Status was derived from the act of emerging from the periods of incarceration physically and emotionally stronger. As Little has

argued: "The young offender incorporates limiting life experiences as positive, necessary components of his chosen career" (1990 : 8). Moreover, although the justice system aims to 'reform' criminals and deter potential law-breakers, it can be counter-productive in placing those who have committed relatively trivial initial offences in with more serious 'career' criminals. The milieu of Attendance Centres, Detention Centres, and Borstals, brings together young people with law-breaking experiences and provides a context within which those experiences are reinforced (Little 1990).

Within Hartingleigh's cultural ecology, other types of career options were available to study participants who were unsuccessful in their attempts to gain legitimate waged employment. These alternative career options were sometimes self-created; as with Davvo's proactively constructed movement into a life-style of sub-employment (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8.3), such careers provided alternative routes to income, status, identity and meaning. Other career options were also available which provided movement into a more organised alternative career structure. Aside from the 'bagging up' of horse manure ('shit-shovelling') for resale as garden compost - undertaken by Dilly, Poolie, Maz, Digger and Davvo, in their early teenage years - other participants sought out, or were recruited by, the Hatton and Donaghue families for a variety of legal, semi-legal and illegal tasks.

9.2.1 Market Trading

In Chapter Seven (Sections 7.3.3 and 7.8.3) I revealed how Tracy Smith and Jimmy Bee, during the course of their protracted transitions to formal employment, both sought and secured fiddle jobs on the market stalls owned by the Donaghues. Similarly, other participants, including Wendy Fisher and J.W., who, as a result of being distantly related to the Donaghue family, were both recruited to work on the family's market stalls. Both J.W. and Wendy undertook similar early careers. They started working for the Donaghues on a part-time basis before school-leaving and at that time worked several days in the week and on Saturdays. For Wendy, after three different varieties of training scheme in her post-

school transition, the market work eventually became more or less full-time and, though lowly paid, she supplemented her income by registering for benefits.

The strategy of working on the side whilst maintaining benefit claims and entitlement (by not declaring the income from market work to the Social Security) is extremely common amongst employees in market trading and is a strategy often actively encouraged by traders to justify wage levels below the statutory minimum. Evidence for the insecurity and marginality of such careers is provided by the fact that markets were periodically 'raided' by Social Security and Department of Employment special investigations teams, which often operated 'undercover', with a roving commission to investigate 'benefit abuse' (see, for example, *Marketeer and Discount Trader*, "Swoop on Dole Fiddlers": 1.4.88 : 1). Local knowledge about the intricacies of the benefit system within the market trading community was extensive and such understanding gleaned from 'old heads' would enable novitiates to circumvent the official harassment encountered as a consequence of long-term benefit claims. Such harassment included the periodic requirement to attend compulsory placements on schemes, etc.; Wendy, for example, after almost two years of continuous work on the markets whilst registered as unemployed, was compelled to attend a 'Restart Programme', designed, ironically, to improve her 'employability'. Local knowledge and advice enabled her to resist the requirement to attend the scheme in order to maintain her benefit entitlement. This was achieved by simply re-registering her claim for benefit on 'the sick'. The strategy necessitated periodic visits to the doctor in order to procure 'sick notes' to validate her claims for Supplementary Benefit, but, as Wendy had a minor problem with asthma, she was able to exaggerate her symptoms in order to do so. By periodic movements between signing on as unemployed and registering a claim for Supplementary Benefit as a sick person (therefore unable to attend schemes), she was able to both maintain benefit entitlement and continue her career as a market employee.

Within the social milieu of market employees, such strategies are justified on the basis of financial necessity, as market employees occupy positions within the labour market that

are generally part-time or seasonal, poorly paid and insecure. Becker (1963) has examined the various stages in the careers of 'deviant' groups and similarly notes how such groups initially adopt a self-justifying rationale or ideology. During the second stage, they acquire the knowledge to conduct themselves within the deviant context with the minimum of fuss until, finally, they become confident enough to condemn the laws they break. As was the case with other participants who skirted the boundaries of legality in their alternative careers, Wendy's post-school transition on the Black Magic Roundabout of Government Schemes and Special Programmes (see Chapter Four, Section 4.5.2) produced a self-justifying rationale which 'condemned the condemners':

> "I don't think it's wrong [claiming benefits whilst working; on the contrary] it's them that's wrong ... Everyone's gotta live ... I've got a right to a life ... Anyway I work 'ard for me money."

Aside from crossing the boundaries of illegality by registering fraudulent benefit claims, participants employed on the market stalls owned by the Donaghues were also exposed to association with further illegalities. This occurred as a result of the periodic use the Donaghues made of their legitimate business concerns in market trading to disguise other, more illegitimate, activities. As was revealed by Jimmy Bee (Chapter Seven, Section 7.8.3), the Donaghues periodically utilised the legitimate practices of market trading as a method for concealing the transportation and fencing of stolen goods and also for the movement and distribution of proscribed drugs. In fact, participants such as J.W. and Wendy Fisher were specifically recruited by the Donaghues, on the basis of their understanding and acceptance of the alternative entrepreneurial activities of the family. Though not actively involved in these additional, more illegal, activities, participants were expected to at least "know the score", "keep it buttoned", and turn the required "blind eye".

9.2.2 Barking

After they had served an early apprenticeship within the milieu of market trading and had been suitably vetted by the Donaghue family, participants such as J.W. were eventually

provided with more remunerative employment. In respect of participants' early careers, such employment included 'barking' for the Donaghues. As outlined in Chapter Four (Section 4.8.2), 'barking', also known as 'fly-pitching', is a form of unlicensed street trading, which usually takes place in the City Centre or on the fringes of legitimate market sites. After an initial period of assisting certain members of the family in the retail selling of commodities on the street, J.W. was further 'promoted' and required to, in effect, sub-contract and recruit teams of 'barkers' on those occasions when a particularly large amount of stock had been acquired. Christmas was, for example, a particularly busy time for the 'barkers' who would be mobilised by J.W. to work the City Centre streets and pubs on behalf of the Donaghues, as well as various legitimate market sites, in order to sell cut-price items to the throngs of Christmas shoppers. Particularly in their teenage years, Coggs, Maz, Dilly, Mick Kenney and Wilf had all, at one time or another, participated in the practice of 'barking' as organised by the Donaghues and co-ordinated by J.W.

To minimise apprehension and also ensure the safety of both the street traders and their goods, a method of protective organisational structure was employed. Protection and early low-status careers were provided by the role and system of 'dogs' or 'dog-outs'. These would be distanced from the 'barker's' improvised stall in order to act as lookouts and provide early warning of any approaching police (or in the case of fly-pitching on the boundaries of legitimate markets - market security staff). Early warning from the 'dogs' would enable the 'barker' to hurriedly close his stall and blend in with the crowd. As an additional safety precaution, the bulk of goods to be punted would be held in quantity elsewhere, usually in a transit van parked in the vicinity of the fly-pitchers' improvised stalls. Such a strategy ensured that, in the case of the 'barker's' apprehension, the bulk of goods being punted would avoid seizure, which allowed the team to move on and set up their stalls elsewhere. The 'dogs', apart from acting as lookouts, would also ensure a constant supply of stock for the improvised stalls from the main quantity held nearby. Though mutually interdependent, the status-role of the 'dogs' was considered lower than that of the 'barker's', reflected in the fact that 'dogs' received a flat wage of between £15

and £25 for a day's 'doggin'-out', whilst the 'barkers' were paid on a commission basis which, depending on the type of goods being punted, ensured a daily income at least double that of the 'dogs'. In their early teenage years, participants involved in 'barking' generally worked as 'dogs', followed by occasional 'promotion' to the role of 'barker'. During the Christmas period, however, participants could compete with the 'barkers' by 'punting' or 'hustling' goods supplied by the Donaghues in the pubs and wine bars filled with Christmas revellers. At such times, participants would receive the same commission as the 'barkers' (usually between 25% and 50% of the retail price).

9.2.3 Touting

Similar alternative economic options were also provided by the Hatton family. In terms of Hartingleigh's evolving sub-employment subculture, the Hattons provided both role-models and significant domains for the socialisation of participants into law-breaking values. In the late 1970s, early 1980s, the Hattons utilised 'the Vic' (Chapter Eight, Section 8.5.3), along with key figures in the community, to recruit study participants for a variety of tasks including the previously mentioned 'bagging up' of horse manure for retail sale as garden compost. After such early careers in 'shit-shovelling' and as 'compost salesmen', study participants also progressed into other careers provided by the Hattons such as 'touting', 'hustling' (proscribed drugs) and 'blags' (robbery).

'Touting', at one time or another, provided initial first steps in a more organised form of career deviance for Poolie, Mick Kent, Willie, Coggs, Maz, Dilly, Tex, Barlow, Summers, and Mick Kenney. The 'touts' operated within an informal organisational structure evolved by the Hattons which was similar to that utilised by the unlicensed street traders, examined in the previous section. 'Touting' was a locally organised form of enterprise which involved selling or 'touting' black market tickets for sports events and pop concerts, as well as unofficially printed programmes, posters and other ephemera - usually at inflated prices outside sports or pop venues. Such activities also extended to participants being recruited to queue overnight - on behalf of the Hattons - in order that large quantities of

entrance tickets could be purchased for sports and pop events (for which there was considered to be a likely popular demand). On those occasions when ticket sales were limited to a certain number per person, a measure of intimidation or force would be invoked by the family to enable participants to constantly jump the queue. The strategy allowed for two or three separate purchases of tickets to be made by each participant. Moreover, forgeries of tickets and official programmes would also be produced by the Hattons for 'touting' by study participants at major sporting or entertainment events. One example of the successful 'touting' of unofficial programmes was undertaken when the famous Olympic ice skating duo, 'Torvill and Dean', were appearing at the G-Mex Conference and Exhibition Centre in Manchester's City Centre. On this occasion, a team of participants were provided with white cotton "ice-cream men's coats" and bundles of inferior, poorly printed, unofficial programmes. The unofficial programmes were sold in huge quantities for £2 each to unwitting ice skating fans on the G-Mex Centre approach by what appeared to be official programme sellers.

As with the teams of 'barkers' recruited on behalf of the Donaghues by J.W., study participants employed for 'touting' by the Hattons would similarly operate as a team or 'crew' for 'working the punters' (pop and sports fans outside major venues). Like the teams involved in unlicensed street trading, the 'touts' also employed similar methods of protective organisation to ensure a measure of safety in what were essentially illegal street transactions. When the focus was on the retail selling of sports and pop ephemera, for example, the 'touts' would be serviced by 'runners' who supplied the 'touts' with goods held in a vehicle nearby. Like the 'barkers', the 'touts' would generally operate on a commission basis and would purchase their next supply of stock, via the 'runner', with the income generated from the initial supply of stock and so on. This method ensured that, if a 'tout' was arrested, only the stock and money he was 'holding' would be lost.

The organisational structure operated at its most complex when forged tickets were to be 'touted'. In such cases, 'touting' teams consisted of: a 'runner', two 'minders', and a

'holder'. The 'runner's' task was to mingle with ticketless fans outside venues, seek out potential punters and negotiate the type and quantity of ticket(s) required at the highest obtainable price. The 'runner' then contacted the 'holder' - who would generally be located within the vicinity in the company of the two 'minders' - and inform him of the punter's needs. The 'runner' would be supplied with the required tickets by the 'holder' and a 'minder' would accompany the 'runner' back to wherever the punter was waiting. The 'minder's' task was to ensure the safety of the transactions conducted by the 'runner', to ensure that there was no trouble from, or attempted 'rip-off' by, the punter(s). The 'minder' was also expected to intervene should the police attempt to interrupt a deal in progress, in order to allow the 'runner' and/or 'holder' time either to escape, or dispose of the forged tickets. As an additional precaution, the 'minder' would periodically collect from the 'holder' the money generated from ticket sales and carry it to wherever the Hatton family members were located - usually a vehicle parked nearby - and at the same time procure replacement tickets for the 'holder'. In the meantime, the 'runner' would seek out new punters.

As with J.W.'s career progression from market trading to 'barking', to the recruitment and co-ordination of a 'barking' team, so participants involved initially in 'touting' sports and pop ephemera progressed to 'touting' unofficially printed programmes and posters, and then into the more remunerative, higher status, 'touting' of legitimate and forged tickets. What partly informed the career progression was participants' association with 'significant others' (members of the Hatton and Donaghue families) who aided participants' inculcation into a particular system of law-breaking values. In respect of the influence of the Hattons and Donaghues in providing the style, argot, organisation and demeanour associated with 'successful' law-breaking careers, Sutherland's theory of differential association is instructive. The theory has included among its main propositions, the ideas that: firstly, law-breaking behaviour like any other behaviour is learned; secondly, learning is partly conditioned by the processes of association (and identification) with those who commit crimes; thirdly, career progressions are partly conditioned by the frequency and

consistency of a person's contacts with patterns of law-breaking behaviour; fourthly, the nature of such associations are such as to favour violations of the law rather than conformity to it; and fifthly, cultural conflict is the underlying cause of differential association (Sutherland and Cressey 1970). As I argued earlier, the subcultural domain provided contexts within which conventional moral norms were inverted; I also outlined how research by Sutherland and Cressey (1970) indicates that crime is initiated by groups using codes which transcend those of the dominant culture and that evidence from social psychological studies can be utilised to explain the dynamics of law-breaking behaviour in small groups. Such findings blend well with subcultural explanations of the development of alternative careers. As was outlined in Chapter Eight, subcultural explanations view law-breaking as guidelines for 'normal' behaviour shared by group members. Further evidence gleaned from Sutherland and Cressey (1970), and the experiences of study participants involved in careers of 'barking' and 'touting', indicate that differential association with 'significant others' and with law-breaking patterns, influence and sustain the development of alternative careers and identities.

9.3   Intermediate Careers

The early career moves outlined in the previous section do not exhaust the range of alternative economic activities of unemployed study participants. In their early post-school periods, participants drifted into and out of various marginal opportunities within the legal but undeclared sectors of the local informal economy. Davvo, for example, undertook various fiddle jobs including painting and decorating (with Dilly), car repairs and 'doing up' vehicles for resale. Summers and Barlow both worked as builders labourers; Julie Birchall worked occasionally distributing leaflets; Jill Souter undertook home machining for a garment manufacturer; Lynda Willcox worked as a barmaid and later also as an artists' model; Tricia Hartley as a masseuse in a sauna club; Tex worked for a few months as a part-time barman and later, with Maz and Wilf, at carpet and upholstery cleaning. Coggs worked briefly as a kitchen porter and Poolie as a gardener.

Some participants, such as Tracy Smith, developed careers of habitual but relatively unorganised shoplifting and handling stolen goods.

For the majority of male study participants who were unemployed in their post-school teenage years, movements into and out of such fiddle jobs were interspersed with work for the Hattons and Donaghues as well as other illegal modes of income acquisition. The survival strategy of relatively unorganised shoplifting was fairly common, as were other forms of opportunistic theft. Others developed intermittent early careers of 'grafting' (burglary and theft), 'blagging' (robbery), 'kiting' (cheque and credit card fraud), and 'hustling draw' (unorganised dealing of cannabis). Digger, Mick Kenney, Stella and Poolie also developed an alternative source of income and status through playing music. They utilised their talents to go "busking, begging and hustling tunes".

9.3.1 Busking, Begging and Hustling Tunes

In January 1986, the *Manchester Magazine* carried a two page celebration of the vibrancy and entertainment offered by the City Centre's street art and busking scene (1986 : 10-11). Under the heading "Street Life", the magazine proclaimed:

> "Street art and music is a sophisticated business now ... the artists are under your feet,
> and on the street corners and under the arcades the buskers are at work."

Stella, Digger, Mick Kenney and Poolie had evolved their own alternative enterprise from a shared enthusiasm for both listening to and playing popular music. Digger and Mick Kenney had both been enthusiastic members of a guitar workshop held every week in the Youth and Community Centre in the early 1980s and Stella was an accomplished vocalist. In her primary school days, she had sung with the junior section of the Manchester Girls' Choir and, as a schoolgirl, performed with the choir in concerts held in Manchester Cathedral and the City's Town Hall. Poolie was a competent self-taught percussionist, harmonica player and drummer. Stella and Digger were, moreover, founder members of a local band called The Refugees, who were formed in the early 1980s post-punk music movement in the north of the City. By 1982, Stella and Digger had left The Refugees and

sought to develop the music they were most interested in through impromptu 'jams' held with other local musicians at the Youth and Community Centre. Out of these sessions, Digger (guitars), Stella (vocals), Mick Kenney (bass guitar) and Poolie (drums and percussion) evolved a loosely formed band; because they could not reach agreement on the name of the group, it became known as The Band With No Name.

Aside from occasional gigs at the Youth and Community Centre, the Band With No Name also played as a support act for more distinguished local bands such as The Refugees, King of the Slums, and Slumshine. They played local gigs fairly frequently in minor venue places of entertainment such as pubs, community centres, and the local club called The Dome. Aside from these gigs, Stella, Digger, Mick Kenney and Poolie, by 1984, had developed a pattern of travelling into the City Centre and also the surrounding towns in the North West to busk on the streets. After a "good day" of playing their music, the four could earn up to £70 between them. Busking two or three days a week, plus gigs and the money derived from state benefits, enabled them to sustain a reasonable income. In 1986, the group broke up over differences in musical taste. Stella and Digger clung to a code derived from their early exposure to the ethos of punk, whilst Poolie and Mick Kenney wanted to introduce a more commercial edge to the music they played, in order to attract more gigs. As far as Digger was concerned, this would have been "selling out the spirit of the music". Shortly afterwards, Poolie moved out of the area and Mick Kenney found more remunerative alternative employment with the 'hoisting crew'. Digger and Stella continued with their music and maintained busking as a major source of their weekly income. The pair also continued to play local, minor venue gigs, utilising contemporary music technology such as a drum machine to augment their unique style. The pair also developed a system of home taping their music on cassette tapes which were reproduced for resale when busking or playing at live venues. This they described as "hustlin' tunes" (see also Chapter Ten, Section 10.3.3). 'Hustling tunes' also extended to producing other tapes comprised of compilations of music derived both from their extensive personal collection of records and tapes, a collection evolved in collaboration

with Mick Kenney, and also taping the music of other bands at live gigs for resale and distribution. The market for these home produced tapes were the growing army of subcultural devotees to the new music scene that evolved in Manchester in the mid to late 1980s. Since the early 1980s, a number of developments in domestic hi-fi and recording technology extended the creative potential of home taping. The practices of mixing, sampling, boot-legging and home recording emerged in parallel with growing trends in the City-wide music phenomenon (see Chapter Ten for details). Willis (1990) has also taken note of similar developments within "common culture":

> "With two turntables, a cassette recorder and skilful use of pause buttons, switches and faders, it is possible to mix tapes and create cut-ups for circulation amongst friends. In this process, the hardware and software of consumption have become the instruments and the raw materials of a kind of cultural production" (1990 : 77).

Most of the home-made music produced by Stella and Digger did not find its way into mainstream commercial circulation but was distributed informally through friends and associates, or sold whilst busking or at their live gigs. In the late 1980s, Digger, Stella, and Mick Kenney also helped to establish one of the earliest illegal Warehouse Parties of the evolving Acid House phenomenon and began to act as disc jockeys for the early subcultural scene (Chapter Ten, Section 10.3.4).

By the mid-1980s, neither Digger or Stella were registered as unemployed, nor were they claiming benefits. As a result of the constant hassles they encountered from the benefit agencies, the periodic requirements to register for, what Digger described as, "Mickey Mouse" (un)employment training schemes, and the futility of post-school careers on the Black Magic Roundabout, they had decided to "drop out of the system" and, in Stella's words, "try and make out on our own". Making out was achieved through 'busking, begging and hustling tunes', and also from other intermittent careers pursued by Digger such as 'hustling' (proscribed drugs) and 'hoisting' (shoplifting). Occasionally their independent modes of income acquisition brought them into conflict with the law as Digger recalled after one busking expedition to the nearby town of Oldham:

Digger: "We used to go out of Town [Manchester] to busk 'cos there was more space, fewer buskers, an' out there you're still a novelty like ... people give the sounds more time; sometimes we'd get a little crowd, y'know diggin' the tunes. Good Buzz ... This time, when we wus busted, it wus late Saturday afternoon ... 'alf four, five [4.30 - 5.00 pm] an' really we'd done enough, we wus just carryin' on 'cos we wus into it ... We'd made our money ... just catchin' the stragglers on their way 'ome from shoppin'. Then two Bizzies [policemen] came down the subway ... they was really 'eavy. Straight away they comes on 'eavy like, threatenin'. [They] said we'd ten seconds to pack up an' move on ... Pretty 'eavy vibes y'know [but] Stella gives 'em some verbal, like what's the problem? They sez, 'You're beggin' move on an' disappear, we don't want that goin' on 'ere' ... So I sez somethin' else an' that wus it. Straight away one of 'em snatches me guitar an' the other picks up the cases [guitar case containing the money derived from busking, and cassette case containing tapes for sale] ... an' they shoved us out the subway an' radio'd ferra car [to] take us to the [police] station.

S.C. : So what happened then?

Digger: They di'nt knock us about but it wus 'eavy [in the police car]. They wus tekkin' the piss, tryin' to wind us up y'know? We knew it wouldn't 'ave taken much fer 'em ter 'kick off' [become violent] ... at the Station we 'eard they'd bin at the Match [local football match] an' they wus all fuckin' wired ... wired to the moon [in an excitable state] ... They wus tekkin' the piss 'bout Stella's 'air an' clothes ... sayin' I wus a shit-stabber [homosexual] an' was she gettin' enough [sex] ... that kinda shite ... all sorts o' weird stuff .... "

Because Stella and Digger refused to make signed statements admitting to the act of begging, they were held overnight in police cells before eventually being charged with begging under the 1929 Vagrancy Act. The pair were released on bail and eventually appeared in the Magistrates' Court several months later. Despite legal representation and 'not guilty' pleas, they were found guilty of begging under the terms of the Act and fined £60 each.

Such experiences, rather than deterring their alternative enterprise, actually reinforced the ethos which sustained their desire to operate "outside the system". Later their musical talents allowed them to travel overland to Paris and Amsterdam where the pair stayed for several weeks in each city. Through busking, they earned enough money on a day-to-day basis to survive. In this sense, their chosen alternative career was self-evidently viable in that it allowed them autonomy, income and the means to travel. Although the winter months were a difficult time for busking, Digger was able to supplement the money generated from playing music by utilising contacts within the peer group subculture to get a 'lay-on of draw' (cannabis loaned for the purposes of resale), or through joining the

'hoisting crew' for an expedition organised around shoplifting activities. 'Hustling', the unorganised dealing of cannabis and other proscribed drugs, also provided alternative sources of income and status roles for other study participants. 'Hustling', along with 'totting', were careers often intermittently pursued which bridged the areas of alternative economic enterprise of the sub-employment subculture and the unambiguously illegal activities of the anti-employment subculture.

9.3.2 Hustling and Totting

Aspects of the "dole-economy", "the penny-capitalism of the poor" (Cohen 1982 : 45) may be seen to contain traces of earlier (pre-capitalist) forms of work outside the context of waged labour. As Pahl (1981) has noted:

> "The ... paradoxical point is that ... wage labour has a history of barely one hundred
> years as a universal phenomenon. For hundreds of years before, it was vigorously
> resisted. As Christopher Hill once remarked 'to lose control over one's own (and one's
> family's) labour was to surrender one's independence, security, liberty, one's birthright' "
> (1981 : 10-11).

In contrast to the notion of long-term benefit payments producing welfare-dependency which discourages initiative, job-seeking, and forces the recipients and their children into a permanent "underclass" (cf Murray 1989), my research indicates that benefit-dependence paradoxically promotes initiative, independence and enterprise, though not in the terms favoured by Tory ideology. Those who argue that state benefits engender passivity and dependence ignore the fact that benefit payments are set at a level which is too low to live on (HMSO 1992; Piachaud 1991). Because of this, proactive autonomy, enterprise and initiative are required simply in order to survive. The revival of older strategies, such as 'totting' metal for resale as scrap, indicate that it is not merely the language of traditional working class survival scripts that have re-emerged in the 1980s and 1990s to combat poverty.

Participants whose lives became organised around movements between total dependence on benefits and fiddle jobs on the side had taken the first steps into illegality by

632

not declaring the income to the Social. 'Hustling' and 'totting' were modes of income acquisition that merely extended such movements into illegal but nonetheless independent and self-sustaining activities. Thus 'hustling' and 'totting' were status roles which defined a wide range of alternative economic enterprises among participants and their peers. These included 'totting' from the Social (fraudulent benefit claims); buying and selling second hand goods and stolen property; fiddle jobs in the local informal economy, including 'barking' and 'touting' (outlined earlier); unorganised shoplifting; opportunistic theft; and unorganised drug dealing at street level.

In its most common local usage, 'hustling' refers to street level, relatively unorganised, drug dealing. In the early to mid 1980s, the most common proscribed drug to be 'hustled' was cannabis in its various forms. In their early post-school periods of unemployment, several study participants undertook early careers intermittently 'hustling draw'. Willie, Wilf, Digger, Coggs and Dilly, for example, all utilised contacts with the Donaghue and Hatton families to purchase cannabis at relatively cheap prices, in order to "do it out to punters". For Willie and Wilf, such early careers provided the financial basis for movement into the higher level, more organised, dealing of drugs in larger (wholesale) quantities to fewer punters. 'Punting draw' was a status role not only restricted to male study participants and Susan Hargreaves was also, for example, involved in the local drugs trade.

In their early careers, the 'hustlers' would usually score in quantities of between one ounce and a 'quarter-weight' (four ounces). These quantities were then divided into much smaller units for resale to punters. The most common unit for a 'deal' was a 'teenth or sixteenth of an ounce. The economics of 'hustling' were quite rewarding (although the rewards did not appear to reflect the risk of detection and prosecution). An ounce in 1985 cost approximately £80. This could be divided into sixteen or seventeen smaller units for resale as 'teenths. 'Teenths would be resold for between £7 and £10, depending on the punter. This represented a profit to the 'hustler' of between £22 and £90 per

ounce. The 'hustlers' generally competed for a small localised market in the pubs and clubs of the area, but some of the more enterprising 'hustlers' ventured into the City Centre to 'hustle' in the discos and later the Warehouse Parties of the Acid House scene. Enterprising participants also established a network of retail outlets among the City's football supporters, as drug use became increasingly associated with football culture. Others established contacts among the City's University and Polytechnic student population as a consequence of chance encounters in City Centre clubs such as The Hacienda.

From the mid 1980s onward, other drugs became commercially available to the 'hustlers' *via* wholesale dealers such as the Hatton and Donaghue families. In the period 1987 to 1990, the most common subcultural drug was MDMA or Ecstasy. The impact of the Acid House phenomenon based on the Madchester Music and Dance Scene created a massive demand for the new street drug 'E'. The widespread demand at legal and illegal venues throughout the North West, the increased levels of profit associated with Ecstasy, and the subcultural affiliations of participants to the scene, induced several to undertake the wholesale or retail selling of the drug (Chapter Ten, Section 10.3.4). By 1988, participants such as Willie, Digger, Poolie, Coggs, Maz, Dilly, J.W., and Wilf, were all making money from their involvement with Ecstasy. Willie and Wilf, because of their accumulated capital from dope dealing, were able to move into the new market at a wholesale level. Wilf was also involved in the importation of MDMA from its illegally manufactured sources in Holland. Other participants were content simply to pick up "easy quids" though 'hustling' the drug in the Warehouse Parties and Raves that mushroomed throughout the City. Often participants would operate as a team when 'hustling' E's, utilising the knowledge and experience gained from their involvement with 'touting' or 'barking' to facilitate a measure of safety in their operations. Sometimes these models of collaborative enterprise duplicated the protective organisational structures of their early careers with the Hattons and Donaghues, and, as with the 'touting' of forged

venue tickets, participants would employ a similar system of 'runners', 'holders' and 'minders'.

The routine of 'hustling' E's and the easy money associated with the enterprise removed several participants from their early careers within the sub-employment subculture, and from typical patterns of movements into and out of fiddle jobs at different levels of the alternative career structure. This career movement represented the coalescence of an anti-employment ethos and identity and finally removed such participants from any semblance of work commitment and their tentative association with the (informal) sectors of paid employment. Drugs became the dominant focus of alternative economic activity for five of the fourteen unemployed males in my study group (Wilf, Willie, Poolie, Coggs and Digger) and by the late 1980s, early 1990s, several were involved in dealing or 'hustling' a variety of drugs including 'harder' drugs such as Rocks (crack cocaine) and Smack or Brown (heroin). These drugs increased the profitability of the enterprise but introduced a harder, more ruthless edge to their alternative economic activities and carrying guns for protection when doing "serious business" in the drugs trade became a not uncommon practice.

9.4   Anti-Employment Careers

"gotta see what's in them pockets
so I can pick them pockets clean"
(HAPPY MONDAYS: Stinkin' Thinkin')

9.4.1 Introduction

Early experiences on the Black Magic Roundabout and within a contracting local labour market engendered general attitudes couched in cynicism and disillusionment. Most participants involved in the progression from early careers in sub-employment to intermediate careers such as 'hustling' believed there were no real opportunities available for them in the straight world of proper jobs. Within the collective ethos of the anti-employment subculture, "rejecting the rejecters" and scornfully criticising and devaluing

the straight world, including the conventional world of waged employment, became a self-justifying rhetoric for preserving self-esteem. As Maz put it:

> "Workin's fer them who 'aven't got the bottle to sort summat fer themselves ... Ah wouldn't work now even if they wus 'undreds o' jobs, ah wouldn't do it ... Naaw, no way, ah'd prefer ta risk what ah risk rather than be told what ter to every day ... Naaw workin's fer them that's got no bottle."

The emphasis on proactive autonomy also guided the development of an anti-employment ethos which valued independence over wage-slavery and the high rewards of alternative careers over the earnings that could be derived from unskilled work. As Tex put it: "A job!? Fuck that! I can make more in a coupla' 'ours than my ol' man used to make in a week. Fuck workin'".

The social ties which bind most young people to the wider moral order were loosened among these participants as they developed lives that were marginal to the conventional social and economic arrangements. It was within a context of culturally constrained predispositions and a narrowing range of legitimate economic options that anti-employment career 'choices' were made.

Other studies have also emphasised the ways in which the custodial experience of young adult offenders provides a context within which there is a movement "in the direction of criminal solidarity" (Hood and Sparks 1970). For some study participants, the custodial experience provided an additional impetus towards what Parker has described as the "Authority Conspiracy" (in Wiles 1976 : 207), which, in turn, informed an oppositional mode of consciousness and identity. As McVicar (1974 : 162) has argued, based on his own experiences of imprisonment: "It was the revelation of their attitudes ... which was the operative factor in my adoption of a criminal code ... The ultimate madness of all these places is that the inmates are allowed to interact with each other in accordance with the same ... values which provide the motive power for crime outside prison" (1974 : 165). Early and intermediate careers had resulted in several participants and their peers enduring periods of incarceration which varied from as little as three months to almost

three years. These periods of adult imprisonment were for a wide range of offences such as criminal damage, assault, handling stolen goods, possession of cannabis, possession with intent to supply, burglary, and robbery and theft. Wilf, for example, served almost nine months of a twelve month prison sentence for "possession and possession with intent to supply". He described his period of incarceration as:

> "Fuckin' boring, not 'eavy - yer just banged up all the time ... But [now] ah know ah can do it standing on me 'ead ... Next time ah'll just tek summat ter read."

In December 1991, the Prison Reform Trust issued a discussion document entitled "The Identikit Prisoner". The "Identikit Prisoner" drew together the most recent research on the prison population from a wide variety of sources and also included data derived from Home Office replies to questions raised in 1991 in the House of Commons by Labour MP Barry Sheerman. The document concluded:

> "In a detail never before possible, this paper has shown the degree to which imprisonment is directed against the less fortunate sections of society ... Taken as a whole, the 'Identikit Prisoner' is someone who has suffered a range of social and economic disadvantages. A key argument for reducing the use of prison is that, all too often, a period of imprisonment exacerbates those very disadvantages which have led the person into crime in the first place" (Prison Reform Trust 1991 : 6).

The document highlighted such factors as poor educational attainment, poverty, under-employment, and the high proportion (over 60%) of the prison population aged under 25.

Experiences of imprisonment did not deter participants like Wilf and such experiences were often addressed in terms of the Eleventh Commandment: "Never Get Caught" (Daniel and McGuire 1972); or, as Barlow put it, after serving eighteen months in the late 1980s for burglary and property theft: "It don't put yer off bein' in the big 'ouse, it just meks yer think 'what've ah bin doin' wrong' ... Yer've got plenty a time ter work things out an' think about what yer did wrong ... So's yer don't mek same mistake twice".

In Chapter Four (Section 4.8), I outlined the anti-employment careers as developed and pursued by study participants and their peers up to 1986. Such careers included 'grafting',

'dealing', 'blagging' and 'hoisting'. 'Grafting', for example, like 'totting', was a colloquial term appropriated from the parent culture. In the past 'grafting' referred to hard manual labour. During the past fifteen years - in its most common subcultural usage - the term has come to denote various anti-employment careers such as burglary and property theft (as pursued by, for example, Summers, Barlow and Berksy) or 'kiting', which is a form of cheque and credit card fraud (as was pursued by Susan Hargreaves among others). Such careers were not discrete areas of alternative economic activity and participants who had evolved an anti-employment mode of consciousness undertook movements between categories as opportunities to do so arose, or were made available to them. Susan Hargreaves, for example, not only undertook a career of 'kiting' by purchasing, for money and/or drugs, stolen cheque books and cheque cards (for fraudulent re-use), but was also engaged in dealing drugs more or less full-time. Summers and Barlow, aside from property theft, also engaged in the occasional 'armed blag' (robbery) and so on. The main contours of the careers of 'hoisting', 'dealing' and 'blagging' are outlined in the following sections.

9.4.2 Hoisting

> "Shoplifters of the world
> unite and take over"
> (THE SMITHS: Shoplifters of the World)

Within my study group there evolved a 'Crew' of six study participants who devised a long-term collective solution to the problems they shared in the post-school transition to adulthood. Earning a living, structuring time, forming an identity, achieving status and sharing experiences were achieved through 'hoisting'. The activities of the 'Hoisting Crew' thus provided an informal equivalent of Jahoda's latent functions of employment outlined in Chapter Four (Section 4.6.3). After early post-school careers, which involved typical movements into and out of unemployment, underemployment and training schemes, they established a self-defined alternative career and became the "Hoisting Crew".

Their story began with the strategies evolved in secondary school to deal with what they perceived as the meaninglessness of school life. Much of what they experienced has been documented by writers such as Willis (1977), Corrigan (1979), and Jenkins (1983), and needs no further elaboration here, except to say that such studies of the anti-school cultures developed by marginalised working class schoolboys, report similar examples of collectivism, group solidarity, oppositionality, daring, spontaneity, and peer group status, achieved through high profile non-conformist behaviour. Thus much of the Crew's early teenage years were spent "'avin' a laff" and playing truant at the expense of academic credential acquisition. It was during their collective bouts of school refusal that 'hoisting' or shoplifting apprenticeships were served. Much of what was to be of significance to them later was acquired as a result of their collective enterprise and explorations in the world of adult possibilities (see Chapter Two, Section 2.7).

No one knows how many children refuse school attendance. Out of a total of four million secondary school children, the Department of Education estimate that about 90,000 refuse school on any one day in England and Wales (cited in St. John-Brooks 1982 : 491). In 1989, because of the association between school-refusal and City Centre shoplifting, plain clothes 'undercover' policemen were mobilised into a 'truancy patrol' in the main shopping areas of Manchester, which resulted in a 66% reduction in City Centre shoplifting (*Manchester Evening News*, 13.9.89 : 1). Thus 'hoisters' developed their own strategies for dealing with officialdom, firstly through their interactions with teachers and social services agencies, and later with the police and probation service. According to Tex:

> "We went in to Town [Manchester City Centre] nearly every day, it was sort of bein'
> free like, no-one tellin' yer what to do ... We used to fuckin' piss about, messin' around,
> nickin' stupid things ferra laff, just pissin' around ... Yeah we got pulled [by the police]
> ... but we wus just kids, [we] weren't bothered, the bizzies, it was jus' like the teachers,
> we used ter piss 'em around jus' the same ... Didn't give a fuck, none of us did."

Such encounters and a measure of success in shoplifting enabled them to develop a belief and faith in their own abilities to 'make out', irrespective of intervention from official agencies.

At this early stage in the development of their alternative careers, like other study participants who engaged intermittently in shoplifting, the 'hoisters' generally operated within the category of 'amateur' shoplifters. Most studies of shoplifting make the distinction between amateurs and professionals. In Cameron's (1964) classic study, for example, the "boosters" are those who steal goods for resale and the "snitches" steal for their own use (1964 : 39). According to Sennewald and Christman (1992 : 7-8), amateur shoplifters steal on impulse "without a preconceived plan" whereas the professional's motive is income - "... professional shoplifters steal for a living". The term 'professional' implies "skill, expertise and rational commitment" (Walsh 1978 : 43). On the other hand, Verill (1972) divides shoplifters into a complex typology consisting of juveniles, housewives, drunkards, drug addicts and professionals (1972 : 119). Post (1972) has a similar system of classification but considers that shoplifters come from all backgrounds; however, he divides his classification into two broad categories: ordinary customers who steal and professionals who steal for a living (1972 : 56-7). Walsh provides the further reminder that the concept of professionalism has to be distinguished from "premeditated and calculating raids by those amateurs who have a clear objective" (1978 : 73). The final point made by Walsh is apposite, for, from their adolescent forays into Woolworths, etc., a pattern of collaborative enterprise was developed by the Hoisting Crew, which necessitated a measure of planning and clear objectives, particularly with the selection of certain prized items of footwear and clothing.

Initially goods were stolen for personal use. In the late 1970s, early 1980s, it was mainly clothes and sports training shoes, items which could be conspicuously displayed to enhance social standing and peer group status. Many of their early 'hoisting' targets were conditioned by the idiosyncratic fashion fads of the 'casual style' (see Chapter Ten, Section

10.2.1). The 'casuals' developed a penchant for expensive designer sportswear, clothes and training shoes, whose labels indicated finely graded degrees of 'cool' which offered a symbolic way to assert self-esteem, status and identity in a situation of profound social disadvantage. The subcultural demand for LaCoste, Tacchini, Gabbicci and Farrah sports and casual wear extended to the wider peer group and soon the 'hoisters' were obtaining goods 'to order' and supplementing post-school benefit payments from the resale of fashion-style commodities like sports training shoes. Their wider peer group network provided a ready market for goods illegitimately obtained in 'grab and run' raids on City Centre shops and stores.

Studies show that instead of being a peculiar or strange activity, amateur shoplifting is an offence committed by many people. Murphy's examination of self-report studies, for example, indicates that between 50% and 70% of selected populations have engaged in shoplifting at some time (1986 : 40-43). Studies also indicate that up to 70% of adolescent boys have engaged in shoplifting at least once (Belson 1975 : 87). What provided for an escalation from this relatively mundane level of amateur property theft among the Hartingleigh Crew was the travelling football crowd.

The huge 'away' support of Manchester United supporters provided the Crew with a measure of geographical mobility when travelling to the towns and cities of other football teams. The travelling football crowd not only provided geographical mobility but also supplied a degree of protective anonymity, both of which facilitated an expansion of 'hoisting' horizons. According to Maz: "We've done every city in England". The travelling football crowd also enabled them to undertake 'hoisting' expeditions 'abroad' and the protective anonymity of the football crowd allowed them to 'hoist' some "quality gear" (Dilly). As Tex recalled:

> "We did this jewellers in Amsterdam ... it was fuckin' sound ... there wus 'undreds o'
> Reds [Manchester United supporters] fuckin' out of order, y'know runnin' crazy chasin'
> Ajax [chasing supporters of Ajax, Dutch champions at the time, based in Amsterdam] ...
> me an' Dilly sussed it ... sorted a team into the shop, fuckin' loads o' us smashed over the

> stands ... It was well sound, we wus grabbin' fuckin' 'andfuls, watches, fuckin' rings, belchers [gold chains] all sorts ... fuckin' best un' we ever did".

When remembering the incident, Maz recalled that the Northside were not the only crew involved in acquisitive crime in the Dutch capital, but also teams from "Longsight, Salford and the Cockney Reds". On the ferry home, much of the talk centred around such exploits and acquisitions were compared in a context of status competitiveness:

> "They was pullin' out all this gear from the sex shops (laughter) fuckin' nutters, big rubber dicks an' all that, porno vids, all sorts o' shit. Tex just rolled up 'is sleeves, 'e had watches, not shit, y'know Omega an' that, loads on both arms. They shit out, we wus the boys an' they fuckin' knew it .... Next thing they wus buyin' us drinks."

As the above incident reveals, early techniques for 'hoisting' were relatively unsophisticated and included some of the more "predictable strategies" outlined by Sennewald and Christman (1992). Such techniques included walking out with goods exposed, walking out with goods concealed, grab and run theft, ticket switching, grazing and fraudulent returns (1992 : 13-19).

By 1984, however, at the core of the Hoisting Crew were Tex, Maz and Dilly who gradually sought to introduce a measure of professionalism into the enterprise. In part, the movement towards a more professional approach was a factor of their cultivation of various 'commercial outlets' for the goods they 'hoisted'. Thus the movement from shoplifting 'to order' to shoplifting virtually anything with potential resale value produced a significant shift in emphasis. The potential for earning a regular income from what was a relatively trivial offence, if detected, led them to upgrade and become more consistent about their approach. The fact that they had 'fences' who were prepared to provide 'ever-readys' (ready cash), up to one-third of the retail price of goods stolen, encouraged a more professional approach. Their professionalism developed in terms of organisation, technique and distribution.

During the period of my preliminary fieldwork, the Crew utilised a small tradesman's van to provide a means of transportation for 'hoisting' expeditions to towns and cities

throughout the Northwest region. At that time, the Crew were actively engaged in 'hoisting' two or three days every week and every other Saturday during the football season. They maintained their routine of travelling to watch Manchester United's away games as a means of combining both business and pleasure. The tradesman's van provided a cover for the movement of 'hoisting' personnel, or sometimes for the return journey with a particularly large amount of stolen goods. A regular routine developed whereby the core crew (Tex, Maz and Dilly), plus up to three others, would travel to the target area in the van and another vehicle early in the morning. After arriving in the target area, the day would be spent 'hoisting' as a team, sometimes in small groups of two or three, sometimes as a single large group. Stolen goods would be periodically transferred to the van for temporary storage. The storage of goods in the van ensured that, if a member of the Crew was detected and detained during a 'hoisting' expedition, the person involved would, at worst, only face a relatively minor, single shoplifting charge. The crew utilised the second vehicle for mobility in and around the target area, with the vehicle providing a ready means of escape should a particular encounter with security personnel, or retail employees, "come on top".

