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*“Young Adults -
Views of Deindustrialization and its
Consequences”*

MA Thesis

Gillian Callaghan

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University of Durham

1991



10 FEB 1992

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Chapter One Introduction

In this introduction, I hope to explain the substance of what follows both in terms of the interest which generated it and the theoretical insights which informed it. I want to demonstrate the process through which the study emerged from a generalised awareness of the problems facing young people in their individual lives and of the social, political and economic background which gave rise to them, to a more coherent examination of the issues which young people themselves identified as formative. I have understood and analysed these issues in particular terms.

In this introduction then, I begin with an account of the basis of my interest in the study and the beliefs and knowledge which informed that perspective. I will then indicate the analysis which I brought to bear upon the issues identified. These comments are of a preliminary nature and will be expanded upon in the problematic chapter which follows the introduction. The methodology employed is of particular importance in a study such as this and will be dealt with in the succeeding chapter. This will be followed by an explanation of the ethnographic work in both qualitative and quantitative terms.

My first interest arose from the changes evident on a national scale and the use of high unemployment by the government to 'tame' the unions and create a more compliant workforce. The fact that young people form a disproportionately large group within the unemployed as a whole and that many young people had reached adulthood without the central defining experience of work, rendered them particularly interesting. I had heard about this 'lost generation'. When I was a Probation Officer writing social enquiry reports the 'critical transitional period' between leaving school and becoming established as a worker was accepted as a time, particularly for young men, when the risk of involvement in crime was high. I was not interested in the issue of crime in itself, it is simply that this points to a particular time of crisis for young people. What I was interested in was how young people in general adapt to the pressures which are brought upon them by the lack of an established route into adulthood. Unlike their parents there is no clear path to follow. The certainties which could be relied upon to mould an eighteen year old's identity twenty years ago have been blown away. In addition, in their parents generation, there was a massive expansion in business and financial services and in state bureaucracy. The need to educate working class children to serve these institutions resulted in many of them 'doing better' than their parents - a generation released from blue collar work. This reinforced a belief in social democracy and 'equal opportunities' for all. This expansion has stopped and we are seeing other, equally radical changes in the shape of the workforce which have a rather different effect.



I was also interested in how, in the absence of these opportunities, young people were to cope with becoming independent. Again as a Probation Officer I had met young people made homeless by government Board and Lodgings regulations and others in fraught, destructive relationships with their parents who were unable to leave home because the government decreed that they were better off in the bosom of their family. In this respect I was aware that not simply unemployment but low wages and casualised work could have the effect of increasing dependency on parents and enforcing relationships. I was interested to learn how far young people perceived the effects of these larger forces and in how far they accepted the myth of the personal pathology.

This was my starting point. I developed my interest in some of these issues, as the study progressed and I learned more about Sunderland. In many respects, however, my learning has brought about a change in emphasis.

I turn from the question of why do it at all to why choose Sunderland? The choice of place was not difficult. Although I had not lived in the town I had worked there as a teacher in a college of further education. It was a town in which the major industries, which had long provided the secure route into employment and shaped the culture of the place, were clearly in decline. It 'boasted' unemployment levels twice the national average. For young people leaving school things must look pretty bleak, and yet did they feel angry about it and who did they blame? One part of the solution was offered to them in the form of change in working practices and relations provided by Nissan, a firm where traditional ideas of worker solidarity and unionisation were rejected and replaced by the ethic of working for the good of the company. What used to be rights became privileges which could be conferred upon a docile workforce.

The more I knew of Sunderland and its young people the more aware I became of the importance of the sense of place in shaping their lives and their future expectations. The breakdown in traditionally accepted local control has resulted in a breakdown in traditionally recognised spatial boundaries. It also became clear that young people react to the changes according to their particular place in the labour market.

These were issues which formed the basis of my interest and the departure point for this study. In itself like any other study it has been a process of learning and ideas have been picked up and discarded along the way. Having explained why I chose to do it, it remains for me to provide some introduction to what it has become.

This study is based on the proposition that social being determines consciousness and the view that one can, through discussion with individuals, learn something of the actions and expectations of the group. The main focus of this work is an attempt, by learning from individual actors, to assemble a picture of their collective experience of change and what it means for their futures.

To enable us to understand what actors accounts mean it will first be necessary to examine the theoretical bases for understanding 'change'. The following chapter will be centrally concerned with outlining these issues as a means of establishing the questions which will be posed to the ethnographic material.

This will focus on providing an analytical framework for understanding the fundamentals of base superstructure and crisis and on outlining specific experience in Sunderland in those terms. The account of the relationship of base and superstructure which Williams (1982) provides has particular value to this study in its ability to comprehend the place of the actor. Relying on this foundation, we can examine the concept of crisis as change (O'Connor 1981) and raise questions about how people are adapting to, accommodating or resisting the changes which crisis implies.

Such an analysis requires that we understand in detail what is happening to Sunderland's industrial base. Additionally the specifics of the local economy must be understood in terms of its place in the wider economy and related to profound changes in capitalism, signalled by processes of internationalisation of capital and deindustrialisation. In the Problematic chapter I will examine Sunderland's productive base and the history of rise and fall in its prosperity. This will be placed in the context of fundamental change in the nature of capitalism, the shape of the labour market and its implications for working practices and social relations.

If such changes are detected then one must ask about changes in the cultural condition of society and the question of whether issues of class are still central to the formation of consciousness and determination of lifestyle. Here I will consider the question of whether a new cultural condition of post modernity has arisen associated with a change in the dominant mode of capital accumulation. This raises the further question of the significance of class location and the possibility that a powerless and subservient underclass exists which lacks identity as a class and therefore the ability to struggle on its own behalf. There has been much research in recent years concerning cleavages in the labour market and their effect on life style (Ashton and Field 1976, Pahl 1984). I will consider the view that the changes in the labour market have brought about a process of social polarisation, separating more completely than ever before the central and the peripheral working class.

Within this broad framework are contained the major issues for the Problematic chapter. It will entail discussion of the restructuring of the labour market and associated changes in industrial relations, the increasing induction of women into work and the form their labour takes. The cumulative impact of these changes on the family will also be part of our concern.

In concluding the Problematic chapter I will review some of the major ethnographic studies concerned with the processes of social and cultural reproduction through transitions. The management of transition, from school to work (Willis 1977, Jenkins 1983) and more recently because of high unemployment, from youth to adulthood (Wallis 1987, Hutson and Jenkins 1989), has become an area of great interest to ethnographers. It is only through an understanding of these processes that we can learn the significance of wider structural change in the practical terms of how people construct their world.

Chapter Three will be concerned with the methodology of the study and the rationale for choosing forty individuals in equal proportions across the localities. It will be based on a particular understanding of the constraints on individual actors, freedom and choice and on how we can gain access to meaning from actors accounts. This is the basis for the use of the semi-structured interview and in the methodology I will outline in detail how that strategy will be employed. Having decided on the approach the next step is to draw the sample in such a way as to enable me to pose the relevant questions to the ethnographic account. This does not require a sample representative of Sunderland as a whole but rather one representative of different types of experience. This was the rationale for a sample based on cluster analysis and subdivided according to gender.

I will then pay attention to the actual interview in terms of approach, content and style. The analysis of interview material is naturally a critical task because from this follows the selection of what is material to the study and the discussion and conclusions based upon it. In the methodology therefore I will spend some time explaining how the selection of interview material was made, first through a quantitative approach and subsequently through collation of the qualitative findings. The collation and analysis of interview material, because it generates such a volume of information, must be provided with structure to facilitate the process of drawing out the conclusions. This will be the final concern of the methodological chapter.

The fourth chapter will present a set of quantitative results based on analysis of the responses of the forty interviewees to the most significant issues, identified in the problematic. They are simply one means of representing the information gained in the ethnographic work and were used as indicators of the way in which the study was to

develop. Their purpose is to identify which questions could most usefully be posed in analysing the ethnographic information. They served to shape the subsequent ethnographic account.

The quantitative chapter is thus structured according to the issues raised in the Problematic and this initial analysis enables us to draw some preliminary conclusions. What the quantitative analysis provides is an overview of the sample. It enables us to move one step away from the anecdotal level of personal experience to discern signs of wider trends. It was from this quantitative work that it became clear that the ethnographic chapter could meaningfully be structured according to three social class bands with gender featuring as the other main structuring factor.

Within the larger scene, portrayed in descriptions of Sunderland, industrial decline etc., we can identify different sets of experiences which correspond closely and, predictably, with social class. I will be seeking to examine these experiences according to three social class groupings which can be characterised briefly as middle class, central and peripheral working class. Some light can be thrown on the lives of men and women in both the 'central' and 'peripheral' working class groups in social classes III manual and non-manual, IV and V by the work of Willis, Pollert, Wallace and Jenkins. The most startlingly obvious fact of those in social classes I and II, with professions or careers in mind, is that they are leaving Sunderland to achieve higher living standards and better career opportunities in the national labour market.

In the ethnographic account the major focus will be descriptive. The previous chapter identified significant differences according to gender and to three social class groupings. This chapter will describe each of these groups in turn according to:

- home and family background,
- education,
- labour market experience,
- labour market expectations,
- household and family future expectations,
- political orientation.

The purpose of the conclusion will be to draw together the insights gleaned from both quantitative and qualitative findings and to bring to bear upon them the questions which the problematic chapter raised. It will concern itself with a review of those issues and will seek to identify the significant findings which were produced. Here we will look at change across the classes and across the generations to learn about the ways in which these young people project their futures as well as how they shape and are shaped by

their experience. These issues will be considered in terms of the different effects of ideology upon social class group as well as the importance of locality in forming the consciousness of young people in transition.

Appendices

This study has involved the selection, collation and analysis of a considerable amount of information. The body of the thesis represents an attempt to draw upon that information in a systematic and meaningful way. To have included the interview material in its entirety would only have served to obscure the discussion. The ethnography has therefore been separated from the text. Clearly however to have omitted the information would have denied the reader the opportunity to consider it independently to reach his/her own conclusion. The thesis is consequently structured to discuss the arguments which I have found significant using interview material as illustrative. The quantitative and qualitative chapters are summaries of the ethnographic material. It has therefore been necessary to provide the ethnographic material as a whole in the form of an appendix to the main text.

The appendices will form a separate volume which contains the detailed information about how the work was undertaken. This includes:

- the table of 32 socio/economic indicators upon which the cluster analysis was performed,
- the interview schedule,
- the initial letter of introduction,
- the tables referred to in the quantitative analysis,
- the ethnographic material.

Chapter Two **Problematic**

In the introductory chapter I said that this study is about change and how young people in particular are coping with it. The main focus of the work is ethnographic and analysis of the interview material will form the main body of the text. In this chapter, however, I want to explain how I understand that material, to place it within its theoretical context.

This chapter, consequently, will deal with two major areas. It will concern itself with the literature concerning deindustrialisation and the related issue of the impact on gender relations. Secondly it will pay attention to studies in the field of youth in transition which are particularly pertinent to this study. This will provide the theoretical grounding for the ethnographic account.

The first concern of this chapter will be to consider the process of deindustrialisation which is clearly so pertinent to the study of Sunderland's economy. It will be necessary to identify how this is occurring in the wider context of the U.K. economy as well as in its particular impact upon this locality. Hence I will examine the effects of a new international division of labour on production and employment within Sunderland.

The concept of deindustrialisation sets the scene for a further concept which deepens our understanding of what is taking place in Sunderland. Sunderland is in a state of crisis. Traditional productive activities have disappeared and it remains to be seen what they will be replaced. The concept of crisis enables us to look at the Sunderland economy not simply in terms of gradual decline, which offers a rather partial picture of the process. Crisis is also about change and renewal, essentially it offers a theoretical basis for understanding how people strive to recreate their worlds when their past experience no longer provides an entirely reliable foundation. In Sunderland, I will examine the industrial base and how that has developed, changed and declined over a century. I will look at the history of expansion and wealth in the Victorian era created by its wealth of natural resources and the story of decline which has been more familiar to twentieth century Sunderland. Massey is helpful here in pointing to the relationship between an imperialist history and present day regional decline. Robson (1971) and Dennis (1976) have both documented the decline in Sunderland's fortunes and tell us much about the Sunderland in the 1950s and 1960s. That is the time when the parents of my young people were starting out in the labour market with a particular set of beliefs and practices concerning work, home and family.

The imperatives of productive relations and their histories can tell us much about the social relationships which are contingent upon them. Traditionally accepted values about work shape gender relations, and expectations in the family. The Andy Capp image may be a caricature but it must also have some reality to be recognised. I will be particularly interested in the industrial and employment changes which have occurred in the last twenty years because these have been years of the most thoroughgoing and rapid change. I will trace the change from traditional industries and their working practices to the modern day acceptance of single union agreements, flexibility and the loss of job security. This will entail discussion of how the structure of the labour market has changed, how women figure far more prominently, the loss of central skilled workers and increasing use of deskilling to create a workforce with largely peripheral low paid, insecure employment. The response which the 1960s might have seen to such a process - union solidarity, strikes against the impoverishment of conditions have not been employed and are no longer considered relevant.

I will consider how the process of deindustrialisation and the point of crisis which we have identified, may be understood as part of a more fundamental process of disorganisation in capitalism itself. It will be necessary to look for the evidence for this in Sunderland's industrial structure to learn what this means for people working in the town.

The internationalisation of capital describes a change from the local face to face relationship of boss and worker which characterised nineteenth and early twentieth century British capitalism, to one in which a distant and separate capitalist class has no relation to local area. In this second scenario the decisions to expand or close plant are based entirely on maximising profitability. We will see that many of the larger firms operate branch plants in Sunderland which are the most vulnerable to closure. Since 1979 particularly, the nationalised industries have also operated on the basis of maximising profitability and hence their decline and eventual demise in the area. The further trend which I will identify is the relative growth in service industries and employment.

A clear structuring factor in this process is the regional dynamic and Hudson (1986) gives some insight into how the changing social division of labour has entailed restructuring on a regional basis. I will also look at Massey's (1986) perspective which identifies the regional dimension in terms of a legacy from our previous dominant international role. To understand the particular situation in Sunderland will involve discussion of local capital and class relations and here the framework which Cooke offers is useful in structuring an account.

If there has been disorganisation in capitalism then we must seek to learn what is the impact of that disorganisation on the cultural condition of the society. If it brings about a change in the class structure then what significance does that have for class practices? It is argued (Bauman 1987, Gorz 1984) that the process of social polarisation inevitably draws us to the conclusion that it is capital which determines class relations. Saunders posits an alternative form of cleavage which places emphasis on location within consumption rather than production as fundamental. These issues must be dealt with in the particular terms of the local conditions and history of class practices which Cooke has identified for us.

These are the issues which will enable us to draw together a picture of what is happening to Sunderland's industrial structure and what it means for its associated culture. The mechanism through which that process works of course depends on the particular understanding of the definition of relationship between base and superstructure. In this chapter it will be useful to briefly outline this understanding.

I will pay separate attention to women's experience because most accounts discuss male experience as the norm and we need to recognise that women's experience of the family and the labour market is materially different. In recent years much more attention has been paid to women and the impact of being subject to the ideologies of both patriarchy and capital upon women's consciousness.

Women now figure as almost 50% of Sunderland's workforce, frequently employed in industries which offer casualised, low paid and low status work. I will look at the issue of women's 'two roles' and the impact of women working on the formation of consciousness, on family life and gender relations. The fact of being in outside employment which brings vital money into the home may empower many women within the family. For many women however, their place in the reserve army does not make for them feeling very powerful and the nature of the work they get might be more likely to confirm a subservient role. We see, on the other hand, consequences of the increased citizenship rights of this generation of women - equal pay legislation and equality in unemployment benefit levels being an example of creating and confirming change through the intervention of the state.

Having established how changes at base level have happened and how they may affect culture the next task in discovering the import of all of this for young people in Sunderland is to relate these changes at the general level to their actual impact on people's lives. I rely here on the proposition that social being determines consciousness. I start from the point that Sunderland's civil society was formed in relation to particular basal conditions - work relations determined by an economy based on traditional

industries. These industries have gone. The industrial relations and the social relationships which reflect them are no longer relevant. The question arises, how are people to incorporate these changes into their daily lives? In addition, young people are at a particular personal point of flux. They are at a point establishing status in the world - a thing traditionally done through the mechanism of entering work. This is no longer available to many and for many more the nature of the work they may get has changed. It is in interviewing individuals that I hope to gain access to their collective experience, to help in understanding the impact of base on civil society and to learn how those still centred on the industrial accommodate a world which is essentially post-industrial.

The purpose of an ethnographic approach to the issues identified here is an attempt to explain how the process of social and cultural reproduction occurs. For Willis (1977) the answer lies in an examination of the cultural level, not only as objectively determined by factors of class and region but also as subjectively understood and acted upon by social agents. Much recent ethnographic work has concerned itself with the transition from youth to adulthood. I will review the work of Willis (1977), Jenkins (1983), Pollert (1981), Wallace (1987) and Hutson and Jenkins (1989) as the most central to my field of study.

Deindustrialisation

An examination of deindustrialisation means little if couched in general terms. It is not a singular process but is rather a comprehensive term for a set of processes whose effects vary according to locality. It is the basis of my need to look at the particular conditions in Sunderland, to know what is going on for particular groups of people who live there. It describes a process in Britain which in the course of a generation has moved from the highest level of industrial employment in the world, standing at nearly 50% of the workforce in the 1950s, to a decline in which to just over one third were in industrial employment in 1984, with service employment overtaking the latter in importance (Martin and Rowthorn 1986). This has resulted in an increasing polarisation in employment with falling numbers of skilled productive workers in the traditional industries and a small core of technical supervisory and managerial staff who enjoy the benefits of stable employment. There has been a complete reversal in relative power among workers so that those who in the past were in strong traditional industries and had considerable power in the labour market are now rendered superfluous and have consequently lost out in terms of both wages and status. These are clearly aspects of deindustrialisation, but we need more than a simple description of the change, we need to look at the underlying process to be in a position to place due weight upon it and to know whether it is fundamental.

There has been a structural change as the economy matures (Rowthorn 1986), shifting from predominantly agricultural to industrial to service employment. In Sunderland, as we shall see later, we can clearly trace such a shift, particularly from industrial to service employment, over the last century and a half. Rowthorn's 'trade specialisation thesis', is helpful in bringing to this perspective a spatial dimension. I am particularly interested in how the spatial boundaries of capital have changed in Sunderland and the way in which capital increasingly reaches in from the outside. These developments are consistent with the view that the decline in manufacturing industry is an internal consequence of Britain's changing external relations with other countries.

The loss of a dominant international position has brought with it the need to restructure and decentralise and hence the British regional problem (Massey 1986). The implications of this for Sunderland's economy are clear, the traditional industries which formed the backbone of the town have gone and Sunderland is in the process of fundamental restructuring.

Both British and international capital has reorganised within Britain itself. The story is a familiar one, jobs moving from the inner cities to green field sites, from areas with particular histories of industrial relations to areas where union power is unformed and untried.

It is a process which has gathered pace over the last 20 years. Hudson (1986) has identified the effect of speeding up the process of deindustrialisation and the impact of policies of the state and region upon the North East of England. The new international division of labour has rendered the North East a significantly less attractive location for investment while a change in the politically determined objectives of the nationalised industries has brought about a severe decline in production and employment in these sectors.