The Crew also devised a variety of techniques and strategies to ensure the success of a 'hoisting' expedition. Two of the commonest techniques involved collusion and/or diversion. One example of the technique of collusion involved one, or two, members of the Crew gathering up goods to be stolen and secreting, or hiding, them somewhere on the shop or store's premises - under a display fixture, in a changing room or in-store lavatory, for example. Other members of the team would then retrieve the items from their hidden location. If the original removal of goods had been detected by floor walkers or security staff, generally they would seek to follow and/or detain the Crew member(s) who had moved the merchandise from their place of sale. More often than not this left the non-involved Crew members free from surveillance.

Techniques of diversion involved a number of members of the Crew to employ various methods of distraction to divert the attention of retail employees, and/or floor walkers/security personnel, so that the Crew could operate without interference and with diminished likelihood of discovery. Techniques used to distract shop or store personnel ranged from simply seeking help in selecting goods outside the 'hoister's' target area within a shop or store, to staging loud and disturbing arguments or fights, etc.

During the course of my preliminary fieldwork, partly, I must confess, out of a voyeuristic curiosity, but also in the interests of reliability and validation of data, I accepted the invitation to attend a 'hoisting' expedition as an observer. This occurred in the pre-Christmas shopping period in the winter of 1986. It was arranged that I should take lunch in a well-known regional department store in an affluent Cheshire town. The Crew had left before me, Maz and two others in the car, Tex and Dilly in the tradesman's van. The van was equipped with the tools of a particular trade and, as an additional measure of self-protection, the occupants sought to convey the impression of tradesmen in transit. I travelled by train, arrived and went for lunch at the pre-arranged time. The store's self-service restaurant was situated on the same floor as the 'gentlemen's clothing' department, which was arranged over a large area to the left of the dining area. A low wall and trellis covered in climbing plants partially separated the dining area from the retail floor area of the store. I negotiated a table that afforded me a view of three quarters of the area of the retail floor space. As I waited, I was filled with a sudden emotional turmoil, despite my own past history of 'deviance' - I was consumed with the moral ambiguities of my position. Was this morally correct? Was I encouraging or even facilitating crime? No matter how sympathetic my attitude was towards the Crew, or how authentic I wanted my data to be - was this legitimate for a researcher? Later I read and re-read Polsky for reassurance:

> "If one is effectively to study law-breaking deviants as they engage in their deviance in its natural setting ... [one] must make the moral decision that in some ways [one] will break the law .... The investigator has to decide that when necessary [s/he] will 'obstruct' justice or be an accessory before or after the fact, in the full legal sense of those terms" (Polsky in Becker 1963 : 171 notes 7). (my inserts)

Presently the Crew arrived, not together, but singly. They were smartly dressed, conveying the appearance of civil servants or office workers on their lunch break, certainly not out of place in the rather old-fashioned, but smart and upmarket environment. Maz and Dilly were some twenty yards or so away from the others, near to a cash payment desk which was among a group of four that were centrally located. The others, I noticed, were casually browsing, slowly making their way towards a wall mounted display containing racks of men's suits. I also noticed an Exit (fire/emergency door) a little to their right, just beyond the rack of suits (I guessed that this was to be what in 'hoisters" argot is the "hoffman route", that is, the quickest escape route after a large 'hoist' has been accomplished). Suddenly there was pandemonium. Maz was pleading at the top of his voice for "help". The three floor staff who were nearest to the cash desks rushed over. Dilly seemed to have disappeared. Other people sat at the tables around me stood up. I had remained seated transfixed by what was happening. I too forced myself to stand. My attention was naturally taken by Maz who was apparently in an uncharacteristic state of panic. My first thought was that their exploits had been detected and that a fight was taking placed between Dilly and a member of the store's security personnel. Maz began shouting, almost wailing, "get a doctor - quick he's dying!". My mind was in turmoil. I had anticipated discreetly watching a skilled act which would, I had imagined, involve some form of sleight of hand, not the commotion I was witnessing. I caught sight of Dilly's legs thrashing about beneath a display rack of garments. The rack came crashing down. Everyone rushed to the aid of this unfortunate victim, seemingly gripped by some mysterious seizure. "It's epilepsy", someone at the next table muttered. "They should make sure he doesn't bite his tongue", replied her companion.

I recovered my composure. Of course, it was a distraction. I looked in the opposite direction, to where Tex and the others had been browsing on the far side of the store - naturally they had vanished. It would have been romantic to have reported the exit/fire door flapping silently in the wake of their departure, but, of course, they had been far too quick. The only visible sign that they had been there at all was the huge gap in the rack of

men's suits. Maz picked Dilly up. He appeared to have made a remarkable recovery. The pair left together down an escalator, Maz supporting Dilly with the help of one of the assistants. I finished my lunch. The suits were eventually missed - but Maz and Dilly had been gone for several minutes before they were. There was a small flurry of activity by the three male assistants. I remember one peering through the exit door as if to conjure up the image of those who had apparently vanished. Eventually, when my pulse rate returned to normal, I left the store and returned home by train.

Four hours later, I met Maz and Dilly in 'the Vic'. Maz explained that they had "sussed" the store on a previous trip to the town, but had been "saving it" for Christmas. Apart from "quality gear", the attraction of the store was its lack of internal security systems such as surveillance devices, closed circuit television, or the electronic tagging of merchandise. The store was a very traditional family concern, with a one hundred year history of trade in the town. As such, it appeared to be one of the "very few ... retailers [who] abnegated the use of conspicuous security devices in the belief that customers might find them offensive" (Murphy 1986 : 100). The total haul from the scenario I had witnessed consisted of an incredible 137 'gents suits', in various sizes, which ranged in individual retail price from £239 to £349. Dilly explained that Tex and the two other members of the expedition had, during the distraction staged by Maz and himself, lifted from the rack of suits one armload each. He demonstrated by extending his arms and bringing them together in one deft movement. The tightly bunched suits were lifted from the hanging rack with the hangers intact inside the suits. The suits were then rolled into a compressed bundle and, once the Crew member was through the exit door, placed in black plastic dustbin bags. After which, the escape was made simply by walking down two flights of stairs to the busy street filled with Christmas shoppers and the waiting vehicle parked nearby. I did a quick mental calculation of the potential return from such an enterprise - it appeared to be a better rate than my ESRC research grant.

The return journey from the Cheshire town to Manchester was taken by four of the Crew in the tradesman's van driven by Dilly. Maz returned in the second vehicle utilised for the 'hoisting' expedition, along with all the goods they had obtained that day, which included the haul of men's suits. As Maz explained: "Well that way if I gets a pull [stopped by the police] 's only me gets topped [arrested]". On the return journeys from 'hoisting' expeditions, members of the Crew took it in turns to drive the vehicle containing the 'hoisted' goods. This ensured protection for the majority. Should the vehicle be subjected to a random police stop and the goods discovered, travelling separately from the stolen merchandise assured immunity from prosecution for the majority.

Maz was not stopped. The Crew received an immediate cash payment from their 'fence' of just over £1,000 for the suits alone. As with the proceeds of all 'hoisting' expeditions, this money was shared equally among Crew members. In the pre-Christmas period, the suits were sold at up to half price throughout the area to individual punters and also on the markets (labels removed) and within the 'locker-room trade' of certain factories. The Crew went to Ibiza for two weeks holiday in the New Year and sent a postcard to me at the University. It said: "Fancy a C.D. [Christian Dior suit] for Chrissie [Christmas] Steve?"

During the fourth and final phase of my research, the Crew developed an almost detached professionalism about their enterprise. Tex, Maz and Dilly were still the core members and these participants were frequently joined by Mick Kent (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.2) whose labour market experiences had resulted in a fundamental cynicism and labour market withdrawal. Mick Kenney too became a regular member of the Crew along with Digger. Their activities were interrupted briefly by the Ecstasy dealing phenomenon which dominated the male informal networks, particularly in the period between 1988 and 1989, but, when the drug trade spiralled into recession, Crew members returned to their original enterprise.

Sutherland (1973) defines a professional thief as one who steals professionally. Stealing professionally is defined as a regular full-time activity which involves detailed planning and the exercise of special skills. Often the professional thief moves out of the home area to conduct his trade and has, in common with other professional criminals, a distinct life style and subculture (1973 : 3-40). Cameron (1964) has distinguished between "heels" and "boosters". "Heels" concentrate on shoplifting while "boosters" are often involved in other forms of criminal activity as well (1964 : 40). Gibbens and Price emphasise the role of prepared outlets for the resale of stolen property as defining professionals (1962 : 31).

The professionalism of the Crew extended to the 'pre-hoist' reconnaissance of retail premises in order to appraise blind spots, hidden corners, and what were described as "soft touches" within shops and stores. Core members took account of 'the hoffman' (easy means of escape), the number of retail employees, and the method of their deployment with a retail location, as well as security devices such as 'photo-scans' (security cameras), and electronic tagging systems and devices. The electronic tagging system operates as follows:

> "The basic principle is that store property may be 'tagged' with a substance, or circuitry, that elicits a response from a matching sensor when the two get within specified range of each other ... any individual departing such an area with store property in his or her possession will set off an alarm. When the merchandise is paid for, and is no longer the property of the store, the electronic device identifying the item by means of the alarm response is removed or deactivated" (Murphy 1986 : 103-4).

According to Tex, the recent trend for retail shops and stores to over-rely on electronic security devices in preference to the more traditional use of floor walkers and security personnel had actually made 'hoisting' easier. As he explained: "When they've got all these tags an' fuckin' bleepers they think the stuff's sorted [safe] ... 's bollocks, all yer need's a pair o' snips [wire cutters] ... snip, snip, snip, 's a doddle".

Sometimes the Crew actually utilised the tagging system in order to mask the movement of shoplifted goods. This strategy was achieved by one member of the Crew

making a small purchase from the area where 'hoisting' activity was being conducted; in a changing room, or some other blind spot on the retail premises, the purchaser would then be given, or left, a security tag snipped from an item being 'hoisted'. When the 'hoister(s)' were ready to leave the retail area, the person who had made the genuine purchase would slip the security tag into the bag containing the purchased commodity. This member of the team would then leave ahead of the others in order to deliberately set off the alarm system. The activated alarm would usually created sufficient distraction for the other members to slip away, either through another exit or through the activated departure point. When the team member who had activated the alarm was brought back, the security tag would be 'discovered' within the bag containing the genuine purchase and it would be claimed that a mistake had been made. Despite any possible suspicions, the team member would naturally have a receipt for his purchase and the store or shop would be powerless to detain him.

In respect of the increased level of professionalism of the Crew, a further strategy was also devised which allowed for a measure of self-protective cover when the 'hoister's' target was a significantly valuable single item. The tactic was known as the 'bender' and involved two or more of the Crew entering the shop or store; one of them 'hoisted' the item whilst the others watched to see if the 'hoister' was followed or detained. On rare occasions, the 'hoister' was detected and, when this occurred, the accomplices immediately purchased an item similar to the one stolen; the receipt was then used to claim that the stolen article had been purchased, but that the pair had been separated during the course of shopping. This tactic was difficult for security staff to counter and they had little option but to release the detained 'hoister'. A variation on this basic theme was for Crew members to watch for particular items being purchased at till points and to recover discarded receipts. These receipts then provided the basis for 'help yourself hoisting', as each item taken could be accounted for as legitimate in terms of being covered by a receipt of purchase. The help-yourself tactic was also used to effect a cash refund on goods that

had been 'hoisted' and was a variation on the 'fraudulent returns' strategy outlined by Sennewald and Christman (1992 : 18).

In her book, *The Organisation of Crime* (1978), Mary McIntosh describes four types of criminal organisation - the 'picaresque', 'project', 'business' and 'craft' (*ibid* 28). Many of the professional and organisational skills utilised by the Hoisting Crew echoed those acquired in early apprenticeships as 'touts' or 'barkers'. As I outlined earlier, Tex, Maz, Dilly, Mick Kent and Mick Kenney had all, at one time or another, worked as 'touts' under the tutelage of the Hatton brothers. Similarly, in their teenage years, Maz, Dilly and Mick Kenney had 'worked the punters' under the organisational structure of 'barking' as co-ordinated by J.W. and organised by the Donaghue family. The attitudes, activities and organisation as developed within these early careers were highly influential in the evolution of 'hoisting' careers and, as manifested within the structure and organisation of the Hoisting Crew, exhibited a remarkable correspondence with the "craft" model and "craft" skills outlined by McIntosh:

> "The craft organisation, typical of people performing skilled but small-scale thefts and confidence tricks, is a small, fairly permanent team, usually of two or three men, each of whom has a specific role to play in the routinised thefts in which the team specialises. It is a team of equals and the profits are shared equally at the end of each day" (1978 : 28).

9.4.3 Dealing

> "You shut your mouth how can you say
> I go about things the wrong way"
> (THE SMITHS)

Dealing (proscribed drugs) represented a step-up the alternative career structure from the more unorganised 'hustling' of drugs. The dealer tended to buy and sell in larger quantities and seldom 'worked the streets', which was a status role reserved for the 'hustlers'. Dealers usually supplied the 'hustlers'. Dealers in turn were usually supplied by 'quantity merchants' (dealers in larger wholesale quantities of drugs). Both Willie and Wilf had begun their careers as 'hustlers', but had accumulated sufficient capital from street

'hustling' to purchase larger quantities in order to begin supplying the street 'hustlers'. By

the 1990s, both Willie and Wilf had extended their enterprise to include involvement in the

importation of (wholesale) supplies of drugs from continental sources (usually Holland),

where the wholesale price of cannabis, for example, was roughly half that of the English

suppliers.

As I noted earlier with reference to the career transitions of the 'hustlers', whereas up to

the mid 1980s the dominant focus for both dealers and street 'hustlers' was cannabis, from

the mid 1980s onwards other more profitable drugs appeared on the scene. Wilf

explained the 'logic' and economics of dealing 'Brown' and 'Rocks':

> "At one time, nobody'd touch 'em, the powders. Me ah've smoked draw since I was
> fourteen, but I never touched coke [cocaine] an' brown [heroin] ... I wouldn't even touch
> it ... I told 'em tek it away ah didn't wan' it near me. Then we 'ad a think on it.
> 'C'mon' [the heroin wholesaler] said, 'check out the finances' ... Ah worked it out man ...
> it's fuckin' easy money .... 'Class A' though, so yer lookin' at more bird [possession or
> supply of a Class A designated drug generally involves longer prison sentences] ... 's like
> this: Let's say four of yer put in five grand each ferra kilo [32 oz] o' brown. It's
> nineteen grand [£19,000] ... so yer've gorra grand [£1,000] ter play about with; y'know
> hirin' cars, makin' connections, whatever ... Then you buy a load o' 'Idashine'
> [commercial product used for cleaning antique violins] ... It looks like brown, man, it
> sticks to thu bag just like brown ... Let eight ounces [of it] dry out, put it with the kilo
> [of genuine heroin], eight grand up before yer've kicked off [£8,000 profit] ... Mixed
> yer've got forty ounces ... knock it out cheap like a grand n'ounce. Forty grand. Ten
> grand each, yer've doubled yer money .... Coke? It's all rocks [crack cocaine] that's
> where the biggest money is ... 'specially if yer do the washin' yerself [a method of D.I.Y.
> preparation which converts the powder into a smoking form known as crack or rocks] ...
> cut with bicarb or a drop o' ammonia, three to five minutes in the microwave ... If yer do
> the washin' yerself yer talkin' three, four times yer stake [profits of three or four times
> the original investment]."

Because of the increased propensity for dealers to become involved in the wholesale

distribution of such profitable drugs, the stakes were far higher in terms of the potential for

'rip-offs' and the need for self-protection. As Wilf put it: "It's all about reputation ...

when you're talkin' that kind o' turnover they've got to understand no-one's gonna step in

your way, you're not lettin' anyone tek liberties". When bigger deals of larger quantities

of drugs were undertaken, as with the 'barkers', 'touts' and 'hustlers', a similar system of

protective collaborative organisation was employed. This, for example, sometimes

involved the utilisation of separate vehicles for the transportation of the 'Joey', a person or

persons designated to travel with weapons, the 'holder', a person designated to travel with the drugs or money, and the 'dealer', who travelled with a 'minder' separated from any sources of potential incrimination until the actual moments of negotiation. When a transaction was completed, the drugs or money would be taken eventually to a 'stash' or safe house for storage. By the early 1990s, the dealers also utilised second, sometimes third, addresses for conducting business. These were locations away from their homes and such a strategy of business administration was undertaken in order to separate home from 'work' and, moreover, represented a response to the escalating levels of danger associated with the drugs trade (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.5.5 and Chapter Ten, Section 10.3.5 for details). Williams (1989) has described a similar organisational structure in the American cocaine trade:

> "There are 'runners' - messengers who take cocaine to buyers or let buyers know of a particular dealer ... where the drugs are sold from a fixed location there are 'lookouts' and guards, and often catchers standing by in case a police raid or other emergency means drug stocks must be moved swiftly ... At the wholesale level, 'transporters' move large amounts across state lines to prearranged locations where a 'babysitter' may keep watch over them. Import arrangements may involve 'mules' who transport (sometimes unknowingly) quantities into the country" (1989 : 9).

Among study participants involved in dealing, these protective devices and organisational structures paralleled an increased professionalism, originally inculcated during early careers in 'barking' and 'touting' where the bulk of the essential commodities were similarly also kept separated from the retail transaction. A similar organisational structure was also utilised which often separated the main dealer from actual face-to-face transactions. Thus dealers of more wholesale quantities of proscribed drugs utilised a network of 'hustlers' who 'worked the punters'. Like the system operated by 'touts' and 'barkers', 'hustlers' would similarly be provided with a 'lay-on' or loan of drugs. These would be sold through the 'hustler's' network of street connections. The 'hustler' then utilised the money from the 'lay-on' to acquire the next quantity of drugs to be 'hustled' and so on. Also, by the 1990s, the dealers and certain of their more respected 'hustlers' utilised the newer forms of communications technology, such as car phones, personal pagers and mobile phones, to maintain mobility and communication links; this system also

afforded a measure of protective cover as meetings could be arranged spontaneously and conducted at innocuous 'neutral' venues.

What Raskin-White *et al* (1985) have described as the "drugs-crime nexus" took the form of a connection between the milieu of drug 'hustlers' and dealers and a propensity towards robbery in the early 1990s. In part, the drought of "quality merchandise", after the boom in the drugs trade of the fabled "Summers of Love" of the Madchester phenomenon in 1988 and 1989, added a certain impetus to other forms of criminality, particularly 'blags'. The spiralling recession in the City-wide drugs dealing trade also accounts for the subcultural movement from the good-time atmosphere of the Madchester Acid-House Raves during the "Summers of Love", to the armed drug wars fought between groups of rival dealers in the early 1990s (see Chapter Ten, Sections 10.3.4 and 10.3.5 for details).

9.4.2 Blagging

"It takes robbers like us
to rob robbers like them"
(THE REFUGEES : Robbers)

'Blagging' is an umbrella term which encompassed the most aggressive forms of robbery and theft, and practitioners generally epitomised the angry and apocalyptic separation from mainstream moral codes. The early careers of Summers and Barlow, for example, included 'ram-raids', that is driving vehicles into shop fronts in order to steal goods; 'snatches' of money from tills in shops and stores, and also from retail employees delivering money to bank night-safes; and 'armed blags', that is, armed robberies. Though a minority status role when my fieldwork began in 1985, the practice of 'doin' a blag' became steadily more prevalent among certain study participants, especially in the early 1990s.

In the early 1990s, some of those who had moved into the alternative career structure *via*, firstly, sub-employment in fiddle jobs, and who had then pursued intermediate careers

such as 'totting' and 'hustling', developed an increased propensity to subsidise other activities - such as 'hustling' drugs - with occasional 'blags'. Robbery tended to be a winter activity because of the early onset of dark. Those involved were generally informed by an ethos which emphasised "perceived machismo and toughness" (Pitts 1988 : 143), and whose source of self-esteem was derived through "achieving respect and admiration for epitomising the values of the criminal world" (McVicar 1974 : 171). Self-justificatory rhetoric was invoked to both validate violent crime and also as a denial of the victim. As an open, face-to-face encounter, robbery was regarded as a more justified and 'honest' occupation than, for example, politics. As one participant put it: "At least ah'm out front 'bout it, y'know: give us it or ah'll do yer, not that lot [points to televised party political broadcast] ... fuckin' thieves ... 'cept they don't get caught". Einstadter found similar views when he interviewed 25 convicted robbers in California. The convicted robbers viewed their activity as more honest than that of professional 'con-men':

> "Robbery is an open, direct ... encounter coupled with a non-disguised coercive demand: there is no stealth or furtiveness ... but confrontation of unabashed power. It is this quality of candour that the robber equates with honesty, an apologia which ... makes the robbery career an object of worth, if not noble" (Werner J. Einstadter in Taylor 1984 : 99).

'Blags' usually carried at the minimum an intimidatory threat of violence and, on the occasions when resistance was encountered, whether from employees or citizens attempting to prevent the robbery, then violence was ruthlessly administered:

> "It's not usually shooters [guns] ... you're just 'ittin' 'em ... in thu back, arms, legs wherever ... [using a baseball bat] ... ya deaden' 'em ... if y 'it the nerve on the arm ... they've got a dead arm ... it's just a dead arm an' ya pick up thu bag ... no problem."

Again, the self-justificatory rhetoric would be utilised to validate excessive violence and as a negation of the victim when, for example, accounting for the multiple injuries sustained by a retail employee who was 'blagged' delivering money to a bank's night-safe:

> "Fuck's sake yer'd 'ave thought it was 'is bleedin' money. Ah was fuckin' leatherin' 'im an' thu bastard wouldn't let go [of the security pouch] ... Bastard ... If it'd bin me ah'd be sayin', 'yeah c'mon, meet me 'round thu corner an ah'll give yer the bleedin' bag ferra cut' [share] ... Not that bastard ... fuckin' 'ero ... Wha' der they pay 'em? Fuckin' 'undred quid a week an' 'e's gettin' three kinds a shit kicked outta 'im ... an' still 'e fuckin' won't let go ... Fuckin' mad - bastard - fuckin' - 'eroes - ah've 'ad it wi' 'em ... 's not like it's 'is

bleedin' money .... Meks no sense ta me ... gettin' yer 'ead kicked in ... mek's no sense ...
Di'n't do 'im no good ... we still got thu bag an' 'e's fucked up in 'ospital ... fuckin' stupid
bastard."

When viewed from the insulated position afforded by academic or citizen
'respectability', the extremity of such actions may be interpreted as senseless and
contradictory, the product of an atavistic, biological or animalistic impulse, a crude
psychological dysfunction, or a propensity towards 'evil'. But such acts also involve the
peculiar courage of those who have the audacity to invade public space in order to forcibly
claim a share of that which has been denied them. The violence committed on such
robberies is partly fuelled by the temporary thwarting of a massive energy released by their
daring. As Little has similarly noted in respect of persistent property offenders: "The
amount of adrenalin expended whilst breaking into the property of a stranger should not be
under-estimated" (1990 : 87).

Entering the public arena in order to attempt to wrestle a night-safe bag from retail
employees, who seek to consign it to the security of an aperture in the wall of a bank, is to
enter the domain of what Willis (1990) has described as, "a nihilistic grounded aesthetic".
"Charged up" with the release of energy that accompanies such a profound degree of rule-
breaking whilst under public scrutiny - "When it's just four of you against the world for
those three minutes" (Taylor 1984 : 69) - the 'blagger' generally seeks to convey an initial
symbolic message - "Give us it or ah'll do yer". There is, however, no time for
negotiation in these transactions. Ordinarily the desired object, the night-safe pouch, is
passed over uneventfully and the 'blagger's' energy is consumed in flight and the
exhilaration of an act successfully 'consummated'. However, should the energy be
resisted, even momentarily, then the 'blagger' is immediately thrust into a different terrain
where there is a momentary disappearance of all meaning: "The usual capacity to see
events unfold is lost; there is no past, no future, only a very consuming present" (Willis
1990 : 107). At the moment of resistance, the 'blagger' is further removed from the
restraining codes and conventions of citizenship. Having breached the boundaries of

convention to risk the self by entering the public domain to rob, there are no moral restraints: "There's no goin' back" and no time for protracted negotiation, not a second to waste. At such a 'moment', the energy and adrenalin of the 'blagger's' spectacular daring is released and usually (with dire consequences for victims) the violence is unrestrained:

> "The inherent risks and meanings of being outside the law make violence and its associated dramas potent symbolic materials to displace or disrupt given official or institutional meanings. These materials help in the construction and reconstruction of alternative ways of being in and seeing the world, of alternative values and ways of valuing people ... Whether we like them or not, these are some of the contradictory living arts of survival" (Willis 1990 : 107-8).

9.5 Summary and Conclusions

In this Chapter I have sought to explore the range of alternative careers available to, or proactively constructed by, long-term unemployed study participants. In Chapter Eight, I argued that the range and development of such alternative economic options represented an informal career structure. In constructing the typology of alternative careers within the informal career structure, I have attempted to focus on typical behaviour, "approaching the phenomenon principally through actors' shared abstractions" (Irwin 1970, cited in Hobbs 1988 : 141).

I argued that participants' alternative careers can best be understood as status sequences which involved "choice patterns" (*cf* Coles, forthcoming). As an organising concept, the notion of a career allows for an examination of the interplay between institutional and structural factors and participants as proactive agents. As Willis has argued: "Social actors are not passive bearers of ideology, but active appropriators who reproduce existing structures only through struggle, contestation, and a partial penetration of those structures" (1977 : 175). My research suggests that individuals intentionally pursued, and/or actively constructed, particular non-conventional careers, but that it would be a mistake to assume a clear-cut life plan with unconstrained patterns of motivation and choice. The phrases 'career' and 'career choice' present a picture of participants freely choosing from a wide range of potential alternatives; in reality, 'choices' were constrained

by a number of factors. Significant factors included a background of social and economic disadvantages such as stigmatised residential location, absentee fathers, trans-generational unemployment, the cumulative impact of policy interventions in employment, benefits, housing and training, and the cynicism and alienation engendered by post-school labour market experiences. Career choices reflected this inter-connected and cumulative network of inequalities. Moreover, alternative careers were evolved within a cultural ecology of alternative enterprise that was tolerant of acquisitive law-breaking as a domain for procreativity and resistance. For the long-term unemployed males in particular, alternative careers articulated oppositional cultural patterns which drew on elements derived from the parent working-class culture in a creative and potentially transformative fashion. Alternative careers were frequently sustained by the focal concerns of the sub- and anti-employment subcultures which, through activities such as 'totting' or 'grafting', not only appropriated the colloquialisms of the parent culture but also reinvented them, investing them with new meanings and behaviours. These subcultural formations were generated within a cultural ecology of alternative enterprise partially sponsored, or influenced by the alternative entrepreneurial activities of the Donaghue and Hatton families (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.2).

In developing their alternative economic options, participants were also involved in the self-creation of meaning and identity. However, as Little (1990) has argued: "Any identity will reflect the influences of others in an individual's social networks ... the development of an identity is a normal part of adolescence ... the development of a criminal identity is simply another manifestation of this norm" (1990 : 36). In making what Becker (1963) has indicated is the crucial "initial" career choice in the formation of a non-conformist career and identity, participants' initial decisions were again circumscribed by the trans-generational transmission of a subcultural ethos of law-breaking behaviour. As Robins (1992) has similarly argued:

> "[The] first lesson is not how to live in the family but how to negotiate the unstable
> society of [their] peers. And, having absorbed as a child the ... values and attitudes of

657

the subculture, [they] may remain ... within it ... unable to break out, even if the opportunity were to arise" (1992 : 27). (my inserts)

The subcultural context provided a domain wherein to be respected, or 'successful', was to be 'bad' in societal terms. The ability to negate or invert societal disdain (through, for example, techniques of neutralisation) in order to view law-breaking, or negative labelling, in a positive, status-enhancing, light provided part of the explanation for the persistence of law-breaking behaviour into adulthood. Against the over-arching background of diminished legitimate opportunities for constructing or asserting adult status and identity, participants proactively evolved subcultural status systems which accorded prestige to law-breaking behaviours and endeavours. What frequently informed the subcultural status associated with different spheres of alternative economic activity were the different degrees of illegality associated with tasks within a given career. Thus within the practice of 'touting', for example, the 'tout' was accorded higher status if involved in the distribution of forged, rather than legitimate, venue tickets, because of the greater risk and higher rewards involved. The emphasis on subcultural status systems which graded prestige in terms of illegality was also a factor which contributed to the reinforcement of non-conformist careers and identities.

Initial 'deviance' was further reinforced by the experiences of some participants within the Juvenile Justice System. Experiences of incarceration provided participants with an additional source of adolescent subcultural status. Successfully doing 'bird' and emerging from the experience unscathed and physically and emotionally 'harder' meshed neatly with subcultural norms which emphasised an exaggerated working class male machismo. Persistent law-breaking behaviour received an added impetus as a consequence of the processes of differential association within the peer group network: with other offenders within the Juvenile Justice System; and with 'significant others' as a consequence of early careers sponsored by, and conducted in association with, the Hatton and Donaghue families. Early careers of 'touting' and 'barking', for example, provided significant domains for the inculcation of participants into organised patterns and systems of law-breaking

values and behaviours. The Hattons and Donaghues provided the style, argot, organisation and demeanour associated with 'successful' law-breaking' careers. The patterns of organisation associated with early careers as 'barkers' or 'touts' provided participants with an apprenticeship in alternative income acquisition. Success in such activities also resulted in an added impetus to withdraw from any remaining tentative commitment to conventional routes for defining adult status and identity, traditionally associated with progress in the formal labour market.

In Britain, the irregular economy has long been an established fact of working class life (Hobbs 1988; Foster 1990). Merchandise that falls off the back of mythical lorries is sold over a quiet drink in the pub. Fiddle jobs, on the side, cash-in-hand, are essential survival strategies for those forced to eke out a meagre existence on the income derived from state benefits. Participants whose lives became organised around moves into and out of sub-employment had already taken initial steps into illegality by not declaring the income to 'the Social'. Activities in the intermediate range of careers, such as 'hustling' or 'totting', merely extended this movement into law-breaking. However, such a movement further separated participants from the restraining codes and conventions of citizenship and pushed them further into a marginal, semi-legal, existence. The fact that 'hustling' often took the form of street level, relatively unorganised, drug trading should not, however, be taken as indicative of a new and sinister illicit drug distribution network. In constructing such career 'choices', participants rationally undertook the options for income acquisition that were locally available to them. Utilising the skills, organisation and networks that were already in place provided for the 'successful' development of the career; as Parker *et al* (1988) have similarly argued, the drug trade in disadvantaged inner city areas has not been, "a new and sinister creation set up from outside but an adaptation of long-established trading mechanisms which were already central to the irregular economy" (1988 : 107). However, the status role and routines of 'hustling' drugs, together with the easy income associated with the enterprise, served to finally remove participants from the routines of waged labour - even fiddle jobs - within the local informal economy.

The movement from early careers within the alternative enterprise of the local informal economy to intermediate careers of 'hustling' and 'totting' represented a coalescence of an anti-employment ethos and identity. The anti-employment ethos inverted conformist values such as work commitment, so that within the subcultural domain the ability to prosper without recourse to paid employment became a measure of self-worth and status - a virtue in itself. An emphasis on independence and autonomy also guided the development of an anti-employment posture, which valued proactivity over wage-slavery, and high rewards from acquisitive crime over earnings derived from paid employment. Such values were also reinforced by the adult custodial experience which, like the Juvenile Justice System, produced a further movement in the direction of criminal solidarity. Participants often viewed their experiences at the hands of the law as part of the "Authority Conspiracy" which, in turn, informed an increasingly oppositional consciousness and identity. Like the 'lads' in Willis's (1977) study, their subcultural values provided participants with partial insight into the interlocking network of disadvantage and inequality which constrained their options, chances and choices. Although they were cognizant of external barriers to legitimate status and success, the Northside were simply plagued by a sense of unfairness and the uneasy conviction that the rules of the game were biased against them and their community. Thus, there was a discrepancy between their strongly felt conviction that "there was nowt down for us" and their abilities to fully understand just how this was so. They conveniently filled this gap with anti-employment careers and identities.

Anti-employment careers took various forms but were characterised by an angry and apocalyptic viewpoint, a fundamental separation from the restraining codes of conventional citizenship. Anti-employment careers were not necessarily discrete areas of economic activity and participants undertook movement between categories as opportunities arose or became available. Thus J.W., for example, though primarily involved in a career of semi-legal activity with the Donaghues, on one occasion made extra income through joining Davvo and Summers for a burglary. A cheque book and cheque

660

card obtained from this exercise in 'grafting' provided for a brief flirtation with 'kiting' the stolen cheques for money and goods. The income derived from using the stolen cheques was utilised to purchase a quantity of cannabis which was passed on to the local 'hustlers' for distribution through the informal network. The income derived from dealing was then utilised to 'go halves' with Davvo on an enterprise that involved a stolen vehicle which was re-registered and sold through an advertisement placed in the regional newspaper. The income generated from the sale of the 'ringer' (stolen vehicle) was in turn utilised to purchase a quantity of counterfeit designer sports shirts which were sold over a period of time, through genuine retail market outlets, and so on.

I outlined the general contours of several of the anti-employment careers identified among the long-term unemployed males in my study group. The alternative careers of the 'blaggers' represented the final culmination of an oppositional anti-employment posture. Those involved had intrinsic belief in, and derived subcultural status from, their abilities to 'make out' in the face of a seemingly alien and hostile world. The 'blagger's' main resource was the mad courage required to undertake the most direct route to income by entering the public spaces of conventional citizens to forcibly take what they believed was simply their due. The 'blagger's' overriding concern was with an image of perceived machismo and toughness, which offered alternative routes to defining masculine psychological and economic potency. This is not to argue that if you take blocked legitimate economic opportunities and mix them with the old parent cultural values of masculinity, you end up with armed robbers. Such an analysis would make 'cultural dopes' out of participants who were constructing an emerging cultural response, entrepreneurial and creative - though not in terms prescribed by the dominant ideology of individual enterprise. Nevertheless, such a career 'choice' was circumscribed by the social and economic factors outlined earlier. Lacking nearly every social attribute that defines status or success in conventional terms, the 'blaggers' subculturally inflated the one quality they still possessed: their masculinity. This provided for solidarity in the face of disadvantage in ever other respect.

Finally, it is worth briefly reasserting that the robbery and violence of the 'corporate world' is much more destructive than any individual acts of robbery or violence. As Liazos (1972) has argued:

> "The robbery of the corporate world - through tax breaks, fixed prices, low wages, pollution of the environment ... is passed over in our fascination with 'dramatic and predatory' actions" (1972 : 107)

> "[If] we take the concept of violence seriously, we see that much of our political and economic system thrives on it ... a person can be violated by a system that denies ... a decent job ... Moreover, we must see that covert institutional violence is much more destructive than overt violence. We must recognise that people's lives are violated by the very normal and everyday workings of institutions ... they kill, maim, and destroy many more lives than do violent individuals" (*ibid* 111-112).

For participants involved in the alternative careers of 'hoisting' and dealing, their modes of operation frequently paralleled the self-protective organisational practices derived from early careers as 'touts' and/or 'barkers'. One of the subcultural restraints which operated to prevent the Northside from striking out in individual terms was the accumulated traditions of group loyalty and the strong affirmation of group solidarity over individual interests. Such values informed the organisational practices of anti-employment careers such as 'hoisting', which frequently depended for their success upon a collective mode of organisation and structure. The interdependent solidarity ensured that the participants involved perpetuated their roles within the group and often these represented the final coalescence of a mode of consciousness that was largely irretrievable in terms of the morality of the 'straight' world.

Participants' alternative careers were brought into being and given voice alongside the development of other subcultural concerns. Subcultural styles, for example, were often 'homologous' with alternative careers, and provided a symbolic fit between the values and life style of the group, its subjective experience, recreational use of drugs and the musical forms utilised to express or reinforce its focal concerns. In the following and final Chapter of my study, I will explore the development of innovative subcultural styles among the Northside Crew and their peers, and examine how these gave meaning to and expressed an

oppositional mode of consciousness reflected in participants' alternative careers/subcultural styles.

.

CHAPTER TEN

SUBCULTURAL STYLE

"For as long as I can remember, collective expressions of disaffiliation from authority and the hegemony of the dominant classes ... have sent shivers of excitement down my spine" (McRobbie 1981 : 121).

10.1 Introduction

The concept of subculture has been increasingly questioned in recent years. As early as 1964, Burgess warned against an over-estimation of the differences between the so-called delinquent subculture and the norms and values of the wider society (in Burgess and Bordua 1964 : 595). Researchers were also warned against the "intellectual fad of attributing a subculture to almost any social category" (Valentine 1968 : 15). Jenkins (1983) explicitly rejected the concept in favour of a Weberian-derived notion of "life style":

> "In order to distance myself from the subcultural tradition, I prefer the term life-style to denote observable patterns of social practices distinguishing groups of people who may be said, on the grounds of shared language or ethnicity, for example, to belong to the same cultural group" (1983 : 41).

However, in positing life styles as the social practices of groups belonging to the same cultural group, Jenkins at the same time seeks to direct attention "away from the cultural realm". This would appear to be a case of wanting to have one's theoretical cake at the same time as eating it.

In developing my analysis of subcultures in Hartingleigh, I am informed by the theoretical work of the CCCS outlined in Chapter Three (Section 3.3), bearing in mind the deficiencies outlined and critically examined in the same Chapter (Section 3.4); particularly with reference to social determinism (Section 3.4.1), and 'ordinary kids' (see 3.4.4). I have also explored the creative and transformative aspects of local subcultural groups through the utilisation of Giroux's theory of resistance (1983) (Chapter Three, Section 3.5) and the proactive potential of such subcultural groups through Fryer's (1986a)

theory of agency (Chapter Four, Section 4.6.3). Resistance was often articulated in terms of withdrawal from the formal labour market (Chapter Eight, Section 8.4), proactivity in terms of the development of an alternative career structure and alternative careers (Chapter Eight, Sections 8.4.4 and 8.4.5).

Subcultures take shape around the distinctive activities and focal concerns of groups. The sub- and anti-employment subcultures of Hartingleigh have cohered around particular activities, focal concerns and territorial spaces. Such social formations cohere on the terrain of cultural life. Yet it is important to reassert that subcultures exist within and coexist with the more inclusive culture of the class from which they spring:

> "Members of a subculture may walk, talk, act, look 'different' from their parents and from some of their peers: but they belong to the same families, go to the same schools ... live down the same 'mean streets' as their peers and parents. In certain crucial respects, they share the same position (vis-à-vis the dominant culture) ... as the parent culture from which they derive. Through dress, activities, leisure pursuits and life-style, they may project a different cultural response or 'solution' to the problems posed for them by their material and social class position and experience ... [Nevertheless] they experience and respond to the same problematic as other members of their class who are not so differentiated and distinctive in a 'subcultural' sense. Especially in relation to the dominant culture, their subculture remains like other elements in their class culture - subordinate and subordinated" (Hall and Jefferson 1976 : 14-15).

Since the 1950s, the succession of spectacular working class youth subcultures has shown particular, conspicuous, symbolic creativity in style. There is now a long and extensively documented list of youth subcultural styles, from the Teds of the 1950s, the Mods of the 1960s to the Skins and Punks of the 1970s and the Ravers of the 1980s and 1990s Acid House and Rave scenes. Such subcultural styles have occupied the attention of sociologists, journalists and fashion commentators alike. However, in recent years, there has been a general movement of interest away from youth culture and subculture as style. The work produced in the 1970s, including the semiotically inclined analyses of Hebdige and Willis, has been replaced by a new generation of youth research. The new generation has revived a tradition which slipped from view with the advent of the cultural studies tradition of the 1970s (Chisholm 1990 : 35). Like studies that were conducted in the 1950s and 1960s on the transition from school to work, the new generation

concentrated on post-school transitions, but also had to deal with an exploration of the cumulative impact of unemployment and changes in the structure of opportunity which included the recent policy-directed changes in education and vocational training. My own study reflects these newer emphases in the literature of youth research; nevertheless among the participants in my study, style still existed as a significant symbol of rebellion, "a benchmark of the ritual of resistance" (Brake 1990 : 222).

Clothes, style and fashion have long been recognised as key elements in young people's expression and articulation and in the construction of personal as well as collective identities. Style, as Brake (above) has recently noted, remains amongst the most noticeable form of symbolic creativity among the young working class and often articulates a procreative resistance to the official authorised interpretation of their social situations. Among study participants, the development of innovative subcultural styles were frequently linked to the evolution of the alternative economic options that were being developed and pursued. Style was also often linked to other focal concerns, such as football or music, and the emphasis on proscribed recreational drug taking. Such styles were not based on passive, uncritical consumption. There was frequently evidence of what Willis (1990) has described as a "specific grounded aesthetic dynamic" as participants appropriated and recontextualised goods available within the dominant culture's fashion-wear, sports-wear, and leisure-wear industries. Such appropriation entailed a form of symbolic work and creativity as participants broke the ordered categories of clothing, footwear, and the suggested matches and ideas promoted by the mass market. Participants sought to bring their own specific "grounded aesthetics" to bear on their selection of colours and matches of juxtaposed items. New local meanings were evolved and generated from differently combined elements of clothing, footwear, jewellery, accessories and hairstyles. They adopted and adapted clothing items drawn from army surplus stores, or sports, camping, fashion, and leisure wear shops. In so doing, they sought to evolve distinctive styles to communicate a symbolic discourse of status and opposition. Often this involved a rejection of "the normative definitions and categories of

666

'fashion' promoted by the clothing industry" (Willis 1990 : 85). Such choices were often 'homologous' and provided a symbolic fit between the values and life style of the group, its subjective experience, use of proscribed drugs, and the musical forms used to express or reinforce its focal concerns.

In *Profane Culture* (1978), Willis referred to the concept 'Homology', a concept originally employed by the French structuralist anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss. Willis illustrated how the internal structure of subcultures were characterised by an orderliness comprised of the systematically compatible elements mapped out by anthropologists such as Levi-Strauss. Willis showed how each part of the internal structure of the hippy and motor-bike subcultures he examined, contrary to the popular myth of disorderliness, were organically related to other parts and, through the symbiotic fit between constituent elements, the subcultural members made sense of the world. Such an approach was also utilised by Hebdidge (1979) in his treatment of the punk subculture:

> "The subculture was nothing if not consistent. There was a homological relation between the trashy cut-up clothes and spiky hair, the pogo and amphetamines, the spitting, the vomiting, the format of the fanzines, the insurrectionary poses and the 'soulless', frantically driven music. The punks wore clothes which were the sartorial equivalent of swear-words ... beneath the clownish make-up, there lurked the unaccepted and disfigured face of capitalism ... beyond the horror circus antics, a divided and unequal society was being eloquently condemned" (1979 : 114-115).

Through the appropriation and recontextualisation of goods and objects, subcultural ensembles were made to "reflect, express and resonate aspects of group life" (Clarke *et al* 1976 : 56). In my own study, the 'social hieroglyphs' of the Black Magic Roundabout, examined in Chapter Eight (Section 8.1), for example, involved a form of cultural construction which subverted and transformed a conventional cultural artefact, to invest it with a new coded subcultural oppositionality. It provided a "secret language or code, to which only members of the group possessed the key" (Clarke *et al* 1976 : 56). The significant objects or coded symbols chosen were, either intrinsically or in their adapted forms, "homologous with the focal concerns, activities, group structure and collective self-image of the subculture. They were 'objects' in which (the subcultural members) could see their central values held and reflected" (Hebdidge 1979 : 114).