In rendering an account of these larger forces it is important not to forget the impact of political decisions on the structure of the economy. It would seem a rather incomplete story of Sunderland which did not recognise what inducements were offered to Nissan or the deaf ear turned to local campaigners who could show that Sunderland shipbuilders was well placed to pick up on an international upturn in demand in shipbuilding.

Crisis

The nature of modern capitalism is subject to fundamental challenge and this is reflected in the changes occurring in peoples lives in Sunderland. Old taken for granted practices, work and family relationships are changing in response to the current crisis in capitalism. This relies on an understanding of crisis as change rather than disintegration.

Crisis is inherent in capitalism and, in orthodox Marxism, forms the basis of its eventual destruction. I prefer to use O'Connor's (1981) analysis in questioning this orthodoxy. For O'Connor crisis is to be seen rather as a turning point in which the concern is to learn not only about social disruption but also social reintegration. Williams (1982) refers to this in terms of the development of emergent cultures where 'new power centres confront existing centres of domination' (p635).

Crisis is therefore characterised as struggle, 'the essence of crisis is not social disintegration but social struggle' (O'Connor p325), and crisis resolution is not only the abatement of struggle but also 'the capitalisation of gains, the rebuilding of weakened structures of domination, the abandonment of previously strategic defensive positions and the adaptation of old ideologies' (p325). This formulation of crisis is particularly pertinent to this study because it argues for the importance of the actor. My aim will be to use information gained from interviews with young people to learn something of how the interaction of the dominant culture with the particular economic disruptions of the 1980's has affected the development of attitudes, values and beliefs.

Disorganised Capitalism

What we are seeing then are major changes at Base level through which capitalism will attempt to maintain its relations of production. Deindustrialisation in the U.K. is a direct result of the international reorganisation of capital. Lash and Urry (1987) discuss this in terms of the end of 'organised' capitalism. Traditionally, in Sunderland, young people have acquired adult status with their first wage packet, an avenue no longer open to a significant proportion of young people in the town today. What I am interested in, if organised capitalism is at an end, is what will be the effect of the changes in productive relations on the attitudes, values and practices of young people? An attempt to answer this question must be based on knowledge of the conditions under which they enter the labour market allied to an understanding of how these conditions have changed over time. In this section I will examine the industrial background of Sunderland, and changes in industrial and employment structures all of which are immanent in shaping the consciousness of young people in the labour market today.

The internationalisation of capital and restructuring of capitalist relations, it is proposed, have radically affected the development of civil society and the nature of class identification and struggle. Now that capital is freed of the constraints of requiring the actual presence of controllers of the relations of production, major changes in structure have occurred. While capitalist production has progressively deepened, it has become spatially concentrated so that many localities become decapitalised. Electronically transmitted information allows a functional separation between central and peripheral economies with its necessary implications for the distribution of the labour force. This

process has been extended worldwide bringing a third world work force into competition for capital with first world workers.

Regional specialisation has meant, for places like Sunderland, a high level of dependence on the traditional declining industries, underdevelopment of the service sectors and low level of local capital in the form of small business. There is a widening gap between the areas characterised by technical change and expansion and those which are less competitive, less changing with continuing job loss, a functional separation between central Research and Development workers, skilled labour in the old manufacturing areas and unskilled labour in the periphery.

The disorganisation of capital is a systematic process of disaggregation and destructure in which major changes in capital and class are occurring. Economic change, in which the service class has become central to the accumulation of capital, is followed by the disorganisation of civil society. This disorganisation, most visible in the fragmentation of interest groups inside and outside the labour market, is itself a precondition for disorganisation of the state as evidenced in class dealignment and the development of the 'catch all' party. The certainties of organised capitalism are open to fundamental challenge.

The emphasis on the role of capital as creator is a well worn, and often taken for granted, approach to the analysis of class relations and has aligned itself with a global perspective. Recently more attention has been paid to the importance of spatial boundaries and the outcome of its particular combination of national and international capital with local social organisation and local class practices.

The spatial element is important to my study because it centrally affects the way people live (Urry 1985). Urry examines the spatial structuring of civil society in terms of several dimensions which he says depend on factors of capital and class including: the town's history and its effects on the existing environment, dominant modes of consumption, the insulation of social relations from commodity relations and the state, the degree of spatial concentration of social class and integration of national and local civil society.

Cooke (1985) offers an excellent framework for use in the analysis of class relations in Sunderland. Cooke argues that we need to consider in particular:

1. the productive base (that is the nature and extent of definite forms of appropriation of surplus value, the precise commodities which are produced, and the natural conditions for their production);

2. the labour process (that is, degree of autonomy of direct producer, extent of supervision, intensity of skill, mechanisation and level of workforce organisation resistance);
3. the ownership of capital (that is, industrial capital, finance capital, large or small scale; local, national, international; private or state);
4. specific social relations (that is, regional, urban, rural alignments/cleavages of interest, gender relations, wage relations, consumption relations, popular (including ethno-regional) struggles);
5. institutional specificities (that is, cultural, intellectual, cognitive (for example, information/knowledge) and ideological practices).

I will consider first the changes in the relations of production in industry by sector in Sunderland in order to discover how changes in production have affected civil society in the town.

Industrial Structure

The analysis of Sunderland's current industrial structure has to be based on an understanding that it is a town heavily shaped by its experience of expansion in the late nineteenth century when its reliance on mining and shipbuilding formed the basis of its prosperity. Attempts, beginning with the Trading Estate movement in 1938 to encourage diversification into light industry, have failed in the long run to have the hoped for effect on the basic economic security of the town. Government policies, which have aimed to reduce over-dependence on the central industries, have resulted in the development of branch plants, notoriously quick to contract in the face of economic recession. As Dennis writing in 1970 recognised these branch plants, being at the bottom of a hierarchy of industrial production, do not generate substantial secondary industry.

The poor standing of the region is not a new theme. J. W. House, surveying economic growth in the North East in 1964, showed that industrial building in the region was falling behind national rates and there remained a relatively high concentration of the work force in the faster declining industries. Sunderland's heavy reliance on two declining industries has had its impact in terms of unemployment so that the town has had unemployment rates consistently higher than regional and national levels since 1933. Writing in 1968, B.T. Robson described Sunderland as, "a town which is living on the dwindling fat of its Victorian expansion. The legacy of the industrial revolution is apparent in its appearance, its industrial structure, its population growth and in a host of

social and economic characteristics. Even attitudes are coloured by its past heritage. The Depression years, the final death spasm of the nineteenth century in a Pre-Keynesian era, are still a real memory among much of the town's working population and impinge upon the attitudes of the working population".

The picture which both Robson and Dennis paint of Sunderland in the 1960s is thus not one of industrial wealth. It was a town characterised by a bottom heavy social structure, relative poverty, high fertility rates and a relatively young age structure. Despite various government policies, Sunderland experienced high rates of outmigration, a situation which, Dennis showed, was likely to continue despite a optimistic official forecasts to the contrary. He also identified a significant change in the composition of the work force in that while Government assistance in the 1960s brought jobs to Sunderland at a rate which kept pace with job losses in heavy industry, it brought predominantly female employment.

These issues, identified in the 1960s, have grown in significance under free market policies so that the process of deindustrialisation can be clearly identified in the Wearside economy.

The report of the Sunderland Polytechnic E.D.U. (1985) examines how the processes identified above have developed over the period up to 1984. They confirm Dennis' prediction that outmigration will continue at a substantial rate, particularly among young workers. Nevertheless, because of its relatively young age structure, the size of the work force has in fact increased over the period of their study. In terms of economic activity the EDU report shows that male activity rates declined in Sunderland over the period 1971-81, but until 1981 this decline was offset by the increase in numbers of economically active women. Between 1971 and 1981 male employment declined by 26%. By 1984 women constituted 47.5% of the work force, however 50% of these jobs were part time. The overall figures here therefore tended to mark a change in the composition of the work force which reflects a change in the nature of work available in Sunderland.

To understand what these figures mean for people's experience of work one must examine the changes in the industrial structure in greater detail. I will outline changes in the traditional industries, the modernised manufacturing of the Trading Estates, and private and public sector service industries. I will pay separate attention to women's work, which although a major element in the work force, is often ignored, most accounts being structured around male employment.

Traditional Industries

Lash and Urry (1987) point to a relative decline in the size of the central working class and the E.D.U. Report bears this out in Sunderland. As shown earlier, two major industries, mining and shipbuilding have formed the central sources of work for men in the town. In the nineteenth century, workers in these industries were relatively affluent compared with their contemporaries in other occupations and in other parts of the country (Milburn and Miller, 1988). The decline which Dennis (1970) and Robson (1971) discussed in the 1960s, has accelerated in the 1970s and '80s and necessarily affects not only the size but the pay and conditions of the work force. The mining industry in the period from 1871 to 1981 declined from a total of over 18,000 jobs to 10,325. It remained however, even in 1981, a significant employer in proportionate terms, employing twice the proportion of regional and three times that of the national work force. In terms of male employment, 19% of the male work force (excluding Washington) was still employed in mining in 1981. By 1985 the absolute number of jobs remaining in coal mining had fallen to 3,500 with only Herrington, Wearmouth and Eppleton pits remaining open - a percentage fall in employment since 1971 of 40%. The future of the Wearmouth pit appears secure but in 1985 Eppleton and Herrington were earmarked for closure within four years. Other pits within travelling distance of Sunderland have similarly mixed prospects.

The mining industry provided, until recent years, a source of employment into which son followed father and in which traditional work relationships were maintained. The stability which this continuity provided has disappeared and very few young people today would expect to spend their working lives as miners. This sharp break with tradition must have consequences for the formation of the consciousness of young people entering a labour market in which, if work is available, work relations are more likely to be modelled on organisations like Nissan.

Manufacturing

Manufacturing industries have been an important source of employment for both men and women in Sunderland. In recent years however there have been major changes in structure and over the decade from 1971-1981 twelve of the nineteen manufacturing sectors registered a fall in employment, the largest absolute fall in employment occurring in electrical engineering. The largest firms have experienced the greatest decline. In 1975, 85% of workers in manufacturing were employed in establishments of over 200 people. By 1983 only 68% were in larger firms while firms with under 50 employees had increased their share of employment from 4.5% to over 11%. The collapse has occurred most markedly in firms with over 500 employees. In 1971 there were nine firms employing over 1000 people, by 1983 only two remained.

In terms of employment this change is evidenced in the fact that in 1971, 36% of the work force was employed in manufacturing declining to 27% by 1981. If Washington is excluded, Wearside has seen a decline of almost 40% in manufacturing employment. Accompanying this are changes in the sex structure and the proportion of full to part time jobs.

Shipbuilding

It is in shipbuilding in particular that the most marked decline has occurred since 1979. In 1977 Merchant shipping fell into worldwide recession and the Sunderland yards were nationalised. This was followed in 1979 by the election of a Conservative Government, opposed to subsidy. The result has been a major contraction in the central industry and disposal of peripheral subsidiaries such as Sunderland Forge. In 1980 Doxford Engineers' work force was halved with only spare parts manufacturing remaining. Further closures of linked industries have compounded this decline with George Clark Ltd. closing in 1981, Fife Forster in 1983 and Camrex in 1985.

The significance of the decline in Shipbuilding has thus not been in job losses in the central industry alone but also in the impact on other local sources of employment in satellite industries. Approximately one third of the net loss in manufacturing industry since 1971 has occurred in employment centred on Shipbuilding. This process was brought to a conclusion in early 1989 with the closure of the Southwick and Pallion yards and loss of a further 2,200 jobs. The Guardian (October 18th 1988) reported that "the ratchet effect of the yards closure could endanger 7,000 jobs, dowsing the profitability of supplies and service sectors anchored to N.E.S.L.'s survival".

One factor critical in the process has been the lack of incentive for larger firms with activities outside the local area to diversify in order to remain active on Wearside. Richardson, Westgarth & Co. rationalised by closing their George Clark subsidiary to centre production at their headquarters in Wallsend. The structure, size and geographical base of local firms is therefore important in determining their future in the face of recession.

The impact of the industrial structure on consciousness is not simply based on current experience but also, as Cooke has shown, on traditional relations of production. Along with the strong union tradition in the shipyard went a firm solidarity between workers. In 1846 the Trade Union was established with nearly 100% membership. It determined to refuse piecework and to do no overtime while there were unemployed shipyard workers (Sinclair, 1988). Cooke (1985) points out that political awareness and organisation varies between industrial sectors. The mining industry in this sense was much more slow to develop unionisation although it was from the Monkwearmouth

colliery that the first chairman and president of the Durham miners came. (Patterson 1988). In the shipyards it was true to say that the possession of a skill enabled men to exercise considerable power over the production process. The purpose of mechanisation and deskilling is to alter this work consciousness and this has been achieved in Nissan.

Other Traditional Sectors

Wearside has experienced an extensive series of take-overs of manufacturing firms by large industrial units and as Stone (1985) demonstrates such plants are more vulnerable to closure than non-acquired firms.

The U.S. firm, Corning Glass, acquired James Jobling's glassware factory and Electrosil. These firms employed 3,200 people and 500 people in 1973 respectively. Employment has subsequently been cut by 66% in both firms. Parts of the operation were sold and production switched to other areas of the country. The work force fell to below 900 in 1983 but by 1985 had recovered to over 1,000 because of demand for the product in the manufacture of microwave ovens.

Coles Cranes and Steels Engineering were taken over by Acrow in 1973 and Coles had subsequently lost some 50% of its work force when it was acquired by Grove Manufacturing in 1984. Major reorganisation has resulted in the work force accepting significant changes in working conditions. As Coles has always had its Headquarters in Sunderland, contraction has had greatest implication for workers at plants in other areas of the country. The acquisition by a firm with headquarters in California suggests a possible threat to research and development in Sunderland and the likelihood that this will instead be centred on California. In this case the Coles site may be reduced to crane assembly.

Other casualties of the branch plant status which these taken over organisations have suffered include the Ford and the Howard Smith Paper Mills and Camrex which have been closed down.

There remain several independent medium to large manufacturing firms on Wearside and these have tended to maintain employment levels more successfully, Vaux breweries is the only remaining large locally owned firm and this has shed 10% of its work force since 1977. There are four medium sized locally owned companies all of which have increased their work force by 10% on average, these are E. Thompson, Tombola House, Bonus Machine Co. Ltd. and Homeworthy Furniture.

Modernised Manufacturing

Various governments since the second world war have offered incentive packages to attract firms to areas like Sunderland in an attempt to diversify the local economy. Pallion Trading Estate was the first to be established in 1938 followed by Southwick, Hendon, Pennywell, Leechmere and N. Hylton. The availability of a large and diverse labour force as well as government grants resulted in the siting of a wide range of manufacturing plants in electrical, electronic and clothing industries. Inevitably the firms attracted were the large national and multinational companies who wished to site branch operations in favourable areas.

Job losses in the branch plant sectors occurred in the 1960s and '70s but mainly at fairly low rates. The major casualty was Thorn-AEI's Pallion Plant set up in 1962 with a work force of about 2,000. Its products, radio valves and tubes for black and white televisions, became obsolete and led to the plant's closure in 1974. In 1985 Thorn began an operation to recondition colour TV tubes and by 1978 was employing 500 workers. Developments in television manufacture once again rendered the product obsolescent and the work force had fallen below 200 by 1984.

The Plessey Plant, sited in Sunderland since shortly after the second world war, had a work force of 4,600 in 1970. Cutbacks in demand and the switching of operations to other parts of the country resulted in its final closure in 1977.

In the clothing industry Sunderland has been hit by the trend away from Made to Measure clothing toward more casual and rapidly changing fashions. This has involved major closures for Jackson the Tailor (part of the Burton Group) and Hepworths. Work was redirected to Lancashire factories and the Grangetown and Hendon factories closed. Both Burton and Hepworths have subsequently closed down their Hetton and Pallion Plants.

Counterbalancing this trend, I.J. Dewhirst's, manufacturing casual clothing and ready made suits for Marks and Spencer, has expanded since 1973. Dewhirst was first sited in Sunderland in 1972 and now has two factories at Pennywell and Leechmere. The company now employs a total of over 1,000 people in Sunderland.

There are other branch plants which have expanded in size or remained stable over the period. These include Phillips, Courtauld, N. Hyer Ltd. and Dunlop (now Sumitomo) at Washington. The general story among the larger manufacturers has however been one of decline, often associated with product obsolescence and a lack of incentive to diversify rather than simply to close. Since 1973, Stone et al. (1985) estimate that 10,000 jobs have been lost due to rationalising resulting in closures in the branch plant sector.

As already noted, the branch plant sector although part of Sunderland's diversified post war industrial profile, has not brought with it Research and Development functions or created demand for satellite industries or business services. It is more vulnerable to contraction than central industries and has thus been largely unsuccessful as an attempt to provide economic security through a transformed industrial base. One important change which it has been instrumental in creating however has been in the nature of the labour force. It is no longer true to characterise the Sunderland work force as heavily male dominated and although services account for a high proportion of the rise in women's employment, a significant number of women in Sunderland work or have worked on the factory floor.

Public and Private Sector Employment

The division between public and private sectors is a significant one for Wearside where a relatively high proportion of jobs are in the public sector. Government policies discouraging public spending consequently have a greater impact on the economy. Overall 42.2% of jobs in 1981 were in the public sector, this included primary, manufacturing as well as service employment. In terms of division by sex, male jobs were 49.6% in the public sector compared with 33% for females and both figures were higher than national levels.

Examining the situation sector by sector, for 1981, almost all primary employment was in the public sector and 97% of these were men's jobs, mostly in mining. In manufacturing, 30.5%, again almost all male, were in the public sector and in the services, the public sectors accounted for 41.2% of employment.

The Service Sector

The service sector has been the only growth sector in Sunderland's economy, in total experiencing a growth of 12,478 jobs, 24% in the decade 1971-81. Almost two thirds of the growth has occurred in Washington, and if Washington is excluded, a very different picture emerges. A total of only 4,630 jobs came to the remainder of Wearside over the decade and in the years from 1978-81 there was actually a slight decline of 2.4%.

Private Sector Services

59% of service employment in 1981 was in the private sector. Partly because of the branch plant nature of much of the economy, the development of local services has been poor. Distribution and miscellaneous services and Insurance, Banking and Financial services were all found to be 'deficient' in a study carried out in 1971 (quoted in Stone 1985). Since 1971 there has been a high rate of growth in Insurance, Banking and Financial services but as it has been from such a low base point the increase in jobs has

been only 1,800. This in an area in which technological developments have permitted growth without a corresponding increase in staffing.

Miscellaneous services which include pubs, clubs, cinemas, leisure activities, hairdressing, hotels and restaurants and car repairs employ a total of 12,000 people on Wearside.

The retail sector has also grown, accounting for 17,000 jobs by 1981. The change in structure in this sector has tended to be toward the large retailer and away from small, local shops. The inevitable result of this trend has been toward employing more female labour (now approximately 7%) and much more part time labour. This is because a part time work force can be used more flexibly to allow the majority of employees to be available when customer demand is greatest. The move to superstores and large chains has other effects on the local economy, because much like branch plants, spin offs in terms of local warehousing, purchasing and accounts and local manufacturing tend to be lost.

In the distribution sector, jobs are contracting because of the trend toward larger more capital intensive operations.