10.2 From Casual to Mad : Subcultural Style in Hartingleigh 1980-1986

10.2.1 The Northside Casuals

Subcultural style in Hartingleigh from the late 1970s to the early 1980s was reflected in a preponderance of items selected from sportswear ranges. Such ensembles were frequently juxtaposed with denim jeans and jackets. The dominant fashion item in the late 1970s was sports training shoes or 'trainers'. In their selection of trainers, participants were involved in a bewilderingly accelerated succession of 'in' and 'out' items located in group affiliation to particular manufacturers, and to their labels and logos. In the late 1970s, Puma were the dominant 'in' manufacturers among study participants of both sexes, followed by Adidas. At this stage, trainers were partially selected for their utility. Not only did they constitute a desired fashion item, but they also served as practical footwear for leisure activity, which included playground and other informally constituted football games. The footwear was also adopted to signal oppositionality to dress codes and standards imposed in school, particularly when trainers were adopted by teenage schoolgirls. The growing trend met with an initial measure of teacher-initiated opposition and conflict. As Stella recalled:

> "We was all into Puma's [trainers] everyone; an' we started wearin' 'em to school like, will you was a 'Div', like, if you didn't, so it caught on ... Anyway they [the teaching staff] said they weren't proper fer girls ... [but] we took no notice ... We went in [to school] an' [the School Head] 'ad us all lined up in assembly an' sent us 'ome with a note ... What a laff, we all went into Town, it was well - sound - like an extra 'oliday ... My mam said no way, was she gonna stand for it an' wrote back sayin' she'd keep me off 'til they changed the [clothing] rules ... 'Ow could she afford shoes an' all that when there was no money ... Some of 'em [the other girls] ... didn't tell their mams but jibbed off [played truant] 'til it [had all] blown over. [One girl's father] ... went up there [to the school] rantin' and ravin' an' 'ad 'Farter' [Mr. Carter: Deputy Head] by the throat ... said 'e'd bin out o' work two years an' couldn't afford new shoes fer t'kids ... Nice one! .. they 'ad to back down ... Couple o' years later, no one wus wearin' shoes ... it's all Nike's an' Reeboks [types of trainers] ... No one was wearin' shoes".

According to Peter Hooton, editor of the early football fanzine, *The End*, and vocalist for the Liverpool group, The Farm: "The obsession with training shoes began in the late seventies. It came from the football terraces and council estates of big cities" (quoted in *The Guardian*, 9.8.91). Participants who were 'in' wore Puma or Adidas trainers; 'divs',

'mongs', 'shirtlifters', 'snobs' and 'dorks' wore inferior and less expensive brand names such as Dunlop, Sprint, Nicks, Hi-Tech and Pony.

Manufacturers were not slow to expand on and diversify the variety of accessories available within the sportswear range and both Puma and Adidas began to manufacture and market T-shirts, sweatshirts, tracksuits, sports holdalls and shell suits carrying their culturally desired logos and labels. As the "Cult of the Casual" (Allen 1984) gathered momentum in the early 1980s, other sportswear manufacturers entered the teenage market producing trainers and similar sportswear accessories. Participants frequently engaged in a competitive rivalry over the exclusivity of their trainers and sportswear. The dominance of Puma and Adidas waned and was replaced by harder to obtain and more expensive trainers produced by smaller manufacturers including Nike, Reebok, Fila, Ellese, Converse, New Balance and Sergio Tacchini. The cost of maintaining local 'cred' became steadily more prohibitive. The average cost of a pair of Nike, Reebok or Fila trainers in the early 1980s was between £60 and £100. Some study participants began early apprenticeships in 'hoisting' by jibbing school and going in search of "a decent knock-off". As Tex and Maz demonstrated, early shoplifting expeditions were conducted primarily to maintain fashion status and were orchestrated with the minimum of sophistication:

> "**Maz:** In them days it wus all about fuckin' trainers ...
> **Tex:** Yea trainers an' trackies [tracksuits] ... no teamwork or 'owt, jus' grab n' run.
> **Maz:** Yea put 'em on an' leg it ...
> **Tex:** Fuckin' buzz though wannit? (laughs)
> **Maz:** Top! (laughs)"

According to Sennewald and Christman (1992 : 15), the grab-and-run technique is the most "unsophisticated and brazen of all shoplifting techniques". The most vulnerable sports shops, or sports departments in chain stores, were usually selected, particularly those with entrances, or fire exits, that led directly onto busy streets.

Such early careers not only provided local 'cred', or status, in terms of the acquisition of desired status items such as expensive trainers, but also sartorially demonstrated 'success'

in terms of the values of the peer group. To own a pair of 'Reebok Graphlites' or 'Nike Air Max', both of which, in the early 1980s, retailed at over £100 a pair, was to conspicuously demonstrate one's subcultural success as a 'hoister' or 'scally' (scallywag).

The ideosyncratic and self-defining sartorial style of the 'casuals' developed to include designer clothes by upmarket designers. These included Pringle and Pierre Cardin sweaters, LaCoste French polo shirts, Farrah slacks, Gabicci cardigans, and Sergio Tacchini tracksuits. What distinguished the 'casuals' was the fact that, excluding the price of other necessary accoutrements - gold jewellery, highlighted 'wedge' haircuts and 12 inch singles by esoteric house and jazz-funk bands - the cost of individual items of clothing far exceeded the spending power of all but the wealthiest British teenager. In the early 1980s, for example, the original pastel-coloured LaCoste polo shirt cost between £60 and £80 in the more upmarket shops and stores. The 1950s provided some sort of subcultural precedent when the extravagant Edwardian dress style of rich 'men about town' was taken up by young working class Londoners, the first 'Teddy Boys' (Jefferson 1973). Then, however, the styles were tailored to meet the economic demands of the time. The 'casuals' by contrast were required to not simply ape fashion, but to possess the genuine articles with the significant iconography of their all-important designer labels and logos. The label, or logo, verified both their authenticity and enormously high price. As Dilly once remarked of his Tacchini tracksuit (retail price £238): "sharp as a bleedin' Stanley [knife] an' cool as fuck".

The emphasis on presenting a cool image, of being "cool as fuck", was intimately connected to the subcultural concerns of the Northside Crew and their peers. Designer clothes were a sartorial demonstration of subcultural status and defined success in one's alternative career. As Summers revealed (Chapter Four, Section 4.8.6), buying a designer suit was the first thing he did after completing a robbery in order to emphasise his status within the subcultural context of 'the Vic'. As Jefferson has similarly argued:

"Deprived of what little they possessed, a reference to the declining social situation ...
there remained only the self, the cultural extension of the self (dress, personal
appearance) and the social extension of the self (the group)" (1976 : 82). (brackets in
original)

In some respects, 'quality' also defined self-esteem and psychological well-being. Like

the fifteen year old office boy in Wolfe's essay, "The Noonday Underground" (1969),

whose clothes were more exquisitely tailored than the bosses', the casual stylist was

determined to compensate for a low status position (of being typically unemployed, living

at home and 'hustling quids' wherever they could be hustled from within a declining

economic environment) by exercising dominion over a 'private estate' of appearance and

(unlimited) leisure (cf Hebdige 1976 : 91). As Barlow explained it:

"I'd rather 'ave things that are quality like - proper merchandise not 'snide' [counterfeit]
or Woolies [Woolworths] specials - I feel better in meself ... if I've got summat on like
me speedmaster [Omega Speedmaster watch, retail value £520] or ahm Armani'd up
[wearing a suit by Georgio Armani, retail value £650] ... ahm as good as anyone ... I
know I've got summat on like expensive instead of cheap ... not a snob but ... it's like
ahm a top boy or summat."

The 'casuals' fostered an image of prosperity in a climate of economic stringency,

against a background of social disadvantage. In some respects, the cult of the casual

operated as a parody of dominant values in the early 1980s. According to Allen (1984 :

13), for example, the 'casuals' "far from opposing or rejecting societal values ... laud

them". Impressions of such a neo-conservatism in youth culture were, nevertheless,

dangerously ambiguous. According to Redhead and McLaughlin (1985), the 'soccer

casuals' partly subverted the uneven regional recession effects of Thatcherism by parading

the appearance of wealth on match days. Such subcultural practices constituted a kind of

"off the peg respectability" (Redhead 1990 : 33), and were - and indeed still are -

frequently sustained by acquisitive crime.

The expenditure necessary to uphold the casual style was often met illegally through

'hoisting' goods directly, or purchasing them at a cut price rate from someone who had

'hoisted' them 'to order'. Indeed, the ideosyncratic fashion style of the 'casuals' provided

the impetus for the coalescence of the Hoisting Crew (see Chapter Nine, Section 9.4.2).

Sometimes, shoplifting expeditions were justified in terms of 'needing' such clothes, "seeing the regular acquisition of fashionable clothes as an essential prerequisite of everyday life" (Allen 1984 : 13). As Campbell has similarly argued, "teenagers whose style and self-concept have come to depend on buying power and subcultural knowledge of the right thing to buy will be driven to theft when economic circumstances demand it" (1981 : 120).

A final point with reference to the casual style of the Hartingleigh Crew in the early 1980s has been noted by Redhead (1987 : 102): "Casuals on soccer terraces and stands have added a whole new look to football fashions". The casual style on the soccer terraces involved a strong element of sartorial competitiveness, or "style wars" (Redhead and McLaughlin 1985). According to Kevin Sampson, manager of Liverpool band, The Farm:

> "Every team in the country boasts a collection of match dudes, each trying to outdo the next city in terms of cool. There are few finer moments in life when you step into an alien city *en masse*, all dressed up, ruthless, and watch those people stare (quoted in *The Guardian*, 9.8.91).

Moreover, like the Mods of the 1960s, the 'casual's' appearance of 'respectability' seemed to consciously invert the values associated with smart dress, to deliberately challenge the assumptions and falsify expectations. "They looked alright but there was something in the way they moved" (Laing 1969, cited in Hebdige 1976 : 88). They were all the more disturbing by the impression they gave of "actors who are not quite in their places" (Cohen 1973). In fact, the impression management of innocuous respectability, "more like the boy next door than soccer hooligans" (*Daily Mirror*, quoted in Redhead 1987 : 102), provided perfect cover for criminal activities in the towns and cities visited by the travelling Northside football supporters. Geographical mobility was sometimes facilitated by cars stolen on the Friday night before a big game. The anonymity of the travelling football crowd also ensured a self protective licence to exploit potentialities for "easy quids" in the neighbourhoods of one's footballing rivals. As Maz put it: "We've

done every city in Britain". And, according to Tex (mimics London accent): "Cockneys, ah've shit 'em, but they've got some sweet shops, on my life, silk shirts the business ... ah love it goin' to London". The very respectability of the casual style ensured that they did not approximate to the traditional hooligan stereotype of the tabloid newspapers (*cf* Porteous and Colston 1980).

> "The casual style has emphasised respectability and apparently mainstream look, not marking out the [casuals] as hooligans for the police, observers and stewards. An undifferentiated mass - unless you know what to look for, and even then it will have changed around again" (Redhead 1987 : 104).

10.2.2 Mad Anti-Fashion

By the mid 1980s, something happened to the casual style which had dominated Hartingleigh's subcultural scene. It was a gradual process rather than a sudden shift in sartorial emphasis. First trainers were relegated to a secondary subcultural position in favour of the old skinhead standard, the Doctor Marten boot. Then the Doc Marten shoe appeared with its waxy leather upper and "original oil, fat, acid, petrol, alkali resistant, air cushion sole". The obscure Jazz-Funk and Chicago House 12 inch singles from Frankie Knuckles' Chicago 'Warehouse' Club were gradually replaced by a new, rawer, home-grown Northern 'folk' music, featuring, at first, such bands as The Fall, Chameleons and The Mekons; then local bands such as The Refugees, King of the Slums, Slumshine, and Northside, captured subcultural attention. This new sound combined the street energy of Punk with a psychedelic edge that nodded in the direction of 1960s American 'acid' bands, such as The Doors, or British hippy psychedelic music as produced by Pink Floyd and their progeny. Clothing became much looser and less formalised. Johnny Behan, an old friend who ran a second hand clothes stall on one of Hartingleigh's outdoor market sites, pointed out the change of emphasis in 1984. Johnny had developed a lucrative sideline in 'snide' designer clothes, cheap counterfeit imitations of designer originals. In the Summer, he had taken delivery of "'alf the van load" of tracksuits - a little "quid winner" - featuring various famous logos and labels. After three months of hard sell, instead of the anticipated success, he had only "shifted an 'andfull". He was in his own words "lumbered

with a bin-load o' nine-bob notes" [hard to shift stock]. Johnny complained that his usual customers were asking him for 'hippy' clothes such as, "Afghan coats!! Afghan coats an' fuckin' flares, they're all goin' mad Steve".

The sixties psychedelic drug 'Acid' (LSD) also reappeared on the streets at roughly the same time, and the most creative exponents of local subcultural style began to so fragment the code for deciphering its oppositionality that 'reading' the local style became steadily more incomprehensible. What, for example, was I to understand by people who were formerly sporting gold chains, visiting the hairdresser for wedge haircuts every fortnight, and wearing the most exclusive designer labels, suddenly, or so it seemed, growing their hair and plundering charity shops for the "grottiest, most off the bean an' mad" clothing items. Morrissey, vocalist with the Manchester band, The Smiths, was the new sartorial hero; sporting 'Oxfam' jackets, two sizes too big, he provided the anthems for the young unemployed: "Strangeways here we come", and "I've never had a job because I've never wanted one", and "Work is a four letter word". The Smiths reclaimed ordinary concerns and ordinary language for popular music, and struck an immediate chord with the young population of North Manchester's housing estates.

The band came to national prominence early in 1983. Both lyrically and musically they seemed to have come from nowhere. When they appeared on Top of the Pops, bemused presenters looked on as lead singer, Morrissey, danced around the floor with gladioli protruding from his back pocket. In a period of popular music dominated by the ponderous pretentiousness of 'New Romantic' bands like Spandeau Ballet, Duran Duran, Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark, and the recycled 'rebellious' youth styles that were incorporated into advertising campaigns - The Smiths provided stark contrast. During this period, for example, the National Westminster Bank sponsored an advertising campaign featuring spectacular youth stylists as potential customers. Under a sub-heading, "The Docile Generation", Laurie Taylor offered the following observations on the music and style of the period:

"In place of all the simple rough disturbing amateurism of the original punk music, there is a new, controlled, self-preening professionalism. The soft punks and the new romantics and the posers (names for the new culture rise and fall with the alacrity of chart entries) are massaged by music which depends for its impact as much upon the producer as upon the artist. It is what one influential critic has described as the 'call of the mild' - the music made by Duran Duran, Boy George and Culture Club, and Spandeau Ballet (now renamed by cynics, Spandeau Wallet) ... An equal concern with preening and individual self-image can be found among the followers" ('The Skin-Deep Revolution', *The Times*, 31.7.84).

In a period dominated by the New Romantics' "call of the mild", and the ever present recycled Sixties dinosaurs, such as The Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan, Eric Clapton, Neil Young, and so on, the subject matter of The Smiths' songs, like the group's name, was defiantly mundane. Morrissey publicly proclaimed his contempt for the dominance of Sixties rock music within popular culture (*The Face*, No.18, March 1990 : 50-57):

"There's a song on this album that has The Rolling Stones in mind because we're so sickened, disgusted by their recent 'comeback' ... an exercise in pop-hype and media manipulation ... I no longer find it sad or pitiful ... I just feel immense anger that they don't just get out of the way ... There's so much talent, so many voices that deserve to be heard ... but you open the papers in this country, and every day there's the obligatory picture of y'know Mick-with-bags-at-the-airport, or Keith saying he's completely normal now. They just won't get out of the way! The song is called 'Get Off the Stage'" (personal interview : April 1990).

The group acquired an obsessive following and was especially appreciated by those -

"... residents of Northern industrial towns who found that the singer's graveyard humour offered an intelligent alternative to the counterfeit bonhomie of daytime Radio One: Morrissey was inspired to write 'Panic', The Smiths' 1986 single whose chorus encouraged listeners to 'Hang the DJ', after he heard a Newsbeat item on the Chernobyl disaster which was immediately followed by Wham's 'I'm your man'" (*Observer Magazine*, 6.12.92 : 24).

Morrissey offered a dark sanity for study participants who were, by the mid 1980s, enduring the severest period of the locally felt economic contraction. At the time his songs took on a polemical edge, aimed both at Thatcher ("Bigmouth strikes again") and, seemingly, at the locally generated subcultures ("Shoplifters of the World - Unite and take over"; and "Strangeways here we come"):

"The way I see it is people just breaking out and saying, 'No more depression, no more repression. I'm not going to stay in the dole queue. I'm going to go out and dance and meet people'. It's very much a seizing the opportunity, doing it now, forgetting the future" (*The Face*, No.18, March 1990 : 57).

The dominant fashion mode by the mid 1980s was, in Manchester at least, defiantly "Mad". As someone who had been actively involved in the sartorial signification of the 1960s Mod aesthetic, I found the delight in Mad clothes utterly incomprehensible. Mad was flares or polyester trews for girls, or Mad 1970s jackets plundered from Oxfam and Save-the-Children charity shops. Mad was just about anything but anything goes, just as long as it was mad. Mad also found its way onto the football terraces signalling a significant sartorial divide between the North and the South. In the 1984-1985 season, for example, Redhead pointed out that: "The Cockneys are still trying to buy the most expensive clothes available, while the North is wearing 21" flares with an untucked Ben Sherman shirt. Knowing the Cockneys, they'll now be scouring Bond Street for Gucci flares" (1987 : 107).

On the terraces at Anfield, the home of Liverpool Football Club, something even stranger was apparently happening in terms of pastiche - a post-modernist terrace style?

> "Past and present concocted together in a bizarre mish-mash. What else can we make
> of Merseyside scallies, wearing Pink Floyd and Bob Dylan T-shirts, stoned out of their
> brains, on the Anfield Kop? Born-again hippies, a psychedelic revival pure and simple?
> Or another crazy twist in the regional post-modern condition of soccer which has
> flourished since the demise of punk?" (Redhead 1987 : 104).

In 1982, style magazines, such as *The Face*, discovered the 'casuals' which they took to be a London dominated phenomenon. But, by this time, Manchester had, on the football terraces at least, begun to shake off the carefully contrived exclusivity of the casual style:

> "Mancs had forgotten all about Fila, LaCoste, Ellese and all that pseudo-sophisticated
> leisure wear. The casual shop Hurleys [in Manchester] watched its trade vanish as the
> new Manc look consisted of 22-inch frayed flares, battered Gazette trainers, cord shoes,
> plain crewneck sweaters, blue snorkel parkas, lumberjack coats, ski hats and walking
> with a limp. Yes, from '83 to '85 Mancs out-tramped the world. Cockneys didn't
> understand. They thought it was still cool to look like Ronnie Corbett on Pro-Celebrity
> Golf" (*The Face*, No.18, March 1990 : 69).

The general ethos of collectivism and anti-elitism, which characterised the new Mad fashion style and music scene in Manchester, began to invade the clubs and fashion houses. A movement off the terraces and into the high street stores followed, as the look of

studied abandon was aped by Manchester's student population. Extra baggy T-shirts, 'knackered' footwear, army surplus kagoules, and a hedonistic, irreverent attitude became 'hip'. The Happy Mondays epitomised this look and their influence gained mainstream acceptability when Orange Juice Clothing absorbed the Mondays "Wrote for Luck" logo as their own. Similarly, the anti-fashion flares revival, originally spawned by Manchester's football fans in the 1984-85 season, as a concerted rebellion against the 'Pro-Celebrity Golf' look of the Cockney supporters, eventually engendered the 'Joe Bloggs' fashion house. Situated near to Strangeways Prison on Cheetham Hill Road, Joe Bloggs began to market custom-made flared jeans in 1986, just as the Madchester music scene began to gain commercial pop success. According to Shami Ahmed, owner of the self-proclaimed "Legendary Joe Bloggs Incorporated Company": "I came up with Joe Bloggs because it was very British ... it was anti-fashion and anti-snobbery, that's why I thought it would work" (*The Guardian*, 15.6.91 : 6). In the mid to late 1980s, the Joe Bloggs Company marketed commercial versions of many of the street styles that had become prominent in the Mad movement of the mid 1980s. Such is the measure of the success of the company that Joe Bloggs hoardings are now to be seen on the perimeter of most televised football matches.

Among study participants in North Manchester, Mad in its initial innovative subcultural moment, was anti-fashion. The aesthetic opposed the carefully contrived 'cool' of the 'casuals', just as it rebelled against the carefully constructed high street chic of the advertisers' notion of what it meant to be young. Here lay a key to unlocking the code of Mad-fashion, Mad-style.

If there is a single theme which encompasses the grounded aesthetics of youth culture in recent years, it is 'street cred' (street credibility). But style has so often been expropriated and commodified by bourgeois commercial interests. 'Retrostyle' is one contemporary manifestation of this process. As Willis has noted:

"Retrostyle is part of a general trend in contemporary culture which ransacks various historical moments for their key stylistic expressions and reinserts ... them in current fashion ... these references to past stylistic forms have taken on a kind of iconographic status in pop culture, evoking whole periods of social history, and have been used extensively in popular music and advertising" (1990 : 88).

The cultural group which, in recent years, has received most media attention is that of the young upwardly mobile adult, the 'yuppie' of Thatcher's market-led, deregulated, privatised, post-Keynesian bourgeois individualism. The advertisers' acronyms abound, covering the range of their transitions into adulthood (e.g. 'Dinks' - double income, no kids). All have been related to the enterprise culture and, moreover, specifically targeted for advertising campaigns during the Thatcher decade. Though hardly street credible, yuppies became significant targets for youthful style commodity advertising. The advertisers clearly understood that this group were affluent, but not 'young', subculturally affiliated, street-wise or credible in the ways that working class youth, for their very survival, had to be. Nevertheless, advertisers attempted to market an image which implied access to a romanticised authenticity, youthful oppositionality, and street wisdom through the correct commodity purchases. The 'affluent' young working class consumer of the post-war economic consensus was out of favour, partly because s/he was on the dole and no longer in a position to purchase pre-packaged commodities from the style industry. Style marks off the 'street wise' from the 'dork' and some of the mid 1980s advertising suggested that a piece of authentic street cred was available to anyone with the power to purchase the 'correct' style commodity. As Brake has similarly noted in a recent 'semiotic muse':

"It is fruitful and indeed symbolic of the current style consumption to turn to the image of youth in current television advertisements. These nearly always focus on the individual. In particular favour ... is the lone male youth wearing Levis (Levi 501s had their highest sales ever in 1988), emphasising the individual - the cowboy, the rebel without a cause. We see an allegorical symbol used by capital to deal with both the terrains of the legitimate market and the hidden economy. The (perhaps unemployed) loner is transposed into the consumer. Armed only with 'street cred', s/he is making it in the dark empty urban streets, which are both symbolically and realistically dangerous ... Another lager ad. shows a grainily shot young busker (again 501s and hair gel) playing a saxophone, trying to get close to his ... black sax hero. A can is thrown from the fridge ... the youth gets through the commodity purchase. He is then seen on stage throwing full arm punches. As in the first ad. all you have to do is win. This in a society where a local neighbourhood can have four-fifths of its youth unemployed.

Unemployed youth are ignored, they are losers, poor, perhaps with a whiff of violence, but not glamorous like the successful" (1990 : 223; brackets in original).

In the 1980s, the creative and innovative elements of street style were reduced to a marketing strategy imbued with ideological connotations which concentrated on images of individual status and success. Within the marketing strategy, style separated the street wise and the 'hip' from the straight or 'unhip'. Advertising suggested that the yuppie executive could purchase from the style merchants a sense of being intimately connected to the invisible community of the 'in-group'. In part, the commodification of style explained the revival of an authentic, self-determined and group-created Mad anti-fashion in Hartingleigh. The strict stylistic formality of the 'casuals' and its dependence on exclusivity for status, broke up into a much looser, more fragmented subcultural code. Aside from the reaction against an attempted imposition of implicit stylistic rules purveyed by the market, other elements supplied by the new music and recreational drugs lent weight to this relaxation of the 'casuals" stylistic code. Of significance for the local subcultural style developments of the mid 1980s was the music being generated by the local bands referred to earlier, allied to a renewed sense of local pride and community identity fostered by the growing commercial success and cultural prominence of the 'Madchester Scene' of music and style. At the same time, a new recreational drug found its way onto the streets. This was MDMA, the drug of the Rave Culture - Ecstasy, the ultimate good-time party drug.

10.3 From Madchester to Gunchester:
Subcultural Style in Hartingleigh 1986-1990

10.3.1 Madchester

"But then they danced down the street like dinglebodies and I shambled after as I've been doing all my life after people who interest me, because the only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved, desirous of everything at the same time, the ones who never yawn or say a common-place thing, but burn, burn, burn, like fabulous yellow roman candles exploding like spiders across the stars" (Jack Kerouac 1957).

The surest sign of the life and veracity of any supposed subcultural style movement is when the tabloid newspapers sit up and take notice before getting round to hastily

assembling one of their 'special guides'. The *Daily Mirror* (30.1.90 : 9) provided the classic example with its outline of "Scallidelic" clothing styles, "Manspeak", and the crass proclamation that "MADchester" was "the city where it's all happening ... The whole world is raving at a new hot spot ... It's Manchester the hottest place in Britain", and so on. The 'quality' press quickly followed suit. *The Weekend Guardian* (20.4.90: 24-25) devoted several pages to the "Madchester Guardians" who were "at the hub of the British pop experience and the youth culture capital of the UK". *The Sunday Observer* (24.5.92 : 53) featured a ten year history of the City Centre club, The Hacienda, co-owned by TV broadcaster and Factory Records founder, Tony Wilson, and the commercially successful Manchester band, New Order. Wilson provided some insight into the role of the club in terms of the City's musical scene: "Cultures need places and The Hacienda has supplied a continuous space ... a blank canvas on which successive waves of pop culture have been able to scrawl their graffiti". Indeed, The Hacienda provided a commercial focus for much of the locally generated music and style, and in the ten years of its history, up to 1992, generated a succession of major pop-industry successes, including New Order, The Smiths, James, The Stone Roses, and Happy Mondays.

In the late 1980s, early 1990s, the *Manchester Evening News* ran a series of "lifestyle and leisure" supplements, some of which were devoted to exploring different aspects of the "new cultural phenomenon". One edition declared the subcultural affiliates "hardcore hedonists", and revealed a rundown of the City Centre clubs that offered a Friday to Sunday weekend devoted to the "new" Rave scene; these included The Brickhouse, The Venue, Precinct 13, Shenza's, and The State. The well-informed piece also revealed how "young entrepreneurs" were hiring DJs to give established commercial venues a once-a-week name and musical identity to cater for the overflow in subcultural interest among the young. One example was 'The Circus' who took over The State disco on Saturday night to create an impromptu moveable house party, based on the theme of a big-top circus, complete with top-hatted custom-made ringmaster's outfits for the main organiser, Elton McManus, and 'top-name' DJs, Greg Fenton, Justin Robertson and Jon da Silva

(Manchester Evening News, 14.12.91 : 26-27).   In the March 1990 'Style Bible', *The Face* devoted sixteen pages to a "London vs. Manchester" regional assessment of the relative cool and style of the nation's capital versus its Northern counterpart.   In all areas, football, clubs, fashion, television, radio, and above all music, Manchester was declared "hands down winners" *(The Face*, No.18, March 1990 : 60-76).

Madchester, as the rather tackily self-mythologising Happy Mondays E.P. title would have it, was at the centre of a media-hyped pop-cultural phenomenon that attracted national and then international attention;   the leader of the Labour-dominant Manchester City Council, Graham Stringer, for example, reported that coach parties of young people from Paris were venturing into the City to sample the night life *(Daily Mirror*, 30.6.93 : 6). Moreover, every weekend in the late 80s, it was reported that "coachloads of kids from the South spend Friday nights speeding North on the motorway heading for what is now the trendiest spot in Britain" *(Daily Mirror* 30.1.90 : 9).   Evidence also suggested that "bright young things" from the young international "jet-set" were flying into Manchester to partake of the subcultural ambience:

> "Bee Humphries and Andi Doc Tong from New York had just flown in from Bangkok where they had been buying up designer fashion at rock bottom prices to sell in Manchester ... 'We've never been here before', said Bee, 'but apart from Bangkok, this is the place to be.   It's brilliant'" (quoted in *Manchester Evening News*, 14.12.91 : 26).

In the late 1980s, 'Madchester' even made the front covers of *Newsweek*, and *Time*; *Newsweek* described the Manchester scene as "Britain's feelgood music movement".

Such was the significance of Manchester's music and clubland scene that, in 1992, internationally renowned 'Chicago House' disc jockey, Frankie Knuckles, paid his own expenses to fly into Manchester in order to participate in the two weeks of celebrations for the tenth birthday of The Hacienda (reported in *The Sunday Observer* 24.5.92 : 53).   In 1990, the international significance of the Manchester Music scene was also highlighted at the eleventh New Music Seminar in New York, "the biggest global event on the record industry calendar, attracting 7,000 music label representatives ... for five days of unceasing

business brunches and wheeler-dealing". The seminar panel was headed by Factory Records owner, Tony Wilson, and Happy Mondays manager, Nathan McGough. Under the banner, "Wake up America You're Dead!", Wilson and McGough provided "an oasis of northern bluntness in ... [the] ... desert of good-mannered goings on". The live gigs were also dominated by Manchester's music which included Northside's first American gig and music from the Happy Mondays and the techno-funk of 808 State. As Wilson proclaimed, "You used to know how to fucking dance in America, God knows how you fucking forgot!" (*New Musical Express*, 4.8.90 : 17-19).

The cocksure self-assertive belligerence engendered by the City's international cultural prominence was infectious. As Graham Stringer, Labour Council leader, asserted: "We lead the UK in everything from pop music to fashion to football" (*Daily Mirror*, 30.6.93 : 6); and prominent Hacienda disc jockey, Dave Haslam, declared Manchester, "the world's first industrial city, home to Manchester United, a mecca for popular music - all these things have ensured the City's global significance" (*The Observer*, 27.6.93). Such civic pride and local identity also fostered two audacious bids to host the Olympic Games in the City. This culminated in a concerted, but unsuccessful, bid for Olympia 2000, after the City had beaten off a rival bid from London to represent the UK in the Olympic Committee's deliberations (*The Guardian*, 14.6.93 : 2-3; *The Guardian*, 'Olympics 2000', 6.9.93).

10.3.2 Football

The football-music-subcultural style crossover, under the new looser, less formal, Manchester style, fostered a new subcultural label, the 'scallies' (from scallywags). Sara Champion in *The Guardian* (9.8.91) pronounced that "these are the baggy brigade who are at the core of the football-music crossover, lads who came of age with Acid-House and Manchester pop". In the 1980s, the music press and independent record charts were riddled with football references. John Peel, for example, promoted football linked records from everyone, from Manchester band The Wedding Present's obsession with ex-

Manchester United favourite, Georgie Best, to The Fall, and The Real Sounds of Africa; while producer, Adrian Sherood, turned his football fixation into Tackhead's 'The Game', 'The Barmy Army' and 'The English Disease' compilation. These recordings combined disembodied samples of community singing on the terraces and various football chants with an insistent technologised Acid-House beat. There were at the same time a spate of novelty football-theme singles by various artists, including I Ludicrous, who developed an idiosyncratic style of ironic commentary on popular culture through soccer songs such as 'Three English Football Grounds' and well signposted references to television sports commentators like David Coleman in 'Quite Extraordinary' and 'At the End of the Day'. Frank Sidebottom, the independent comedy eccentric from Timperley in Greater Manchester, performed a similar role in celebrating non-league side, Altrincham, with 'The Robbins aren't Bobbins' and, more generally, 'All Time Great Footballing Chants'. The indie band, Half Man Half Biscuit, came up with the classic football novelty song, 'All I Want For Christmas Is A Dukla Prague Away Kit'.

The thuggery, violence and regional rivalries which became known as the 'English Disease' were lessened by the explosion of the Acid House phenomenon. The 1988-89 season was marked by a football supporters 'Summer of Love' which in part reflected the musical and subcultural 'Summer of Love' of the Rave scene. Surreal inflatables appeared on the football terraces, from Stoke's pink panthers, Manchester City's banana inflatables, to Bury's black puddings. According to Tony Wilson: "The hooligan element has ceased to be the hooligan element and have become the new hippies. They're doing soft drugs and dancing and still going to football" (cited in 'Hooligans and Hippies', *The Guardian*, 9.8.91).

In 1989-90, at a time when English football teams, in the wake of the Heysel Stadium disaster, had been banned from playing in Europe, Paris and Amsterdam were invaded, not by marauding football hooligans, but coach parties of Manchester and Liverpool Ravers - including study participants - looking for a "decent night out" beyond the constraints of

British clubs' licensing and entertainment laws. After the ban on English football teams had been lifted, the 1990-91 football season provided additional impetus to the soft drug, Rave Music, football crossovers as the Northside Crew of Manchester United supporters ventured into Europe with the team in pursuit of the European Cup Winners Cup. This culminated in a memorable Final in Rotterdam in May 1991 and a 2-0 victory over Spanish club, Barcelona. After the game, United supporters began a week-long party of celebration in the soft drug capital of Europe: "Thousands of Manchester United fans celebrated their club's victorious return to Europe with copious amounts of cannabis in Amsterdam" (*The Guardian*, 10.1.92 : 3).

Similarly, the end of the International European Championships, Italia '91, culminated when football-Rave fans finished the season with a twenty-four hour nightclub celebration in Rimini. In June of the same year, Leeds United's Elland Road ground hosted a day-long gig by Liverpool favourites, The Farm, and archetypal Manchester scallies, Happy Mondays. Rave-football fans from Merseyside, Manchester, and Leeds, gathered in their thousands to watch and dance to their respective musical favourites. Where once there would have been violent clashes, based on regional rivalries, according to Redhead (1991), a sense of "togetherness" ruled. The cultural cross-fertilisation of football and popular music was provided with a gloss of respectability when Granada TV Sport used Northside's LSD song, 'Shall We Take A Trip", as its theme tune; while England's 1990 World Cup Theme was supplied by New Order's "World in Motion" which became the best selling football record of all time.

10.3.3 Music

"We must force the frozen circumstances to dance by singing to them their own melody"
(Karl Marx, cited in Willis 1984d : 17).

The various facets of pop culture, football culture, fashion and subcultural style, explored in this section so far, represent the elements of subcultural energy and creative innovativeness which, in the late 1980s, early 1990s, captured national and international

media attention. But the well-springs of these cultural forces had their origins among the young working class, many of whom lived in the most disadvantaged housing estates ranged throughout the City. The 'Mad' clothing style originally developed among study participants from the mid 1980s onwards, for example, provided much of the impetus for what subsequently became known as the Madchester scally-style phenomenon. However, even before the City Centre clubs had begun to feature the bands of the Manchester scene, and before the Joe Bloggs Company had marketed it's first pair of custom-made flared jeans in 1986, the energy and impetus for the subcultural scene was already manifested among study participants.

Aside from the change in sartorial emphasis provided by the movement from the designer clothes of the 'casuals' to the hedonistic abandon of the Mad anti-fashion, loosely generated music also gave voice to the diverse elements of the Madchester scene that was slowly evolving. By 1985, for example, there was in North Manchester a well established gig circuit for newly formed bands to plug into. The usual contexts for live music in the early period of the evolving scene were the pubs, community centres, and clubs that existed outside of the City Centre. In their early days, Northside, Slumshine, and The Refugees, all played 'expenses only' gigs, both at the Youth and Community Centre in Hartingleigh and also the Summer Festival organised by the Community Project. The Summer Festival usually culminated in a minor outdoor 'Rock Festival' organised within the confines of the Adventure Playground. In 1984 and 1985, all three bands played live sets at the Hartingleigh Summer Festival and, in 1986, a twelve band itinerary culminated in a 'jam' with members of Northside, King of the Slums, The Refugees and Slumshine constituting an impromptu local 'supergroup'. As a result of the informal word-of-mouth information network, such gigs were enormously popular, not only among young people from the immediate area but also those from other parts of the City. At the time, none of the bands had recording contracts; nor were they registered with any record label. Thus, reputations were largely established by word of mouth, and music was distributed and exchanged among affiliates and enthusiasts in the form of cassette tapes recorded at live

gigs, or produced and marketed by the bands themselves. When bands had evolved sufficient local and City-wide support, they would generally attract sponsorship, minor recording contracts, and gigs on minor venue national tours. Both Northside and King of the Slums eventually secured record deals in this way after generating popularity among a dedicated group of local supporters. One of the minor venue gigs available to the new bands in the North of Manchester was The Dome in nearby Moat Pitton. In an earlier Chapter (Chapter Eight, Section 8.1), I outlined the significance and impact of a gig played by local band, Slumshine, who frequently played at The Dome in the mid 1980s.

Aside from the energy of the locally produced live music, DJs too held a certain subcultural significance for the evolution of the Manchester scene. There is a long tradition of subcultural appreciation of black music within the peer group networks of Manchester's young working class. In the 1960s, for example, the Mod scene spawned a profound reverence for obscure urban American Rhythm and Blues artists. This particular subculture eventually coalesced into what became known as the 'Northern Soul' phenomenon. The main focus and centre for Northern Soul was an all-night City Centre club called The Twisted Wheel. The Wheel was a flourishing source of subcultural energy until the early 1970s when the City Council forced the closure of the club amid rumours of organised crime and allegations of excessive drug taking at its legendary Saturday 'all-nighters'. Like the 'casual' stylists of the late 1970s, early 1980s, the culture of Northern Soul was about dressing up, looking cool, and dancing all night to the rhythms of black American singers and musicians from Detroit, Chicago and Philadelphia. The dominant subcultural drug was 'mother's little helper', the readily available slimming pills known as 'speed' (amphetamines).

By the mid 1970s, the Northern Soul scene had diversified and transmuted into a wider audience appreciation of urban funk and other forms of largely Rhythm and Blues based idioms; and by the 1980s, this had expanded to include 'spaced out jazz', jazz-funk and Chicago House music. These latter musical forms, though ultimately derived from

original roots in Rhythm and Blues, also utilised and incorporated innovative music technology such as phasers, synthesisers, drum-machines and samplers; electronic and computer gadgetry, which, along with an insistent R 'n' B derived back-beat, was to provide the foundations for the Acid House sound of the late 1980s Madchester Rave scene.

Of significance in the development of these new dance floor idioms were the disc jockeys. Colin Curtis, for example, forever linked with the legendary Northern Soul all-nighters at The Twisted Wheel and later The Berlin Club, was one such dance floor innovator. After the closure of The Twisted Wheel, Curtis eventually secured a long-standing residency at the popular City Centre venue, The Berlin Club. Here, under the dominance of his influence, a variety of younger DJs and musicians received a wide-ranging musical education in the ground breaking disco and house tracks which provided the experimental impetus for the creation of Acid House. Curtis's music selection remains as ideosyncratic as ever and he can be currently heard hosting an excellent jazz show for Manchester's 'Sunset Radio' (102 FM) - Britain's first legal black music and community radio station.

The most respected disc jockeys, such as Colin Curtis, Hacienda DJs, Mike Pickering, Dave Haslam, and Greg Wilson, or Martin ('Milo') Capaldi and 'Toto' Weller at The Dome, utilise a whole range of sounds or 'tunes' drawn from the subcultural inheritance of Northern Soul, alongside the more recent musical inputs from the three generations of Manchester Music which have evolved since the impact of punk in the mid 1970s. Dave Haslam's Thursday night gigs at The Hacienda, for example, are generally recognised as the root of the national fascination with all things Mancunian. Before it was 'hip', and before anyone really cared, Haslam was pleasing himself playing music from early post-punk Manchester bands such as Pete Shelley's Buzzcocks and the urban-angst of the doom-laden Joy Division, who eventually metamorphosed into New Order after the untimely suicide of lead singer, Ian Curtis. Such music would be juxtaposed with

electronic Chicago sounds and early music from such bands as Velvet Underground. The ideosyncratic cross currents are clearly audible in the music of contemporary Manchester bands, Stone Roses and Happy Mondays, who were both originally part of Haslam's Hacienda dance floor crowd and therefore graduates of his crossover musical madness.

Outside the City Centre, a similar dance floor energy and reputation was being established by Milo and Toto at The Dome. Here, in the mid 1980s, participants were exposed to the early Motown and Stax singles of the Northern Soul scene, the urban funk of the 1970s, the new-wave post-punk of the Buzzcocks and Joy Division, as well as later tracks from the second wave of Manchester music including The Smiths and New Order. By the late 1980s, the dance floor scene at The Dome reflected music from the Madchester groups like Happy Mondays, The Stone Roses and Inspiral Carpets. The Rhythm and Blues rooted idioms of Chicago House had also, by the late 1980s, expanded to include the 'home-made' technological rhythms of 808 State and A Guy Called Gerald. By the mid 1980s, The Dome enjoyed a mass popularity among young people throughout the North of the City. The Dome's reputation developed on the strength of its live music policy, which responded to the musical tastes and affiliations of its clientele in promoting gigs by locally generated bands. The quality of the sound system and its DJs, plus an 'open' dress-door policy, which, unlike some City Centre clubs, did not discriminate against the scally-look of the Mad anti-fashion style, ensured The Dome's popularity among study participants and their peers from the mid-1980s onwards.

Not only for the disc jockeys, but study participants also, the search for and acquisition of obscure records and tapes constituted an important sphere of subcultural activity in itself. It was an activity that could range in intensity from casual browsing to earnest searching for particularly obscure 'tunes'. It was a process that involved clear symbolic work, and one that was usually connected to participants' subcultural affiliations. What was frequently involved were careful exercises of choice form the point of initial listening to seeking out, handling, and scrutinising records and tapes for their meanings and

significances. For study participants, such as Digger and Stella, who had originally been members of the local band, The Refugees, and who, along with Mick Kenney and Poolie, had also evolved alternative careers from busking, begging, and playing their music, wherever they could, much of their free time was concerned with the acquisition, playing, and discussion of, music. This included amateur 'archeologies' of popular music history, and involved carefully excavating the origins of particular sounds and idioms. They would trace the genealogies of particular styles from films, videos, TV programmes, magazines, or in their 're-issued' forms, from record companies. Some of the dance music played at The Dome by Milo and Toto, which included the reappropriated dance sounds of Rhythm and Blues and Northern Soul, were supplied by Digger, Stella and Mick Kenney from their extensive shared collection. Amongst these participants, music was not just a "noise on the radio", but was, rather, a focus for their lives:

"Digger:	It's life innit?
Stella:	rhythm 'n' life.
Digger:	sex 'n' drugs 'n' rock' 'n' roll!
Mick Kenney:	It's important music, crucial like.
S.C.:	Can you say why?
Digger:	You're not listenin' ... it's life ...
Mick Kenney:	Like heart-beats ...
Stella:	The noise of the world goin' round!"