Public Sector Services

41% of service employment in 1981 was in the public sector, accounting for approximately 26,500 jobs. These can be divided into four groups:

Public Administration	7,475
Professional and Scientific	14,500 (includes Education and Health)
Transport and Commercial	5,080
Miscellaneous Services	630

There must be some doubt, however, about the continued growth of these services. Government policies have imposed limits on spending which has necessitated contraction. Added to this restructuring, reorganisation and new technology allow growth without job gains. The numbers of clerical jobs are likely to decline with the deployment of new office technology.

Nissan

The location of Nissan on a green field site at Washington indicates how the process of disorganisation through the internationalisation of capital has begun to affect people's lives locally. Nissan moved to Sunderland at a time when male unemployment in the

inner areas was as high as 50%. Although in Sunderland there is a tradition of involvement in the Trades Unions there is no tradition in the car industry. The placing of Nissan in Sunderland, with the enthusiastic support of Mrs. Thatcher, is significant in its attempt to break down traditional industrial relations and to develop a 'flexible' and docile work force. The arrival of Nissan is important in that it has effected a change in the major relationships within the production process, relationships of workers to each other, of workers to managers and between large firms and their supplies. Its impact is to create a new set of social relations in production. As Garrahan (1986) has pointed out, "We are experiencing a phase in which capital is securing the restructuring of industrial and manufacturing activity with active government and wider political encouragement, and the Nissan development ought above all to be regarded as symptomatic of this".

The major factor in this change is the 'Just in Time' method of production which is designed to reduce set up times and the need to hold buffer stocks. The process is based on a gradual build up of production and on quality control with immediate elimination of errors, compensating for the loss of the economies of scale provided by long runs. Workers must be prepared to maintain and repair their own machines and to switch to help others where the workload is heavier. The 'Just in Time' system ensures that only essential work is done to provide the quantity required at the time required. One effect of this is that suppliers become dependent on the major firm. In order to cut costs they must also use the 'Just in Time' method and thus the practice spreads throughout the industry. These dependent firms must also work in close proximity to the major manufacturer so that the J.I.T. form of organisation implies strong spatial centralisation. Nissan has bought in excess of 900 acres of land to effect just such a control over its production process.

The 'Just in Time' method also necessarily has implications for the organisation of labour and workers rights. Greater flexibility means increased use of temporary workers, overtime, new shift patterns and flexible hours. Job descriptions and demarcation are abolished and workers are required to switch between jobs to reduce wasted time. Workers are trained extensively on the job both in the practical work skills required and in behavioural skills to ensure minimal disruption to the process. These core workers may have a high level of job security, especially if they prove willing to work 'flexibly' as the company requires. The major firm is able to use subcontractors to bear the cost of instability in demand so that workers in these peripheral firms will have poor conditions and little job security.

These processes are facilitated by the existence of a single union within the factory and by the establishment of Work Councils which bypass the union communication route. Nissan has been able to establish a system of production which both ensures its control

over suppliers and which has split the unions. The work force is encouraged to identify with the company against its major competitor rather than to identify itself as a class in conflict with capital. Workers are now 'staffers' with a pride in their job and a route of communication with management which renders the Trade Union irrelevant. Estimates are that only between 10% and 25% of Nissan's work force are members of the AEU.

The single union agreement signed with the AEU, effectively excludes the union from the decision making process while surrendering the basic right to take official industrial action. The AEU has agreed to "avoid any action which interrupt(s) the continuity of production" (quoted in Tyne and Wear C.A.T.C., 1988). The company council is the significant participatory body on which the union has no official status. The company councils' officers are company managers and although work force representatives are elected the company has the right to prevent the election of any one who would 'prejudice the smooth working of the agreement between the company and the union or the company's operations.' The company council is the body which negotiates salaries and terms and conditions of employment without reference to the union organisation.

The benefit to the area in terms of the provision of new jobs is less than it might be because of the enforced flexibility of the work force. More significantly, it would appear that the Nissan development, backed by government for ideological reasons and with the support of grant aid, aims to change industrial relationships to make way for the 'Just in Time' system of production to prevail. At the same time the type of job provided is semi or unskilled while Nissan retains its central Research and Development functions in Japan. A peripheral work force with low technology and low skilled employment services the needs of an international organisation able to call its products 'local'. Nissan can now break into the European market while retaining the beneficial spin off of its high tech development abroad. It has been suggested recently that the opportunity to invest in Eastern Europe, where labour costs are lower, might threaten further developments in the U.K. As Stone et al. (1985) points out, the main area where U.K. suppliers are likely to be involved is in the bulky low tech products like batteries, exhausts, tyres and fuel tanks. Stone (1985) estimates that if Nissan were to raise production above 150,000 cars a year it might then generate secondary activities, it really could then be a project to offset in a general sense the decline the old industries - and in that event it is likely that Nissan will have helped to establish in the region, a new form of business organisation with a radically restructured system of industrial relations.

The implications of the development at Nissan along with the more general economic and social changes of which Nissan is symptomatic, signal a material change to the industrial culture. As already noted the traditional image in which the male is the

breadwinner, his personal identity formed by manual labour, often with pride in a skill and in which social relations are entirely determined by those of work, appears to be changing. There has been a shift in the type of work available so that much of it is deskilled, temporary, part time or casual. This has been sustained by the reductions in state regulation of employment and high rates of unemployment.

Manufacturing industry provides the stereotype of traditional industrial society with large scale organisations gathering workers together in factories with the corresponding potential for the development of strong worker identity and worker resistance. Possession of crucial skills and the degree of success of worker resistance appear to have been critical in determining a work identity. This area is significantly changing, both deindustrialisation and changes in the organisation of the modern factory system result in deskilling and militate against the mobilisation of collective interest and worker solidarity. Such changes in the industrial culture are crucial to the formation of consciousness.

The centrality of work to the formation of identity varies with the individual's position in the labour market (Ashton 1986). The divide between professional and skilled and unskilled workers is characteristic, more generally, of differences which Friedman (1977) identifies between central and peripheral workers. Thus although the central worker may rely on work to define his personal life, the loss of work does not bring with it immediate poverty and therefore does not challenge his role as head of the household. Conversely, for the unskilled manual worker the repetitive, boring nature of the job allows little identification and results in what Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1968) described as 'instrumental' attitudes to his work. Unemployment is a major threat because even in the short term it carries with it financial difficulties.

These are all changes in the type and nature of industry and the employment that is offered to young people and we have begun to make reference to how such changes affect the way in which people live.

To approach the question in a more systematic way, it is useful at this point to give some consideration to the question of whether a new cultural hegemony has been established in response to these changes in the industrial base and if so what form that hegemony has taken. The basic argument is that capitalism creates a particular set of material practices and processes of social reproduction. These are constantly changing in response to the dynamics of the system. The objective facts of life and accepted meanings which we take for granted, change with increasing knowledge and technological change, particularly advances in communication technology. If changes in the nature of capital accumulation and the relations of production necessitate change in the cultural

condition, then the internationalisation of capital, deindustrialisation and the tertiarization of the economy must have fundamental implications for the related culture.

Post Modernity

The new cultural condition which, it is proposed, relates to disorganisation in capital is the condition of post modernity. It is based on the decline in the central working class, the rise in the service class and the growth of an underclass of unemployed or casually employed men and women. It is argued that it is the new service class which is crucial in establishing a transformed cultural hegemony. (Lash and Urry 1987)

Harvey (1989) discusses the transition to post modernism in terms of the transition from Fordism to flexible modes of accumulation. In congruence with Williams (1982), Harvey points out that "capital is a process and not a thing. It is a process of reproduction of social life through commodity production in which all of us in the advanced capitalist world are heavily implicated. Its internalized rules of operation are such as to ensure that it is a dynamic and revolutionary mode of social organisation, restlessly and ceaselessly transforming the society within which it is embedded". (p343)

The cultural condition which results is one in which tradition and certainty disappear. The collective identity which might have been shared, for example by a group of miners 20 years or so ago, was based on the fact that because they lived together in small, relatively isolated communities, they shared special information systems which separated them from other groups. Mass communication has gradually and inevitably broken down this separateness and there is a decline in the strengths of the boundaries of the social group. Group traditions and consciousness of 'following in father's footsteps' also decline and are replaced by the immediacy of consumerism. If these traditions and certainties are lost then previously enduring institutions of marriage and family may be rendered equally transitory.

If this is what happens then we must ask what is the impact of the change on class practices? Must we, with Gorz (1984) accept that the working class no longer has a role in the battle to define relations of production? Bauman (1987) similarly suggests that the effects of post industrialism are to reduce the industrial population to an insignificant force, while the restructured society gives rise to employment without roots, culture or organisation. This is all very depressing for a conception of class with potential for collective action. Byrne (1985) offers an alternative to Gorz's 'capital logic' account and brings into focus the role of the working class as initiator, pointing to crisis as struggle he points to crisis "for capital and crisis for the working class". The current crisis is in part a result of the struggle between capital and the working class.

It has been argued that relationship to the means of production is diminishing in importance as a determinant of lifestyle. This theme is developed in the work of Saunders (1984) in his concern with consumption cleavages. Saunders suggests that an alternative form of social change is occurring which importantly affects the development of consciousness. He argues that differential ownership forms the basis of the restratification of society away from its conventional class base and he uses the example of housing tenure as the most prominent element in this restratification.

Increasingly, Saunders says, people find themselves involved in struggles emanating from their location in consumption sectors which are founded on non-class based material interest. While Saunders clearly identifies a process which is occurring, his explanation is a dubious one. He has been criticised by Harloe (1984), among others, for overstating the case. Harloe rejects the notion which Saunders develops, that the two locations of class and consumption are entirely separate and independent.

The actual progression of privatisation is, therefore, open to question. It is nevertheless true that consumption cleavages, based on class relationship have consequences for the political consciousness of individual and families. This may be increasingly important in view of the evidence suggesting a widening gap between the two income and the marginalised benefit dependent family in relation to patterns of consumption (Pahl 1985), (Morris 1987).

Strategies for 'getting by' have been documented by Pahl in his research on the Isle of Sheppey. Pahl's understanding of his material clearly developed during the research so that while in his initial report he argued that work consciousness could be maintained after employment he eventually concluded, with Wallace (Pahl and Wallace 1985), that those who fared well in the informal economy were those who were also in formal employment. "The whole burden of our argument rests on the reality that there is only one economy and that a households position in that is fundamental determining its position in other economic spheres" (p224). Attempts to restructure to create a 'share owning democracy' have also met with limited success and all evidence leads us back to the conclusion that the basic relationship is that of class.

Base and Superstructure

We have achieved a particular understanding of base and the particular conditions in Sunderland. This is informed by the perspective taken by Williams in his discussion of Base and Superstructure in Marxist cultural theory (1982). Williams take issue with the positivist notion of a static base which describes a particular mode of production, and a reflected superstructure.

Marx's lays emphasis on the proposition that there are deep contradictions in the relationships of production which give rise to and form the dynamics of, social relationships. Founded upon this view we can clearly see that any particular stage in the development of capitalism can only be analysed and understood in terms of the particular conditions of the time, no such analysis can be generalised. In essence it is the basis of this study to appreciate this central point and to look at particular conditions and particular types of social relationship in existence at a particular time. Williams insight is particularly helpful then in re-evaluating the terms base, superstructure and determination. He sums up his position by saying "we have to re-value 'determination' towards the setting of limits and exertion of pressures, and away from a predicted prefigured and controlled content. We have to re-value superstructure towards a related range of cultural practices and away from a reflected, reproduced and specifically dependent context. And critically we have to re-value 'the base' away from the notion of a fixed economic or technological abstraction and towards the specific activities of men in real social or economic relationships, containing fundamental contradictions and variations and therefore always in a state of dynamic process". (p6)

Gender

As already noted, I am using a definition of base which concerns "the specific activities of men in real social or economic relationships" (Williams 1982, p6). It is an obvious point that male participation in social and economic relationships is not the only significant one, and that men's and women's experience are materially different. We need therefore to be able to identify the effects of gender as part of the base.

In this section I want to establish a framework for understanding how men and women develop identity within the family and in relation to the production process. This analysis comes from a feminist perspective as it is from this perspective that most serious interest and research has been undertaken in recent years. I pay particular attention to the roles of women at this point because theirs is subject to radical contradictions. Most studies have so far been about men's experience. It appears, from these studies, relatively unproblematic to understand men's position in the family and in the labour market as the two are, on the whole, mutually accommodating. For women however, the idealisation of the family imposes a subject position and draws them into an inferior place in the labour market. As Comer (1974) argues home and work are both centres of male power which serve to reinforce each other. I will be focusing on women's experience in the family and as part of the labour force in order to understand how both areas shape consciousness.

Women in the Labour Market

Most studies of women's work have concentrated on women's work outside of the home. Far less interest has been shown in work in the domestic sphere and in unpaid

voluntary work, both of which are vital to the reproduction of capital. Women's consciousness is determined both by their role in the family and, increasingly, their direct experience of the labour market.

Within the labour market women work predominantly in particular sectors of the economy characterised by low pay and low status, in occupations defined as semi- or unskilled. Many younger working class women with children, whose work is regarded as secondary to family responsibilities must sell their labour power in the marginalised casual and twilight sectors. This necessarily constitutes a different experience of employment from that of most male, full time employees. One must address men's and women's employment separately to distinguish the similarities and the difference in their experience of work. This is basic to an understanding of how consciousness is formed at home, in the labour market and as members of a class.

The divisions between men and women and between home and work, act to prevent the development of a cohesive working class consciousness. "Women are defined primarily in terms of their relationships, men by their activity" (Porter 1982). As women are regarded as primarily home based, their place in the labour market is secondary. This position is exemplified and reinforced by a sexist ideology and a corresponding shortage of support services for working women with dependents. Marilyn Porter's study is based on married women with children under the age of sixteen and her analysis is of women's consciousness at a particular point in their life cycle. She found the separation of their concerns from men's was "incompatible and implacable". Porter argues that women's place in the labour market and their response to it is derived from their prior identity as housewives. It is the sexual division of labour and women's ownership of family responsibilities which accounts for their low pay, casual work and low level of trade union involvement. While I accept that there is much power in such an argument, I believe that she does undervalue the importance of age and particular role. I would expect few of my young people in Sunderland to centre their lives on such concerns because they are not central to their present experience, even if they will become so in future. Porter's approach has been criticised as too simplistic, in that women cannot be treated as a unitary group. Their participation in the labour market follows a pattern in which most women have at least one interruption in their working lives and many women with dependents or young children work part time.

The analysis of consciousness cannot be simply divided between work and family. "We need to investigate empirically how women's consciousness differs at different points in the lifecycle and to ascertain whether it varies according to different household structures, racial and ethnic groups and social class". (Beechey 1986, p155) In a later paper, Beechey (1987) suggests that to counter the tendency for studies to juxtapose

workplace and familial models for analysing men's and women's consciousness certain questions must be addressed. These questions concern empirical studies of how and whether women consciousness differs over the lifecycle, differs between full and part time workers and differs between men and women doing similar work. She suggests that elements of work consciousness exist alongside, and often in conflict with, that formed by familial relations so that at different point in the lifecycle women's consciousness will change.

So we begin to develop recognition of the importance of the particular conditions and social relationships in understanding both men's and women's consciousness. Beechey suggest that in order to understand occupational segregation we need to go beyond theories which see it as a by-product of the development of industrial capitalism. While in some industries women's occupations can be explained in terms of deskilling, in others, for example the caring services, women's work has been constructed as an extension of their domestic roles. If we are to understand the forces which produce particular gender relationships these issues must be considered central to our concern. we need to understand the particular, the fact that while some generalisations can be made about women's 'two roles', these questions require a more intimate understanding of the nature of women's work, their age, family responsibilities and point in the life cycle.

The next task then is to look at women's experience in the labour market in Sunderland and to see what theoretical insights we can draw in understanding it.

Restructuring the Labour Market

In order to gain some insight into how women's experience of work has changed over time one can begin by examining the restructuring of industry and of work in terms of the change in the gender composition of the workforce. Nationally, the employment of women has grown continuously since the second world war. This trend is expected to continue and it is estimated that by 1990 there will be 9.6 million women in the workforce. At the same time male employment is declining to an estimated 11.2 million (Beechey 1987). In Sunderland this trend is exaggerated. Male jobs declined in the years 1981-84 by 9.3% while female jobs increased by 2.4%. In comparison with national figures for 1984 therefore, women comprised 47.5% of Sunderland's workforce compared with 43.9% in Britain as a whole (Stone 1985).

This trend accompanies another form of restructuring from full to part time employment. Despite an overall decline in the number of jobs in the Wearside area there has been an increase in the number of part time jobs by 12.4%. By 1984, 49% of women on Wearside were part time workers. This proportion is higher if Washington is excluded,

where there are larger number of female full time jobs. Thus part time employment is a significant and growing phenomenon while full time employment is in decline.

Allied to these changes is a move towards self employment though this is not the idealised self employment of the small business but rather the growth of casualised contract labour used to service both state and private sectors. In Britain in 1984, 63% of self employed workers were in the service sectors. (Stone 1985). Over half of these jobs were in distribution, hotels, catering and retail and women are heavily concentrated in these sectors (88% in 1984).

These structural changes have their effects in how people organise their lives, not only in the field of employment but also family and leisure time. The rise in part time employment has come about largely because of the desire for a cheap and flexible workforce. This trend is gathering pace in the retailing industry. Women are concentrated in particular sectors of the economy and in particular types of work. In analysing this concentration it is helpful to look at women's work in the term of the concepts of the reserve army of labour, the dual labour market theory and the feminisation of certain work.

Women as a Reserve Army of Labour

The reserve army thesis is useful to a study of women in Sunderland because it describes a captive, immobile disposable workforce. Women's position in the reserve army is based on the 'common sense' view that women's predominant role is within the family thereby creating a subordinate role for her in work. As Marilyn Porter (1982) notes "when women enter the labour market they do so as migrants from the domestic domain (whether they have husbands and children or not)". The definition of reserve army needs also to be set in the context of state policies in immigration, equal pay etc. (Beechey 1987).

Contenders for the reserve army are those who are at least partially dependent on sources of income, other than the wage, to bear the costs of reproduction of labour power because they are flexible, disposable and cheap. The reserve army theory can explain women's employment in particular sectors but overall women's employment has been protected from the worst effects of crisis by the increasing size of the service sector. (Breugel, 1986). Women appear to be more vulnerable during recession in manufacturing industries because they are characterised by part-time or shorter term employment and less unionised shops.

In fact we need to recognise that crisis must be analysed industry by industry in terms of its effects on women's employment. Labour market segregation of women's

from men's jobs means that the effect of crisis is different for men and for women (Beechey 1983).

While women's employment in manufacturing industry has declined their employment in the services has increased and is insulated from takeover by men because of its low paid, casualised form. Bruegel argues that mechanisation will remove even this protection from women in the longer term. Jackie West (1982) has shown, how development of the microprocessor has reduced the number of women's clerical jobs. In discussing the particular situation in Sunderland, Stone (1985) points to the fact that there is massive scope for technological development in this field. In the process of restructuring women's work has often functioned to provide cheap labour for capital in labour intensive industries. When further mechanisation is viable it seems likely that women will be replaced, in the longer term by automated processes.