Amongst these participants, enthusiasm for music extended to avid collecting, and scouring secondhand shops, for records and tapes that could be sold, swapped, or used for the purposes of 'mixing' live in clubs such as The Dome, or for compiling personal tapes. There was a high exchange rate of records and tapes between study participants with albums, singles, and cassette tapes being swapped and borrowed regularly.

The massive growth in home-taping reflected something of the impoverishing effects of unemployment but was also connected to a 'hands on' personal involvement by participants in the consumption and distribution of the music they cared for. Home-taping proved to be a practical, cheap and flexible method for both storing and distributing music. New and unavailable or expensive (import) records - particularly off pirate radio stations - by

skilful use of the pause button on a cassette recorder, could be obtained without the spoken interruptions of DJs or pop jingles and commercials:

> "If we haven't gorra tune that's tasty, we'll track it on the radio an' before the DJ starts, we fade it down like ... New tunes 're on [Radio] Piccadilly Sunset, or New Beat [Pirate Radio] ... 's just what we do" (Mick Kenney).

With cheap 'tape-to-tape' cassette recorders widely available, duplicate copies of tapes could also be made for informal distribution amongst friends or for resale. When 'busking', the trio would also offer various tapes of their own music for sale to passing punters as well as compilations of "rare House and Acid grooves". Other participants frequently relied on people such as Digger, Stella and Mick Kenney to make tapes for them. Here there was something of an informal hierarchy of taste, with the trio used as trusted and accepted consumer guides. This process was demonstrated by Willie and Poolie who secured much of their own music collections from Digger and Stella's home-taping:

> "If I wanna tape, say rare house or white labels [pre-released records for distribution amongst DJs] all I do is give 'em [Digger and Stella] a shout an' tell 'em what I want. They sort it an' I bung a 'teenth [sixteenth of an ounce of cannabis] for the 'assle. It's a nice vibe, they gerra draw an' I gerra tape .... sorted" (Willie)

> "Yeah, they've [Stella and Digger] got all the tunes ... Soul, House ... whatever ... if it's forra party an' that, you can ask 'em an' they'll sort the tunes ... ah usually pay 'em summat or sort 'em some blank tapes, it works out one way or another" (Poolie).

According to Willis (1990) many young people have a strong investment in the lyrical themes, imagery and symbolism of popular music. In Chapter Eight (Section 8.1), I provided a closely detailed examination of the significance of the lyrics of Slumshine's song "Black Magic Roundabout" for unemployed study participants. Some participants, such as Digger and Stella and Mick Kenney, acquired an intimate knowledge of the semantic complexities and nuances of song lyrics, gleaned from close listening and scrutiny of lyrics printed on album or cassette covers. Such lyrics, examples of which were supplied to me by research participants throughout my study, provided participants with -

> "... a set of public discourses ... which both play back to people their own situations and experiences and provide a means of interpreting those experiences. Young people use song narratives to make sense of their everyday conditions of existence" (Willis 1990 : 69).

The life style aesthetics projected by scally bands like Happy Mondays and the lyrical content of certain songs of the Madcheser scene provided mutually reinforcing feedback to study participants. Songs like New Order's 'Thieves Like Us', or Happy Monday's 'Stinkin' Thinkin' with the lines, "I've gotta see what's in them pockets, so I can pick them pockets clean", or The Smith's 'Shoplifters of the World, Unite and Take Over', and so on, provided a scally-validation for participants' alternative careers and modes of oppositional consciousness. Another example was the immensely popular single, 'No Sell Out' by Halalim X which featured a vocal sample of a speech by Malcolm X. In the music, the syncopated phrase 'No Sell Out' meshes with the insistent cross-rhythms of a techno-beat over which Malcom X proclaims:

> "I've got a plate in front of me but nothing is on it. Because all of us are sitting at the
> same table are all of us diners? I'm not a diner until you let me dine."

However, such a radical analysis could be undercut by sardonic Mancunian humour which implicitly stressed proactive assertiveness:

> "**Willie:** I'm not a diner 'til you let me dine ...
> **Maz:** Fuck that, I'd nick some other bastard's dinner ...
> **Coggs:** Tex 'u'd 'ave the fuckin' table away (laughter)".

Nevertheless, such dance music, a product of the growing popularity of house styles, provided a new dance medium. The highly syncopated electronic beat of Chicago House, in the hands of gifted disc jockeys like Milo and Toto at The Dome, was 're-mixed' and over-dubbed with poly-rhythms, cross-rhythms, sampled vocal lines, or even political speeches and other effects. Such music, by 1986, provided the focus for dancing which added an extra dimension to the lyrical content of 'tunes' within which aural rhythms, textures and forms became realised in physical movement. Experimental dance styles involved their own characteristic forms of subcultural work and, within the generalised hedonistic abandon of the scally ethos, epitomised by a looser unencumbered approach to clothing styles, there was also reflected an informal, almost anything goes, dance style. By 1986-1987, such dance music, the precursor of Acid House enjoyed mass popularity in the North of the City and Saturday night 'meltdowns' at the re-named 'Pleasure-Dome' saw 'serious' dancers beginning to break the unwritten, informal dancing codes of the more

conventional or 'straight' ('beer-monster') discotheques in the City Centre. Within the club

a frantic, almost compulsory, insistence on dancing became the norm. The live music

policy began to take a secondary role and the significance of the DJ's 'mix' became elevated

in importance. There evolved a strict dance emphasis to the exclusion of drinking or even

the traditional disco courtship rituals. Of prime significance in the evolution of the new

dance and music trends of the Madchester scene as a whole was the widespread availability

of a new street drug. This was MDMA or Ecstasy.

10.3.4   Northside Rave, Nice Vibe in the Area

Ecstasy is not a new drug, but an old-style amphetamine-based compound originally

developed in 1913 by the German company, Merck, and patented in 1913 as an appetite

suppressant, but never marketed as such. In California, in 1965, Alexander Shuglin, a

research chemist employed by the ironically named chemical company, Dole, rediscovered

the drug while conducting private research into the manufacture of psychedelic drugs. In

his autobiography, *Penethylamines I Have Known And Loved - A Chemical Love story*,

Shuglin recalled his first experiences with the drug:

> "I made it in my lab and nibbled ... It gave me a pleasant lightness of spirit. That's all.
> No psychedelic effects whatsoever ... Just a distinct lightness of mood. And an
> indication to get busy and do things that needed doing" (cited in *Education Guardian*,
> 7.9.93 : 2).

When MDMA's 'feelgood' qualities were recognised, it was at first welcomed and

prescribed by American psychiatrists and marriage guidance counsellors, particularly in

California, but its potential for abuse was recognised and it was subsequently banned on

both sides of the Atlantic. Since 1987, when firstly House, then Acid House, then Rave

culture, took hold, Ecstasy became the recreational drug of choice. Six years later, the

Rave culture shows few indications of losing its grip and, alongside the commercial growth

in the music and style associated with Rave, has developed the biggest wave of

recreational drug use since the hyped-up psychedelia of the late 1960s. According to

figures released by the Customs and Excise in 1992, for example, seizure of synthetic

drugs rose by 478% between 1990 and 1991. The biggest part of the increase was in the

seizure of the so-called 'designer drugs', MDA and MDMA, both known as Ecstasy. The percentage increase in Ecstasy seizures was estimated at a massive 3,500% (Customs and Excise figures, cited by Duncan Campbell, *The Guardian*, 10.1.92 : 3).

The MDMA form of Ecstasy works by encouraging the brain to release its own supplies of the naturally occurring neuro-chemical serotobin, which creates temporary feelings of well-being and euphoria (Smith, *New Statesman and Society*, 11.9.92 : 31). Ecstasy became as emblematic of the Madchester Rave scene in the late 1980s as LSD was of the psychedelic hippy era. Nicholas Saunders, author of the cult classic guide to *Alternative London* (1974) and self-confessed "ageing hippy", has produced a painstakingly researched exploration of the psychoactive substance. In his book entitled *E for Ecstasy* (1993), Saunders is generally enthusiastic about the drug and, among other things, explores the potential of Ecstasy for psychotherapeutic use, drawing on the testimony of psychotherapists in Switzerland where the drug is currently licensed for therapeutic use.

In North Manchester, the first wave of Es hit the streets around 1987. According to Willie:

> "The first Es wus brought in by DJs from America, the West Coast, it was the Music that made it 'appen ... They was over 'ere fer raves 'cept they weren't called raves then but they did a little fuckin' number with the Es ... It caught on good dinnit? ... Then guys sussed 'em in the 'Dam [Amsterdam] ... an' pound fer pound it was a better deal than draw ... smaller like ... easier to bring in ... an' early on they was £20 quid a tab ... so it was better biz than the draw."

The significance of Amsterdam as the main European source for the illicit manufacture and supply of Ecstasy was also revealed in 1992 by a single Customs and Excise seizure of 281 kilos of MDA tablets, worth an estimated £24 million, discovered at Sheerness, Kent, in an imported settee (*The Guardian*, 10.1.92 : 3).

Like the 'blues', 'black-bombers' and 'dexies' (amphetamines) of the Northern Soul subculture, and the Acid (LSD) of the hippy counterculture, Es provided the 'feelgood'

energy to sustain subcultural focal concerns such as 'trance-dancing' at the twenty-four hour Raves that gradually developed. As Cathy Tittle revealed (Chapter Seven, Section 7.8.6), the clarion call of the Rave subculture was the hedonistic escapism of 'The Right to Party'. When participants were "on one", or "E'd up", sleep was out of the question. The restless energy induced by Ecstasy, along with an increased propensity to do an E in combination with other proscribed drugs such as 'speed' or 'whizz' (amphetamine sulphate powder), LSD, and 'coke', as well as the obligatory 'draw', provided for a long weekend of twenty-four hour partying. Out of such energy evolved the unofficial warehouse parties late in 1987.

For study participants and their peers in North Manchester, the Warehouse parties, which accompanied the popularity of Acid House music and Ecstasy use, were an extension of the normal patterns of 'after hours' weekend sociability. Even before Es had hit the scene, study participants had evolved a pattern of informal sociability which involved "going back" to someone's flat, or house, to continue the party mood after licensed premises had closed and "chucked out". After a Saturday night gig at The Dome, for example, a group of participants and their peers would often maintain the energy and atmosphere generated in the club by walking, as a group, the two miles from the club to the house shared by Coggs, Wilf and Mick Kent in Hartingleigh. Here the party would continue until dawn. In their teenage years, participants had also staged impromptu parties in the Adventure Playground during the summer months and also in the unoccupied flats on the Chicken Lane estate. The flat shared by Digger and Stella on the Marton estate was also a venue for after hours sociability, as were the flats occupied at that time by Willie and Tex in Collington. Generally, arrangements would be made spontaneously, towards the end of the evening, as participants were preparing to leave formal places of entertainment such as 'the Vic', or The Dome, or occasionally City Centre venues like The Hacienda and The Berlin. Later, such informal patterns of after hours sociability engendered semi-organised house parties in warehouses and empty properties on the

largely defunct Industrial Estate of East Manchester.   One of the earliest was organised ('sorted') by Digger and Mick Kenney:

> **"Digger:** Coggs an' Maz sussed the gaff, they'd bin tourin', tottin' an' that ... [stealing scrap metal].
> **Mick Kenney:** D'ya remember?
> **Digger:** Yeah man ...
> **Mick Kenney:** They 'ad tons [of scrap metal] out, fuckin' all sorts.
> **Digger:** Coggsie nearly broke 'is fuckin' neck gettin' in ... (laughter)
> **Mick Kenney:** Through the roof, thu window, wha'd'ya call 'em?
> **S.C.:** The skylight?
> **Mick Kenney:** That's it! ... was all rotten, nearly killed 'isself ...
> **Digger:** 's where they used to make cables, [Acme] Cable Company ... big fuckin' gaff.
> **Mick Kenney:** That's it, they 'ad all this copper away di'nt they?
> **Digger:** Fuckin' tons.
> **S.C.:** So that was the place where they had the first Rave. I thought they'd been sorted before that?
> **Mick Kenney:** Yeah? Well no, it was that gaff ya know, inside the walls ...?   It's the first 'un we did.
> **Digger:** There was a courtyard an' Maz sussed this little place ...
> **Mick Kenney:** It was fer storin' stuff ... completely empty like, perfect gaff.
> **Digger:** Ya remember? Ya did the fuckin' flyers!

The location of the first warehouse party organised by Digger and Mick was situated within the confines of a large cable manufacturers which had closed in the late 1970s. This was one of many industrial concerns on the East Manchester Industrial Estate which had gone bankrupt in the late 1970s.   Enclosed within a high-walled courtyard, and obscured from view from the roadside, was a large storage building.   The storage warehouse was a functional building and appeared to have been designed to house the cable produced by the manufacturing section of the company in a factory divided into two larger buildings nearby.   The actual factory buildings constituted two sides of the courtyard area.   The storage building was almost completely empty and comprised an internal floor area divided into eight sections by waist-high breeze-block walls, with access channels running down the centre and along each of the walls.   At one end was a defunct office area with glass panelling which afforded a view of the total floor space of the building.   Digger and Mick Kenney were eventually contacted by Maz and Coggs, and Wilf and Willie tagged along when an initial reconnaissance of the location was arranged.

The situation was viewed and favourably vetted as a suitable location for a party and Digger and Mick Kenney assembled a sounds-system and supplied the necessary music. 'Flyers', or leaflets, advertising the party were designed and photocopied at the Centre, and eventually distributed among participants' peer group network and also at The Dome. The 'flyer' not only provided information about the location of the party, but also constituted an unofficial pass, or membership card, which was collected at the door of the warehouse by Barlow and Summers, who were also drafted into the scheme to act as doormen or bouncers.

There were initial problems securing an electricity supply to power the lighting and sound system, but this was eventually resolved by Dilly's cousin who was paid £20 to re-establish an unofficial supply from the storage warehouse's disconnected meter points. Multi-coloured lightbulbs were eventually installed at strategic points, old chairs and mattresses placed in one of the divided areas of floor space, and the sound system set up, with the mixing desk located behind the glass in the defunct office space. Within a month of the original discovery of the building, the first of several warehouse parties was established. Stella, Digger and Mick Kenney supplied and played the 'tunes', Willie and Wilf supplied the drugs, Barlow and Summers ensured there "was no 'assles", and an estimated six hundred young people, drawn from participants, their peers, and the regular clientele from The Dome, attended the first all-night Rave, which lasted from midnight on Saturday night until eight a.m. on Sunday morning. The venue was used on a fortnightly basis almost continuously for several months afterwards, during which the party increased in sophistication and organisation. A primitive 'light show' was established by Coggs who also decorated some of the internal walls of the warehouse with hastily improvised 'pieces', one of which, beneath the 1960s hippy-inspired 'Smiley' emblem, loudly proclaimed "Northside Rave, Nice Vibe In The Area!". Davvo supplied a 'strobe-light' system which had been 'lifted' from a vehicle used by a mobile disc jockey who operated from one of the commercial City Centre "beer-monster" clubs. Various multi-coloured drapes were also installed to obscure the windows and walls. By Autumn 1988, the warehouse parties

were attracting crowds of several thousand young people as the whole phenomenon of Acid House became a City-wide institution. Additional impetus was also provided by the growing commercial success of the Manchester Music scene and the 'Summer of Love' phenomenon of 1988 at The Hacienda where 'Northside Rave' flyers were also distributed.

It was at this time that the Donaghues began to take notice of the subcultural phenomenon. The family sought to commandeer the organisation of the Hartingleigh Rave as well as control over the supply of drugs. Study participants who had established and energised the locally defined phenomenon were powerless to resist the overtures made by the Donaghues, who eventually installed a more professional lighting and sound system, replaced Digger, Stella and Mick Kenney with 'proper DJs', and took over the wholesale supply of drugs within the warehouse. Study participants retained only a minor role as distributors of 'flyers' and as 'hustlers' of drugs supplied by the Donaghues. The most significant aspect of the changes brought about by the gradual monopolisation of the Rave by the Donaghues was its transformation from a free party to a fee-paying gig. At first, a nominal amount was insisted upon (£2), justified in terms of the costs involved in the new lighting and sound-system which had been installed. Later, 'flyers' were being sold as entrance tickets for anything up to £15 each. Most study participants who were known to the Donaghues, or who were more or less informally employed by the family, had little problem in securing free admission and drugs. Nevertheless, there was a profound, though largely unexpressed, sense of outrage at the way in which what had been a collectively engineered 'Nice Vibe' had been highjacked by the family's crass commercial 'muscle' - often imposed under the direct or implied threat of violence.

After the warehouse had attracted police attention in the wake of a growing media instituted moral panic over the Acid House scene, the Rave was raided and several people were arrested and subsequently charged with various public order and drugs offences. The lights and sound equipment were also seized and the warehouse made secure to prevent further entry. Nevertheless, the local scene was by 1989 a national and

international phenomenon and legal and illegal Raves, gigs, and warehouse parties mushroomed, not only in the North West but throughout the United Kingdom.

The expanding Rave scene also provided a boom time for participants involved in the City's drug trade. The fabled 'Summers of Love' of 1988 and 1989, when Madchester, according to cover stories in *Newsweek* and *Time*, was at the centre of the worldwide "youth-quake" (examined earlier), provided rapid turnover of the party drug, Ecstasy. Wholesale supplies were readily available within the community and study participants were "puntin' Es" as a normal part of their own evening's entertainment. In 1988, a hundred Ecstasy tablets could be bought for as little as £800, to be resold for between £12 and £20 each. On a good night, at a well attended Rave, street hustlers could punt a hundred tablets in a couple of hours. This sort of business, at its best, represented a profit of £1,200 for a night's work that was considered not so much work as an extension of the subcultural norm. Some participants also utilised the anonymity provided by Manchester United's crowd of travelling football supporters to travel to other towns and cities throughout England to visit Raves and "do the biz". Some particularly utilised the European Cup Winners Cup Final played in Rotterdam in 1991 as a cover for the importation both of draw and Es obtained cheaply in Amsterdam, where wholesale drug prices were roughly half those of the UK. Such opportunities offered by the drug trade drew participants into a life style totally disassociated from the conventional world of waged labour.

Although the 'Summer of Love' of 1988 was initially welcomed, even by *The Sun*, who signalled the dawn of Acid House as "cool and groovy" (*The Sun*, 1.10.88), there was a concerted and inevitably tabloid-led backlash. Just as swiftly as it had welcomed the new subcultural phenomenon, *The Sun* took an about-turn and 'championed' a moral onslaught of 'panic' proportions, indicated by headlines like: THE EVIL OF ECSTASY (*The Sun*, 19.10.88); BAN THIS KILLER MUSIC (*The Post*, 24.10.88); ACID HOUSE HORROR (*The Sun*, 25.10.88); DRUG CRAZED ACID HOUSE FANS (*The Sun*,

28.10.88); GIRL 21 DROPS DEAD AT ACID DISCO (*The Sun*, 31.10.88); ACID KIDS LURED TO HOLLAND (*Daily Mirror*, 14.11.88); and so on. A chorus of media celebrities were called upon to comment on the state of the nation's youth. Sir Alastair Burnet, for example, gravely presented 'evidence' gleaned from a *News at Ten* enquiry, which revealed the use of illegal drugs at warehouse parties. The Rave Culture retorted by sampling his *News at Ten* broadcast for a limited edition record. This strategy echoed Renegade Sound Wave's earlier use of the programme's theme music and Big Ben chimes. In the media backlash, leading figures in the new scene, such as disc jockey, Gary Haisman from D-Mob, found themselves the target for a chorus of ill-informed media outrage. Haisman found that his popularity and chart success with the single, "We Call It Acieed", rebounded on him when the tabloid papers' exposé of the connection between drugs and Acid House led to a cancellation of bookings all over the country.

Conservative 'fears' were paraded by government representatives including Margaret Thatcher, Norman Tebbit, Douglas Hurd and John Patten, who all regurgitated an earlier moral right-wing line that invoked the negative implications of the 1960s legacy of 'permissiveness' (see Chapter Two, Section 2.6). By March 1990, Tory MP, Graham Bright, with the support of the government, ushered a private member's bill through Parliament to deal with the huge commercial outdoor Raves, some of which were catering for upwards of 20,000 punters. The Pay Parties (Increased Penalties) Act was a classic piece of Conservative legislation. It sought to deal with the perceived 'problem' by stamping on its symptoms. In theory, local authorities could still grant licences for Raves to take place at approved sites, but, in practice, they were both hard to come by and expensive to obtain legally. The result was an escalation in the admission price of both legal and illegal Raves. In economic terms, supply had been choked off while demand was at its strongest.

In Manchester, the City Council evolved an enlightened 'Safer Dancing Campaign' which operated to reduce harm from Ecstasy use by requiring clubs to conform to

minimum safety standards. Informed by Lifeline, the City's drugs information agency, the City Council prioritised harm reduction rather than an unrealistic policy of control or enforced abstention. Instead of closing down the mushrooming clubs and discos of the City-wide Rave culture where the drug is used (and simply driving Ravers elsewhere), the Council required clubs to provide adequate ventilation and water supplies to minimise the principal risks of heatstroke and dehydration which are associated with prolonged dancing and Ecstasy use.

Saunders (1993) has examined the facts behind the Ecstasy scare stories purveyed in the tabloid press. He quotes figures from the National Poisons Unit which puts the number of known Ecstasy-related deaths at 14 from the period January 1988 to July 1992. Of these, 13 were attributed to heatstroke, the other to asthma. Saunders calculates the risk of death from Ecstasy at 1 in 3.6 million compared with the risk of death per fun-fair ride at 1 in 3.2 million. However, Alan Haughton of Lifeline is not so wholeheartedly enthusiastic about the drugs:

> "We know from police seizures that at least two-thirds of what is sold as MDMA is not. All kinds of things are sold as Ecstasy and most people are taking MDA [the 'parent' compound of Ecstasy-type drugs] which appears to be more toxic" (quoted in *The Guardian Education*, 7.9.93 : 3).

Moreover, as demand for Ecstasy began to outstrip supply - as the popularity scene gathered momentum - so counterfeit 'tabs' comprised of a mixture of substances began to be hawked round the Rave clubs. The most 'benign' were usually comprised of a mixture of the hallucinogenic LSD combined with amphetamine sulphate to create an ersatz Ecstasy effect. Unreliable supplies have resulted in Ravers voting with their feet. There has been a general movement away from Ecstasy use in the Rave venues of the 1990s in favour of the more clearly identifiable drugs such as LSD, amphetamine sulphate, and the smoking derivative of cocaine, crack. A partial consideration in this change of emphasis among drug users is the price of Ecstasy which early in 1990 was retailing at between £12 and £20 per tablet. Inferior quality Es (compared with the original supplies of the late

1980s) made the purchase of several inferior or imitation 'tabs' a costly mistake. Instead, many punters now prefer to spend "£2 for a tab of acid", or "£12 for a gram of Whizz" (amphetamine sulphate powder). Crack is more expensive at "£20 a rock" but provides an accessible, instantaneous feeling of energy and well-being. A rock provides a new initiate with an evening of highs. Regular users may need two, three or four rocks to sustain them. Crack, though, is not readily associated with the commercial end of the Rave culture as smoking involves an improvised pipe of some sort (usually fashioned from a Coca-Cola can) and is therefore a practice difficult to conceal in commercial Rave venues. Multi-drug use now also involves a certain predilection for 'brown' which is a widely available form of coarsely refined heroin, more suitable for smoking than injecting. Again, heroin is not typically associated with the Rave scene, though some hardcore Ravers are not averse to smoking 'brown' as a way of reducing the stimulant effects of Ecstasy, 'Whizz' or Acid at the end of a Rave.

10.3.5   Conclusion: Gunchester - The New Decade?

"Them's in trouble, them boys down Town
Them's gotta Uzi, ta shoot their brothers down"
(SLUMSHINE: Drug Wars)

The change in the nature of the drugs trade and a gradual evaporation of the love and peace, 'Nice Vibe', associated with the use of MDMA in the late 1980s also produced a change in the subcultural climate; the new decade saw a movement from Madchester to Gunchester. An early indication of the sea-change was provided when The Hacienda, cradle of the Madchester music and the late 1980s 'Summers of Love', was forced to close. After a succession of incidents, sparked by violent feuds between teams of dealers from Moss Side and Cheetham Hill, shots were fired at Hacienda doormen. In January 1991, The Hacienda shut up shop amidst "Gun Terror" headlines in the local press (*Sunday Observer*, 24.5.92 : 53) The City Centre club eventually reopened three months later with a "serious team" on the door and a gun-revealing metal detector similar to the one used in the House of Commons (*Weekend Guardian*, 15.6.91 : 6). By the time The Hacienda had reopened, the "age of thuggery" had started, a "purge" by the new Chief Constable of

Greater Manchester, Brian Jackson, in which "unemployed young people aged up to 24" were to be "targeted in a crackdown on Lancashire crime" (*Manchester Evening News*, 6.2.91). By July 1992, there were outbreaks of rioting and numerous incidents involving the use of firearms and machetes in most of Manchester's deprived Inner City estates. In Salford's Ordsall estate, for example, several shots were fired at police vehicles and fire engines after a "mini riot" by young men from the estate (*The Guardian*: "Chief Constable pledges to keep order after shootings", 8.7.92 : 8). Journalists claimed that gangs "surrounded by an often spurious outlaw glamour" were operating on Manchester's Inner City estates:

> "Their business is based on the supply of 'party drugs' for Manchester's nightclub scene, married to protection, ram-raiding and 'ringing' cars (stealing high performance models to order). Their mainstays are cannabis ... and Ecstasy ... a trade enforced by ... sawn-off shotguns" (*Sunday Observer*, 12.7.92 : 23).

According to Hacienda disc jockey, Dave Haslam: "Guns are everywhere. You see boys trying to get into nightclubs with a bulge under their jacket - usually a mobile phone or a firearm" ('Olympic City's Gun Lore, *Sunday Observer*, 12.7.92 : 23). Tony Wilson echoed the view of former Assistant Chief Constable John Stalker and insisted that "guns were about fashion. Handguns had replaced trainers as accessories" ('Northern Soul Searchers, *Weekend Guardian*, 16.6.91 : 6). In the Summer months of 1993, a new glossy colour magazine appeared, aimed at the 'teens to 25 age group. Entitled *Phat*, which is scally street slang for 'hot', or good looking, the magazine's first issue aroused considerable controversy because of a front cover which featured a street kid in a hooded sweatshirt aiming a handgun with the tag lines, "teenage gangsta!" and, "Hot Stuff for Hoodlums". Editor, Gavin Hills, presented the unacceptable face of gun culture worship when he proclaimed: "The truth about guns is ... most kids think they're sexy" (*Phat*, Issue 1, July 1993). *The Guardian* (16.7.93 : 5) described the magazine as "a primer for junior deviants".

In Manchester, there were over 120 shooting incidents between 1991 and 1992 (*Sunday Observer*, 17.1.93). In the first three months of 1993, there were a further 320

gun crimes recorded by the Greater Manchester Police (*Media Guardian*, 9.8.93 : 2).

The police responded by targeting the "top twenty drug barons in the City" (*Manchester Evening News*, 23.11.92); there was to be a "police war on gun gangsters" (*Manchester Evening News*, 24.11.93), especially in those Inner City areas where "kids boast of bullet wounds" (*Manchester Evening News*, 25.11.93). In part, the police response was prompted by national media attention on the City after a series of drug-related gun and machete deaths which culminated in the murder of Benji Stanley, a fourteen year old boy gunned down in Moss Side in January 1993 (*The Guardian*: 'Killing marks new dimension in 'Gunchester' violence', 4.1.93 : 20; *Media Guardian*: 'Blood on the Streets', 9.8.93 : 2-4). Manchester's Inner City 'gangs' eventually found their way into the Sunday colour supplements, one edition of which included references to Maz, a study participant who retained the pseudonym he adopted in my study for the colour supplement interview. When I asked him about the interview with Gordon Burn in *The Sunday Observer* (*Observer Magazine*, 21.2.93 : 16-23), he maintained that:

> "'Rodney' [his co-interviewee] was the one who sorted it ... ah wus only there puntin' rocks [selling crack-cocaine] ... but Rodney 'e sez c'mon 'ave a laff man ... We filled 'im [Gordon Burn - the *Observer* reporter] up with 'gozz' [nonsense] ... 'e give us five tons [five hundred pounds] ... seemed like a top deal ... 'e wus askin' us 'bout the Moss [Moss Side] ... I don't know fuck all 'bout the Moss, ah wus just puntin' rocks ... Sorted 'im some pickies [photographs] o' rocks an' a tool [gun]. Rodney did all the talkin' ... pure gozz ... [Later that day] some o' the boys jumped 'is mate [the photographer] an' blagged 'is cameras ... we wus pissin' ourselves ... [They] ... said they'd cum back next day, [we] 'ad it sorted to turn 'im over [rob him] ... [but the] twats di'nt turn up ... [It was a] ... laff though ... [being] ... in thu paper an' that ... fuckin' superstar eh?!!"

After the Benji Stanley shooting, Moss Side community workers prepared themselves for the inevitable media invasion and sought to supply TV and newspaper journalists with a fact-filled broadsheet which highlighted the cumulative social impact of a decade of Tory rule. The broadsheet emphasised the extraordinarily high levels of unemployment in Moss Side which had been exacerbated by the privatisation of public services. Moss Side had traditionally provided many of the ancillary staff in hospitals, care assistants in residential homes, and local authority manual workers. These were sectors of the local labour market which had been dramatically affected by privatisation and labour shedding. The boradsheet also highlighted the implications of government proposals to abolish wage

councils (eventually achieved in September 1993) and reminded journalists that a quarter of all black employees worked in wage council sectors. As one Moss Side community activist, Gabrielle Cox, argued:

> "This is not to condone or excuse murder, violence, drug dealing ... [but] ... why should young people respect the law? ... Why should they believe that hard work will bring its own rewards when they have seen their hard working parents impoverished and humiliated by unemployment?"

Instead of the balanced media coverage naively hoped for by Moss Side community workers, what followed was lurid copy about the Inner City drug and gun culture. Gabrielle Cox condemned the media coverage and the journalists who were, she argued, "looking only for sensationalist copy":

> "They are not prepared to indict the truly guilty - those whose policies have starved communities like Moss Side of hope, have impoverished countless households, deprived a whole generation of a future. Also guilty are all those who throughout the eighties, have turned a ... deaf ear to the voices of anguish and pain from the inner cities, who have supported the culture of greed and selfishness" (*The Guardian:* Letters to the Editor, 5.1.93).

Hacienda co-owner, Tony Wilson, maintained that: "[If] you get rid of poverty ... you get rid of the gangs. Its fairly straightforward" (*Weekend Guardian*, 15.6.91 : 6).

The consumer boom which peaked in 1988 provided the background economic context for the 'Nice Vibe', 'Summer of Love' of the Madchester phenomenon. According to Will Hutton: "Crime actually fell in 1988 at the peak of the consumer boom" (*The Guardian*, 'Crime - the politicians' rich reward, 4.7.92). Until 1990, the seasonally adjusted unemployment figures showed a fairly unbroken downward trend following the peak of over 3 million unemployed recorded in 1986. However, the new decade saw a 'new' recession and unemployment began to rise, reaching a new peak of over 3 million in the same month as the shooting tragedy in Moss Side. Among study participants, the stringent economic climate of the 1990s, and the escalating levels of subcultural desperation, produced a renewed hardening of attitudes and an increased propensity towards violent crime involving the use of weapons. For Wilf, this was a logical

progression from carrying weapons when involved in dealing larger quantities of drugs to carrying weapons in order to "pull a blag":

"With a blag it's [the money] there. Raw quids, no fuckin' about ... An' there's only an 'andful of faces [few people involved] ... If you 'ave it away [don't get caught] you're not goin' down ... it's 'istory. With the biz [drug trade] it's up an' down ... always lookin' out, crap gear, rip-offs, an' there's all the fuckin' faces involved ... You pay for the stash [someone to hold the drugs in a safe place] ... an' no one wants to pay up front, it's all fuckin' lay-ons [drugs loaned for payment later] ... It's fuck ups all down thu line ... Next to that lot blags is easy."

Aside from a growing subcultural preoccupation with armed robbery and violent crime as a source of easy money, the 1990s also saw a return to a more elitist clothing style. In part, this movement reflected a reaction against the developing commercialisation and commodification of the street-defined styles of the late 1980s. The final nail in the coffin of the Madchester style phenomenon occurred when London designer houses began to market high street clothes under the 'Mad' and 'Scally' labels! There was a consequent trend away from the self-defined and created street styles of the late 1980s and a search for status and exclusivity in the clothes and footwear marketed by specialist camping, ski-wear and outdoor pursuits shops. The most desired footwear, for example, became the boots and shoes produced by the American 'Timberland' company. These retailed at between £100 and £250 and became the prized targets for a new generation of Northside 'hoisters'. The specialist mountaineering jackets and coats produced by 'Sprayway' and 'Berghaus' were gradually replaced by even more elitist fashions, Armand Basi slogan T-shirts (£60 each), suits by Gianni Versace, Yohji Yamamota, and Paul Smith, and miscellaneous items by designers such as Comme des Garçons, Gaultier, Vivienne Westwood, Thierry Mugler and John Richmond were pursued by the Northside Crew in their quest for recession style and status.

Change also occurred within the local music scene. Local bands, such as Northside and King of the Slums, for example, achieved a wider commercial success in the wake of the Madchester music phenomenon. Both bands succeeded in attracting recording deals with record labels and, as a consequence of their commercial success, no longer played gigs at local venues such as The Dome. The explosion of interest in Acid House and

Rave music produced a diverse range of musical forms and interests from Belgian techno, German hardcore techno, ambient house, techno-funk, and so on. There was also a revival in interest in 'Movement Soul', featuring a range of musical idioms from the New Jersey 'garage band', 'Trak This', to the New York House of 'Flower Blossom'. Much of the Movement Soul was highlighted by DJs such as Colin Curtis and Richard Searling, both survivors of the Northern Soul phenomenon described earlier, who retained a significant influence among the Northside Crew as a result of their shows on Sunset Radio.

The Northside Crew managed to retain their subcultural swagger into the early 1990s (and their late twenties), partly as a consequence of the reflected glory derived from their active participation in the Madchester phenomenon and the cultural prominence of the City as a whole in terms of music and fashion. They also derived a sense of status and 'success' as a result of the consistent achievements of 'their' football team, Manchester United. 'The Reds' maintained a consistently high footballing profile throughout the 1980s and early 1990s with a distinct reputation as a cup-winning team. Victories in the FA Cup Finals in 1983, 1985 and 1990 were crowned by a successful return to European competition when the team won the European Cup Winners Cup in 1991. The night that the team brought home the Cup, I travelled with the Northside Crew to the City Centre. Pavarotti was appearing at the G-Mex Exhibition Centre. Over 250,000 people crammed into the Town Hall Square and opera fans in dinner jackets mingled with soccer fans in red and white scarves. It was, as Digger put it, "a buzzin' night". The talk was of beating London for the Olympics bid and the pride they felt in their team and their City. Two years later, the team also ended over a quarter of a century of League Championship 'hoodoo' by winning the English Football League for the first time since 1967. This produced a charge of reflected pride, not only among Northsiders, but the City as a whole.

Sometimes, it seemed as though Manchester United's quarter century of failure in the Championship race was just a piece of cool and effective symbolism, an elaborate illustration of the fact that the 1960s golden age of English soccer flair was buried forever

beneath the muscular robotics of our over-coached teams.   The present team, however, contains faint but inspiring echoes of the sixties swashbuckling United sides.   As a media 'trinity', names like Giggs, Sharpe and Cantona have too many syllables and operate within a more rigid defensive soccer climate to compare with the effervescent footballing aesthetics of Manchester United's sixties heroes.   Nevertheless, they are as close an approximation as the 1990s is ever going to provide for the timeless Manchester United 'holy trinity' of the 1960s - Charlton, Law and Best.   There have been almost as many new Georgie Bests as there have been new Bob Dylans, but at eighteen years of age, Ryan Giggs is the most passable imitation to date and a worthy footballing 'hero' for the new generation of Northsiders.   However, after more than a decade of Tory rule and when viewed through the distorting lens of recent City-wide subcultural developments, it is not only Ryan Gigg's deathly pallor which provides a nagging reminder that these are less healthy times.

CONCLUSIONS

"Must the young stand alone? Must they be unorganised in spontaneous strategies so highly risky and destructive of persons whilst great machines of state lie idly, misunderstood or malevolently by?" (Willis 1988 : xxiv)

Introduction

My study has attempted to chart and document the ten year course of my involvement in the community of Hartingleigh. I have examined the history of my contacts with the residents of Hartingleigh and the staff, volunteers and affiliates of the Youth and Community Project. In particular, I have sought to outline and explore my fieldwork contacts with the young men and women who participated in, and contributed towards, the growth and development of the research. I have also sought to guide the reader through a theoretically eclectic, but descriptively rich and complex, account of the post-school transitions of study participants. In the exploration of participants' lives, since their school leaving in 1980, I have examined the implications of parental influence, family background residential location, gender, and local opportunity structures for the dynamic processes of transition and for the formation of adult roles, statuses and identities.

The different components of participants' post-school transitions involved different forms and degrees of economic and social participation in the wider society. Economic participation included, for example, participation in different levels and forms of post-school training and in employment (and under/unemployment). It also included economic participation in what Willis (1988) has described as the "citizenship of things", that is, participation as consumers of goods and services. It included participation in the household economy through financial contributions, or contributions to household labour and child care, and through the use of household resources; plus participation in recreation and leisure. Finally, the post-sixteen transition also included a growing participation in adult social life, in personal relationships of different levels of commitment and intensity, in sexual relationships, cohabitation/marriage, and parenthood.

During the 1980s, participants' transitions to adulthood were typically accompanied by attempts to sever complete financial and material dependence upon their parents and families. The process towards adult independence typically involved movement from the natal home towards residential independence. Such movements typically involved establishing an autonomous household, the development of long-term relationships, often formalised as marriage and leading to parenthood. In Britain, the typical components of the post-school transition to adulthood are enshrined in the legal/institutional acquisition of an autonomous adult citizenship. At the age of 16, for example, participants acquired the right to seek and accept contracts of full-time employment, or to run independent businesses. At the same age, participants became legally entitled to set up households independent of parents, or former legal guardians, to become (hetero-) sexually active, cohabit or marry.

The different components of the post-school transition are significant in defining citizenship and what is culturally defined and accepted as 'normal' in adulthood. According to Neugarten and Datan (1973), people are disposed to evaluate their own and others' movement through the life course in culturally circumscribed typologies of typicality: does one's transition conform to the culturally expected pattern of typicality, and do the components of transition occur in the culturally expected order? Research suggests that such normative expectations are particularly strong for young adults (Neugarten *et al* 1965) and that it is common for people to comment on their own and others' deviations from the normative pattern (Banks *et al* 1992 : 172). Examples reveal an implicit social control function within such normative expectations: "She'll never marry, she's a common tart"; "I married late"; "She doesn't want to leave home"; "He left home too soon"; "He didn't start work 'til he was twenty-six"; and so on. Whilst not attaching objective status to the pattern of what may 'normally' be expected, in terms of participants' post-sixteen transitions, these normative expectations do provide a framework of understanding, "against which we as researchers can ask [questions] about progress towards adulthood" (Banks *et al* 1992 : 172).

Among study participants, entitlement to the rights and accoutrements of adult citizenship, though legally enshrined, were, however, exercised in different ways, at different times and to differing degrees. Among the young working class, the ability to exercise the rights of adult citizenship, and the transition from a dependent status associated with residence in the parental home and reliance on parents for material support, to an adult independent status, have been traditionally correlated with the transition to full-time employment. In Chapter Four, I demonstrated how only a minority of study participants had taken all the traditional steps towards 'normal' adulthood outlined in the foregoing paragraphs. In 1986, for example, by the age of 22, around 40% of the participants in my study were still unattached and resident in the natal home, and only seven participants were sustaining residential independence in tandem with ongoing childrearing partnerships. By their early adulthood, the majority of participants in my study, nearly two-thirds, had failed to secure full-time employment following school leaving (see Table 9, Chapter Four, Section 4.4; Table 11, Chapter Five, Section 5.5, for details of participants' labour-market transitions).

The overall unemployment rate in Manchester in the 16 to 24 age group is one in three. In my study area throughout the 1980s, it was approximately one in two. It is important to recognise that unemployment is not some quality spread over the population generally - as if all that is required is for individuals to wait their turn for a 'fifty-fifty' chance to work, or to 'top up' their individual 'employability' skills and qualities through (un)employment training to further augment their chances. My research clearly reveals the geographic, class, and educational concentration of long-term unemployment. The working class young in Manchester are three times as likely as the middle class to be unemployed; Inner City dwellers many more times as likely again; the unqualified are also many times more likely than the qualified; and so on. These are cumulative and interconnected forms of inequality which make a mockery of notions of citizen entitlements, equality, or 'classlessness'. If you are young, unqualified, working class and living in the Inner City, then the prospects for full-time employment (and certainly for moderately well-paid

employment in decent surroundings) have more or less disappeared. The only commonly available 'legitimate' employment prospect now available to the young adults of my study is that of the revolving door of state schemes, the Black Magic Roundabout of Youth Training, Re-Start, and the Adult Training Scheme.

In this final section of my study, I shall attempt to draw together the various strands of my inquiry, and consider what general patterns can be discerned and what broad conclusions these suggest about the dynamic process of post-school transitions in a high unemployment Inner City area.

Summary and Conclusions

The fieldwork conducted during the fourth phase of my study (1986-1990) examined in close detail the patterned differences in participants' experiences of transition from school to employment or, as was the majority transition, from school to under- and unemployment. Post-school progressions into and within the labour market also reflected the movement of participants from childhood dependence into adult independence. Three of the participants in my study effected a traditional post-school progression directly from school into the primary sectors of the labour market. In previous, more prosperous, decades, the traditional transition was the most common post-school progression for the majority of the young working class. The increased propensity of study participants towards post-school long-term unemployment, and the severely restricted numbers of participants who secured the traditional route to adult occupations, reflects both the collapse of the local youth labour market and a fundamental breakdown in the unofficial social contract between citizens and the state.

In Chapter Six, I sought to highlight the interconnected advantages of family background, parental influence and residential location upon the traditional transitionaries' post-school progressions. The three study participants who had effected the traditional post-school transition to employment were from the minority of families in Hartingleigh

who had moved up the benign spiral of the securely employed. These were 'respectable' working class families whose members' prolonged employment in skilled jobs had resulted in home ownership and who were strongly committed to the value of work as a self-evident means to individual social mobility. The important personal, social and labour market advantages bequeathed by the families of the traditional transitionaries included the significant advantages of working class 'respectability'. Such advantages were bestowed on family members seeking work in a restricted job market. The factors I explored were: secure housing status (owner-occupation in Hartingleigh's 'respectable' areas); a domestic background of commitment to employment as a source of self-advancement; a family history of members' prolonged employment; and the consequent ability to confer labour-market advantages through informal workplace contacts. These were the factors that distinguished the three participants in my study who had successfully secured the traditional post-school transition to full-time employment from the vast majority who had not.

Local networks and family contacts are crucially dependent upon informal access to the primary (adult) sectors of the labour market. For the three study participants who had secured post-school transitions to work, successful entry into the labour market was either derived from parental employment, or from the employment of older siblings. In each case, family members were employed in skilled jobs. What is significant is that family members had been in full-time employment for a number of years and therefore had the necessary contacts and repute to ensure access to jobs for other members of the family. The prolonged employment of family members resulted in the ability to confer labour market advantages through informal workplace contacts.

Working class 'respectability' also translated itself into an existential 'getting on - getting out' frame of reference which structured identity and social orientation. According to Brown (1987 : 105), the 'getting out' (of the working class cultural context) frame of reference is especially developed by those who view their occupational and social potential

712

as culturally distinct from the majority of their neighbours and peers in the working class neighbourhood. Ordinarily, the transformation in social identity required to foster a 'getting on - getting out' frame of reference is mediated through the school. A normative, or normative-instrumental, orientation to education provides for academic success, with academic credentials providing the basis for class mobility. However, my research indicated that employment experience and success also provided a significant social domain, wherein class-cultural identity was either reinforced (through 'getting on' in class-cultural terms), or transformed (through 'getting out' of the class-cultural context). For Deirdre Sharp (hairdressing in an 'upmarket' internationally famous salon) and Denise Weldon (dental nursing), for example, their working environments and the influences derived from their experiences within them, provided the appearance of upward mobility and reinforced a 'getting out' frame of reference (Chapter Six, Section 6.4.2).

For the three study participants who attained the traditional post-school transition to employment, 'getting on - getting out' frames of reference were reinforced subsequently through income acquisition, enhanced social opportunities, and leisure mobility; a general expansion of material, social and cognitive horizons. Augmented social opportunity was translated into a parallel 'domestic career' transition into adult domestic life, into traditional adult roles and statuses. The traditional domestic career transition typically involved a life-course of leisure mobility - 'going out' - followed by courtship, residential mobility, engagement, marriage and parenthood. A traditional post-school transition to secure employment provided the economic foundation upon which stable, conventional, adult roles and identities were constructed. The income derived from full-time employment ensured, for example, the material foundation for future planning with regard to traditional relationship patterns, such as 'saving up' for marriage to provide for a home and to start a family. Although patterns of long-term forward planning and saving characterised the domestic careers of the traditional transitionaries, in each of the three cases, personal savings were also supplemented by parental financial support, as well as financial assistance from the parents of participants' future marriage partners. Such financial

support enabled the traditional transitionaries to undertake owner-occupation. Material support from the wider family network was also forthcoming in terms of household items and wedding presents, all of which conformed to a middle class pattern of "kin aid" discerned by Bell (1968). A final factor in the upward mobility ('getting out') career pattern of two of the women traditional transitionaries was the phenomenon of what Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) have identified as "marital mobility". The experience of the two women in the "marriage market" conformed to the notion of "marrying up" as identified by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992 : 254). Both Deirdre Sharp and Denise Weldon encountered moderately successful professional young men as a result of their workplace sociability. Traditional patterns of courtship, engagement, marriage, owner-occupation and parenthood followed and, as a result, both participants anticipated settled, privatised and upwardly mobile lives.

The traditional transition was the minority, and therefore atypical, post-school progression amongst study participants. By obtaining the right kind of employment upon school leaving, the three traditional transitionaries were able to construct lives and identities that were characterised by stability and optimism. The traditional transition to employment was paralleled by an almost stage-like domestic career progression characterised by extended courtship, long-term planning, owner-occupation, marriage and parenthood. What is most striking, when comparing the traditional transitionaries with others in my study, is how differently they perceived their lives and futures. The solidity of the traditional transitionaries' social identities, their self-presentation and self-confidence, served to provide the backcloth against which could be highlighted the alienation, or helplessness, expressed by other study participants. The lives of the traditional transitionaries provided stark contrast to the more forlorn and tenuous hopes, careful fatalism or attitudes of embittered alienation held by others in my study group.

In Chapter Seven, I examined the more common post-school transition to full-time employment. Eight study participants had effected what youth researchers have described

714

as "uneasy" (Corbett 1990), "ragged" (Wallace 1987), "extended" (Furlong 1992), or "protracted" (Roberts 1987) post-school, labour market transitions. The labour market experiences of the protracted transitionaries were characterised by prolonged periods of post-school unemployment, punctuated by underemployment in contract, casual and part-time work, various government inspired training schemes and special programmes including TOP, WEEP and Community Programmes, work within the local informal economy and also acquisitive crime, periods in post-sixteen education, and for two participants, periods of incarceration in borstal and prison. The different components of the protracted transition served to extend the progression to full-time employment, 'proper jobs', for periods of between four to almost eight years.

For each of the protracted transitionaries, their initial post-school progressions were unambiguous. They were not the traditional transition from school to work, but rather from school into unemployment. Prolonged periods of unemployment were, in most cases, punctuated by semi-compulsory participation in government training schemes, often enforced under the threat of benefit suspension or withdrawal. Participants' experiences with government scheming did not lead to employment and served only to delay their post-school transitions to what they identified as 'proper jobs'. The difficulties most participants had in getting jobs after government schemes created a local folk-lore about their exploitative, containment, or 'slave labour' qualities. Participants had a short-term instrumental orientation to schemes and often viewed them as an inferior substitute for proper jobs. The protracted transitionaries were characterised by an overwhelming desire for full-time employment.

Although the protracted transitionaries' post-school progressions were characterised by extended bouts of unemployment, this did not lead to labour market withdrawal or an erosion of work commitment. Labour market withdrawal was a significant factor in the post-school transitions of study participants who had moved into 'alternative careers' within Hartingleigh's sub- and anti-employment subcultures; for the protracted

transitionaries, however, work commitment was maintained.   I discerned various factors to account for the process of sustained work commitment among the protracted transitionaries, and, like the traditional transitionaries, parental influence, family background, and residential location, were important considerations.

The families of the protracted transitionaries were typically situated at the mid-point of the local 'rough-respectable' continuum.   Participants were generally drawn from families who lived in local authority housing on Hartingleigh's Canton and Marton estates.   In terms of local perceptions, these areas were considered not as 'respectable' as the owner-occupied terraces of the Kings Road district, but not as 'rough' as the Jungle (the Chicken Lane estate).   The eight protracted transitionaries were characterised by a general commitment to the orthodox labour market, in part due to the example of the full-time employment of their family income providers (usually fathers), who were typically in full-time employment.   However, in contrast to the families of the traditional transitionaries, the income providers within the families of the protracted transitionaries were generally employed in low-skilled or unskilled jobs.   As such, family members were unable to supply the significant personal, social, or labour market, advantages as the family members of the traditional transitionaries.

In terms of the employment commitment conferred by working class 'respectability', which characterised the family background and parental influence of the traditional transitionaries, the income providers within the families of the protracted transitionaries tended to view work as a means to an end, not as a method for social advancement, or as a source of intrinsic satisfaction.   As a consequence, the main income providers within the families of the protracted transitionaries viewed employment status as forming a more peripheral part of their overall self-image than did the income providers within the families of the traditional transitionaries.   The distinction between modes of work commitment was significant, for, like their parents, the protracted transitionaries were typically characterised by an 'alienated' orientation to employment.   According to Brown (1987 :

131), the 'alienated' orientation gives rise to an existential 'getting in' frame of reference, which is characterised by the overwhelming desire to get in to the adult working class culture through employment, and the income derived from employment. The undiminished desire of the protracted transitionaries to 'get into' employment was not informed by a concomitant desire to enter work for its intrinsic satisfactions, or as a means to individual self-advancement, but rather to attain adult working class status and autonomy by earning a wage. Work commitment was generally sustained because of the realisation that work provided the key to material satisfactions and the enjoyment of non-work time. The autonomous wage was viewed as a symbolic marker of working class adulthood.

Evidence for the non-erosion of the labour market commitment of the protracted transitionaries was gleaned from the amount of dedicated effort they devoted to job searching. Even in the face of several years of fruitless job searching, rejection by potential employers, exploitation and inadequate supervision and training on schemes, the failure of such schemes to result in employment, and despite the significant periods of time participants spent in casual, contract, informal, and part-time work, the protracted transitionaries, nevertheless, maintained their commitment to finding 'proper jobs'.

The domestic career transitions of the eight study participants who effected protracted labour market transitions may be contrasted vividly with the experiences of the three study participants who secured a traditional transition to primary employment upon school leaving. The traditional transitionaries' domestic careers followed a clear cut life-course progression. The traditional transitionaries left home and were formally engaged to be married by their early twenties, and had all married and undertaken owner-occupation and parenthood by their mid-twenties. Traditional transitions to employment were reflected in relatively unambiguous transitions to traditional adult roles and statuses. In contrast, the post-school transitions of the eight participants who undertook a protracted route to proper jobs were characterised by economic instability, which prevented the forward

planning and 'saving for the future' which had characterised the domestic careers of the traditional transitionaries. Among the protracted transitionaries, relationship/family formation was extended and complex, and characterised by economic instability and social insecurity. Progressions to adult roles were typically elongated, delayed by lack of income, marred by residential dependence and, in some cases, characterised by psychological precariousness. Institutionalised economic instability produced by participation in 'sink' schemes and protracted bouts of unemployment was reflected in the social ambiguity of transitions to adulthood. Essentially, the protracted transitionaries were attempting post-school progressions to adulthood without employment, often whilst still living at home with their parents. Most were unable to sustain residential independence until their mid- to late twenties and only two of the eight successfully undertook owner-occupation.

The patterns of economic instability, social and residential insecurity, and psychological ambiguity were also repeated in the post-school transitions of the majority group within my study, the long-term unemployed. Their experiences in the labour market frequently produced cyclical transitions. This was a Black Magic Roundabout of post-school unemployment, government scheming, underemployment, more unemployment, more schemes, and so on. To some extent, this pattern was similar to that of the protracted transitionaries. However, unlike the protracted transitionaries, for those study participants who undertook a post-school cyclical transition, primary employment was not an end result. The cyclical transitionaries could, therefore, be distinguished from the protracted transitionaries in terms of their final labour market destinations. The cyclical transitionaries were study participants whose post-sixteen progressions into adulthood occurred entirely in the absence of the major identity 'structuring' influence of full-time employment. The devastation of the prospects for work for the majority group within my study was also a devastation of their sense of the future. As Willis (1988) has argued, the income derived from employment is the means towards an autonomous future adult identity:

"The wage is the crucial pivot for social and cultural transitions into what society defines as adulthood: making plans for marriage and settling down; moving into a household separate from parents; becoming a consumer and exercising some power in the market place; joining the drama and the power struggles of the ways in which we make ourselves and our futures through the world of work" (1988 : 261).

In Chapter Eight, I explored the career components of a cyclical mode of post-school progression. These broadly duplicated the labour market experiences of the protracted transitionaries and contained early movements into and out of unemployment, interspersed with participation in one or more varieties of (un)employment training schemes. Discussions with study participants produced reactions to government scheme participation that were ranged in a continuum from unfavourable to bitterly hostile. References were made to the poor working conditions of those schemes with work experience components, and the failure of such schemes to provide the amount, or type, of training promised. Complaints were also made about the derisory training allowances, the element of compulsion invoked to undertake the schemes under threat of benefit withdrawal, and the sense of being 'ripped off' for working alongside full-time employees earning up to four times the training allowance for doing exactly the same work. There were further expressions of bitter complaint concerned with the sense of being patronised, or being treated 'like shit', by training supervisors on community based schemes or training workshops. There was no evidence amongst study participants that multiple scheme participation provided access to employment, or compensated for social and educational disadvantage. The most common complaint among study participants was that cyclical transitions into and out of schemes and special programmes had not produced 'proper jobs'. The thirty-nine participants had between them amassed a total of almost ninety training schemes of different varieties and styles. In terms of the aggregate amount of time, this represented a staggering total of almost sixty years of their lives. In only one case had scheme participation provided direct access to a 'proper job'. Thus, I have argued that the evolution of an implicit 'national youth policy' of containment and socialisation *via* the interventions of government policy (mobilised through the MSC as a central state agency for youth) reflects, into the late twentieth century, the historical

continuity of 'respectable fears' concerning the young unemployed working class. As a consequence, they have found themselves increasingly 'conscripted' onto schemes and thus ' kept off the streets'. The provision of 'training for jobs' has ensured relative compliance. Social control has been attempted through time and work discipline, containment secured through surveillance, regulation, and "schooling for the social order" (Gleeson 1986 : 393).

The majority of participants who endured government scheming and post-school cyclical transitions on the Black Magic Roundabout had, by the mid 1980s, entered the massed ranks of the long-term unemployed. The long-term unemployed in my study group were characterised by a number of distinctive factors. They were all drawn from Hartingleigh's council estates, and nineteen participants had originated from the most stigmatised of Hartingleigh's estates, namely the Chicken Lane estate, known locally as 'the Jungle' and commonly understood to be the 'roughest' estate on the Northside (of Manchester). I also highlighted the significant levels of trans-generational unemployment to be found on the estate. Aside from their original residential location on the estates characterised by persistently high unemployment and from within families at the 'rough' end of the 'rough-respectable' continuum, the long-term unemployed were also characterised by extensive familial and parental unemployment. For twenty-two of the twenty-five study participants who had entered more or less permanent unemployment, their families contained main income providers (generally fathers) who were also unemployed. Unemployment within such families was endemic and often such families were also characterised by the unemployment of older and/or younger siblings. As working family members may be a useful source of unadvertised job vacancies, family unemployment may be considered responsible for severing participants from an important, informal, information network. Moreover, in the case of eight of the long-term unemployed participants, paternal figures were actually absent from the household due to death, divorce and separation, or long-term imprisonment.

Despite the illusion of greater opportunity for young people in the 1980s and the increased variety of post-sixteen progression routes, youth research literature has repeatedly demonstrated that, throughout the Thatcher decade, it was young people from socially and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds who remained most vulnerable to long-term unemployment. In Hartingleigh, where unemployment remained high throughout the decade, it was precisely those young people from parts of the Ward characterised by residential stigma and social disadvantage, whose family backgrounds contained absent, or long-term unemployed, main income providers, for whom the school to work transition was most problematic.

The absence, or long-term unemployment, of the parents of the cyclical transitionaries precluded significant parental intercession, both in terms of the ability to bestow social or labour market advantages, and in terms of the inculcation of work commitment or aspirations related to the formal labour market. This was in stark contrast to the significant degree of parental influence and intercession exercised by the parents of the traditional transitionaries on their offspring and, to a lesser degree, the protracted transitionaries.

Although the families of the unemployed cyclical transitionaries did not contribute significantly to the inculcation of work commitment and labour market aspirations, most participants, nevertheless, unsuccessfully attempted post-school entry to the formal labour market. However, employment commitment was replaced by cynicism and disillusionment, in part as a consequence of early labour market experiences but, most importantly, as a result of participants' experiences with the futility of the Black Magic Roundabout of cyclical transitions through unemployment, underemployment and 'sink' schemes. The smouldering resentment engendered by such experiences provided a partial explanation for the abandonment of labour market commitment - and the proactive development of sub- and anti-employment norms and values, a realistic response to a bleak situation.

Cyclical transitions, labour market withdrawal, and long-term unemployment had profound consequences for participants' domestic career transitions. For male study participants, cyclical transitions and labour market withdrawal typically resulted in a retreat into the norms, values, and alternative status systems of their peer group subcultures. Participants built on a collective sense of identity constructed out of an exaggerated and predominantly aggressive version of working class machismo. Group bonding and solidarity ensured that same-sex friendship patterns and affiliations formed the predominant focus for domestic progressions. For six of the long-term unemployed males, commitment to the generating milieu of their localities and peer groups militated against early residential mobility. Eight male participants, however, sustained residential independence as a consequence of income derived from 'fiddle' jobs or acquisitive crime. Of all study participants, the unemployed males displayed the most complex variation in domestic career transitions, but most were generally unsuccessful in sustaining ongoing childrearing relationships. The pressure, insecurity, lack of stable routine, and sometimes danger, associated with alternative modes of transition mitigated against stability or emotional durability in relationship/family formation.

By 1990, the following overall picture of the domestic career transitions of the fourteen long-term unemployed males could be discerned. Three participants were resident in the natal home and unattached, although one participant had separated from his former partner and child. Five participants had effected residential independence and were unattached, although four of these participants had separated from childrearing relationships. Four participants had effected residential independence and were sustaining ongoing childrearing relationships, although one partner had separated from his original partner and their child in order to establish a second relationship with a young woman and her two children. Two participants had effected sustained residential independence and were cohabiting and childless, although one of the participants had formerly cohabited with another young woman.

The complex variation in domestic career transitions and the lack of success among the long-term unemployed males in generally sustaining childrearing relationships may be attributed to various factors. The lack of stable routine associated with the disciplines of formal employment, together with the life-style associated with participants' 'alternative transitions', were often incompatible with sustained childrearing partnerships. Sometimes continuity in relationships was broken by periods of absence spent 'on remand', or in prison. Although the majority of participants had undertaken childrearing relationships and fathered one, or more, children, only three participants successfully sustained ongoing relationships with their original partners. The masculine 'code of honour', and the exaggerated subcultural emphasis on hardness, emotional detachment and perceived machismo, also inhibited the development of a durable intimacy with women.

There was a general pattern among the separated male participants of 'absentee parenthood', of periodically visiting their former partners in order, "to see the kids". Some participants developed semi-nomadic life-styles based on movement between their own accommodation, the homes of their friends and girlfriends, the parental home, and the home of their former partner. A restless instability was often fuelled by drug-taking and the lack of daily routine associated with long-term detachment from the disciplines of full-time employment. Such instability was also reflected in the 'booms and slumps' of anti-employment, sub-employment 'careers'.

The mediation of gender in participants' cyclical transitions produced gender-based responses to long-term unemployment, and labour market withdrawal was articulated in distinctive gender-bound domains - the home and the street. Whereas, the males fell back on an exaggerated version of masculinity, women retreated into a domestic version of femininity. The domestic career transitions of the long-term unemployed women were circumscribed by a working class cultural emphasis on a domestic apprenticeship of homecare and childrearing. Early domestic careers of pregnancy, childrearing, and homecaring served generally to locate women in positions of economic and domestic

723

subordination. Domestic roles and duties effectively kept the women divided and dependent. In such situations, there was a typical withdrawal from labour market commitment and aspirations into a taken-for-granted fatalistic acceptance of traditional domestic roles and duties. Of the eleven women who in 1989-1990 could be identified as long-term unemployed, eight were responsible for the care of two or more dependent children, and ten were either married or cohabiting with male partners. Lack of viable options, such as, for example, the possibility of a 'proper job' or independent style of life, made, what I have described as the 'mothering option', a higher status 'occupation' than long-term, under- or unemployment.

The overall unemployment rate for young women is broadly similar to that for young men. However, the new broken transitions suggest that the traditional roles of young working class women have intensified. Thus, for the women in my study the notions of 'choice' and 'freedom' carried little meaning. Choice would only have meant something if women participants had access to a range of opportunities - including 'proper' jobs - and if such opportunities carried a 'social wage'. Such demands should be at the heart of policy development, but they are not, and, until they are, policy makers should not be surprised by women's continued interest in gender-specific escape attempts to mitigate the meaningless and boredom of long-term unemployment. Whether, for example, single parenthood is 'chosen', and whether or not it creates an alternative route towards the definition of an adult identity and residential independence, for the long-term unemployed women in my study it generally brought greater entrapment in poverty, in the home, in further domestic work, and in heightened social isolation (with the dubious eventual 'escape' into heterosexual relationships). The recent targeting of lone parents, i.e. 'single mothers', by New Right representatives such as Peter Lilley and John Redwood indicates that, under a spurious Victorian morality, the lone parent is to be ideologically shunted into the category of undeserving poor as a precursor for reductions in entitlement to, and further cuts in, state support. Evidence suggests 'single mothers' are not only abandoned by men (patriarchy), but that they are also to be abandoned by the economy (capitalism),

as the so-called, 'neutral' state seeks further to reduce social expenditure. Arguably, the achievement of adulthood for young working class women is still largely dependent on their relationship to men who dominate the worlds of education, work and policy. Therefore, the 'choices' for young working class women are even more limited than they are for young working class men. One has only to consider the terminology; to be a 'family man' is a symbol of respectability for men, to be a 'family woman', without a man, the reverse. This is not because of any intrinsic factors concerned with the adequacy of the 'single mother', but because of extrinsically created and perpetuated male (patriarchal/capitalist) social values.

Under the heading: "Do they want to marry a man or the state?", a thoroughly offensive cartoon recently appeared in *The Sunday Times* of a feckless bride marrying a male figure called Social Security, while pig-like children crawled among her skirt and a tattooed man stood in the background pouring lager down his throat. Behind them, of course, were the obligatory tower blocks, the other symbols of 'brutalist' architecture and urban decay. The overclass's view of the so-called 'underclass' makes for ugly reading. Although the majority of lone parents are widowed, divorced, or separated, and have therefore tried and failed, for whatever reason, to attain the dominant ideal of the nuclear family, the caricature of the 'lazy breeder' who allows herself to be impregnated in order to 'scrounge off the taxpayer', or 'jump the housing queue' is the image routinely resurrected. Again, government culpability is smokescreened behind Victorian morality, and the policies of those that have precipitated the social conditions which foster such desperate escape attempts - which are inevitably accompanied by penury - remain hidden. Evidence from research participants indicates that, had other options or 'choices' been available, they would have been taken and pursued. A way forward would be to ensure adequate pre-school independent childcare, or tax relief, or changes in benefit regulations, which would make part-time work a feasible proposition. But such policy innovations imply a collectivist and non-patriarchal societal response that is at odds with the ideological impetus of government strategy. It is easier simply to blame the victims.

I would agree with Coffield *et al* (1986) and Willis (1988) who have called for a new 'social contract' for young people and for "programmes of positive discrimination in favour of young women" (Coffield *et al* 1986 : 226). This would need to be addressed at all levels. At the level of national policy, all women are at the receiving end of an institutionalised sexism, which is still unselfconscious and self-perpetuating; thus the MSC document, *A New Training Initiative* (1981), groups together: "Women, disabled people and members of ethnic minorities" (1981 : 4). At the local level, scheme allocation procedures reproduce sexist assumptions about women's roles and, as a result, careers offices often develop an "inbuilt tendency not to take [women] quite so seriously" (see Chapter Eight, Section 8.6.1). Enabling initiatives, such as those advocated within anti-sexist youthwork principles and practice, could be actively promoted rather than economically marginalised; a new social contract for young women can only be effective if it is educative and if women can seize the reins of any new initiatives that are created. Limited evidence for the effectiveness of such a strategy within youthwork was provided by Amanda Gardiner (Chapter Eight, Section 7.8.7) who, through a practical engagement with anti-sexist youthwork, was able to recreate her adult identity free from the imposition of conventional role expectations. The new social contract for working class women must similarly begin to challenge the relentless continuity of their lives as carers of the home, of children and of men.

Recent youth transitions research has suggested that post-sixteen progressions have become freer from class-gendered constraints, that the opening up of new post-school training routes implies that young people can construct their futures within newly created institutional spaces (*cf* Chisholm *et al* 1990). My study generally does not support this view. Basic survival within the "canopy of structured inequality" (Riseborough 1993 : 2) was the dominant experience of research participants. Like Roberts (1993), I would argue that: "For working class youth, beneath the mirage of wider opportunities, descent into unemployment was the main new career trajectory created by trends in the 1980s"

(1993 : 245). Thus, within the overarching context of structured inequality, my research

conforms to the broad findings of the recent ESRC 16-19 Initiative:

"The deprivation associated with a less prosperous home background continued in the
late 1980s to shape adult destinations of young people, [and] the deprivation associated
with a depressed local labour market was almost equally profound in its effects" (Banks
et al 1992 : 183).

Within my study, I have sought to draw out the relationship between institutional and

structural developments - such as the collapse of the local youth labour market and the

local effects of government policy interventions in areas such as housing, welfare benefits

and post-school training - and study participants as active social agents, often responding

proactively to changes rather than simply being "propelled" or "programmed" (Roberts

1993 : 223) by them.   As C. Wright-Mills has advised researchers, the challenge of

sociology is to understand both the objective (history) and subjective (biography) aspects

of social life, locating them historically and interpreting the relationship between these

interrelated dimensions.   This remains the challenge facing future researchers interested in

post-school transitions.   Following from C. Wright Mill's dictum, and also from my own

predilections, my research provides evidence of the empowering proactivity and resistance

of the subcultures of the long-term unemployed.   Of all the post-sixteen transition routes,

what happens to young people after the movement into long-term unemployment is the

most under-researched.   Lack of research access, compounded by a host of ethical and

political considerations, has prevented researchers from venturing into this, as yet,

undisclosed social realm.   In Chapter Nine of my study, I examined a typology of

alternative careers and transitions and, in Chapter Ten, I sought to examine the slide into

the sub-economy and the acquisitive crime mode in the context of the subcultural milieu

within which such alternative transitions were constructed.   I argued that the subcultures

of the long-term unemployed provided an alternative, though largely symbolic, basis for

life-course transitions and, at the same time, supplied non-conventional criteria for re-

constructing self-identity and self-esteem.   Like Willis (1990 : 156):   "These have been

my own [micro] questions ... how [objective] subordination is sometimes lived

727

[subjectively] as celebration;   why oppressed groups go so lively to their own confinement" (brackets in original).

My work in these areas indicated that, in concrete situations, symbolic [micro] subcultural creativity produced responses to changes that occurred at the [macro] economic, structural and institutional levels.   Subcultural creativity hints at the possibilities for oppositional, independent, or alternative reformulations of the self.   The subcultures of the long-term unemployed circumvent the transition to adulthood defined by the new regulating, institutional youth agencies, and procreate the exploration of alternatives.   They pushed against the definitions of, and as a consequence, partially changed, the stages, meanings, and impositions of the old conventional local transitions.   I argued that alternative transitions and careers could best be understood as "status sequences which involved choice patterns" (*cf Coles* forthcoming).   I argued that individuals intentionally pursued and/or actively constructed alternative transitions, but that it would be a mistake to assume a clear-cut life plan with unconstrained patterns of motivation and 'free choice'.   As participants maintained: "No job, no money, what fuckin' choice", or "Beggars can't be choosers" (Chapter Five, Section 5.7).   Thus, as Willis has argued: "There are choices but not choices over choices" (1990 : 159).

The objective material circumstances which generate "relative deprivation" (Lea and Young 1984), or "status frustration" (Cloward and Ohlin 1960) link objective (historical) and subjective (biographical) dimensions in the genesis of alternative transitions.   As Cloward and Ohlin have observed:

"When pressures from unfulfilled aspirations and blocked opportunity become sufficiently intense many lower class youth turn away from legitimate channels, adopting other means beyond conventional mores which might offer a possible route to success goals" (1960 : 105).

This is not to argue for a crude cultural, or materialist determinism, or that objective material circumstances inevitably determine subjective feelings and responses.   It may not be a one-to-one causal relationship but to argue that -

" ... people in our culture who are absolutely worse off than they were or expected to be, and who are still young enough to both resent and resist this, will not have a stronger tendency towards deviance, seems curious to say the least" (Box 1987 : 196).

Of course not all those who are impoverished by long-term unemployment turn to acquisitive crime, but without such considerations as relative deprivation, status frustration, or the "current grotesque levels of income inequalities" (Box 1987 : 201), it is difficult to see how else the motivational elements of individual predispositions might be generated, unless, of course, we return to evasive reactionary arguments which rest on issues of biology, or individual moral defectiveness, or victims' carelessness, etc. (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8.7).

The 'causes' of the predisposition towards acquisitive crime are, in my thesis, rooted in moral indignation, resistance, and material circumstances. However, the phrases 'career' and 'career choice present a picture of participants choosing freely from a wide range of alternatives. In the everyday world of the young working class of Hartingleigh, choices were constrained by a variety of factors including a background of social and economic disadvantage, stigmatised residential location, absentee fathers, trans-generational unemployment, the cynicism and alienation of a broken unwritten social contract, and participants' post-school labour market experiences. Alternative careers and transitions were evolved within a cultural ecology of alternative enterprise that was tolerant of acquisitive law-breaking as a domain for proactivity and resistance. For the long-term unemployed males in particular, alternative transitions articulated oppositional cultural patterns which drew on elements derived form the parent culture in a creative and potentially transformative fashion. Alternative transitions were frequently sustained by the focal concerns of the sub- and anti-employment subcultures which, through activities such as 'totting' or 'grafting' not only appropriated the colloquialisms of the parent culture, but also reinvented them, investing them with new subcultural meanings and behaviours.

In making what Becker (1963) has indicated is the crucial initial career 'choice', participants' decisions were circumscribed by the trans-generational transmission of a

subcultural ethos of law-breaking behaviour. The subcultural social theatre provided a domain for the articulation of a negation or inversion of conventional norms and values, which, for example, allowed participants to redefine law-breaking and negative societal labelling in a positive, status-enhancing, light. Within the overarching context of diminished legitimate opportunity for constructing, or asserting, adult status and identity, participants evolved and fostered alternative, subcultural, status systems which accorded prestige to law-breaking behaviours, demeanours and endeavours.

I also highlighted the paradoxical role of both the Juvenile Justice System and the adult custodial experience in reinforcing resistance and opposition, through the provision of an additional impetus in the direction of criminal solidarity, and, as an additional source of subcultural status. In view of the resurrection of the "hang 'em, flog 'em and gaol 'em" rhetoric of the most recent Conservative Party Conference, and the impending policy changes signalled by Home Secretary Michael Howard, I would follow Box (1987 : 199-213) in recommending that a more practical way forward would be to imprison fewer, rather than more, petty young offenders. Scotland Yard have been blunt in attributing last year's rise in crime in London to the deteriorating social conditions in the poorest parts of the capital (*Guardian* 9.1.93 : 22). Thus it is not only sociologists who recommend that the way to reduce the vicious cycle of crime-prison-marginalisation-crime-prison, etc., is to address the social problems which have precipitated it; problems such as long-term youth unemployment, and the 'grotesque' inequalities of education, opportunity, income and wealth. In the meantime, the poor will continue to make their own history and construct their own solutions.

In Britain, the irregular economy has long been a historical fact of working class life. Participants whose lives became organised around moves into, and out of, sub-employment had already taken the first steps into illegality by not declaring the income to 'the Social'. Activities in the intermediate range of alternative careers - such as 'hustling' or 'totting' - merely extended the transition into law-breaking activity. Such a movement

further separated participants from the restraining codes and conventions of orthodox citizenship, and allowed them to progress further into a marginal, semi-legal existence. The connections I explored in Chapter Ten between the subcultural trends in the Madchester dance, music, fashion and football culture meshed with an alternative enterprise organised around the status roles of 'hustling' drugs. The subcultural routines and easy income derived from 'hustling' served finally to remove participants from any investment in waged labour in the formal sector of the economy and from the conventional routes towards the definition of adult self and identity.

The transition from early careers within the alternative enterprise of the local informal economy to intermediate careers of 'hustling' coincided with new opportunities for alternative income acquisition and status definition supplied by the wider subcultural landscape. The impact of the Madchester Acid House and Rave phenomenon was overwhelming. Within the subcultural focal concerns, style, music and drugs were the resources utilised to articulate a hedonistic irreverent attitude, and they also provided the symbolic means for articulating a sense of community and of community resistance and opposition. The anti-employment ethos of the Rave culture also inverted conformist values, such as work commitment, so that the ability to prosper, 'scally style', without recourse to paid employment became a measure of self-worth and status - a virtue in itself.

Anti-employment careers took various forms but were generally characterised by an angry and apocalyptic viewpoint, a fundamental rejection of the restraining codes of conventional citizenship. I outlined the general contours of several anti-employment careers. The alternative career of the 'blagger', perhaps, represented the ultimate culmination of an anti-employment posture. The 'blagger's' main resource was a mad courage; the kind of courage required to enter the public space of conventional citizenship to forcibly take what they believed was simply their due. The overriding concern with an image of machismo offered alternative routes towards defining an essentially fragile masculine psychological and economic potency. Lacking nearly every social attribute that

defines status, or success, in conventional terms those members of the anti-employment subculture inflated the one quality they had dominion over - their masculinity. This provided the basis for group solidarity in the face of disadvantage in every other respect.

The symbolic sense of community generated by the group bonding, solidarity and loyalty of their subcultural affiliations also provided the Northside with a sense of organic community. It was a "magical recovery of community" (Clarke 1976 : 99); "an attempt to retrieve some of the socially cohesive elements destroyed in their parent culture" (P. Cohen 1980 : 83). The "magical recovery of community" was achieved through drugs, style, music, football and communication - listening, dancing, talking, singing, chanting - through 'making' messages and symbolic history and biography, not receiving them from the 'top down'. The symbolic challenge to the dominant moral order was not pitched at the level of material resources, although in the case of the anti-employment factions material rewards were generated from acquisitive law-breaking, but, rather, resistance was articulated in the terrain of cultural symbolism; through chemically changed consciousness, anti-fashion, drugs, the symbolic community of the Rave, trance-dancing, and the symbiotic 'success' generated through football affiliations and acquisitive crime. Thus, as always, the subcultural community of the Northside did not offer any effective challenge to the 'orderings' of inequality:

> "The development and emergence of proto-communities may signal not so much a fundamental change in the orderings of power, class and economic interests as a shift in how these things become lived and perceived" (Willis 1990 : 142).

Nevertheless, through their subcultural concerns and the 'magical', 'symbolic', recovery of community, the Northside, for a brief subcultural 'moment', fashioned a self-generated response to the Thatcherite onslaught on their lives and community. Such an onslaught could not go unanswered and, even as I write, the new spontaneous Inner City responses are being generated - incidentally feeding reactionary myths and stereotypes as they do.

Final Thoughts

In seeking to investigate and analyse the subcultural creativity of the long-term unemployed and, as best I can, represent their interests, I am caught in the huge moral dilemma brought about by exposure to and involvement in the telling of hidden secrets about private knowledges. Thus, although subcultures cannot attack, much less defeat, power and inequality, they depend for their success on stealth, on the ability to sneak between the cracks in systems of social control. Ducking and diving, 'hustling' and 'totting', creating opportunity in the face of disadvantage, subculture maintains its autonomy by spontaneity, by keeping one step ahead of incorporation. Exposure, analysis, the telling of profane secrets, may aid social control if not, indeed, criminal control and prosecution. Exposure may also serve the process of blaming the victims through imputed pathology, rendering the subculture as the 'problem' and not the social conditions of their existence. However, "some private knowledges actually cry out to go public". For the point is to uncover the dialectic between agency and structure "not for the university seminar, but for its relevance to local action; to help in the politicisation of cultural knowledge; to make struggle (practice) more dialectically informed with its own attendant forms of knowledge (theory)" (Willis 1988 : xxiv). For the young must not stand alone - it is the responsibility of adults to engage in their experience and perception, to do the work of preparation and analysis. It is the responsibility of us all to help to fashion the circumstances in which the profane creativity of the young may be enabled and empowered by our advocacy: "To create the conditions in which spontaneous creativity can be more constructive and able to benefit from rational perspectives" (Willis 1988 : xxiv).

The analysis should start from the dialectics of inequality, although such analyses inevitably inform the dialectics of change, perhaps of liberation, so that human agents might more knowingly perceive how inequality shapes life chances and post-school transitions to adulthood: "Their problem is related to the scarcity of good chances and practice, not pathology" (Parker 1974 : 205). The tools of analysis and understanding

provide the bases for change and the creation of new possibilities for agency and culture. At best, therefore, my thesis is an attempt to 'ring the bells' of advocacy and understanding - an attempt to contribute to the process of change. The young working class of my home City are generating their own, often desperate, responses and solutions to the social and economic onslaught on their communities, and I would be failing in my responsibility to participants and others like them to ignore the tolling of the bells of anger ringing deep from within the Inner City:

> "Ring the bells, wake the town
> Everyone is sleeping, shout at the crowd
> Wake them up
> This anger's deeper than sleep"

> (James: RING THE BELLS 1992)

REFERENCES

Abbott, Pamela and Wallace, Claire, (1990) *An Introduction to Sociology: Feminist Perspectives*, London, Routledge.

Abrams, F., (1992) *Careers and Identities: Adolescent Attitudes to Employment, Training and Education, Their Home Life, Leisure and Politics*, ESRC Research Briefings No.4.

Abrams, M., (1959) *The Teenage Consumer*, London, Press Exchange Papers No.5.

Abrams, M., (1964) *The Newspaper Reading Public of Tomorrow*, London, Odhams.

Acker, Joan, (1973) Women and Social Stratification: A Case of Intellectual Sexism. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.78.

Acker, Joan, (1980) Women and Stratification: A Review of Recent Literature. *Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, Vol.9.

Adams, R.N. and Preiss, J.J., (1960) *Human Organizan Research*, Homewood Ill., Dorsey Press.

Adams *et al*, (1981) *A Measure of Diversion?*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Adler, Patricia A. and Adler, Peter, (1983) Shifts and Oscillations in Deviant Careers: The Case of Upper Level Drug Dealers and Smugglers, *Social Problems*, Vol.31, No.2, December, 195-207.

Adler, Patricia A. and Adler, Peter, (1987) Past and Future of Ethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, April, 6-23.

Adler, Patricia A. and Adler, Peter, (1988) *Membership Roles in Field Research*, Newbury Park CA, Sage.

Advisory Centre for Education, (1980) *Disruptive Units*, London, 6-7 May.

Advisory Centre for Education and The National Association for Multicultural Education, (1981) *Disruptive Units*, London, 8-10 July.

Agar, M., (1980) *The Professional Stranger*, New York, Academic Press.

Aggleton, P., (1987) *Rebels Without A Cause*, Lewes, Falmer.

Ainley, Patrick, (1986) *Shades of the Prison House: Working Class Resistance to State Intervention in the Established Transition from School to Work*, BSA Annual Conference, Loughborough University.

Ainley, P. and Corney, M., (1990) *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*, London, Cassell.

Albermarle Report, (1960) *The Youth Service in England and Wales*, London, HMSO, Cmnd.6458.

Allatt, Patricia, (1988) Time to Leave?, *New Society*, 1 April, 19-21.

Allatt, P. and Yeandle, S., (1986) It's Not Fair, Is It? Youth Unemployment, Family Relations and the Social Contract. In; S. Allen *et al* (eds), *The Experience of Unemployment*.

Allen, John and Hamnet, Chris (eds), (1991) *Housing and Labour Markets, Building The Connections*, London, Unwin Hyman.

Allen, Rob, (1984) The Cult of the Casual, *Youth In Society*, Sept.

Allen, Sheila, (1982) Gender Inequality and Class Formation. In A.Giddens and G. Mackenzie (eds), *Social Class and the Division of Labour*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Althusser, L., (1971) Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, London, New Left Books.

Anderson, Nels, (1923) *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, Nels, (1961) *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (reprinted with new introduction), Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, Nels, (1983) A Stranger at the Gate: Reflections on the Chicago School of Sociology, *Urban Life*, Vol.11, No.4, January, 396-406.

Anderton, James, (1979) Speech to the Manchester Lunch Club, 14 June.

Anderton, James, (1985) *The Chief Constable's Report*, Manchester, Greater Manchester Police.

Anyon, J., (1983) Intersection of Gender and Class: Accommodation and Resistance by Working Class and Affluent Females to Contradictory Sex Role Ideologies. In: Walker and Barton (eds), *Gender, Class and Education*, Lewes, Falmer Press.

Asad, Talal (ed), (1973) *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, London, Ithaca Press.

Ashton, D.N. and Field, F., (1976) *Young Workers: From School to Work*, London, Hutchinson.

Ashton, D.N. *et al*, (1982) *Youth in the Labour Market*, London, Department of Employment, Research Paper 34.

736

Ashton, D.N. and McGuire, M., (1983) *The Vanishing Youth Labour Market*, Youthaid Occasional Paper No.3, London.

Ashton, D.N. and Maguire, M.J., (1986) *Labour Market Segmentation and the Structure of the Youth Labour Market*, Paper presented to the BSA Annual Conference, Loughbourough University.

Ashton, D.N., Maguire, M.J. and Spilsbury, M., (1986) *Local Labour Markets and their Impact on the Life Chances of Youth*, Paper prepared for the Conference "The Search for Jobs and the New Vocationalism: The Implications for Change in the Educational Service", University of York, April.

Ashton, D.N., Maguire, M.J. and Spilsbury, M., (1988) Local Labour Markets and Their Impact on the Life Chances of Youths. In: B. Coles (ed), *Young Careers*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Ashton, D.N., (1986) *Unemployment Under Capitalism*, Brighton, Wheatsheaf.

Ashton, D.N. *et al*, (1990) *Restructuring the Labour Market: The Implications for Youth*, London, Macmillan.

Atkinson, A.B., (1989) *Poverty and Social Security*, London, Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Auld, John, Dorn, Nicholas and South, Nigel, (1986) Irregular Work, Irregular Pleasures: Heroin in the 1980s. In: Roger Matthews and Jock Young (eds), *Confronting Crime*, 166-187, London, Sage.

Baden-Powell, R., (1929) *Scouting and Youth Movements*, London, Ernest Benn.

Baker, B., (1978), *Youth Service Forum for England and Wales: The Future Role of the Youth Service*, unpublished.

Baker, N., (1985) Threatening Behaviour, *Times Educational Supplement*, 21.6.85.

Baldock, P., (1980) The Origins of Community Work in the United Kingdom. In Henderson *et al*, *The Boundaries of Change in Community Work*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Baldock, John, (1982) Research Literature on Youth and Youthwork, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.1, No.2, Autumn, 1-5.

Baldwin, J. and Bottoms, A.E., (1976) *The Urban Criminal*, London, Tavistock.

Banks, Michael *et al*, (1992) *Careers and Identities*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Banks, Michael H., Clegg, Chris W., Jackson, Paul R., Kemp, Nigel J., Stafford, Elizabeth, M. and Wall, Toby D., (1980) The Use of the General Health Questionnaire as an

Indicator of Mental Health in Occupational Studies, *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, Vol.53, 187-194.

Banks, M.H. and Jackson, P.R., (1982) Unemployment and the Risk of Minor Psychiatric Disorder in Young People: Cross Sectional and Longitudinal Evidence, *Psychological Medicine*, Vol.12, 789-798.

Banks, Michael, Ullah, Philip and Warr, Peter, (1984) Unemployment and Less Qualified Urban Young People, *Employment Gazette*, Vol.92, No.8, August, 343-346.

Banks, M.H. and Ullah, P., (1986) Unemployed and Less Qualified Urban Youth: A Longitudinal Study, *Employment Gazette*, Vol.94, 205-210.

Barker, Diana, (1972) "Spoiling and Keeping Close" in a South Wales Town, *Sociological Review* Vol.20, No.4, 569-90.

Barnes, J., (1979) *Who Should Know What?*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Barrett, M., (1980) *Women's Oppression Today*, London, Verso.

Barthes, Roland, (1972) *Mythologies*, London, Paladin.

Barton, A. H. and Lazarsfeld, (1955) Some Functions of Qualitative Analysis in Social Research, *Frankfurter Bieträge zur Soziologie*, Vol.1, 321-361.