This tendency to draw married women into waged labour has had the further effect of bringing formerly domestic production into the sphere of commodity production. At the same time, Beechey argues, in order for capital to extract high rates of surplus value, women must retain their domestic role without remuneration. Beechey (1987) speculates that the breakdown of the family, high divorce rates and the increase in mental illness among women are signs of the overwhelming pressure created by attempting to secure these two forms of labour from the woman so that the family can continue unchanged.

Turning to the experience of women in Sunderland, in terms of relative rates of disposability Stone (1985) shows that in the period 1971-84 male unemployment increased by 214% while female unemployment rose by 625%. Unemployed women are under-represented in statistics particularly since October 1982 when receipt of Social Security benefit rather than registering for employment became the basis for calculation. Stone distinguishes four phases in unemployment over the period:-

1. June 71-74, a 16% decline in unemployment.
2. June 74-78, male unemployment doubled while Female unemployment increased eightfold.
3. June 78-79, overall decline in unemployment of 6.5%.
4. June 79-85, overall increase in unemployment of 70%.

In Sunderland unemployment among women is concentrated in the younger age groups. Special employment measures have brought about a decline in the number of unemployed women under the age of 20 from 35% in 1971 to 25% in 1985. In June 1985 3000 women under 20 were unemployed or on Youth Training Schemes.

The proportion of unemployed 20-24 year olds has remained stable while that of 25-44 year olds has risen from 20% to 30% over this period. It is this latter group which typifies the reserve army. Over 45 year olds constitute 20% of the total of unemployed women. Howard et al (1986) in a study of Employment and Unemployment in Wearside found that compared with national statistics there was an over representation of junior white collar, semi- and unskilled workers among the unemployed female workforce, while relatively few managerial technical or skilled manual workers were unemployed. In this study class assignment was carried out according to the individual's current or most recent occupation and therefore 26% of unemployed females who had yet to experience work, were excluded.

An important source of work for women in Sunderland is the clothing industry where as we have seen there has been contraction in the made to measure sector compensated by speeding up in fashion changes and the 'throw-away society' which we identified as part of the post modernist culture. We will look at the clothing industry again in the context of deskilling of work.

In looking at the nature of work into which women are drawn as members of the reserve army, a classic example in Sunderland must be the firm 'Market Force'. Here a predominantly female workforce is employed packing and despatching a wide range of goods. The firm employs approximately 150 full time women workers but these are heavily outnumbered by the women who work for the firm for short periods without the benefit of employment protection or holiday pay. Market force employs women to work at its factory and puts out work for women at home. Wage rates are poor and disposability is very high. The employment of these women, in what is necessarily a labour intensive industry, is one side of the uneven development of capitalist industrialisation.

Beechey argues that the reserve army thesis holds true for women in the casualised sectors but cannot explain the introduction of women on a permanent basis into particular branches of industry. This can more usefully be understood in terms of capital's attempts to employ forms of labour power which have a lower value and in terms of the process of deskilling.

Deskilling and Feminisation of Work

We have already established that women are a source of cheap labour which frequently provides the employer with an alternative to investing in machinery. Capitalist organisation simply integrated the pre-capitalist sexual disadvantage of women into the modern work process (Beechey 1983). It did not create the disadvantage.

Women are used in deskilling operations to replace men and this is linked with feminisation so that a 'man's job' becomes a 'woman's job'. What is important in this context is the ideological assumptions about what constitutes 'women's work' which have accompanied shifts in the sexual composition of the labour force.

Management strategies to deskill in order to exert a downward pressure on wages, combine with union strategies to resist deskilling and have the effect of reinforcing sexual divisions in the labour process and denying women the opportunity to enter skilled jobs.

Angela Coyle's (1982) analysis of the clothing industry is particularly pertinent to Sunderland. She describes an industry in which uneven development has been characteristic, from sweatshop to highly mechanised work, but her major focus is on factories employing approximately 150 workers. She shows how a traditionally skilled industry in which men have been primary workers has been transformed into an industry where there is substitution of 'female machine minders for male craftsmen'. Men are employed in the clothing industry but that they are employed in supervisory, managerial and work which retains the definition of 'skilled'. Coyle shows how automation has required the development of a range of skills by women workers but, because the definition of skill is socially constructed, gender is used as a basis of differentiation. This is supported by male workers in their desire to maintain their advantageous position.

There has been substantial work in recent years concerning women's position in the labour market and its effects on the development of consciousness. This remains a rather one sided analysis, however, without consideration of the more commonly accepted women's role in the family. This area has been neglected in the past because it belongs to the realm of the 'private'. It is nevertheless a powerful determinant of woman's consciousness and it is essential to look at the particular interaction of both influences if one is to understand how women experience and interpret the world.

The Family

In the debate surrounding the form of the family today there has been general agreement that the family plays a crucial role in the reproduction of the labour force and the maintenance of capitalist relations of production. Capitalism has created a separation between productive and domestic labour, and domestic labour has consequently been 'de-realised'. The labour of women in the home, although essential to the reproduction process, cannot be defined in terms of the labour theory of value because:

- a) its immediate products are use values, not commodities;
- b) labour power is not sold ;

- c) the contribution which the housewife makes to production is not mediated through the market but through the marriage contract. (Coulson, Magas and Wainwright 1975)

In this, they argue, lies the instability of the bourgeois marriage. The relations of capitalism are voluntary relations, the marriage contract, no longer based on the imperatives of production is consequently more unstable. This instability is aggravated by the element of independence which women gain through working outside the home.

The power of the family however, lies not only in its material relationships but importantly in its ideology and in notions of femininity which support it.

Recent discussions about the family have been concerned with what is seen as crisis and a state of decline. It is clear that 'family values' are the values of the dominant class, hence the concern of writers and politicians on the right at what they see as a loss of control within the modern family. Commentators on the left have also voiced concern over the disintegration of family support networks. However their analysis springs from a very different understanding particularly of working class and women's experience of family life.

Writers and researchers in the 60s basing their work on a functionalist perspective, saw the family as an increasingly democratic institution. Parsons (1964) argued that the nuclear form of the family was the resolution of a problem of determination of status. The problem of conflict is further resolved by the segregation of sex roles so that men fulfil achievement orientated 'instrumental' roles, while women fulfil caring 'expressive' roles. Such an analysis fails to deal adequately with the economic function women fulfil in the reproduction of labour.

The induction of women into the labour force has had implications for the domestic sphere. It has encouraged smaller family size with consequently less time spent in child rearing. The state has intervened, frequently in an authoritarian manner, in the care of elderly and children when women were no longer available to provide care. Nevertheless the idealised image of the family remains powerful. Coulson, Magas and Wainwright (1975) suggest that this is because the family forms the backbone of capitalist production, in that family values and domestic virtue individualise workers interest and reduce class cohesion. The conflict between immediate dependence on the wage and aims that can only be achieved as a result of struggle are inherent in working class existence under capitalism, and this conflict is most acutely felt within the family.

The image of the family may be idealised but there is little doubt that men and women experience it very differently. For men the nuclear family is a place of rest and refuge from the world of alienated labour. For women the family means constant labour,

which because unpaid, is unvalued. The family retains an image at variance with reality and a considerable shortfall of experience to expectations. It is an area of ambivalence for women because their work is done 'for love' and because, in the power relations which exist, women consequently fare badly.

The consequences of the sexual division of labour are wider than those which can be delineated within the family. Linda McDowell (1983) argues that, in using the household as a unit of analysis, researchers have failed to recognise the differential impact of the split between home and work on men and women. "Production based on waged labour in the market place is undertaken collectively in specialised locations, predominantly by men but also by women, whereas the household reproduction of labour power, based on the unpaid labour of individual women, is undertaken in isolation in countless decentralised urban locations. This division not only influences the social relations between men and women but is embodied in the structure of the urban system and is given concrete expression in the built form of cities " (in Evans and Ungerson 1983, p145-6).

In the formation of men's consciousness work has traditionally been regarded as the primary determining factor while family relationships and household activities are dependent on this basic fact of life. This is consistent with Parsons view of the nuclear family if one accepts that he is really talking about man's position freed from wider kinship networks to realise a new status for himself and his immediate kin through achievement.

In one of the 'traditional' industries, Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter's writing in 1956 described how the rhythm of the working week for the man determined the domestic sphere. The role of the man in the family was defined by his relationship to the productive process. The responsibility for being breadwinner was the primary responsibility and the basis for the resolution of conflict between the demands of home and work. This model of family organisation is increasingly unrepresentative and it will be interesting to consider how changes brought about by the induction of women into the labour market and the contribution of women to the domestic economy has affected the consciousness of young men and young women today.

A Marxist analysis of familial ideology sees it as a set of beliefs which posits the nuclear family as the naturally determined and universal form within which the sexual division of labour is integral. The form of the family must be seen in its history, in relation to particular social class and economic conditions. Ideology serves to distort the social relations within the family, particularly in terms of structure and division of labour. This is illustrated in E. Wilson's (1977) study of Women and the Welfare State in which she

discusses the welfare state emerging after the Second World War as, “not just a set of services, it is also a set of ideas about society about the family and not least important, about women” (p9) Wilson shows how the ideology of the family is hegemonic and, because of this is reproduced in other important institutions so that it appears as universal. The importance of ideology to the reproduction process is undeniable and is demonstrated in studies such as McRobbies (1978) and Porter (1982).

At the beginning of this discussion we recognised that it is too simplistic, to discuss reproduction in terms of gender alone. If one is to explain women’s experience it must be accompanied by an understanding of their particular class position. Angela McRobbie’s comparison of middle and working class girls who despite common femininity, have widely differing material horizons illustrates the point. While middle and working class girls are directed into different jobs all are herded into a domestic sphere. For working class girls their inability to find work which will pay enough to support them reinforced their economic dependence on men. For them there is no real alternative to a move from their father’s home to their husbands.