Bates, Inge *et al*, (1984) *Schooling for the Dole? The New Vocationalism*, London, Macmillan.

Bates, Inge and Riseborough, George, (1993) *Youth and Inequality*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

Beales, H.L., (1958) *The Industrial Revolution*, London, Frank Cass

Bechhofer, Frank *et al*, (1984) Safety in Numbers: On the Use of Multiple Interviewers, *Sociology*, Vol.18, No.1, February, 97-100. Research Note.

Becker, H.S., (1958) Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.23, No.6, December.

Becker, H.S. *et al*, (1961) *Boys in White*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press

Becker, H.S., (1963) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe.

Becker, H.S. and Strauss, A.L., (1956) Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization, *American Journal of Sociology*, LXII, November.

Becker, H.S. and Geer, B., (1957) Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison, *Human Organisation*, Vol.6, 28-32.

Becker, H.S. and Geer B., (1960) Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data. In: R.N. Adams and J.J. Preiss (eds), *Human Organization Research*, 267-289, Homewood, Dorsey.

Bedeman, T. and Harvey, J., (1981) *Young People on YOP: Research and Development Series No. 3*, Sheffield, MSC

Beechey, V., (1977) Some Problems in the Analysis of Female Wage Labour in the Capitalist Mode of Production, *Capital and Class*, Vol.3, 45-66.

Beechey, V. and Perkins, T., (1986) *A Matter of Hours: An Investigation of Women's Part-Time Employment*, Cambridge, Polity.

Bell, C. and Newby, H., (1971) *Community Studies*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Bell, C.R., (1968) *Middle Class Families*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bell, D., (1976) *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, New York, Basic Books.

Belson, W.A., (1975) *Juvenile Theft: The Causal Factors*, London, Harper and Row.

Bendix, R., (1971) Two Sociological Traditions. In: R. Bendix and G. Roth (eds), *Scholarship and Partisanship: Essay on Max Weber*, 282-298, Berkley, University of California Press.

Bennetto, Jason, (1991) Police Families Terrorised in War with Ram Raiders, *the Independent on Sunday*, 22.12.91.

Benton, Ted, (1977) *Philosophical Foundations of the Three Sociologies*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Beresford, Peter and Croft, Suzy, (1984) Patch and Participation - The Case for Citizen Research. *Social Work Today*, 17 Sept.

Beresford, Peter and Croft, Suzy, (1986) *Whose Welfare: Private Care or Public Services?*, Brighton, Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre.

Berger, B.M., (1981) *The Survival of a Counterculture: Ideological Work and Everyday Life Among Rural Communards*, Berkley, University of California Press

Berger, Peter L. and Luckman, Thomas, (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality*, London, Allen Lane.

Berreman, G.D., (1962) *Behind Many Masks: Ethnography and Impression Management in a Himalayan Hill Village*, New York, Society for Applied Anthropology.

Binswanger, L., (1963) *Being in the World*, New York, Basic Books.

Blackburn, R.M. and Mann, M., (1979) *The Working Class in the Labour Market*, London, Macmillan.

Blanch, M., (1979) Imperialism, Nationalism and Organised Youth. In J. Clarke, C. Critcher, R. Johnson (eds), *Working Class Culture*, 103-120, London, Hutchinson.

Blauner, Bob, (1987) Problems of Editing 'First Person' Sociology, *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol.10, No.1, Spring, 46-62.

Blumer, H., (1969) *Symbolic Interactionism - Perspective and Method*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall.

Boaden *et al*, (1982) *Public Participation in Local Services*, London, Longman.

Boas, F., (1911) *The Mind of Primitive Man*, London, Macmillan.

Bourdieu, P., (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P., (1979) *Algeria 1960*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron J., (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, London, Sage.

Box, Steven, (1981) *Deviance, Reality and Society*, Eastbourne, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Box, Steven, (1983) *Power, Crime and Mystification*, London, Tavistock.

Box, Steven, (1987) *Recession, Crime and Punishment*, London, Macmillan.

Box, Steven and Hale, Chris, (1982) Economic Crisis and the Rising Prisoner Population in England and Wales, *Crime and Social Justice*, Vol.17, Summer, 20-35.

Bosanquet, Helen, (1899) *Rich and Poor*, London, Macmillan.

Boseley, S., (1985) London Teachers Vote to Ban Police, *The Guardian, 19.10.85*. Back Police Call to Parents from Schools Minister, *The Guardian*, 9.11.85.

Bradshaw, Jonathan, Cooke, Kenneth and Godfrey, Christine, (1983) The Impact of Unemployment on the Living Standards of Families, *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol.12, Part 4, 433-52

Bradshaw, J. (study team leader), (1987) *Living on the Edge*, London, CPAG.

Brah, A., (1986) Unemployment and Racism: Asian Youth on the Dole. In: S. Allen (ed), *The Experience of Unemployment*.

Braithwaite, John, (1981) The Myth of Social Class and Criminality Reconsidered, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.46, No.1, February, 36-57.

Brake, Mike, (1980) *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Brake, Mike, (1985) *Comparative Youth Culture*, London, Routledge.

Brake, Mike, (1990) Changing Leisure and Cultural Patterns Among British Youth. In L. Chisholm *et al* (eds), Chap.14, 213-225.

Braun, F., (1979) Youth Unemployment in West Germany: The Psychological Aspect, *Research in Education*, Vol.21, 41-54.

Breakwell, Glynis M., (1985) Young People in and out of Work. In: B. Roberts *et al* (eds), *New Approaches to Economic Life*, 490-501, Manchester University Press

Breakwell, Glynis M., (1986) *Young People in Society*, ESRC 16-19 Initiative.

Brenton, Howard, (1990) The Art of Survival, *The Guardian*, 29.11.90, Review Section 25.

Brewer, C. and Lait J., (1980) *Can Social Work Survive*, London, Temple Smith.

Briggs, Asa, (1963) *Victorian Cities*, London, Oldhams.

Brindle, David, (1992) Huge Cut in Income for Poorest. Review of: *Households Below Average Income*, HMSO, *The Guardian, 16.7.92*.

Brindle, David, (1992) Child Pregnancies Rise: *Review of Population Trends No.69*, HMSO, *The Guardian*, 30.9.92.

Brittan, Arthur and Maynard, Mary, (1984) *Racism, Sexism and Oppression*, Oxford, Blackwell

Britten, Nicky and Heath, Anthony, (1983) Women, Men and Social Class. In E. Gamarnikow *et al* (eds) *Gender, Class and Work*, London, Heinemann.

Broomhead, Steve and Coles, Bob, (1988) Youth Unemployment and the Growth of New Further Eduction. In: Bob Coles (ed), *Young Careers*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Brown, Phillip, (1984) *Schooling and the School/Post-School Transition: An Early Assessment*, Paper prepared for the British Sociological Association Annual Conference, Bradford, April.

Brown, Phillip, (1985) *Schooling and the School/Post-School Transition in Urban Wales*, unpublished PhD thesis, University College of Swansea.

Brown, Phillip, (1986) *It is a Job being Adult: The Social and Educational Consequences of Changing Labour Market Conditions for School Leavers.* Paper

given to the Conference, "The Search for Jobs and the New Vocationalism. the Implications for Change in the Educational Service", University of York, April.

Brown, Phillip, (1987) *Schooling Ordinary Kids*, London, Tavistock.

Brown, Phillip, (1988) The New Vocationalism, A Policy for Inequality. In: Bob Coles (ed), *Young Careers*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Bulmer, M., (1984) *The Chicago School of Sociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Bulmer, M., (1986) *Neighbours: The Work of Philip Abrams*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Bunt, S., (1975) *Jewish Youth Work in Britain*, London, Bedford Square Press.

Burgess, E.W., (1927) Statistics and Case Studies as Methods of Sociological Research, *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol.12, 103-120.

Burgess, E.W. and Bordua, D.J. (eds), (1964) *Contributions to Urban Sociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Burgess, Robert G., (ed), (1982) *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Burgess, Robert G., (1984) *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Burrell, Gibson and Morgan, Gareth, (1979) *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis*, London, Heinemann.

Busfield, J. and Paddon, M., (1977) *Thinking About Children*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Buss, T.E. and Redburn, F.S., (1983) *Mass Unemployment: Plant Closing and Community Mental Health*, London, Sage.

Bynner, John, (1987a) Coping with Transition: ESRS's New 16-19 Initiative, *Youth and Policy*, No.22, 25-28

Bynner, John, (1987b) Transition to What? ESRC's New 16-19 Initiative, *ESRC Newsletter 61*, November.

Bynner, John, (1991) Controlling Transition, *Work Employment and Society*, Vol.5. No.4, December, 645-658. Review Article.

Bynner, John, (1991a) Transition to Work: Results from a Longitudinal Study of Young People in four British Labour Markets, *ESRC 16-19 Initiative, Occasional Paper 4*, Social Statistics Research Unit, The City University, Northampton Square, London.

Byrne, D. and Parson, D., (1983) The State and the Reserve Army. In: J. Anderson *et al* (eds), *Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions: Studies in Industrial Decline and Social Change*, Institute of British Geographers, Special Edition No.15, London, Academic Press.

Callender, C., (1985) Unemployment: The Case for Women. In: C. Jones and M. Brenton: *the Yearbook of Social Policy in Britain*, London, Routledge.

Callender, C., (1987) Redundancy, Unemployment and Poverty. In: C. Glendenning and J. Millar (eds), *Women and Poverty in Britain*, Brighton, Wheatsheaf.

Callendar, C., (1987a) Women Seeking Work. In: S. Fineman (ed), *Unemployment: Personal and Social Consequences*, London, Tavistock.

Cameron, Mary Owen, (1964) *The Booster and the Snitch*, New York, Free Press.

Campbell, Anne, (1981) *Girl Delinquents*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Campbell, Anne, (1984) *The Girls in the Gang: A Report from New York City*, New York, Basil Blackwell.

Campbell, B., (1984) *Wigan Pier Revisted*, London, Virago.

Campbell, B., (1993) *Goliath: Britain's Dangerous Places*, London, Methuen.

Campbell, Duncan, (1991) Gangland Britain: A Special Report, *Weekend Guardian*, 14.12.91

Campbell, Duncan, (1992) Crime Rate Rise Twice as Fast Under Tories, *The Guardian*, 1.2.92: 2.

Campbell, Duncan, (1992) Making Crime Pay, to the Tune of £14 bn, *The Guardian*, 17.8.92.

Carey, J.T., (1975) *Sociology and Public Affairs: The Chicago School*, Beverly Hills, Sage.

Carlen, P., (1983) *Womens Imprisonment*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

Carlen, P. *et al*, (1985) *Criminal Women*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Carlen, P., (1988) *Women, Crime and Poverty*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Carpenter, Mary, (1851) *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders*, London, Gilpin.

Carpenter, Mary, (1853) *Juvenile Delinquents, their Condition and Treatment*, London, Cash.

Carrington, F.C., (1975) *The Victims*, New Rochelle, Arlington House.

Carter, M., (1966) *Into Work*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Casagrande, J.B. and Hale, K.L., (1967) Semantic Relations in Papago Folk Definitions. In: D. Hymes and B.E. Little (eds), *Studies in Southwestern Linguistics*, 81-105, The Hague, Mouton.

Cashmore, E. and Troyana, B., (1982) *Black Youth in Crisis*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

C.C.C.S.: Education Group, (1981) *Unpopular Education: Schooling and Social Democracy in England Since 1944*, London, Hutchinson.

C.C.C.S., (1982) *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain*, London, Hutchinson.

Chapoulie, J.M., (1987) Everett C. Hughes and the Development of Fieldwork in Sociology, *Urban Life*, Vol.15, Nos.3-4, October-January, 259-298.

Chappell, Helen, (1982) The Family Life of the Unemployed, *New Society*, 14 October, 76-79.

Child Poverty Action Group, (1987) *Living on the Edge*, London, CPAG.

Chiricos, Theodore, G., (1987) Rates of Crime and Unemployment: An Analysis of Aggregate Research Evidence, *Social Problems*, Vol.34, No.2, April.

Chisholm, Lynne *et al*, (1990) *Childhood, Youth and Social Change*, Lewes, Falmer.

Chisholm, Lynne, (1990) A Sharper Lens or a New Camera? Young People and Social Change in Britain. In Chisholm *et al* (eds), Chap.3, 33-57.

Chisholm, Lynne and duBois-Reymond, Manuela, (1993) Youth Transitions, Gender and Social Change, *Sociology*, Vol.27, No.2, 259-279.

Cicourel, A.V., (1964) *Method and Measurement in Sociology*, Glencoi, Ill., Free Press.

Cicourel, A.V., (1968) *Social Organization of Juvenile Justice*, Chichester, Wiley.

Cicourel, A.V., (1973) *Cognitive Sociology: Language and Meaning in Social Interaction*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Clarke, Gary, (1982) *Defending Ski-Jumpers: A Critique of Theories of Youth Sub-Cultures*, SP No.71, Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

Clarke, John, (1975) *The Three Rs: repression, rescue and rehabilitation. Ideologies of Control for Working Class Youth*, unpublished, University of Birmingham.

Clarke, John, (1979) Capital and Culture: The Post-War Working Class Revisited. In: J. Clarke *et al* (eds), *Working Class Culture*, London, Hutchinson.

Clarke, John, (1986) The Youth Problem or the Problems of Youth, *Youth Policy, Action, Theory, Research*, Proceedings of a One Day Conference held at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada, 6 August.

Clarke, John, *et al*, (1976) Subcultures, Cultures and Class: A Theoretical Overview. In *Resistance Through Rituals*, 9-79, Hall and Jefferson.

Clarke, John and Jefferson, Tony, (1976) Working Class Youth Cultures. In Geoff Mungham and Geoff Pearson (eds), *Working Class Youth Culture*, 138-157, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Clarke, Michael, (1975) Survival in the Field: Implications of Personal Experience in Fieldwork, *Theory and Society*, Vol.2, 95-123.

Clarricoates, K., (1980) The Importance of Being Ernest - Emma. In: R. Deem (ed) *Schooling for Women's Work*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Clifford, J., (1980) Fieldwork, Reciprocity and the Making of Ethnographic Texts: The Example of Maurice Leenhardt, *Man 15*, 518-32.

Clifford J., (1983a) On Ethnographic Authority, *Representations 1*, 118-146.

Clifford J., (1983b) *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World*, Berkley, University of California Press.

Clifford, J. and Marcus G.F. (eds), (1986) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkley, University of California Press.

Clough, E. *et al*, (1986) *Routes Through YTS*, Research and Development No.42, Youth Cohort Studies No.2, Sheffield, MSC.

Cloward, R. and Ohlin, L., (1960) *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*, New York, Free Press.

Cockburn, Cynthia, (1986) *Training for 'Her' Job and for 'His'. Tackling Occupational Segregation by Sex in the Youth Training Scheme*, Equal Opportunities Commission, October.

Cockburn, C., (1987) *Two Track Training - Sex Inequalities and YTS*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Coffield, Frank and Borrill, Carol, (1983) Entrée and Exit, *Sociological Review*, Vol.31, 520-545.

Coffield, Frank, Borrill, Carol and Marshall, Sarah, (1983) How Young People Try to Survive Being Unemployed, *New Society*, 2 June, 332-334.

Coffield, Frank, Borrill, Carol and Marshall, Sarah, (1986) *Growing up at the Margins*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Coffield, Frank, (1984) Is there Work after the MSC?, *New Society*, 26 January, 128-30.

Coffield, Frank, (1991) *Vandalism and Graffiti: The State of the Art*, London, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

Cohen, A.K., (1955) *Delinquent Boys: the Culture of the Gang*, Chicago, Free Press.

Cohen, Phil, (1972 and 1980) Sub-Cultural Conflict and Working Class Community. In Hall *et al* (1980) 78-87, and (1972) *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, No.2, Spring, Centre for Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

Cohen, P.S., (1968) *Modern Social Theory*, London, Heinemann.

Cohen, Philip, (1982) School for Dole, *New Socialist*, No.3, January/February, 43-47.

Cohen, R. and Naroll, R., (1970) Method in Cultural Anthropology. In: R. Naroll and R. Cohen (eds), *Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Cohen, S. (ed), (1971) *Images of Deviance*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Cohen, Stan, (1973) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers*, London, Paladin.

Cohen, Stan, (1980) 'Symbols of Trouble', Introduction to new edition of *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, London, Martin Robertson.

Cohen, Stanley and Taylor, Laurie, (1976) *Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life*, London, Allen Lane.

Cohen, Yehoshua and Shinar, Amnon, (1985) *Neighbourhoods and Friendship Networks*, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No.215.

Cole, Mike and Skelton, Bob (eds), (1980) *Blind Alley*, Ormskirk, Hesketh.

Coleman, J.S., (1961) *The Adolescent Society*, New York, Free Press.

Coleman, J. and Husen, T., (1985) *Becoming Adult in a Changing Society*, Paris and London, OECD.

Coles, Bob, (1986) *Gonna Tear your Playhouse Down: Towards Re-constructing a Sociology of Youth*, Paper given at Conference of Social Science Teachers, University of York, June.

Coles, Bob, (1986) School Leaver, Job Seeker, Dole Reaper. Young and Unemployed in Rural England. In: Sheila Allen, Alan Waton, Kate Purcell and Stephen Wood (eds), *The Experience of Unemployment*, 79-97, London and Basingstoke, Macmillan Press.

Coles, Bob, (1986) *'You Just Can't Win!' Post-16 Progression in a Rural Shire County. The Facts and the Feelings of the 1980s*, Paper given at Conference on "The

Search for Jobs and the New Vocationalism: The Implications for Change in the Educational Service", University of York, April.

Coles, Bob, (1988) *Young Careers: The Search for Jobs and the New Vocationalism*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Coles, Bob and MacDonald, Rob, (1990) From New Vocationalism to the Culture of Enterprise. In: C. Wallace and M. Cross (eds), *Youth in Transition*, Basingstoke, Falmer.

Coles, Bob, (forthcoming) *Youth Citzenship and Young Careers: Youth and Social Policy* (preliminary title), Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York.

Coles, Robert, (1975) "The Method". In J.R. Lifton (ed) *Explorations in Psychohistory*, New York, Simon and Shuster.

Community Projects Foundation, (1985) *Custody, Care or Community?*, Reading, Community Projects Foundation.

Connell, R.W. *et al* (1982) *Making the Difference*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Cook, D., (1987b) Women on Welfare. In: P. Carlen and A. Worrall (eds), *Gender, Crime and Justice*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Cook, D., (1991) *Rich Law, Poor Law Differential Response to Tax and Supplementary Benefit Fraud*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Cooper, Martha and Chalfont, Henry, (1984) *Subway Art*, London, Thames and Hudson.

Corbett, J., (1990) *Uneasy Transitions: Disaffection in Post-Compulsory Education and Training*, Basingstoke, Falmer.

Corrigan, Paul, (1976) Doing Nothing. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals*, 103-105, London, Hutchinson.

Corrigan, Paul (1979), *Schooling the Smash Street Kids*, London, Macmillan.

Corrigan, Paul, (1979a) Out with the Lads: The Dialectics of Doing Nothing, *New Society*, 5 July, 7-9.

Corrigan, Paul, (1979b) Why do Kids Get in Trouble on the Street? In *Schooling the Smash Street Kids*, 119-141, London, Macmillan.

Corrigan, Paul, (1982) So What's Wrong with Social Democratic Youth Work in any Case? *Youth and Policy*, Vol.1, No.1, Summer, 1-4.

Corrigan, Paul and Leonard, Peter, (1978) *Social Work Practice Under Capitalism*, London, Macmillan.

747

Cottrell, L. et al, (1973) *Ernest W. Burgess on Community, Family and Delinquency*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Cowie, C. and Lees, S., (1981) 'Slags or Drags', *Feminist Review*, No.9, 17-31.

Cox, D., (1970) *A Community Approach to Youth Work in East London*, London, YWCA.

Coyle, A., (1984) *Redundant Women*, London, The Womens Press.

Craine, S.F., (1988) *The Hoisters: Survival Crime and Informal Community Networks*, Paper Presented at Group for Anthrolopogy in Policy and Practice (GAPP) Conference on "Ethnography of the North West", 16 January, University of Manchester.

Craine, S.F., (1985) *Lenny Bruce: A Sociology of Humour Analysis*, Unpublished Paper, Department of Sociology, University of York.

Cragg, Arnold and Dawson, Tim, (1984) *Unemployed Women: A Study of Attitudes and Experiences*, Department of Employment, Research Paper No.47, November.

Crapanzano, V., (1985) *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa*, New York, Random House.

Creschendo, Johnny, (1986) *Look Out, Here Comes Johnny*, Peoples Centre, Manchester.

Cressey, P.G., (1932) *The Taxi-Dance Hall*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Crichton, A et al, (1962) Youth and Leisure in Cardiff 1960, *Sociological Review*, Vol.10.

Crick, M.R., (1987) Comments (On Strathern), *Current Anthropology*, Vol.28, No.3, June, 270-271.

Crick, Michael and Smith, David, (1990) *Manchester United: The Betrayal of a Legend*, London, Pan.

Cross, J., (1984) Delayed Action, *Times Educational Supplement*, 2.3.84.

Cross, M., (1987) Equality of Opportunity and Inequality of Outcome: The MSC, Ethnic Minorities and Training Policy. In: R. Jenkins and J. Solomas (eds).

Cross, M., (1988) Ethnic Minority Youth in a Collapsing Labour Market. The UK Experience. In: C. Wilpert (ed).

Crow, Iain, (1982) *The Unemployment/Crime Link*, Unemployment Unit Bulletin No.4, July.

Crow, Iain et al, (1985) *A Goal in Sight: A Review of Objectives and Training Schemes for Offenders and the Socially Disadvantaged*, London, NACRO Research Paper No.1, August.

748

Crow, Iain and Simon, Frances, (1987) *Unemployment and Magistrates' Courts*, NACRO Research Unit, London.

Crow, Iain, Richardson, Paul and Riddington, Carol, (1989) *Unemployment, Crime and Offenders*, London, Routledge.

Dahrendorf, Ralph, (1959) *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

Dahrendorf, Ralph, (1987) The Erosion of Citizenship and Its Consequences for Us All, *New Statesman*, 12 June.

Dale, Roger (ed), (1985) *Education, Training and Employment. Towards a 'New Vocationalism'*, Oxford, Pergamon.

Daniel, S. and McGuire, P., (1972) *The Paint House*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Daniel, W.W., (1974) *A National Survey of the Unemployed*, Political and Economic Planning Broadsheet No.546, London, PEP.

Daniel, W.W., (1981) *The Unemployment Flow: Stage 1 Interim Report*, London, Policy Studies Institute.

Davies and Crousaz, (1982) *Local Authority Community Work, Realities and Practice*, London, HMSO.

Davies, B. and Gibson, A., (1967) *The Social Education of the Adolescent*, London, University of London Press.

Davies, Bernard, (1986), *Threatening Youth: Towards a National Youth Policy*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Davies, L., (1979) Deadlier than the Male: Girls Conformity and Deviance in School. In: L. Barton and R. Meighan (eds), *Schools, Pupils and Deviance*, London, Nafferton.

Davies, L., (1983) Gender, Resistance and Power. In: L. Barton and S. Walker, *Gender, Class and Education*, Lewes, Falmer Press.

Davies, L., (1984) *Pupil Power, Deviance and Gender in Schools*, Lewes, Falmer Press.

Davis, F., (1963) *Passage Through Crisis*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merill.

Davis, Mike and Cook, Martin, (1981) Prefiguring the Future, *The Chartist*, No.83.

Dawe, Alan, (1970) The Two Sociologies, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.21, 207-218.

DE, (1988) *Employment for the 1990s*, London, Department of Employment, HMSO, Cmnd.540

Deal, J.P., (1954) Participant Observation and Interviewing. In: J.T. Dobey (ed), *Introduction to Social Research*, Harrisburg, Stackpole.

Dean, Malcolm, (1982) Making the Link Between Crime and Unemployment, *The Guardian*, 1.5.82 : 17.

Deem, R., (1978) *Women and Schooling*, London, Routledge.

Deem, Rosemary, (1985) Leisure, Work and Unemployment: Old Traditions and New Boundaries. In: Rosemary Deem and Graeme Salaman (eds), *Work, Culture and Society*, Chap.8, 179-207, Milton Keynes, The Open University.

Delamont, Sara, (1980) *The Sociology of Women*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

Delphy, C., (1981) Women in Stratification Studies. In H. Roberts (ed) *Doing Feminist Research*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dennis, Norman, Henriques, Fernando and Slaughter, Clifford, (1956), *Coal is Our Life*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Denzin, Norman K., (1971) The Logic of Naturalistic Inquiry, *Social Forces*, Vol.50, No.2, 166-82.

Department of Education and Science, (1969), *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*, London, HMSO.

Department of Education and Science, (1978) *Truancy and Behavioural Problems in Some Urban Schools*, London, Department of Education and Science.

Department of Education and Science, (1978) *Behavioural Units*, London, Department of Education and Science.

Department of Education and Science, (1982) *The Youth Training Scheme: Implications for the Education Service*, London, Department of Education and Science Circular 6/82.

Department of Education and Science, (1983) *Police Liaison with the Education Service*, London, HMSO.

Department of Education and Science, (1985) *School Attendance and the Education Welfare Service*, London,, Department of Education and Science Draft Circular.

Department of Employment, (1981) *A New Training Initiative: A Programme for Action*, London, HMSO.

DES, (1988) *Education and Economic Activity of Young People Aged 16 to 18 Years in England and Wales from 1975 to 1988*, London, Department of Education and Science Statistical Bulletin 14/88, HMSO.

750

DES, (1991) *Education and Training for the 21st Century, Vol.1*, Department of Education and Science, London, HMSO, Cmnd.1536.

Dex, Shirley, (1987) *Women's Occupational Mobility: A Lifetime Perspective*, London, Macmillan.

Diamond, S. (ed), (1980) *Anthropology, Ancestors and Heirs*, The Hague, Mouton.

Dickens, Charles, (1969 edition) *Hard Times*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Dingwall, Robert, (1980) Ethics and Ethnography, *Sociological Review*, Vol.28, No.4, 871-891.

Ditton, Jason, (1977) *Part-Time Crime: An Ethnography of Fiddling and Pilferage*, London, Macmillan.

Ditton, Jason, (1977) Perks, Pilferage and the Fiddle, *Theory and Society*, Vol.4, 39-71.

Ditton, Jason and Brown, Richard, (1981) Why Don't They Revolt? Invisible Income as a Neglected Dimension of Runciman's Relative Deprivation Thesis, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.32, No.4, December, 521-530.

Dobson, Frank, (1992) Dobson Attacks High Social Cost of Tory Jobs Policy, *Guardian Politics*, 9.12.92 : 6.

Donovan, Andrew and Oddy, Michael, (1982) Psychological Aspects of Unemployment: An Investigation into the Emotional and Social Adjustment of School Leavers, *Journal of Adolescence*, Vol.5, 15-30.

Donovan, Andrew and Oddy, Michael, (1985) Employment Status and Psychological Well-Being: A Longitudinal Study of 16 Year Old School Leavers, *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, Vol.27, No.1, 65-76.

Dorn, Nicholas and South, Nigel, (1984) *Males and Markets: A Critical Review of Youth Culture Theory*, Middlesex Polytechnic Centre for Occupational and Community Research.

Douglas, J.D., (1970) *Understanding Everyday Life*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Douglas, J.D., (1976) *Investigative Social Research*, London, Sage.

Douglas, J.D. and Johnson, J.M. (eds), (1977) *Existential Sociology*, London, Cambridge University Press.

Downes, David, (1966) *The Delinquent Solution*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Duke, Vic and Edgell, Stephen, (1987) The Operationalisation of Class in British Sociology: Theoretical and Empirical Considerations, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.38, No.4.

Dumont, J., (1978) *The Headman and I: Ambiguity and Ambivalence in the Fieldwork Experience*, Austin, University of Texas Press.

Dunnell, K., (1976) *Family Formation*, London, OPCS-HMSO.

Dyhouse, C., (1981) *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Eco, Umberto, (1972) *Towards a Semiotic Enquiry into the Television Message*, Working Papers in CulturalStudies 3, University of Birmingham.

Edgell, Stephen, (1981) *Middle Class Couples*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

Edgell, Stephen and Duke, Vic., (1991) *A Measure of Thatcherism*, London, Harper Collins.

Edin, Kathryn, (1991) Surviving the Welfare System: How AFDC Recipients Make Ends Meet in Chicago, *Social Problems*, Vol.38, No.4, November, 462-474.

Edwards, H. *et al*, (1984) *Alternatives to Custody Projects*, Leicester, IT Mailing, 18 Nov.

Edwards, Terry, (1984) *The Youth Training Scheme: A New Curriculum*, Lewes, Falmer.

Eggleston, J., (1978) *Adolescence and Community: The Youth Service in Britain*, London, Arnold.

Eisenstadt, S.N., (1956) *From Generation to Generation*, London, Collier-Macmillan.

Elkin, F. and Westley, W.A., (1955) The Myth of the Adolescent Culture, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.20, 680-684.

Ellen, R.F. (ed), (1984) 'Introduction' in *Ethnographic Research*, 1-12, New York, Academic Press.

Emerson, E. Frank, (1971) They Can Get It For You Better Than Wholesale, *New York Magazine*, 22 November, 34-37.

Emerson, R.M. (ed), (1983) 'Introduction' in *Contemporary Fieldwork*, 1-35, Boston, Little Brown.

Emerson, R.M., (1987) Four Ways to Improve the Craft of Fieldwork, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, Vol.16, No.1, April, 69-89.

Employment Gazette, (1992) Projected Trends in the Regional Labour Force 1992-2001, September, 173 and 293

Employment Gazette, (1992) Women and the Labour Market: Results from the 1991 Labour Force Survey, September, 433.

Engels, F., (1979) *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, St. Albans, Granada/Panther.

Erikson, Robert and Goldthorpe, J.H., (1992) *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Evans, W.M., (1965) *Young People in Society*, Oxford, Martin Robertson.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E., (1973) Some Reminiscences and Reflections on Fieldwork, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford.*

Everhart, R.B., (1977) Between Stranger and Friend: Some Consequences of 'Long-Term' Fieldwork in Schools, *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol.14, 1-15.

Ewen, J., (1974) Introduction in Gardner, M. *Developmental Work with Young People: A Register of Experimental Approaches 1960-74*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Faris, R.E.L., (1967) *Chicago Sociology 1920-1932*, San Francisco, Chandler.

Farrant, M.R. and Merchant, H.J., (1970) *Making Contact with Unreached Youth*, Manchester, Youth Development Trust.

Farrell, Christine, (1978) *My Mother Said*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Farrington, David P., Gallagher, Bernard, Morley, Lynda, St. Ledger, Raymond J. and West, Donald J., (1986) Unemployment, School Leaving, and Crime, *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol.26, No.4, October, 335-356.

Faupel, Charles E., (1987) Heroin Use and Criminal Careers, *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol.10, No.2, 115-131.

Faupel, Charles E. and Klockars, Carl B., (1987) Drugs Crime Connections: Elaborations from the Life Histories of Hard-Core Heroin Addicts, *Social Problems*, Vol.34, No.1, February, 54-68.

Federation of Claimants Unions, (1985) *On the Dole. A Claimants Union Guide for the Unemployed*, London, Aldgate Press.

Feek, W., (1982) *Management Committees: Practising Community Control*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Feek, W., (1982) *The Way We Work*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Feldberg, Roslyn L. and Glenn, Evelyn Nakano, (1979) Male and Female: Job Versus Gender Models in the Sociology of Work, *Social Problems*, Vol.26, No.5, June, 524-538.

Ferguson, T., (1952) *The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Feuer, Lewis S., (1959) *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, New York, Anchor.

Field, Frank, (1989) *Losing Out: The Emergence of Britain's Underclass*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Fielding, Nigel G., (1988) Between Micro and Macro. In: Nigel C. Fielding (ed), *Actions and Structure: Research Methods and Social Theory*, London, Sage.

Filstead, W.J. (ed), (1970) *Qualitative Methodology*, Chicago, Markham.

Finch, Janet, (1981) It's Great to Have Someone to Talk to: The Ethics and Politics of Interviewing Women. In: H. Roberts (ed) *Doing Feminist Research*, London, Routledge.

Finn, Dan, (1984) Britain's Misspent Youth, *Marxism Today*, February, 20-24.

Finn, D., (1987) *Training Without Jobs: New Deals and Broken Promises*, London, Macmillan.

Finnegan, Ruth, (1985) Working Outside Formal Employment. In: Rosemary Deem and Graeme Salaman (eds), *Work, Culture and Society*, Chapter 7, 150-178, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Folgelman, Ken (ed), (1976) *Britain's Sixteen-Year-Olds*, National Children's Bureau, London.

Fogelman, K., (1983) *Growing Up In Great Britain: Papers from the National Child Development Study*, London, Macmillan.

Forester, Tom, (1981) Young and Out of Work: A Political Timebomb, *New Society*, 16 July, 95-98.

Foster, Allan and Shaw, Martin, (1981) *Young People and Decisions: A Resource Pack on Participation*, Leicester, National Council for Voluntary Youth Services.

Foster, J., (1990) *Villains*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Frake, C.O., (1964) Notes on Queries in Ethnography, *American Anthropologist*, Vol.66, 132-145.

Francis J. *et al*, (1984) *A Survey of Community Workers in the United Kingdom*, London, National Institute for Social Work.

Francome, C., (1983) Unwanted Pregnancies Among Teenagers, *Journal of Biosocial Science*, Vol.15, 139-143.

Frankenberg, R., (1966) *Communities in Britain*, Harmondsworth, Pelican.

Freilich, M. (ed), (1970) Towards a Formalization of Field Work. In: M. Freilich, *Marginal Natives*, 485-585, New York, Harper Row.

Freire, Paulo, (1972) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Fried, Mark, (1973) *The World of the Urban Working Class*, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Friend, Andrew and Metcalf, Andy, (1982) *Slump City: The Politics of Mass Unemployment*, London, Pluto Press.

Frith, Simon, (1978) *The Sociology of Rock*, London, Constable.

Frith, Simon, (1980) Education, Training and the Labour Process. In: M. Cole and R. Skelton (eds), *Blind Alley*, Ormskirk, Hesketh.

Frith, Simon, (1981) *Downtown: Young People in a City Centre*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Frith, Simon, (1983) *Sound Effects*, London, Constable.

Fryer, David, (1986a) Employment Deprivation and Personal Agency During Unemployment, *Social Behaviour*, Vol.1, No.1, September, 3-23.

Fryer, David, (1986b) On Defending the Unattacked: A Comment on Jahoda's 'Defence', *Social Behaviour*, Vol.1, No.1, September, 31-33.

Fryer, David and Payne, Roy, (1984) Proactive Behaviour in Unemployment: Findings and Implications, *Leisure Studies*, Vol.3, No.3, September, 273-295.

Fryer, David and Payne, Roy, (1986) Being Unemployed: A Review of the Literature on the Psychological Experience of Unemployment. In: C.L. Cooper and I. Robertson, *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, Chapter 8, 235-278, Chichester, John Wiley and Sons.

Fryer, David and Ullah, Philip (eds), (1987) *Unemployed People: Social and Psychological Perspectives*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Fryer, David and Warr, Peter, (1984) Unemployment and Cognitive Difficulties, *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, Vol.23, 67-68.

Fuchs, Simon and Jones, Bevan, (1986) *Young People and Community Organisations*, London, National Federation of Community Organisations.

Furlong, Andy, (1988) But They Don't Want To Work, Do They? Unemployment and Work Ethics Among Young People in Scotland. In: D. Raffe (ed), *Education and the Youth Labour Market*, Basingstoke, Falmer.

Furlong, Andy, (1992) *Growing Up in a Classless Society? School to Work Transitions*, Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Press.

Furlong A. and Raffe, D., (1989) *Young People's Routes into the Labour Market*, ESU Research Paper No.17, Edinburgh, Industry Department for Scotland.

Galea, J., (1982) Youth Gangs of New York. In P. Marsh and A. Campbell (eds), *Aggression and Violence*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Gamble, A., (1988) *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Garfinkel, H., (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.

Garner, C., Main, B.G.M. and Raffe, D., (1988) A Tale of Four Cities: Social and Spatial Inequalities in the Youth Labour Market. In: D. Raffe (ed), *Education and the Youth Labour Market*, Lewes, Falmer.

Garnsey, Elizabeth, (1978) Women's Work and Theories of Class and Stratification, *Sociology*, Vol.12, 223-43.

Gaskell, J., (1983) The Reproduction of Family Life: Perspectives of Male and Female Adolescents, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol.4, No.1, 19-38.

Gatehouse Project, (1985) *Day In - Day Out Memories of North Manchester from Women in Monsall Hospital*, Manchester, The Gatehouse Project.

Gatehouse Project, (1987) *Who Am I?*, Manchester, The Gatehouse Project, Women's Writing Group.

Gayton, S. *et al*, (1986) *Youth Training Schemes: A Comparison of a Mode A and a Mode B Scheme*, London, North East London Polytechnic.

Geertz, C. (ed), (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, Basic Books.

Geertz, C. (ed), (1973) Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. In: *the Interpretation of Cultures*, 3-30, New York, Basic Books.

Gibbens, T.C.N and Price J., (1962) *Shoplifting*, London, ISTD.

Giddens, Anthony, (1973) *The Class Structure of The Advanced Societies*, London, Hutchinson.

Giddens, Anthony, (1974) *Positivism and Sociology*, London, Heinemann.

Giddens, Anthony, (1976) *New Rules of Sociological Method*, London, Hutchinson.

Giddens, Anthony, (1977) *Studies in Social and Political Theory*, London, Macmillan.

Giddens, Anthony, (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory*, London, Macmillian.

Giddens, Anthony, (1983) Comments on the Theory of Structuration, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, Vol.13, No.1, March, 75-80.

Giddens, Anthony, (1986) *The Constitution of Society*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Gill, Owen, (1977) *Luke Street: Housing Policy, Conflict and the Creation of the Delinquent Area*, London, Macmillan.

Gillespie, Norman *et al*, (1992) *Youth and Working Class Youth Culture: Rules and Resistance in West Belfast*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Gillis, J.R., (1974) *Youth and History*, London, Academic Press.

Gillis, John R., (1975) The Evolution of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1890-1914, *Past and Present*, No.67, 96-126.

Giroux, Henry A., (1983) *Theory and Resistance in Education*, London, Heinemann Educational Books.

Giroux, Henry A., (1983a) Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol.53, August, 257-293.

Glaser, Daniel, (1979) Economic and Sociocultural Variables Affecting Rates of Youth Unemployment, Delinquency, and Crime, *Youth and Society*, Vol.2, No.1, 53-82.

Glasgow Women's Studies Group, (1983) *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences 1850-1982*, Glasgow, Pressgang.

Gleeson, D. *et al* (eds), (1983) *Youth Training and the Search for Work*, London, Routledge.

Gleeson, Denis, (1986) Life Skills Training and the Politics of Personal Effectiveness, *Sociological Review*, Vol.34, No.2, May, 381-395.

Glennon, L.M., (1979) *Women and Dualism: A Sociology of Knowledge Analysis*, London, Longman.

GMBATU, (1986) *Facts and Figures, Economic Forecasts for 1987*, September, General and Municipal Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union.

Goetschius, George W. and Tash, M.J., (1967) *Working with Unattached Youth*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Goffee, R. and Scase, R., (1985) *Women in Charge: The Experiences of Female Entrepreneurs*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Goffman, Erving, (1952) On Cooling the Mark Out, *Psychiatry*, Vol.15, No.4, 451-63.

Goffman, Erving, (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York, Penguin Books.

Goffman, Erving, (1961) *Asylums*, New York, Anchor.

Gofton, Cecilia and Gofton, Leslie, (1984) Making Out in Giro City, *New Society*, 22 November, 280-282.

Gold, R.L., (1958) Roles in Sociological Field Observation, *Social Forces*, Vol.36, 217-223.

Golding, P. and Middleton, S., (1982) *Images of Welfare*, Oxford, Martin Robertson.

Goldthorpe, John, (1983) Women and Class Analysis: In Defence of the Conventional View, *Sociology*, Vol.17, No. 4, November.

Goldthorpe, J.H. *et al*, (1968) *The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Goldthorpe, J.H. *et al*, (1969) *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Goldthorpe, J.H. and Erikson, Robert, (1992) Women's Mobility Via Marriage. In: Ericson, Robert and Goldthorpe, J.H., *The Constant Flux*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Goodenough, W., (1956) Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning, *Language*, Vol.32, 195-216.

Gordon, Liz, (1984) Paul Willis - Education, Cultural Production and Social Reproduction, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol.5, 105-115.

Gray, J. and Sime, N.C. *et al*, (1989) *Youth Cohort Study: Education and Training Opportunities in the Inner City*, Sheffield, Training Agency.

Gray, J., McPherson, A.F. and Raffe, D., (1983) *Reconstructions of Secondary Education: Theory, Myth and Practice Since the War*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Greater Manchester Council, (1983) *Population Forecasts 1981-91*, Policy Background Paper 83/10, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (1983) *Economic and Social Problem Areas*, Policy Background Paper 83/7, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (1984) Working Party, *Code of Practice for Youth and Commnity Workers in their Relations with the Police*, Education Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (1984) *Housing Conditions in Greater Manchester, Recent Changes and Future Policies, 4th Report*, Policy Background Paper 84/10, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (no date) *The Definition of Economic and Social Problem Areas*, Issue Report No.10, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (1984) *Industrial Land Supply and Demand 1984-93*, Policy Background Paper 84/13, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (1985) *Local Unemployment in Greater Manchester. Analysis by Age and Duration*, Policy Background Paper 85/1, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (1985) *Local Unemployment in Greater Manchester. Analysis by Sex*, Policy Background Paper 85/5, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Council, (1985) *Manufacturing Industry in Greater Manchester in 1985*, Policy Background Paper 85/10, County Planning Department.

Greater Manchester Youth and Community Workers, (1982) *Police and Youth Work*, Manchester, GMYCW.

Greater Manchester Youth and Community Workers, (1985) *Police and Youth Work: Review and Recommendations*, Manchester, GMYCW.

Greater Manchester Youth Association, (1987) *Curriculum for Work with Young Unemployed*, Working Paper No.1, Manchester, GMYA.

Griffin, Christine, (1985) *Typical Girls? Young Women from School to the Job Market*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Griffin, Christine, (1985a) Turning the Tables: Feminist Analysis of Youth Unemployment, *Youth and Policy*, No.14, Autumn, 6-11.

Griffin, Christine, (1985b) Whatever Happened to Mandy?, *New Society*, 2 May, 152-154.

Griffin, Christine, (1986) It's Different for Girls, *Social Studies Review*, Vol.2, No.2, November, 21-25.

Griffin, Christine, (1986a) *Broken Transitions: From School to the Scrap Heap*, Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association, University of Loughborough, March.

Griffiths, V., (1986) *Adolescent Girls: Transition from Girlfriends to Boyfriends*, Paper presented to the BSA Conference, University of Loughborough.

Grimshaw, Roger, Hobson, Dorothy and Willis, Paul, (1980) Introduction to Ethnography at the Centre. In: S. Hall *et al* (eds), *Culture, Media, Language*, 73-77, London, Hutchinson.

Gurney, Ross M., (1980) The Effects of Unemployment on the Psycho-Social Development of School Leavers, *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, Vol.53, 205-213.

Gusfield, J.R., (1955) Fieldwork Reciprocities in Studying a Social Movement, *Human Organization*, Vol.14, 29-34.

Gusfield, J., (1963) *Symbolic Crusade*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press.

Habenstein, R., (1970) *Pathways to Data*, Chicago, Aldine

Hakim, Catherine, (1982) The Social Consequences of High Unemployment, *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol.11, No.4, 433-67.

Halfpenny, Peter, (1982) *Positivism and Sociology: Explaining Social Life*, London, Allen and Unwin

Hall, Budd L., (1981) Participatory Research, Popular Knowledge and Power: A Personal Reflection, *Convergence*, Vol.14, No.3, 6-17.

Hall, Budd L., Gillette, Arthur and Tandon, Rajesh (eds), (1982) *Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly?* New Delhi, Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

Hall, G. Stanley, (1904) *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, Vol.1, New York, Appleton.

Hall, P., (1966) Identification with Delinquent Subculture and Level of Self-Evaluation, *Sociometry*, Vol.29, 146-158.

Hall, Stuart, (1977) Rethinking the Base/Superstructure Metaphor. In J. Bloomfield (ed), *Hegemony and Party*, London, Lawrence and Wishart.

Hall, Stuart, (1981) Summer in the City, *New Socialist*, No.1, Sept/Oct, 5-7.

Hall, Stuart and Jefferson, Tony (eds), (1976) *Resistance Through Rituals*, London, Hutchinson.

Hall, Stuart *et al*, (1978) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, The State, and Law and Order*, London, Macmillan.

Hall, Stuart *et al* (eds), (1980) *Culture, Media, Language - Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79*, London, Hutchinson.

Hammersley, Martyn, (1985) From Ethnography to Theory: A Programme and Paradigm in the Sociology of Education, *Sociology*, Vol.19, No.2, May, 244-259.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P., (1983) *Ethnography Principles in Practice*, London, Tavistock.

Hammersmith, A. and Weinberg, M., (1973) Homosexual Identity: Commitment, Adjustment and Significant Others, *Sociometry*, Vol.36, 56-79.

Hargreaves, David, (1967) *Social Relations in a Secondary School*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Harris, M., (1968) *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, New York, Crowell.

Harrison, Paul, (1983) *Inside the Inner City: Life Under the Cutting Edge*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Harrison, R., (1976) The Demoralising Experience of Prolonged Unemployment, *Department of Employment Gazette*, Vol.84, 339-48.

Hart, P.E., (1988) *Youth Unemployment in Great Britain*, The National Institute of Economic and Social Research, Occasional Paper xliii, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Harvey, Lee, (1987) *Myths of the Chicago School of Sociology*, Aldershot, Avebury (Gower).

Hawkes, T., (1977) *Structuralism and Semiotics*, London, Methuen.

Hayes, J., (1970) The Home and The School in The Process of Vocational Development, *Careers Quarterly*, Vol.22, No.2, 28-31.

Hebdige, Dick, (1976) The Meaning of Mod. In: Hall and Jefferson, 87-96.

Hebidge, Dick, (1979) *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, London, Methuen.

Hebdige, Dick, (1988) *Hiding In the Light*, London, Comedia : Routledge.

Heidensohn, Frances, (1968) The Deviance of Women: A Critique and an Enquiry, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.19, 160-175

Hemmings, Susan (ed), (1986) *True to Life (Writings by Young Women)*, London, Sheba.

Hendriks, G., (1968) *Community Organisation*, The Hague, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare.

Hendry, L.B., Raymond, M. and Stewart, C., (1984) Unemployment, School and Leisure: An Adolescent Study, *Leisure Studies*, Vol.3, No.2, May, 175-187.

Henry, S., (1978) *The Hidden Economy*, Oxford, Martin Robertson.

Henry, Stuart, (1982) The Working Unemployed: Perspectives on the Informal Economy and Unemployment, *Sociological Review*, Vol.30, No.3, August, 460-477.

Henry, Stuart and Mars, Gerald, (1978) Crime at Work: The Social Construction of Amateur Property Theft, *Sociology*, Vol.12, 245-263.

Heyne, Wilhelm, (1987) *Spruche and Graffiti*, Munich, Wilhelm Heyne Verlag.

Hill, John, (1978) The Psychological Impact of Unemployment, *New Society*, 19 January, 118-120.

Hill, M. *et al*, (1973) *Men Out of Work*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

761

Hillery, G.A. Jnr., (1955) Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement, *Rural Sociology*, Vol.20, 111-123.

Hirsch, Donald, (1983) *Youth Unemployment: A Background Paper*, Youthaid.

HMSO, (1979) *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1980-81*, Cmnd.7746, London, HMSO.

HMSO, (1992) *Population Trends No.69*, London, HMSO.

HMSO, (1992) *Households Below Average Income - A Statistical Analysis 1979-1988/89*, London, HMSO.

Hobbs, Dick, (1988) *Doing the Business*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hobsbawm, E.J., (1975) *Industry and Empire*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Holland Report, (1977), *Young People and Work*, London, Manpower Services Commission.

Hollands, R.G., (1990) *The Long Transition: Class Culture and Youth Training*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Holloway, David, (1989) *Untold Stories, Unseen Realms - The Report of the Exhibition of Graffiti Art*, London, London Union of Youth Clubs.

Holman, B., (1981) *Kids at the Door*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Home Office, (1980) *Juveniles: Co-operation between the Police and other Agencies*, London, Home Office Circular 83.

Home Office, (1983) *Children in Trouble*, London, HMSO.

Home Office, (1986) *The Ethnic Origin of Prisoners*, London, Home Office Statistical Bulletin.

Home Office, (1991) *The Prison Population in 1990*, London, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 9/91.

Home Office, (1991) *Mentally Disordered Prisoners*, by John Gunn *et al*, London, Home Office.

Hood, R. and Sparks, R., (1970) *Key Issues in Criminology*, London, Weidenfeld.

Humphries, Stephen, (1981) *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Humphries, Stephen, (1981b) Steal to Survive: The Social Crime of Working Class Children 1890-1940, *Oral History*, Vol.9, No.1.

Humphreys, L., (1975) *Tea-Room Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places*, Chicago, Aldine.

Hutson, S. and Jenkins, R., (1989) *Taking the Strain: Families, Unemployment and the Transition to Adulthood*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Hutton W. (1992) Crime, the politicians' rich reward (Guardian 4.7.92)

Illich, Ivan, (1981) *Shadow Work*, London, Marion Boyars.

Imbert, Sir Peter, (1992) Top Cop's Plea on Poverty, *Daily Mirror*, 30.7.92: 4.

Ineichen, Bernard, (1981) The Housing Decisions of Young People, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.32, No.2, June, 252-258.

Ingham, R. *et al*, (1978) *Football Hooliganism: The Wider Context*, London, Inter-Action In Print.

Irwin, J. and Cressey, D., (1962) Thieves, Convicts and the Inmate Culture, *Social Problems*, Vol.10, Autumn, 142-145.

Irwin, J., (1970) *The Felon*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.

Jackson, Brian and Marsden, Dennis, (1972) *Working Class Community*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Jackson, P.R. and Warr, P.B., (1983) *Age, Length of Unemployment, and Other Variables Associated with Men's Ill-Health During Unemployment*, MRC/SSRC, SAPU Memo 585.

Jackson, P.R. *et al*, (1983) Unemployment and Psychological Distress in Young People: The Moderating Role of Employment Commitment, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol.68, 525-535.

Jahoda, Marie, (1979a) The Impact of Unemployment in the 1930s and 1970s, *Bulletin of the British Psychological Society*, Vol.32, 309-314.

Jahoda, Marie, (1979b) The Psychological Meanings of Unemployment, *New Society*, 6 September, 492-495.

Jahoda, Marie, (1981) Work, Employment and Unemployment, *American Psychologist*, Vol.36, No.2, February, 184-191.

Jahoda, Marie, (1986) In Defence of a Non-Reductionist Social Psychology, *Social Behaviour*, Vol.1, No.1, September, 25-29.

Jahoda, M. *et al*, (1933) *Marienthal, The Sociography of an Unemployed Community*, (English Translation 1972), London, Tavistock.

Jarvie, I.C., (1969) The Problem of Ethical Integrity in Participant Observation, *Current Anthropology*, Vol.10, 505-508.

Jarvis, V. and Prais, S.J., (1988) *Two Nations of Shopkeepers: Training for Retailing in France and Britain*, London, Discussion Paper No.1, National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

Jeffs, Tony, (1982) Youth and Community Service and the Cuts, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.1, No.1, Summer, 19-27.

Jeffs, Tony, (1984) *Youth Conscription: A Discussion of the Arguments against National Community Service for the Young Unemployed*, Youthaid, Occasional Paper No.1.

Jefferson, Tony, (1973) *The Teds: A Political Resurrection*, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Stencilled Paper No.22, University of Birmingham.

Jefferson, Tony, (1976) Cultural Responses of the Teds. In: Hall and Jefferson, 81-86.

Jehoel-Gijsbers, G., (1989) Unemployed Youth: A Lost Generation?, *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol.3, No.4, 491-508.

Jenkin, P., (1979) Opening Address to *Getting on with Intermediate Treatment* Conference, City Hall, Sheffield, 9 July.

Jenkins, Richard, (1983) *Lads, Citizens and Ordinary Kids*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jenkins, R. and Solomos, J. (eds), (1987) *Racism, and Equal Opportunites Policies in the 1980s*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, J.M., (1975) *Doing Field Research*, New York, Free Press.

Johnson, Richard, (1980) Barrington Moore, Perry Anderson and English Social Development. In: Hall *et al, Culture, Media, Language*, London, Hutchinson.

Johnson, Terry *et al*, (1984) *The Structure of Social Theory*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Jones, G. and Wallace, C., (1990) Beyond Individualization: What Sort of Social Change? In: L. Chisholm *et al* (eds).

Jones, H., (1958) Approaches to an Ecological Study, *British Journal of Delinquency*, Vol.8, No.4, 277-293.

Jordan, Bill and Jones, Martyn, (1938) Poverty, the Underclass and Probation Practice, *Probation Journal*, December, 123-127.

Jordan, Bill, (1988) Unemployment and the Spirit of Enterprise, *Social Studies Review*, Vol.3, No.3, January, 102-105.

Joseph, Keith, (1974) *The Balance of Our Population, Our Human Stock is Threatened*, Speech in Birmingham, 19 October, cited in J. MacNicol, 294.

Junker, B., (1960) *Fieldwork: An Introduction to the Social Sciences*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Kaplan, Howard B., (1980) *Deviant Behaviour in Defence of Self*, New York, Academic Press.

Kay, Joe, (1987) *Chronicles of a Hartingleigh Lad*, Swinton, Manchester, Neil Richardson.

Kay, J.P. (Kay-Shuttleworth), (1832) The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in The Cotton Manufacture of Manchester. Cited in: F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, (1979), St. Albans, Granada-Panther.

Keat, R. and Urry, J., (1975) *Social Theory as Science*, London, Routlege and Kegan Paul.

Keating, P. (ed), (1976) *Into Unknown England 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Keen, F., (1985) Definitions of Kin, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol.41, 62-90.

Keller, S., (1968) *The Urban Neighbourhood*, New York, Random House.

Kelly, A., (1982) Gender Roles at Home and School, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol.3, 281-296.

Kelly, Ruth, (1992) Manchester Locked in Poverty Trap, *The Guardian*, 25.8.92.

Kelvin, Peter, (1981) Work as a Source of Identity: The Implications of Unemployment, *British Journal of Gudiance and Counselling*, Vol.9, No.1, January, 2-11.

Kelvin, Peter, (1984) The Historical Dimensions of Social Psychology, The Case of Unemployment. In: H. Tajfel (ed), *The Social Dimension*, Vol.2, 405-424, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kerckhoff, A.C., (1990) *Getting Started: Transition to Adulthood in Great Britain*, Oxford, Westview.

Kerouac, Jack, (1957) *On the Road*, London, Penguin (1972 edition).

Kettle, M. and Hodges, L., (1982) *Uprising: The Police, The People and The Riots in Britain's Cities*, London, Pan.

Kirk, David *et al*, (1991) *Poverty Among Young People Living Away from Home*, Bridges Project and Edinburgh Centre for Social Welfare Research, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of Edinburgh.

Kirk, J. and Miller, M.L., (1986) *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research*, Newbury Park, Sage.

Kitsuse, John I. and Cicourel, Aaron V., (1963) A Note on the Use of Official Statistics, *Social Problems*, Vol.9, Autumn, 131-139.

Klein, J., (1964) *Samples from English Cultures, Vol.2*, London, Routledge.

Klockars, Carl B., (1975) *The Professional Fence*, London, Tavistock.

Knight, B.J., Osborn, S.G. and West, D.J., (1977) Early Marriage and Criminal Tendency in Males, *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol.17, No.4, October, 348-360.

Knorr-Cetina, Karin D., (1981) Introduction: The Micro-Sociological Challenge of Macro Sociology: Towards a Reconstruction of Social Theory and Methodology. In: Karin D. Knorr-Cetina and A.V. Cicourel, *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology*, Chapter 1, 1-47, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Kolakowski, L., (1972) *Positivist Philosophy*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Krieger, Susan, (1985) Beyond 'Subjectivity': The Use of Self in Social Science, *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol.8, No.4, Winter, 309-324.

Lacey, Colin, (1970) *Hightown Grammar*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Laing, R.D., (1960) *The Divided Self*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Lamb B., (1984) The Right Way, The Wrong Way, and the Leeds Way with Truants, *The Guardian*, 4.9.84.

Lambert, Benjamin and Cohen, Nathan E., (1949) A Comparison of Different Types of Self-Surveys, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.5, No.2.

Lampard, Eric E., (1973) The Urbanizing World. In M.J. Dyos and Michael Wolf, *The Victorian City - Images and Realities*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Land, H., (1981) Who Cares for the Family? In: R. Dale *et al*, *Education and the State: Vol.2 Politics, Patriarchy and Practice*, Lewes, Falmer and the Open University.

Land, H., (1982) The Family Wage. In: M. Evans (ed), *The Women Question*, London, Fontana.

Land, H., (1987) Social Policies and Women in the Labour Market. In: F. Ashton and G. Whitting (eds), *Feminist Theory and Practical Policies*, Bristol, School of Advanced Urban Studies.

LaPiere, R.T., (1969) Comment on Irwin Deutscher's Looking Backward, *American Sociologist*, Vol.4, 41-42.

Layton, Clive, (1986) Employment, Unemployment, and Response to the General Health Questionnaire, *Psychological Reports*, Vol.58, No.3. See also Review in *New Society*, 3.10.86: 24.

Lea, J. and Young, J., (1984) *Law and Order*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Lee, D. *et al*, (1990) *Scheming For Youth: A Study of YTS in the Enterprise Culture*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Lees, Ray, (1975) You and Research: Community Self Survey, *Social Work Today*, Vol.5, No.22, 6 Feb.

Lees, Sue, (1986) *Losing Out: Sexuality and Adolescent Girls*, London, Hutchinson.

Leissner, A., (1972) How Youth Work can Involve the Whole Community, *Youth Review*, No.25.

Leissner, A., (1975) Models for Community Workers and Community Youth Workers, *Social Work Today*, 6 Feb.

Leissner, A. et al, (1977) *Intermediate Treatment: An Action Research Study on Community Based Youth Work*, London, National Childrens Bureau.

Leissner, A., (1980) *Community Work: Guidelines and Models for Students, Field Supervisors and Practitioners*, Keele, Department of Social Policy, University of Keele.

Lemert, Edwin M., (1951) *Social Pathology*, New York, McGraw-Hill.

Lemert, Edwin M., (1967) *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.

Leonard, D., (1980) *Sex and Generation: A Study of Courtship and Weddings*, London, Tavistock.

Levy, David J., (1981) *Realism: An Essay in Interpretation and Social Reality*, Manchester, Carcanet New Press.

Lewis, Roger, Hartnoll, Richard, Bryer, Susan, Emmanuelle, Daviaud and Mitcheson, Martin, (1985) Scoring Smack: The Illicit Heroin Market in London 1980-1983, *British Journal of Addiction*, Vol.80, 281-290.

Liazos, A., (1972) The Poverty of the Sociology of Deviance: Nuts, Sluts and Preverts, *Social Problems*, Vol.20, No.1, Summer, 103-120.

Lieberman, Louis and Smith, Alexander B., (1986) Crime Rates and Poverty, *Crime and Social Justice*, No.25, 166-77.

Ling, R., (1983) Special Units: A New Institutional Solution to an Old Administrative Problem, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.1, No.3, Winter, 32-37.

Little, Michael, (1990) *Young Men in Prison: The Criminal Identity Explored Through the Rules of Behaviour*, Aldershot, Dartmouth.

Liu, Yih-Wu and Bee, Richard H., (1983) Modelling Criminal Activity in an Area in Economic Decline, *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol.42, No.4, October, 385-392.

Lodge, B., (1983) Soccer Tournament Kicks Off Met. Drive Against Crime, *Times Educational Supplement*, 18.3.83.

Lofland, J., (1976) *Doing Social Life: The Qualitative Study of Human Interaction in Natural Settings*, New York, Wiley.

Loney, M., (1979) The Politics of Job Creation. In: G. Craig *et al* (eds), *Jobs and Community Action*, London, Routledge.

Loney, M., (1983) The Youth Opportunities Programme: Requiem and Rebirth. In: R. Fiddy (ed), *In Place of Work*, Brighton, Falmer.

Lounsbury, F.G., (1956) A Semantic Analysis of the Pawnee Kinship Useage, *Language*, Vol.32, 158-184.

Lucas, N., (1973) *Britain's Gangland*, London, Westwood.

Macdonald, Robert, (1991) Risky Business? Youth in the Enterprise Culture, *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol.6, No.3, 255-269.

Macdonald, Robert and Coffield, Frank, (1991) *Youth and the Enterprise Culture*, London, Falmer.

Macdonald, Rob and Coffield, Frank, (1991) *Risky Business: Youth and the Enterprise Culture*, London, Falmer.

Mack, J. and Lansley, (1985) *Poor Britain*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Macken and Ritchie, (1984) *Anti-Racist Youth Work*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Mackinnon, C.A., (1982) Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: An Agenda for Theory. In: N.O. Keohane *et al* (eds), *Feminist Theory*, Brighton, Harvester Press.

MacNicol, John, (1987) In Pursuit of the Underclass, *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol.16, No.3, 293-318.

Maclagan, Ianthe, (1992) *A Broken Promise: The Failure of Youth Training Policy*, London, Youthaid.

Macleod, Jay, (1987) *Ain't No Makin' It: Levelled Aspirations in a Low Income Neighbourhood*, London, Tavistock.

Maguire, Patricia, (1987) *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*, Amherst, Massachusetts, Centre for International Education, University of Massachusetts.

Mailer, Norman, (1974) *The Faith of Graffiti*, New York, Praeger-Alskog.

Maizels, J., (1970) *Adolescent Needs: The Transition from School to Work*, London, Athlone.

768

Makeham, P., (1980) *Youth Unemployment*, London, Department of Employment

Malinowski, B., (1922) *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, London, Routledge.

Malinowski, B., (1926) *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, London, Kegan Paul.

Malinowski, B., (1927) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, London, Kegan Paul.

Malinowski, B., (1929) *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwestern Melanesia: An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage and Family Life among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands*, London, Routledge.

Malinowski, B., (1967) *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Manchester City Council, (1985) *Manchester: A Picture of Ill Health*, Social Studies Group, Planning Department, Research Paper 11.

Manchester City Council, (1986) *Poverty in Manchester*, Report by Officers from Manchester City Council, and Staff from Manchester Polytechnic and the University of Manchester.

Manchester City Council, (no date) *Hartingleigh Ward Area Information*, by Brian Parnell, City Planning Officer, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (no date) *1981; Census Information, Hartingleigh Ward*, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (1985) *Population in Hartingleigh*, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (1985-1987) *Unemployment in Manchester*, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (no date) *Recent Trends in Further Education Courses and Destinations of Manchester School Leavers*, Economic Briefing Note No.5, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (no date) *Employment in the City of Manchester: Key Results of a Sample Survey*, Economic Briefing Note No.12, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (no date) *Trends in the Duration of Unemployment and the Age of the Unemployed April 1983-April 1984*, Economic Briefing Note No.28, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (no date) *Trends in the Duration of Unemployment and the Age of the Unemployed April 1984-April 1985*, Economic Briefing Note No.42, Planning Department.

Manchester City Council, (1984-1985) *Unemployment and Vacancies*, Planning Department.

Manchester Education Committee, (1982) *The Philosophy and Practice of The Youth Service*, 4 March, Education Department.

Manchester Education Committee, (1983) *The Philosophy, Practice and Curriculum of Community Education in the North Area*, Youth Service, Education Department.

Manchester Education Committee, (1985) *Code of Practice for Youth and Community Workers in Relations with the Police*, Education Department.

Mann, K., (1985) *Defending White Collar Crime*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Mann, Kirk, (1992) *The Making of an English Underclass: The Social Divisions of Welfare and Labour*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Mannheim, H., (1948) *Juvenile Delinquency in an English Middletown*, London, Kegan Paul.

Manning, P.K., (1982) Qualitative Methods. In R.B. Smith and P.K. Manning (eds) *A Handbook of Social Science Methods*, Vol.2 Qualitative Methods 1-28, Cambridge Mass., Ballinger.

Manwaring, T., (1984) The Extended Internal Labour Market, *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol.8, No.2, 161-87.

Manwaring, T. and Wood, S., (1984) Recruitment in Recession. In: A.D. Beardsworth *et al* (eds) *Employers and Recruitment: Explorations in Labour Demand, International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol.8, No.2, 161-87.

Marcus, G. and Cushman, R., (1982) Ethnographies as Texts, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 11, 25-69.

Markall, G., (1982) The Job Creation Programme: Some Reflections on its Passing. In: T.L. Rees and P. Atkinson (eds), *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention*, 82-98, London, Routledge.

Marks, K., (1977) *Detached Youth Work in the Mid Seventies*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Mars, G., (1982) *Cheats at Work: An Anthropology of Workplace Crime*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Marsden, Dennis, (1979) The Rough, *New Society*, 11 Nov. Reprinted in: (1985) *The New Classes: A New Society Social Studies Reader*, 30-32, Gower-Aldershot.

Marsden, D., (1982) *Workless*, London, Croom Helm.

Marshall, Sarah and Borrill, Carol, (1984) Understanding the Invisibility of Young Women, *Youth and Policy*, No.9, Summer, 36-39.

Martin, J. and Roberts, C., (1984) *Women and Employment: A Lifetime Perspective*, London, HMSO.

Martin, R. and Wallace, J.G., (1984) *Working Women in Recession: Employment, Redundancy and Unemployment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Marx, Karl and Engels, Fred, (1935) *Selected Works, Vol.I*, London, Lawrence and Wishart.

Marx, Karl, (1973) *Marx's Grundrisse*, Edited and Translated by D. McLellan, St. Albans, Paladin.

Marx, Karl, (1976) *Capital*, 1976 Edition, London, New Left Books.

Marx, Karl, (1979) *Early Texts*, Edited and Translated by D. McLellan, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Massey, D.T., (1986) *The Containment of Unemployed Youth*, MSc. Dissertation, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Salford, December.

Matthews, Kent, (1983) The Debate on the Black Economy: National Income and the Black Economy, *Journal of Economic Affairs*, Vol.3, July, 261-7.

Mathias, Peter, (1969) *The First Industrial Nation*, London, Methuen.

Mattera, P., (1985) *Off The Books*, London, Pluto.

Matza, David and Sykes, G., (1957) Techniques of Neutralisation: A Theory of Delinquency, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.22, December, 664-670.

Matza, David, (1969) *Becoming Deviant*, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

May, Margaret, (1973) Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, *Victorian Studies*, Vol.17, 7-29.

May, Pete, (1989) Understanding the Graffiti Sub-Culture, *Crime Prevention News*, Summer, 7-9.

Mayhew, Henry, (1851) *London Labour and the London Poor, Vol.1*, (1969 Edition) Dover, Dover Press.

Mays, J.B., (1954) *Growing Up in the City*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.

Mays, J.B., (1972) *Juvenile Delinquency, The Family and the Social Group*, London, Longman.

McBarnet, Doreen, (1988) Law, Policy, and Legal Avoidance: Can Law Effectively Implement Egalitarian Policies?, *Journal of Law and Society*, Vol.15, No.1, 113-121.

771

McBarnett, Doreen, (1991a) Whiter Than White Collar Crime: Tax Fraud, Insurance and the Management of Stigma, *British Journal of Sociology*, ~Vol.42, No.3, 323-344.

McBarnett, Doreen, (1991b) It's Not What You Do, It's The Way That You Do It: Tax Evasion, Tax Avoidance and the Boundaries of Deviance. In: D. Downes (ed), *Unravelling Criminal Justice: Eleven British Studies*, London, Macmillan.

McCall, George and Simmons, J.L. (eds), (1969) *Issues in Participant Observation: A Text and Reader*, Reading, Ma., Addison-Wesley.

McIlvanney, William, (1992) Dark Times Drive Us to Tragedy that Leaves only Corpses - and Dreams, *Sunday Observer*, 12 July.

McIntosh, Mary, (1978) *The Organisation of Crime*, London, Macmillan.

McKenna, P. and McEwen, J., (1987) Employment and Health. In: D. Fryer and P. Ullah, *Unemployed People*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

McKinney, John C., (1966) *Constructive Typology and Social Theory*, New York, Appleton.

McRae, Susan, (1987) *Young and Jobless. The Social and Personal Consequences of Long-Term Youth Unemployment*, London, Policy Studies Institute.

McRobbie, Angela and Garber, Jenny, (1976) Girls and Subcultures: An Exploration. In: S. Hall and T. Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, London, Hutchinson.

McRobbie, Angela, (1978) Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity. In: *Women Take Issue*, Womens Study Group, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, London, Hutchinson.

McRobbie, Angela, (1981) Settling Accounts with Subcultures: A Feminist Critique. In: T. Bennett *et al* (eds), *Culture, Ideology, and Social Process (A Reader)*, London, Batsford, 111-124.

McRobbie, Angela, (1982) Jackie: An Ideology of Adolescent Feminity. In: B. Waites *et al* (eds), *Popular Culture, Past and Present*, 263-283. Originally published, Stencilled Occasional Paper, Women Series, SP No.53, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

McRobbie, Angela and Nava, Mica (eds), (1984) *Gender and Generation*, London, Macmillan.

McVicar, John, (1974) *McVicar By Himself*, London, Hutchinson.

Mead, M., (1935) *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, London, Routledge.

Mellor, Rosemary, (1989) *The Inner City as Underclass: A Critique and Restatement*, Department of Sociology, Occasional Paper No.28, November, University of Manchester.

Micklewright, J. and Atkinson, A.B., (1988) *Turning the Screw: Benefits for the Unemployed*, Discussion Paper TIDI/121, June, *Taxation, Incentives and the Distribution of Income Programme*, Suntory-Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines, London School of Economics.

Miles, Ian, (1983) Is Unemployment a Health Hazard? *New Scientist*, 12 May, 384-386.

Miller, S.T., (1979) *Society and the State 1750-1950*, Plymouth, McDonald and Evans.

Miller, S.M., (1952) The Participant Observer and Over-Rapport, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.17, 97-99. Reprinted in: (1969) McCall and Simmons, 87-89.

Millman, M., (1975) She Did It All For Love: A Feminist View of the Sociology of Deviance. In M. Millman and R. Kantor (eds), *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*, Anchor Press.

Mills, C. Wright, (1971), *The Sociological Imagination*, Harmonsworth, Penguin.

Mingione, Enzo, (1983) Informalization, Restructuring and the Survival Stratgegies of the Working Class, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.7, No.3, September, 311-339.

Mishler, E.G., (1979) Meaning in Context: Is There Any Other Kind? *Harvard Education Review*, 49, 1-19.

Mitchell, Jeanette *et al*, (1980) *In and Against the State*, London, Pluto.

Mongon, D., (1983) *Invisible Disasters*, London, Where, 20-22 Feb, No.185.

Montague, Lily H., (1904) The Girl in the Background. In: E.J. Urwick, *Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities*, 233-54, London, Dent.

Moore, Joan W., (1985) Isolation and Stigmatization in the Development of an Underclass: The Case of Chicano Gangs in East Los Angeles, *Social Problems*, Vol.33, No.1, October, 1-12.

More, W. and Howell, A., (1986) *Long-Term Unemployment*, Birmingham, Pepar.

Morgan, D., (1981) Youth Call-Up: Social Policy for the Young, *Critical Social Policy*, Vol.1/1, 101-110, London.

Morgan, Patricia, (1978) *Delinquent Fantasies*, London, Temple Smith.

Morgan, Rod, (1986) Jobless Turn to Crime, Study Shows, *New Society*, 14 November, 5.

Morris, K., (1983) *IT and the Youth Training Scheme*, Leicester, IT Mailing, 15 November.

Morris, Lydia and Irwin, Sarah, (1992) Employment Histories and the Concept of the Underclass, *Sociology*, Vol.26, No.3, 401-42.

Morris, Terence, (1979) The Crooked Way to the Top: Crime and Acquisitive Mobility, *New Society* 2 August. Reprinted in: (1985) *The New Classes: A New Society Social Studies Reader*, 3rd Edition, Gower-Aldershot, 14-16.

Morris, T.P., (1957) *The Criminal Area: A Study in Social Ecology*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Morse, M., (1965) *The Unattached*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Moylan, S. *et al*, (1984) *For Richer, For Poorer? DHSS Cohort Study of Unemployed Men*, DHSS Social Research Branch, Report 11, London, HMSO.

Mulkay, Michael, (1985) *The Word and the World*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

Muncie, John, (1984) *The Trouble with Kids Today: Youth and Crime in Post-War Britain*, London, Hutchinson.

Muncie, John, (1984) Coming to Terms with Youth Crime, *Youth and Policy*, No.10, Autumn, 1-4.

Muncie, John and Fitzgerald, M., (1981) Humanising the Deviant. In: M. Fitzgerald *et al* (eds), *Crime and Society*, Open University/Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Munday, Robert, (1986) Who Are The Shoplifters, *New Society*, 14 February, 274-76.

Mungham, Geoff, (1982) Workless Youth as a 'Moral Panic'. In: T.L. Rees and P. Atkinson, *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Mungham, G. and Pearson G. (eds), (1976) *Working Class Youth Culture*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Murdock, G. and McCron, R., (1976) Consciousness of Class and Consciousness of Generation. In Hall and Jefferson (eds), 192-207.

Murdock, G. and McCron, (1976a) Youth and Class: The Career of a Confusion. In Mungham and Pearson (eds), Chapter 1.

Murphy, Daniel, J.I., (1986) *Customers and Thieves   An Ethnography of Shoplifting*, Aldershot/Gower.

Murray, Charles, (1989) Underclass: A Disaster in the Making, *Sunday Times Magazine*, 26 November, 26-46.

Murray, Charles (ed), (1990) *The Emerging British Underclass*, London, IEA Health and Welfare Unit.

Musgrove, Frank, (1978) Book Review of: Resistance Through Rituals and Working Class Youth Culture, *Sociology*, Vol.12, 161-163.

NACRO, (1982) *Submission to the House of Lords Committee on Unemployment*, December, London, NACRO.

NACRO Services, (1985a) *NACRO's Community Programme Schemes*, November, London, NACRO.

NACRO Research, (1986) *Unemployment, Crime and Offenders, A Bibliography*, (compiled by Ian Crow), London, NACRO

NACRO Report, (1988) *Growing Up on a Housing Estate*, London, NACRO.

NACRO Briefing, (no date) *Unemployment and Imprisonment*, London, NACRO.

Naroll, R., (1962) *Data Quality Control*, New York, Free Press.

National Institute Review, (1987) Employment Schemes. In: GAMBATU, *Facts and Figures*, May/June, Surrey, Thorne House.

National Youth Bureau, (1981) *Give Us a Say in Things: A Practical Guide to Youth Participation*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau

National Youth Bureau, (1984) *A Youth Workers Guide to The Youth Training Scheme*, Paper prepared by the Youth Opportunites Development Unit at the National Youth Bureau, February, 17-23, Leicester.

Neugarten, B.L. *et al*, (1965) Age Norms, Age Constraints and Adult Socialization, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 70, 710-17.

Neugarten, B.L. and Datan, N., (1973) Sociological Perspectives on the Life Cycle. In: P.B. Baltes and K.W. Schaie (eds), *Life Span Development Psychology: Personality and Socialization*, New York, Academic Press.

Norris, G.M., (1978) Unemployment, Subemployment and Personal Characteristics - (A) The Inadequacies of Traditional Approaches to Unemployment, *Sociological Review*, Vol.26, No.1, 89-108.

Norris, G.M., (1978) Unemployment, Subemployment and Personal Characteristics - (B) Job Separation and Work Histories: The Alternative Approach, *Sociological Review*, Vol.26, No.2, 327-347.

Oakley, Ann, (1976) *Housewife*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Oakley, Ann, (1981) Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms. In: H. Roberts (ed), *Doing Feminist Research*, London, Routledge.

775

OCPU, (1978) *The Outer Circle Policy Unit: Policing The Hidden Economy: The Significance and Control of Fiddles*, London, OCPU.

O'Donnell, Mike, (1985) *Age and Generation*, London, Tavistock.

Osborn, S.G. and West, D.J., (1978) The Effectiveness of Various Predictions of Criminal Careers, *Journal of Adolescence*, Vol.1

Osborn, S.G. and West, D.J., (1979) Conviction Records of Fathers and Sons Compared, *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol.19, No.2, 120-133.

Osborn, S.G. and West, D.J., (1979) Marriage and Delinquency: A Postcript, *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol.18, No.3, July, 254-256.

Pahl, R.E., (1971) *Patterns of Urban Life*, London, Longman.

Pahl, Ray, (1981) *From Social Relations of Work to Housework Strategies*, Paper presented to the FAST Seminar, Marseilles, November, mimeo.

Pahl, Ray, (1982) Family, Community and Unemployment, *New Society*, 21 January, 91-96.

Painter, Nell I., (1979) *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Parker, Hermione, (1982) The Debate on the Black Economy. Social Security Foments the Black Economy, *Journal of Economic Affairs*, October, 32-5.

Parker, Howard J., (1974) *View From the Boys*, Newton Abbot, David and Charles.

Parker, H., Back, K. and Newcombe, R., (1988) *Living with Heroin: The Impact of a Drugs Epidemic on an English Community*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Parker, S., (1971) *The Future of Work and Leisure*, London, Longmans.

Parsons, Talcott, (1942) *Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States*. Reprinted in Parsons (1964).

Parsons, Talcott, (1964) *Essays in Sociological Theory*, New York, Free Press.

Passmore, B., (1985) Police Seek Better Classroom Liaison, *Times Educational Supplement*, 15.11.85.

Patrick, James, (1973) *A Glasgow Gang Observed*, London, Eyre-Methuen.

Payne, Joan (1987) Does Unemployment Run in Families? Some Findings from the General Household Survey, *Sociology*, Vol.21, No.2, 199-214.

Pearson, G., (1976) Paki-Bashing in a North East Lancashire Cotton Town. In: E. Mungham and G. Pearson (eds), *Working Class Youth Culture*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Pearson, G., (1977) *The Deviant Imagination*, London, Macmillan.

Pearson, G., (1983) *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears*, London, Macmillan.

Peck, C.J. and Emmerich, M., (1992) *Recession, Restructuring and the Greater Manchester Labour Market*, SPA Working Paper 17, Manchester, School of Geography, University of Manchester.

Pelto, P. and Pelto, G., (1973) *Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry*, London, Cambridge University Press.

Phipps, Alan, (1986) Radical Criminology and Criminal Victimization: Proposals for the Development of Theory and Intervention. In: R. Matthews and Jock Young (eds), *Confronting Crime*, London, Sage.

Piachaud, D. *et al*, (1991) *Unemployment and Poverty*, London, Campaign for Work, Annexe B, Tottenham Town Hall.

Pinch, Trevor and Clark, Colin, (1986) The Hard Sell: 'Patter Merchanting' and the Strategic (Re-)Production and Local Management of Economic Reasoning in the Sales Routines of Market Pitchers, *Sociology*, Vol.20, No.2, May, 169-191.

Pitts, John, (1982) Policy, Delinquency and the Practice of Youth Control 1964-1981, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.1, 9-16.

Pitts, John, (1988) *The Politics of Juvenile Crime*, London, Sage.

Piven, F. and Cloward, R., (1982) *The New Class War*, New York, Pantheon.

Plant, M.A., (1974) *Drug Takers in an English Town*, London, Tavistock.

Platt, A., (1969) *The Child Savers*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Platt, J., (1976) *Realities of Social Research: An Empirical Study of British Sociologists*, London, Chatto and Windus.

Platt, Jennifer, (1981) *Whatever Happened to the Case Study? Or, from Znaniecki to Lazarsfeld in One Generation*, University of Sussex, unpublished.

Platt, Jennifer, (1983) The Development of the Participant Observation Method in Sociology: Origin, Myth and History, *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, Vol.XIX, No.4, October, 379-93.

Platt, T. and Takagi, P., (1981) Intellectuals for Law and Order: A Critique of the New 'Realists'. In: T. Platt and P. Takagi (eds), *Crime and Social Justice*, London, Macmillan.

Pollert, A., (1981) *Girls, Wives, Factory Lives*, London, Macmillan.

Polsky, Ned, (1963) In: Howard Becker, *Outsiders*, 171, New York, Free Press.

Polsky, Ned, (1971 - originally published 1967) *Hustlers, Beats and Others*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Porteous, M.A. and Colston, N.J., (1980) How Adolescents are Reported in the British Press, *Journal of Adolescence*, Vol.3, 197-207.

Posner, J., (1980) Urban Anthropology: Fieldwork in Semi-Familiar Settings. In: W. Shaffiur *et al* (eds), *Fieldwork Experience: Qualitative Approaches to Social Research*, New York, Saint Martins.

Post, R., (1972) *Combating Crime Against Small Business*, Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas.

Powdermaker, H., (1966) *Stranger and Friend. The Way of an Anthropologist*, New York, Norton.

Powley, T., (1974) Detached Youthwork and the Community, *Youth in Society*, November/December.

Pratt, J. *et al*, (1984) *Option Choice: A Question of Equal Opportunity*, Windsor, NFER-Nelson.

Presdee, Mike, (1984) The Twilight Zone, *Youth in Society*, May, 13-15.

Prison Reform Trust, (1991) *The Identikit Prisoner: Characteristics of the Prison Population*, London, Prison Reform Trust.

Pryce, Ken, (1979) *Endless Pressure*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Pryce, Ken, (1979) Hustlers, Teeny Boppers and Other Sinners, *New Society*, 29 March, 727-730.

Pryce, Ken, (1983) Hustlers and 'Slave' Labour. In: M. O'Donnell: *New Introductory Reader in Sociology*, 230-236, London, Harrap.

Pyle, David, (1987) The Fight Against Crime, *Social Studies Review*, Vol.2, No.3.

Rabinow, P., (1977) *Reflection of Fieldwork in Morocco*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Rabinow, P., (1983) Facts Are a Word of God, An Essay Review of Clifford's book, *Person and Myth*, 1983, 196-207. In G. W. Stocking, Jnr. (ed), *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Raffe, David, (1983a) Some Recent Trends in Youth Unemployment in Scotland, *Scottish Educational Review*, Vol.15, No.1, 16-27.

Raffe, David, (1984) *The Youth Labour Market*, Youthaid Bulletin, Issue 14, February, 4-5.

Raffe, D., (1986) Change and Continuity in the Youth Labour Market: A Critical Review of Structural Explanations of Youth Unemployment. In: S. Allen *et al* (eds), 45-60.

Raffe, D., (1987) The Context of the Youth Training Scheme: An Analysis of its Strategy and Development, *British Journal of Education and Work*, Vol.1, No.1, 1-31.

Raskin White, Helene, Johson, Valerie and Gozansky Garrison, Carole, (1985) The Drug-Crime Nexus among Adolescents and their Peers, *Deviant Behaviour*, Vol.6, No.2, 183-204.

Reason, Peter and Rowan, John (eds), (1981) *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*, Chichester, John Wiley.

Reason, Peter and Heron, John, (1986) Research with People: The Paradigm of Co-operative Experential Inquiry, *Person-Centred Review*, Vol.1, No.4, 456-476.

Redhead, Steve, (1987) *Sing When You're Winning*, London, Pluto.

Redhead, Steve, (1990) *The End of the Century Party: Youth and Pop Towards 2000*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Redhead, Steve, (1991) *Football With Attitude*, London, Wordsmith.

Redhead, Steve, (1993) *Rave Off, Politics and Deviance in Contemporary Youth Culture*, Aldershot, Avebury.

Redhead, S. and McLaughlin, E., (1985) Soccer's Style Wars, *New Society*, 16 August.

Reed, B.H., (1950) *Eighty Thousand Adolescents*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Rees, G. and Rees, T.L., (1982) Juvenile Unemployment and the State Between the Wars. In: T.L. Rees and P. Atkinson (eds), *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Rees. T.L. and Atkinson, P. (eds), (1982) *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Reinharz, Shulamit, (1983) Experiential Analysis: A Contribution to Feminist Research Methodology. In: Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli-Klein (eds), *Theories of Women's Studies*, London, Routledge.

Reuter, E.B., (1937) The Sociology of Adolescence, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.43, 414-427.

Reynolds, P.D., (1979) *Ethical Dilemmas and Social Science Research: An Analysis of Moral Issues Confronting Investigators in Research Using Human Participants*, San Francisco, Jossey Bass.

Rich, R.M., (1979) *The Sociology of Criminal Law: Evolution of Deviance in Anglo-American Society*, Toronto, Butterworths.

Ritzer, G., (1975) *Sociology: A Multiple Paradigm Science*, Boston, Allyn Bacon.

Roberts, Brian, (1976) Naturalistic Research into Subcultures and Deviance. In: S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance Through Rituals*, 243-252, London, Hutchinson.

Roberts, David, (1960) *The Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, New Haven Press.

Roberts, Ken, (1983) *Youth and Leisure*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Roberts, Ken, (1986) *Young People in Society, 16-19 Initiative. A Sociological View of the Issues*, ESRC Review Document.

Roberts, Ken, (1987) ESRC - Young People in Society, *Youth and Policy*, No.22, 15-24

Roberts, Kenneth, Duggan, Jill and Noble, Maria, (1981) *Unregistered Youth Unemployment and Outreach Careers Work*, Department of Employment Research Paper No.31, London, Department of Employment.

Roberts, Kenneth, Duggan, Jill and Noble, Maria, (1982a) Youth Unemployment: An Old Problem or a New Life-Style?, *Leisure Studies*, Vol.1, 171-182.

Roberts, Kenneth, Duggan, Jill and Noble, Maria, (1982b) Out of School Youth in High Unemployment Areas: An Empirical Investigation, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol.10, No.1, January, 1-11.

Roberts, Kenneth, Duggan, Jill and Noble, Maria, (1982c) *Unregistered Youth Unemployment and Outreach Careers Work*, Department of Employment Research Paper No.32, London, Department of Employment.

Roberts, Kenneth, Dench, Sally and Richardson, Deborah, (1986) *Youth Unemployment in the 1980s*, Paper prepared for the Conference on 'The Search for Jobs and the New Vocationalism: The Implications for Change in the Educational Service', University of York, April.

Roberts, Ken, Dench, Sally and Richardson, Deborah, (1988) Youth Unemployment in the 1980s. In B. Coles (ed), *Young Careers*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Roberts, K. and Parsell, G., (1989) *The Stratification of Youth Training*, Occasional Paper 11, ESRC 16-19 Initiative, London, City University.

Roberts, Ken, (1993) Career Trajectories and the Mirage of Increased Social Mobility. In: I. Bates and G. Riseborough, 229-245.

780

Roberts, R., (1971) *The Classic Slum*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Robins, David, (1984) *We Hate Humans : Report on Youth from the Battlegound of Soccer*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Robins, David, (1992) *Tarnished Vision: Crime and Conflict in the Inner City*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Robins, D. and Cohen, P., (1978) *Knuckle Sandwich*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Rock, Paul, (1978) Book Review of Paul Willis's 'Profane Culture', *Sociology*, Vol.12, 605-606.

Rock, P. and McIntosh, M. (eds), (1974) *Criminology and the Sociology of Deviance in Britain*, London, Tavistock.

Rogers, Alan, (1981) *Starting Out in Detached Youth Work*, Leicester, National Association of Youth Clubs.

Rohner, R., (1966) Franz Boas: Ethnographer of the Northwest. In: J. Helm (ed), *American Anthropology*, Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Roll, J., (1990) *Young People Growing Up in the Welfare State*, London, Family Policy Studies Centre, Occasional Paper No.10.

Rosaldo, M.Z., (1980) *Knowledge and Passion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Rose, David, (1992) Quoted in McIlvanney, *Sunday Observer*, 12 July.

Rosenberg, F. and Rosenberg, M., (1978) Self-Esteem and Delinquency, *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol.7, 279-291.

Roth, J., (1963) *Timetables*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill.

Rowbotham, S., (1973) *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Rule, J.G., (1979) Social Crime in the Rural South in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, *Southern History*, Vol.1, 135-153.

Russell, C. and Rigby, L.M., (1908) *Working Lads' Culture*, London, Macmillan.

Russell, Charles, (1905) *Manchester Boys: Sketches of Manchester Lads at Work and Play*, Swinton, Reprinted by Neil Richardson.

Samuel, Raphael, (1981) *East End Underworld: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding*, London, Arrow.

Saunders, N., (1974) *Guide to Alternative London*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Saunders, N., (1993) *E for Ecstasy*, Illustrations by G. Wade, London, Saunders.

Scarman, (1981) *The Brixton Disorders of 10-12 April 1981*, Report of an Inquiry by the Rt. Hon. The Lord Scarman, OBE, London, Home Office, Cmnd.8427, HMSO.

Scarman Report, (1982), Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Schofield, M., (1973) *The Sexual Behaviour of Young Adults*, London, Allen Lane.

Schur, E., (1971) *Labelling Deviant Behaviour*, New York, Random House.

Schwartz, M.S. and Schwartz, C.G., (1955) Problems in Participant Observation, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.60, 343-353.

Schwartz, M. and Stryker, S, (1970) *Deviance, Selves and Others*, Washington, American Sociological Association Rose Monograph.

Scott, D., (1984) Unemployment and the Restructuring of Voluntary Welfare in Manchester. In: D. Scott and P. Wilding (eds), *Beyond Welfare Pluralism?*, Manchester, Manchester Council for Voluntary Service, and Department of Social Administration, University of Manchester.

Scraton, P., (1985) *The State of the Police*, London, Pluto.

Seabrook, Jeremy, (1973) *City Close Up*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Seabrook, Jeremy, (1982) *Unemployment*, London, Quartet.

Seabrook, Jeremy, (1984) *The Idea of Neighbourhood*, London, Pluto Press.

Seabrook, Jeremy, (1987) Surviving. In: S. Fineman (ed), *Unemployment: Personal and Social Consequences*, London, Tavistock.

Seaton, Jane, (1986) The Media and Politics of Interpreting Unemployment. In: S. Allen *et al* (eds), *Experience of Unemployment*, London, Macmillan.

Seebohm Report, (1968) *Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services*, London, Cmnd.3703, HMSO.

Sennett, R. and Cobb, J., (1977) *The Hidden Injuries of Class*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Sennewald, Charles A. and Christman, John H., (1992) *Shoplifting*, Boston, Heinemann.

Shacklady-Smith, L., (1978) Sexist Assumptions and Female Delinquency. In: C. Smart and B. Smart, *Women, Sexuality and Social Control*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Shamir, Boas, (1986) Self Esteem and the Psychological Impact of Unemployment, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol.49, No.1, 61-72.

Sharpe, S., (1976) *Just Like a Girl: How Girls Learn to be Women*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Sharron, H. (1984) Police in Row Over Youth Work Role, *Times Educational Supplement*, 26.10.84.

Shaw, C.A., (1930) *The Jackroller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Shaw, C. and McKay, H.D., (1942) *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

SHELTER, (1993) *A Roof Over our Heads: Council House Queues in the North West*, Discussion Paper, SHELTER North West Region, Manchester.

Shils, E., (1948) *The Present State of American Sociology*, Glencoe, The Free Press.

Shlien, J., (1963) Phenomenology and Personality. In: J. Wepman and R. Heine (eds) *Concepts of Personality*.

Short, C. and Taylor, D., (1982) Unemployment: Causes and Palliatives, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.1, No.2.

Short, J.F. Jnr. (ed), (1971) *The Social Fabric of the Metropolis: Contribution of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Sieber, J.E. (ed), (1982) *The Ethics of Social Research: Fieldwork Regulation and Publication*, New York, Springer.

Siltanen, J. and Stanworth, M. (eds), (1984) *Women and the Public Sphere: A Critique of Sociology and Politics*, London, Hutchinson.

Simms, Madeleine and Smith, Christopher, (1984) Reluctant Mothers, *Youth in Society*, 10-12.

Sinfield, Adrian, (1981) *What Unemployment Means*, Oxford, Martin Robertson.

Skeggs, B., (1985) Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Keele.

Skinner, B.F., (1953) *Science and Human Behaviour*, London, Macmillan.

Sloan-Howitt, M. and Kelling, G.L., (1990) Subway Graffiti in New York City: 'Getting Up Vs. Meaning It and Cleaning It', *Security Journal*, Vol.1, No.3, 131-136.

Smith, Andrew James, (1992) The Third Generation, *New Statesman and Society*, 11 September, 31-32.

Smith, C. *et al*, (1972) *The Wincroft Youth Project*, London, Tavistock.

Smith, D., (1988) *The Chicago School*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Smith, David M., (1981) New Movements in the Sociology of Youth: A Critique, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.32, No.2, June, 239-251.

783

Smith, David M., (1983) Structual-Functionalist Accounts of Youth, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.1, No.3, Winter, 1-9.

Smith, David M., (1984) The Problem of Youth and Problems in the Sociology of Youth, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.2, No.4, Spring, 41-45.

Smith, D.I., (1979) *Local Authority Expenditure on the Youth Service 1975-1980*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Smith, D.I., (1980) *Local Authority Expenditure on the Youth Service 1979-1980/1980-1981*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Smith, D.I., (1986) *The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984: A Brief Guide for Youthworkers*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau.

Smith, E.A., (1962) *American Youth Culture*, New York, Free Press.

Smith, Mark, (1981) *Creators not Consumers*, 2nd Edition, Leicester, National Association of Youth Clubs.

Smith, Mark, (1982) Taking Sides, *Youth in Society*, April.

Smith, Mark, (1982) *Organise! A Guide to Practical Politics for Youth and Community Groups*, Leicester, National Association of Youth Clubs.

Smith, Mark, (1991) *The Changing Position of Young People*, The Challenge for Voluntary Yourthwork Organisations, YMCA National College.

Smith, Michael A., (1983) *Public House Participation Profiles: Interviews with Pub Participants*, The Centre for the Study of Work and Leisure, University of Salford.

Smith, Michael A., (1985) A Participant Observer Study of a 'Rough' Working Class Pub, *Leisure Studies*, Vol.4, No.3, September, 293-306.

Smith-Bowen, E., 1964) *Return To Laughter*, London, Doubleday.

Social Trends 1991, Social Trends 21, London, Central Statistical Office, HMSO.

Socialist Teacher, (1983) *Police Liaison with the Education Service*, London, 22 December.

Solomos, John, (1986) Political Language and Violent Protest: Ideological and Policy Responses to the 1981 and 1985 Riots, *Youth and Policy*, No.18, 12-24.

Somerville, A., (1983) *Links: IT and NACRO YTS*, Leicester, IT Mailing, 7-8 November.

Spencer, J., (1964) *Stress and Release on an Urban Estate: A Study in Action Research*, London, Tavistock.

Spender, Dale, (1980) *Man Made Language*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Spender, D. and Sarah, E., (1980) *Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education*, London, Women's Press.

Spradley, J.P. and Mann, B.J., (1976) *The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work in a Man's World*, London, Wiley.

Springhall, J., (1977) *Youth, Empire and Society*, London, Croom Helm.

Springhall, John, (1985) Rotten to the Very Core: Leisure and Youth 1830-1914, *Youth and Policy*, No.14, Autumn, 28-33.

Stafford, Anne, (1981) Learning Not to Labour, *Capital and Class*, Vol.15, Autumn, 55-77.

Stafford, Anne, (1991) *Trying Work: Gender, Youth and Work Experience*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Stafford, Elizabeth M., (1982) The Impact of the Youth Opportunities Programme on Young People's Employment Prospects and Psychological Well Being, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, Vol.10, No.1, January, 12-21.

Stager, Susan F. *et al*, (1983) Determinants of Self Esteem Among Labelled Adolescents, *Social Psycyhology Quarterley*, Vol.46, No.1, 3-10.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S., (1983) *Breaking Out*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Stanton, Alan, (1989) *Invitation to Self Management*, Ruislip, Dab Hand Press.

Stanworth, M., (1983) *Gender and Schooling: A Study of Sexual Divisions in the Classroom*, London, Hutchinson.

Stanworth, Michelle, (1984) Debate: Women and Class Analysis - A Reply to John Goldthorpe, *Sociology*, Vol.18, No.2, May.

Stephens, Anni, (1982) *Bikers and Hells Angels: A Sociological Study*, London, School for Independent Study, North East London Polytechnic.

Stepney, P., (1978) The East Swindon Community Project: The Evolution of the Cavendish Youth Club, *Youth in Society*, No.30, 31-35.

Stewart, G. and Stewart, J., (1988) Targetting Youth or How The State Obstructs Young People's Independence, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.25, 19-24.

Stoddart, K., (1986) The Presentation of Everyday Life: Some Textual Strategies for 'Adequate Ethnography', *Urban Life*, Vol.15, 103-121.

Storey, Carol, 1982) *The Sociol-Psychological Consequences of Unemployment Among Young People*, Dissertation presented for BA Hons, University of Salford.

Strathern, M., (1987) Out of Context: The Persuasive Fictions of Anthropology, *Current Anthropology*, Vol.28, No.3, June, 251-281.

Street, Phil, (1984)   Agitator, Advocate, Broker, Informant.   A Framework for Youthwork with the Unemployed, *Youth in Society*, February, 16-18.

St. John-Brooks, Caroline, (1982) Loose in the City: The Underworld of Roaming Children, *New Society*, 23 September, 491-494.

Sutherland, E.H., (1973) *The Professional Thief - By a Professional Thief*, (revised edition), Chicago, Chicago University Press.

Sutherland, E.H. and Cressey, D., (1970) *Principles of Criminology*, Philadelphia, Lippincott

Suttles, G.D., (1969) *The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City* (Preface by Janowitz), Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Swartz, David, (1977) Pierre Bourdieu: The Cultural Transmission of Social Inequality, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol.47, November.

Takagi, P., (1982) Delinquency in School and Society: The Quest for a Theory and Method, *Crime and Social Justice*, Vol.17, 37-49.

Tawney, R.H., (1934) *The School Leaving Age and Juvenile Unemployment*, London, Workers Educational Association.

Tawney, R.H., (1938) *Equality*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Taylor, Ian, (1981) *Law and Order: Arguments for Socialism*, London, Macmillan.

Taylor, Ian, (1982) On the Sports Violence Question: Soccer Hooliganism Revisited.   In: J. Hargreaves (ed) *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Taylor, Ian, Walton, Paul and Young, Jock, (1973) *The New Criminology*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Taylor, Ian, Walton, Paul and Young, Jock, (1975) *Critical Criminology*, London, Routledge.

Taylor, Ian and Jamieson, Ruth, (1983) *Young People's Responses to Job Crisis in Canada: A Framework for Theoretical Work and Empirical Research*, Ottowa, Consultancy report prepared for Statistics Canada, Social Statistics Division; Available from Ian Taylor, University of Salford, Manchester.

Taylor, Laurie, (1984) *In the Underworld*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Taylor, L. and Taylor, I. (eds), (1973) *Politics and Deviance*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Taylor, T., (1984)   Anti-Sexist Work with Young Males, *Youth and Policy*, No,.9, Summer.

Thomas, C., (1980) Girls and Counter-School Cultures. In: D. McCallum and V. Ozolins (eds), *Melbourne Working Papers*, University of Melbourne.

Thomas, W.I. and Znaniecki, F., (1918) Methodological Note. In: *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Glencoe, Free Press.

Thomas, Jim, (1982) Review of 'Sociological Dialogue with Lukacs, Gramsci and the Frankfurt School' by R. Kilminster, *Urban Life*, Vol.11, April, 129-132.

Thomas, Jim, (1983) Toward a Critical Ethnography: A Re-Examination of the Chicago Legacy, *Urban Life*, Vol.11, No.4, January, 477-490.

Thompson, E.P., (1968) *The Making of the English Working Class*, (originally published 1963), London, Gollancz.

Thompson Report, (1982) *Experience and Participation: Report of the Review Group on the Youth Service in England*, London, Cmnd, HMSO.

Thorpe, D. *et al*, (1980) *Out of Care: The Community Support of Juvenile Offenders*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

Thrasher, F.M., (1927) *The Gang: A Study of 1313 Gangs in Chicago*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Times Educational Supplement, (1982) Minister Monitors Sex Education, 26.3.82.

Times Educational Supplement, (1982) Sir Keith Calls for Police Links, 26.4.82.

Troyer, Ronald J. and Markle, Gerald E., (1982) Creating Deviance Rules: A Macroscopic Model, *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol.23, Spring, 157-169.

Truzzi, M. (ed), (1974) *Verstehen: Subjective Understandings in the Social Sciences*, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley.

T.U.R.C., (1986) *They Must Think We're Stupid! The Experiences of Young People on the Youth Training Scheme*, Birmingham, T.U.R.C., Youth Training Resource Unit.

Turner, R.H. (ed), (1967) *Robert E. Park on Social Control and Collective Behaviour*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Turner, Robert *et al*, (1985) The Work Ethic in a Scottish Town with Declining Employment. In: B. Roberts *et al* (eds), *New Approaches to Economic Life*, 476-489, Manchester University Press.

Turner, S., (1984) *Bursting The Balloon*, Paper presented to the British Sociological Association Conference, Bradford.

Turner, V., *On the Edge of the Bush: Anthropology as Experience*, Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Tutt, N., (1982) Justice or Welfare?, *Social Work Today*, 19.10.82, 7-10.

Ullah, P., (1987) Unemployed Black Youths in a Northern City. In: D. Fryer and P. Ullah (eds), *Unemployed People*.

Ullah, P. *et al*, (1983) *Social and Psychological Effects of Unemployment Upon Young People*, MRC/ESRC, SAPU Memo. No.577.

Ullah, P. *et al*, (1985) Social Support, Social Pressures, and Psychological Distress During Unemployment, *Psychological Medicine*, Vol.15, 283-295.

Ullah, P. and Banks, M.H., (1985) Youth Unemployment and Labour Market Withdrawal, *Journal of Economic Psychology*, Vol.6, 51-64.

University of Salford, (1992) Code of Practice for the Conduct of Postgraduate Research Degree Programmes (See especially: *Copyright, Deposit and Consultation of Thesis*).

Valentine, C., (1968) *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Van de Lest, J.C.C., (no date) *Community Self-Survey*, The Hague, Netherlands Ministry of Social Work.

Van Maanen, J., (1983) *Qualitative Methodology*, London, Sage.

Veblen, T., (1919) Some Neglected Points in the Theory of Socialism. In: *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization*, New York, Viking Press.

Veblen, T., (1970) *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Verill, A.H., (1972) Reducing Shop Losses. In: R. Post (ed), *Combating Crime against Small Business*, Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas.

Vidich, A.J., (1955) Participant Observation and the Collection and Intepretation of Data, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.55, 354-360.

Vidich, A.J. and Bensman, J., (1954) The Validity of Field Data, *Human Organization*, Vol.13, 20-27.

Von Wright, G.H., (1971) Two Traditions. In: *Explanation and Understanding*, Chapter 1, 1-7, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Walker, Alan, (1990) Blaming the Victims. In: Charles Murray (ed), *The Emerging British Underclass*, London, IEA Health and Welfare Unit.

Walker, R. (ed), (1985) *Applied Qualitative Research*, Aldershot, Gower.

Walker, Stephen and Barton, Len, (1986) *Youth Unemployment and Schooling*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Walkerdine, V., (1981) Sex, Power, and Pedagogics, *Screen Education*, No.38.

Wallace, Claire, (1984) *School, Work and Unemployment: Social and Cultural Reproduction on the Isle of Sheppey*, PhD Thesis, Faculty of Social Science, University of Kent at Canterbury.

Wallace, Claire, (1985) *Masculinity, Femininity and Unemployment*, Paper presented at the International Sociology of Education Conference, Westhill College, Birmingham.

Wallace, Claire, (1986a) *From Generation to Generation. The Effects of Employment and Unemployment upon the Domestic Life Cycle of Young Adults*, Paper presented at the British Sociological Association Conference, University of Loughborough, March.

Wallace, Claire, (1986b) From Girls and Boys to Women and Men: The Social Reproduction of Gender Roles in the Transition from Scool to (Un)employment. In Walker and Barton (eds), 92-117.

Wallace, Claire, (1987) *For Richer For Poorer: Growing Up In and Out of Work*, London, Tavistock.

Wallace, Claire and Cross, Malcolm (eds), (1990) *Youth in Transition: The Sociology of Youth and Youth Policy*, London, Falmer.

Wallace, Claire and Pahl, Ray, (1986) Polarisation, Unemployment and All Forms of Work. In: S. Allen *et al* (eds) *The Experience of Unemployment*, London, Macmillan.

Wallman, S., (1984) *Eight London Households*, London, Tavistock.

Walsh, D., (1972) Varieties of Positivism. In: P. Filmer *et al, New Directions in Sociological Theory*, London, Collier/Macmillan.

Walsh, D.P., (1978) *Shoplifting: Controlling A Major Crime*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Warr, Peter, (1987) This Unhappy Breed, *New Society*, 10 July.

Warren, Lorna, (1988) *A PhD Thesis Methodology Chapter*. Paper presented to the GAPP Conference held at the University of Manchester, January.

Watson, S. and Austerberry, H., (1986) *Housing and Homelessness*, London, Routledge and Kegal Paul.

Wax, M.L., (1972) Tenting with Malinowski, *American Sociological Review*, Vol.37, 1-13.

Wax, Rosalie H., (1971) A Historical Sketch of Fieldwork. In: R.H. Wax, *Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice*, 21-41, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press.

Webb, E.J., (1966) *Unobtrusive Measures*, Chicago, Rand McNally.

Webber, M., (1969) Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity. In: L. Wingo (ed), *Cities and Space*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.

Wells, W., (1987) The Relative Pay and Employment of Young People. In: P.N. Junanker (ed), *From School to Unemployment*, London, Macmillan.

Werner, O., (1983) Micromputers in Cultural Anthropology, *Byte 7*, 250-280.

Werner, O., (1986a) *Systematic Fieldwork: Ethnographic Analysis and Data Management*, Newbury Park, Sage.

Werner, O., and Schoepfle, G.M., (1986b) *Systematic Fieldwork: Foundations of Ethnography and Interviewing*, Newbury Park, Sage.

West Midlands Youth Training Scheme Research Project, (1986) *Unequal Opportunities: Racial Discrimination and the Youth Training Scheme*, Birmingham.

West, D.J., (1967) *The Young Offender*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

West, D.J., (1982) *Delinquency: Its Roots,Careers and Prospects*, London, Heinemann.

West, D.J. and Farrington, D.P., (1973) *Who Becomes Delinquent?*, London, Heinemann.

Westwood, S., (1984) *All Day Every Day: Factory and Family in the Making of Women's Lives*, London, Pluto.

White, David, (1985) Review of R.E. Pahl's "Divisions of Labour", originally published in *New Society*, 27 September 1984. Reprinted in *The New Classes: A New Society Social Studies Reader*, 7-10, Hants/Gower.

White, J., (1981) The Summer Riots of 1919, *New Society*, Vol.57, 260-261.

White, M., (1983) *Long-Term Unemployed and Labour Markets*, London, Policy Studies Institute, No.622.

White, M. and McRae, S., (1989) *Young Adults and Long Term Unemployment*, London, PSI.

Whyte, William Foote, (1943, Second Edition 1955) *Street Corner Society*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Wiener, R.S.P., (1972) *Community Self Survey: A Do It Yourself Guide*, Belfast, Northern Ireland Communtiy Relations Commission, November.

Wiles, Paul (ed), (1976) *The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency in Britain: Volume 2, The New Criminologies*, London, Martin Robertson.

Wilkins, D., (1964) *Social Deviance: Social Policy, Action and Research*, London, Tavistock.

Williams, Raymond, (1963) *Culture and Society 1780-1950*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Williams, T.M., (1989) *The Cocaine Kids: The Inside Story of a Teenage Drug Ring*, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley.

Willis, Paul, (1977) *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, Farnborough, Saxon House.

Willis, Paul, (1978) *Profane Culture*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Willis, Paul, (1980) Notes on Method. In: S. Hall *et al* (eds), *Culture, Media, Language*, 88-95, London, Hutchinson.

Willis, Paul, (1981) Cultural Production is Different from Cultural Reproduction is Different from Social Reproduction is Different from Reproduction, *Interchange*, Vol.12, 48-67.

Willis, Paul, (1983) Cultural Production and Theories of Reproduction. In: L. Walker and S. Barton (eds), *Race, Class and Education*, London, Croom Helm.

Willis, Paul, (1984a, b and c) Youth Unemployment. A Series of articles written for *New Society*: (i) (1984a) Youth Unemployment 1. A New Social State, *New Society*, 29 March, 475-77; (ii) (1984b) Youth Unemployment 2. Ways of Living, *New Society*, 5 April, 13-15; (iii) (1984c) The Land of Juventus, *New Society*, 12 April, 57-59.

Willis, Paul, (1984d) Youth Unemployment: Thinking the Unthinkable, *Youth and Policy*, Vol.2, No.4, Spring, 17-36.

Willis, Paul, (1985) *The Social Condition of Young People in Wolverhampton in 1984*, Wolverhampton Borough Council.

Willis, Paul, (1985a) *Youth Unemployment and the New Poverty: A Summary of a Local Authority Review and Framework for Policy Development on Youth and Youth Unemployment*, Wolverhampton Borough Council.

Willis, Paul *et al*, (1988) *The Youth Review*, Wiltshire, Avebury.

Willis, Paul, (1990) *Common Culture: Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Willmott, Peter, (1966) *Adolescent Boys of East London*, London, Routledge. (Revised Edition 1971, cited in the text)

Willmott, Peter, (1989) *Community Initiatives*, London, Policy Studies Institute.

Wilpert, C. (ed), (1988) *Entering the Working World: Following the Descendants of Europe's Immigrant Labour Force*, Aldershot/Gower.

Wilson, D., (1978) Sexual Codes and Conduct - A Study of Teenage Girls. In: C. Smart and B. Smart (eds), *Women, Sexuality and Social Control*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wilson, Thomas P., (1970) Normative and Interpretive Paradigms In Sociology. In: J.D. Douglas (ed), *Understanding Everyday Life*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wolfe, T., (1939) *The Web and the Rock*, New York, Harper Row.

Wolpe, A.M., (1977) *Some Processes in Education*, Women's Research and Resource Centre, *Explorations in Feminism 1*.

Wormser, Margot Haas, (1949) The Northtown Self-Survey: A Case Study, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.5, No. 2, p.5.

Wormser, M.H. and Selltiz, C., (1951) Community Self Surveys. In: M. Jahoda *et al* (eds), *Research Methods in Social Relations, Vol.II*, New York, Dryden.

Wrong, D., (1967) The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology. In: H.J. Demerath and R. Peterson (eds), *Sysem, Change and Conflict*, London, Macmillan.

Yancey, W.L., (1980) Intervention as a Strategy of Social Inquiry: An Exploratory Study with Unemployed Negro Men. In: L.A. Zurcher and C.M. Bonjean, *Planned Social Intervention*, Scranton, Penn., Chandler.

Yeandle, S., (1984) *Women's Working Lives, Patterns and Strategies*, London, Tavistock.

Yeo, E. and Yeo S. (eds), (1981) *Popular Culture and Class Conflicts 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure*, Sussex, The Harvester Press.

Young, Jock, (1971) *The Drugtakers: The Social Meaning of Drug Use*, London, MacGibbon and Kee/Paladin.

Young, Jock, (1981) Thinking Seriously about Crime. In: M. Fitzgerald *et al* (eds), *Crime and Society*, Open University, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Young, Jock, (1981a) A Critique of Left-Functionalism in Media Theory. In: S. Cohen and J. Young, *The Manufacture of News*, (Revised Edition), London, Constable.

Young, Jock, (1992) *The Rise in Crime in England and Wales 1979-1990*, Centre for Criminology, Middlesex Polytechnic.

Young, Michael and Willmott, Peter, (1957) *Family and Kinship in East London*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Young, M., (1983) Review of: "Person and Myth - Maurice Leenhardt in the The Melanesian World" by J. Clifford, *Oceania*, Vol.54, 169-70.

Young, Toby, (1985), The Shock of the Young, *New Society*, Vol.71, 14 February, 246-247.

Young, T.R. (ed), (1980) Critical Perspectives on Ethnography, *Urban Life* (Special Issue*)*, July.

Youth Social Work Unit, (1983) *Project News: IT Mailing*, 13th March, 10-12, Leicester.

Youth Social Work Unit, (1984) *Project News: IT Mailing*, 17 July, 16-17, Leicester.

Youthaid, (1981) *In and Out of the Programme*, London, Youthaid.

Youthaid, (1984) *MP's Briefing No.1 (The Youth Training Scheme)*, London, Youthaid.

Zeitlin, Lawrence, R., (1971) A Little Larceny Can Do a Lot for Employee Morale, *Psychology Today*, June, 22, 24, 26, 64.

Zorburgh, H., (1929) *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE -

HARTINGLEIGH YOUTH AND COMMUNITY PROJECT: SCHOOL LEAVERS SURVEY (1980)

Strictly confidential

School Leavers Survey

PART I ... (ABOUT YOURSELF)

January 1980

I a) Surname ▓▓▓▓

First names in full ▓▓▓▓

b) Sex *(Please ring appropriate number)*

Boy   1

Girl   ②

II a) Date of birth ▓▓▓▓

b) Today's date ▓▓▓▓

Leave blank

▓▓▓▓

Day   Month   Year

III a) Home address ▓▓▓▓

b) Name and address of school

▓▓▓▓

Neighbourhood Project

MANCHESTER

Tel. N

You may feel that some of your answers are
personal but we can assure you that the only
people who will see this survey are ▓▓▓▓▓▓
▓▓▓ and Steve ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

All your replies will be treated in the strictest
confidence and if you wish you may leave your name
and address off the front cover. Later on you will
be given a second questionnaire which will ask for
your views and opinions about services and
facilities at the Youth Centre. You will also be
invited to attend the Youth Club to give your
views to the workers and management committee
about how you would like the Youth Club to be run
and what projects you would like to see set up ▓▓▓
▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

We have also left the last page of this
questionnaire blank in case there are any comments
you'd like to make. We are very interested to hear
your views.

Thank you again for giving us your time.

▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ Steve ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

Jan. 1980

How to answer the questions

You will find that the questions on these pages are of three kinds:
Firstly, there are those where we ask you simply to write an answer of a few words in the space provided.

Secondly, there are those questions where there are a number of possible answers and we have written these with a number against each one. All you have to do is put a ring around the number that is next to the answer that you want to give.

For example:

In your school, are there:

Both boys and girls	①
Boys only	· 2
Girls only	3

Thirdly, some questions have a box or boxes by them in which you have to write a number, or numbers.

For example:

How old were you last birthday? ┌─┬─┐ 1 │ 5 │ yrs.

You may sometimes feel that you have not been able to say all that you want just by ringing or writing a number. If so, please add any comment you want either next to the question or on the back of the form.

Remember that this is not a test of any kind. *There are no right or wrong answers.* What we want to know is what *you* think or have done or want to do.

Thank you for all your help

In the next few pages you will be asked about yourself, your school and what you expect to be doing in the next few years. It is, of course, very important that the answers you give us really do tell us your ideas about things, so please give as accurate and open an answer as you can.

Country of birth England

If you were born outside England, Wales or Scotland. in which

year did you first come to live in this country? ....

With which hand do you write best?

Right hand	...................(1)
Left hand	2
Equally well with either hand	3

Below is a list of things that people of your age have said about
how they feel towards school. Read each one carefully and
then ring one of the numbers to show for each one how true
you think what it says is in your own case.

	Very true	Partly or usually true	Cannot say, no feelings either way	Partly or usually untrue	Not true at all	
a) I feel school is largely a waste of time	(1)	2	3	4	5	
b) I am quiet in the classroom and get on with my work	1	(2)	3	4	5	
c) I think homework is a bore	(1)	2	3	4	5	
d) I find it difficult to keep my mind on my work	(1)	2	3	4	5	
e) I never take work seriously	1	(2)	3	4	5	
f) I don't like school	(1)	2	3	4	5	
g) I think there is no point in planning for the future; you should take things as they come	(1)	2	3	4	5	
h) I am always willing to help the teacher	(1)	2	3	4	5	

Sometimes people are punished for misbehaving in school.
A list of typical punishments is given below. We should like
to know whether you think that any of these should never be
used in school. Please ring the number against any which
you think should never be used.

Having to stay in school outside normal hours

(e.g. detention) 1

Being expelled 2

Suspension (not being allowed to come to school for a while) 3

Corporal punishment (cane, or any other method) 4

Having a report or letter sent to your parent 5

5 At what age do you think you are most likely to leave school?

16	...................(1)
17	2
18 or over	3
Uncertain	4

6. Are any of the following important reasons for leaving school at this age? Ring the numbers to show which are important to you.

I have always taken it for granted .... **(1)**
I need to earn as soon as possible because my family needs the money 2
I want to earn a wage and be independent as soon as I can ...... **(3)**
I don't like doing school work .... **(4)**
I want to do the same as most of my friends 5
My parents' advice 6
I can't study what I want to study at school 7
Teachers' advice 8
I have a particular course or job in mind which I don't have to stay on at school to do 9

I want to get married in the next year or so 1
I want more qualifications 2
I like school life 3
I want to go somewhere else to finish my education 4
I can't think of anything else to do 5
I'm not good enough to stay on 6

7. Everybody has had to stay at school until they are 16. In your own case do you wish that you could have left when you were 15?

Ring one number

Yes .... **(1)**
No 2
Uncertain 3

8. Do you think that people of your age who do not want to go to school should be allowed to stay away?

Ring one number

Yes .... **(1)**
No 2
Uncertain 3

9. Have you stayed away from school at all this year when you should have been there?

Ring one number

Yes .... **(1)**
No 2

If yes, please ring the number against whichever of these were reasons for you missing school.

Ring all that apply

Fed up with school .... **(1)**
Had to help at home 2
Wanted to do something special away from school 3
Some other reason 4

Write here your reasons for "bunking off" school:—

I didn't find school interesting
I [...] told what to do.

10 For each of the following subjects we would like you to say
roughly how good you think you are at it compared with
other people of your age. Please ring the appropriate numbers
against each subject.

		Never studied this subject	Below Average	Average	Above Average
a)	Mathematics	1	2	(3)	4
b)	English	1	2	(3)	4
c)	Science	(1)	2	3	4
d)	Art	(1)	2	3	4
e)	Music	1	2	3	(4)
f)	Practical subjects (e.g. woodwork, metalwork, domestic science)	1	2	(3)	4
g)	Sports and games	1	2	(3)	4

11 Have you ever had any contact with the following
services since your eleventh (11th) birthday (please
ring all that apply)

Please ring

Social Services or Social Work Dept... 1
Educational Welfare Department..2
Careers Officer/Youth Employment Officer..........................3
Voluntary Social Work Agency..4

(please state which)

Police or Probation Officer...5

12 Have you ever been in trouble with the police

Please ring

Yes..1
No..2

13 Have you ever been taken to Court

Please ring

Yes..1

No..2

If yes, please give as many details as you
can...
....
....

14 After you leave school would you like to

Continue with full-time study 1
Do a job that involves part-time study .... (2)
Do a job that requires no further study 3
Don't know 4

15 If you want to continue with full-time study, please ring the number against the place where you would most like to do it.

Ring one number

A University or Polytechnic 1
A teacher's training college (college of education) 2
A technical college, college of commerce or secretarial college 3
A college of art, music or drama 4
Somewhere else 5
Don't know 6

16 How anxious do you think your parents are that you should do well at school?

Ring one number

Very anxious 1
Fairly anxious 2
Contented if I do my best ....(3)
They don't mind one way or the other 4
Uncertain 5

17 What would you **like** to be your first full-time job? Please give as many details as possible.

Leave blank

— _Modeling fashion._ — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— _Hairdressing._ — — — — — — — — — — — — —

18 a) What do you think is **in fact likely** to be your first full-time job? Please give as many details as possible.

~~Modeling~~ — — — — — — — — — — —
— _modeling hairstyles and clothes._ — — — — —

b) From where have you heard about this job? Ring all of the following that apply.

Ring all appropriate numbers

From your parents 1
From another relative 2
At school, from a teacher or careers talk or film 3
From a Youth Employment Officer 4
From seeing something on television 5
From seeing something in a newspaper or magazine 6
From a friend .... (7)
Somewhere else 8
Don't remember 9

) In choosing a job what things about it do you think are important? Choose your answers from the list below; ring as many as you wish.

The job should involve working with your hands	(Y)
It should involve using your head and need thought and concentration	X
It should be an outdoor job	0
It should be well-paid	(1)
It should have convenient hours and conditions	2
The job should involve variety	(3)
The job should offer you chances of promotion	4
It should give you the chance of being in charge of other people	5
The job should let you be your own boss	(6)
It should be a clean job	7
It should give you the opportunity of helping others	(8)
It should not have too much responsibility at first	9

b) Now go back over the list above, choose the one thing which is *most* important to you about a job, and write its number or letter in the box in the margin.

Enter number or letter in boxes

the most important   3

and the second most important '   8

and the third most important   Y

If to get the job you wanted you had to move to a different part of the country, would you be prepared to do so?

Ring one number

Yes	(1)
No	2
Uncertain	3

a) Do you have a spare-time job or jobs during term-time?

Ring one number

No	1
Yes, *weekends* only	(2)
Yes, *weekdays* only	3
Yes, *both* weekdays and weekends	4

b) How many hours most weeks does this job (or jobs) take up?

Ring one number

Less than 3 hours each week	1
3–6 hours each week	(2)
More than 6 hours and up to 9 hours	3
More than 9 hours and up to 12 hours	4
More than 12 hours and up to 15 hours	5
More than 15 hours	6

c) How much money do you earn on average each week through part-time work during term-time?

Ring one number

Up to 99p	1
Between £1 and £1.99	2
Between £2 and £2.99	3
Between £3 and £3.99	4
Between £4 and £4.99	5
Between £5 and £5.99	6
	(7)

22 a) How much money do your parents give you on average
each week to save or spend? Include any money they
give you regularly which is specifically for clothing, travel
or meals. (If they give you money as you ask for it, please
try to work out how much this comes to most weeks.)

None	1
Less than 49p	2
Between 50p and 74p	3
Between 75p and 99p	(4)
Between £1 and £1.49	5
Between £1.50 and £1.99	6
Between £2 and £2.99	7
£3 or more	8

b) Is this money meant to cover:
(*Please ring all that apply*)

Ring all that apply

All or most of your clothes	1
Travel to school	(2)
Some meals	3
None of these	4

**23 From the following list, please choose the two things on which
most of your money goes. (*Ring two only*)**

Ring two numbers

Records, cassettes, record players, etc.	(Y)
Sports kit and equipment	X
Clothes	(0)
Make-up	1
Entertainment (cinema, discos, watching sport, etc.)	2
Alcoholic drinks	3
Food and sweets	4
Cigarettes	5
Books, papers, magazines, etc.	6
Savings	7
Any others (please describe)	
	8

24 What do you think would be the best age to get married?
Ring the number against this age.

Ring one number

16 or 17	1
18 or 19	2
20 or 21	3
22 – 25	4
26 – 30	5
Over 30	6
Uncertain or don't know	(7)
Don't wish to marry	8

25 At what age would you ideally like to start a family?

Ring one number

16 or 17	1
18 or 19	2
20 or 21	3
22 – 25	(4)
26 – 30	5
Over 30	6
Uncertain or don't know	7
Don't wish to have children	8

26 What size family would you like to have?

No children	1
One child	2
Two children	③
Three children	4
Four children	5
Five children	6
Six or more children	7
Don't know	8

Leave blank

□□

27 a) Have you learnt in lessons at school about any of the following? Please ring the number against each one that you have learnt about.

Ring all that apply

How babies are conceived (started)	①
How babies are born	2
How people get VD (venereal disease)	③
The care of babies	4
How children grow and develop	5
Practical problems of family life (e.g. budgeting, looking after a house, etc.)	6

b) On such topics did your lessons include: (ring all that apply)

T.V. programmes	1
Radio programmes	2
Films	③

28 No doubt you have been told about these things by other people or in other places. For each of the things listed below please show, by ringing a number, from where you think you got *the most useful information* on this topic.

Leave blank

	Friends or a brother or sister	TV (not at school)	Films (not at school)	Books or magazines	Church	Parents	Some-one else	Youth clubs	Nowhere in parti-cular
How babies are conceived	①	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
How babies are born	1	2	③	4	5	6	7	8	9
How people get VD	1	②	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
The care of babies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	⑨
How children grow and develop	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	⑨
Practical problems of family life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	⑨

For each of these things do you feel that you need to know more?
For each one ring the number below the answer you want to give.

	Yes I need to know more	No I don't need to know more	Uncertain
How babies are conceived	1	(2)	3
How babies are born	1	(2)	3
How people get V.D.	1	(2)	3
The care of babies	1	(2)	3
How children grow and develop	1	(2)	3
Practical problems of family life	1	2	(3)

Leave blank

Below is a list of things which many people do in their spare time. You will probably only do a few of these. Please show by ringing one of the numbers for each one whether this is something that you do often, sometimes, never or hardly ever. If it is something that you would like to do but don't have the chance, please ring 4.

Leave blank

	Often	Some-times	Never or hardly ever	Like to but no chance
Reading books (apart from school work or homework)	(1)	2	3	4
Playing outdoor games and sports	1	(2)	3	4
Swimming	(1)	2	3	4
Playing indoor games and sports (e.g. basket-ball, badminton, gymnastics, etc.)	1	2	(3)	4
Watching television	1	(2)	3	4
Going to parties in friends' homes	(1)	2	3	4
Dancing at dance halls, discos, etc.	(1)	2	3	4
Voluntary work to help others	1	2	(3)	4

Have you ever taken part in any of the following activities? (*Please ring all that apply.*)

Ring all that apply

Babysitting for your younger brothers and sisters 1
Babysitting for other families .... (2)
Helping to run a playgroup 3
Helping with younger children at school 4
Any other activity with children much younger than yourself
(please describe ....
....) 5

How satisfied are you with the following things in the neigh-
bourhood or area in which you live?
Please ring the appropriate number against each one.

	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dis-satisfied	Not bothered	
Places for young people to meet (clubs, coffee bars, dance halls, etc.)	1	2	③	4	
Playing fields, pitches for sports and games	1	②	3	4	

Is there a room in your home where you can usually go to be
on your own to do homework or revise for an exam ?

*Ring one
number*

Yes .... ①

No 2

34 Some people nowadays consider that young people and their families do not always get on very well. We should like to find out more about this. Read the statements below and please show by ringing the appropriate numbers how true each of them is in your own case. If any of these do not apply to you (e.g. you have no brother or sister) leave that one blank.

	Very true	True	Uncertain	Untrue	Very untrue
I get on well with my mother	(1)	2	3	4	5
I get on well with my father	1	2	3	4	(5)
I often quarrel with a brother or sister	1	2	3	(4)	5
My parents have strong views about my appearance (e.g. dress, hairstyle, etc.)	(1)	2	3	4	5
My parents want to know where I go in the evenings	1	(2)	3	4	5
My parents disapprove of some of my male friends	1	(2)	3	4	5
My parents disapprove of some of my female friends	1	(2)	3	4	5

35 How many cigarettes do you usually smoke in a week?

None, don't smoke	1
Less than 1 a week	2
Between 1 and 9 a week	(3)
Between 10 and 19 a week	4
Between 20 and 29 a week	5
Between 30 and 39 a week	6
Between 40 and 49 a week	7
Between 50 and 59 a week	8
60 or more a week	9

36 How long is it since you had an alcoholic drink (beer, wine, spirits, etc.)?

Less than 1 week	1
2 – 4 weeks	(2)
5 – 8 weeks	3
9 – 12 weeks	4
Over 12 weeks	5
Uncertain/Can't remember	6
Never had one	7

37 If it is less than one week since your last drink, please write down below the number of drinks you have had in the past week, and what they were (e.g. one whisky, and two halfpints of beer).

▢

38 Where did you drink these? (Please ring all that apply.)

At home	1
At a friend's home	2
In a restaurant	3
Somewhere else (please say where _Public bars_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _)	(4)

39 Have you ever taken drugs

Yes...1

(No)...(2)

If yes please say which kind.......................
....

40 Have you ever sniffed glue or solvents
(cleaning fluid, lighter fuel, etc.)

Yes...1

No...(2)

If yes, please give as many details as you
can...
....
....

41 Do you know who the Prime Minister is?

Yes...1
No...(2)

If yes please give name............................
....

If you wish to add any comments on anything in this question-
naire, please use the space below. Like everything else in this
questionnaire this will be strictly confidential.