The effect of wives employment on power relations within the family varies with social class. Leonard and Speakman (1986) points out that the contribution of the working class wife’s earnings to the family budget may be much more significant than that of her middle class counterpart allowing her greater decision making power. Power relations are only balanced when there is greater equality of economic status between husband and his wife as in the Rapoport’s (1971) Study of “Dual Career Families”. These couples were more likely than others to experience marriage as companionship in the sense which studies undertaken in the fifties sixties had optimistically outlined (Young and Wilmott 1975, E. Bott 1957 etc.) Nevertheless their experience is set against a background of external social relations in which the male is dominant and, because of this, in a position to confer ‘equality’ on his wife.

The development of identity and the beliefs and values which are implied are therefore the result of a complex set of processes which interact in people lives according to history, gender and class relations. The ideology surrounding the family is very powerful in distorting actual social relations and we return to the point that to learn about them we need to move away from generalisations to the particular conditions pertaining at the time. For this we need to turn to the ethnographic account.

Cultural Reproduction

We have considered the proposition that base determines superstructure and employed a particular definition in constructing a framework from which to analyse the ethnographic material. To complete the analysis we now need to consider how the issues

identified actually manifest themselves in people's lives. Here we can use the proposition that social being determines consciousness. In practice this means learning, from discussions with eighteen year olds in Sunderland, how they see their lives and their futures and understanding that in terms of the conditions in which they are based. Burton (1978) takes us from a descriptive to an analytical level in his concern with the contextual determination of meaning. He points to socio-structural accounts of the determination of meaning as essentially partial accounts because they fail to recognise how reality is mediated in a particular context. In using Williams (1981) formulation we do not encounter the problem which Burton identifies of explaining why material reality is not immediately reflected in consciousness. Burton's approach is nevertheless useful in pointing to the need to explain the "relative autonomy of mediation" (p7).

He offers a method of developing an explanation in terms of three levels of analysis:

- (i) by documenting mediated reality, actual consciousness and world views;
- (ii) specifying the social determination of world view through a political economy of the (Northern Irish) society;
- (iii) establish a theory of mediation which links the above two levels.

We need to "delineate objective and subjective social reality and to analyse the dynamics of their relationships". (p7)

Willis (1977) offers us a theory of mediation which is of particular interest to this study because while an admittedly deterministic account it does tackle the question of action and attempt to locate the possibility for the class actor.

The basic defining characteristic of any society is its working relations and the reproduction of labour. For Willis, in order to understand how cultural forms both generate and legitimate relationships of domination, we need to examine the cultural level in objective and subjective terms. Willis posits a separate level of the cultural at which the informal social group acts not merely to transmit the dominant ideology but also to shape it. The cultural level is only semi-autonomous and it is this fact which prevents working class people from recognising their domination for what it is.

It is the penetrations which the lads make which allow them to recognise the dominant ideology and raise their awareness of class position. It enables them to recognise the undifferentiated nature of manual labour and to reserve the mental to themselves. It is this which offers hope of the transformational capacity of the collective actor. These penetrations are only partial, however, and consciousness is acted upon by

the limitations of general ideological processes and working class sexism which glorify masculinity and make the lads identify with manual work.

The context of Richard Jenkins' study (1983) is a useful starting point in examining my own work. Jenkins set out to show how his young people grow up in a context of 'economic peripherality', declining traditional industries and escalating unemployment. These are pictures familiar to the study of Sunderland. The focus is different being centred on the outside world, the institutional context, because of the nature of Jenkins' approach. Jenkins identifies the insulation of the public from the private, the domestic sphere and the access he had was to the public. My study, based on the premise that social being determines consciousness, seeks to learn also from the realm of the private and reflect on what that tells us of the public world. Given this difference in approach and the access it gives I have found and recognised many of Jenkins' descriptions in my young people.

In 1983 Jenkins took issue with Willis' account and claimed to have erected a more central position for the actor in his account of cultural reproduction. He placed greater emphasis on the importance of power relationships in institutions in conferring identities on individuals. Individualism and localism among working class people reinforce this interaction between organisation and person preventing class identification and action. Jenkins argued that there is no separate level of social structure which is itself influential in determining the behaviour of social actions. In terms of the voluntariness of action, however, it is difficult to distinguish greatly where Jenkins moved away from Willis. His actors may know that they are subject but they still contribute to their own subordination.

A major point of departure in terms of the approach to this same field is in my understanding of deindustrialisation. Both Willis and Jenkins studies were undertaken at a time before the full impact of deindustrialisation had become clear. Despite the recognition of industrial decline they discuss the industrial base as given, a stable, unchanging thing. Over a decade later the implications of a deindustrialising world have become all too apparent. They require that Jenkins' discussion of individual industries and employers' strategies are considered in the wider context of the changing balance of power between workforce and employer as part of the uneven development of an area. Jenkins documented a point in time. In a sense we no longer have access to such stability. Our concern in this study must be to see the present in terms of process and young people dealing with change based on their established world and the world they see before them.

In the 1980s we see evidence of a shift in the concern to the problem of how young people manage the transition to adulthood. Willis in a series of three articles (New

Society 1984) identified “broken transitions” based on access of working class youth to full time employment. The lack of work, inability to set up a separate household and family and their emasculated status as consumers, he proposed, may prevent full claim on adulthood and entail a new social state based on extended dependency on state and family. These articles are, Willis admits, “speculative rather than ethnographic” (p476) and are balanced by a recognition of the proven ability of the working class over the years to manage transitions through periods of crisis.

Subsequent ethnographic studies by Wallace and Hutson and Jenkins have centred on this question of transition. The work of Hutson and Jenkins can be drawn upon here, for while they challenge Willis definition of adulthood as too specific, their own findings show that apart from age (which they discovered was an important factor in discussion with eighteen year olds) issues of independence and responsibility are fundamental to the definition of adulthood. These are centrally linked to economic position. If Willis is discussing access to adult status and reproduction in adult roles then Hutson and Jenkins findings can be understood as an exploration and elaboration of this theme.

Wallace (1987) tells us that she has discovered a transitional process which is “ragged” rather than the smooth functionalist model which she claims is Willis understanding of the subject. I think her criticisms of Willis are misplaced. His project in 1977 was the transition from school to work and he concentrated on a particular cultural response to that transition. One can extrapolate from that theory to discuss the transition from youth to adulthood but Wallace does not attempt to do this. Rather she generalises the discussion of one cultural form and attempts to apply it to all working class youth.

If we adopt Willis framework we are not required to accept a smooth transition, precisely because, as Willis tells us, “capitalism in its modern liberal democratic forms is in permanent struggle” (p175).

The model which Wallace proposes is a “mismatch model” designed to help us to understand location in the labour market. This is an adaptation of Ashton and Field (1986) to which Wallace adds the factor of unemployment and describes the phenomenon of down ward mobility. This is helpful in providing a modification of their theory which accounts for current conditions but I don’t think it radically alters the process they describe. The potential may be there for the struggle to become more intense but the fact remains that class is still crucial in determining job “choice”.

What Wallace discovers is that in the end the unemployed do make the transition and that young people are reproduced in all their adult roles.

Hutson and Jenkins point out that the receipt of benefit enables the young person to display responsibility and independence within the parental home consistent with a claim to adulthood. This is an issue which can be approached through the ethnographic study.

Anna Pollert (1981) offers one account of the process of reproduction in women's lives. Pollert using Willis' approach recognises that for working class women as well as for men the precise nature of their work is irrelevant, but here the similarity with male experience ends. Working class girls' informal cultural system grooms them for marriage. Their class oppression is compounded by the oppression of gender relations. For women factory work does not enhance a feminine image so they have no defence against the degradation of alienated work. These girls begin their working lives on the defensive, at the bottom of both sexual and class hierarchies. Escape is seen in terms of romance and marriage and the temporariness of the solution does not seem to impinge upon it.

The main burden of previous ethnographic work has been with young people from the working class and it is their experience which has been theorized. The basis of this interest is clear, it is the "why they let themselves" problem which Willis identifies. For middle class youth, entering the labour market is not so problematic, their goals are those of the dominant class and are achievable. So why bother to look at them at all? I am interested in what is happening to them in the context of the deindustrialised economy of Sunderland. What effect have the issues we have identified here concerning family and gender had on their lives and in what way will their futures be shaped by them? Many of the questions posed so far have implications across class boundaries shaping very different lifestyles and it is in comparison between experiences that I hope to learn more about each of them.

So far I have reviewed the theoretical work which has relevance to my study, it remains for me to pick out the specific issues which this body of theory has raised and with which I intend to approach the ethnographic material.

We have appreciated the fundamental fact of crisis. Further we have discussed the large scale and general ways of understanding the world and recognised that to be made to mean anything about real people's lives they need to be understood in terms of local forces, local social groupings and local class practices.

What follows is a set of questions which I want to pose to the ethnographic account as a way of developing this understanding.

We can ask about how young people propose to confront or adapt to the larger process of deindustrialisation. What is the effect of the loss of traditional industry as an

avenue for the formation of masculine identity, what is the impact of the move to a service economy for both men and women on their work expectations and their family relations? What is the effect on working relations of living in a world where capital is no longer exclusively local but is largely external, of being on the periphery with all the implications of branch plant status for both job security and the quality of work? If the new model of working relations is to be Nissan and the single union agreement, how will young people respond to the call for loyalty to the company in competition with fellow workers? We have suggested that organised capitalism is at an end and raised the issue of the effect of changed productive relations on the attitudes, values and practices of young people. We have recognised that Sunderland's past, its 'heritage of Victorian expansion' centrally affected the consciousness of people in the town. We now have to ask how the current crisis will be resolved, creating new ideologies or at least in what way old ones will be adapted?

We must consider what is the significance of spatial boundaries to young people in Sunderland. How do they see their horizons and is this associated with social class? It is important to know what their horizons consist of, what determines where boundaries fall. What effect does a changing industrial structure and the internationalisation of capitalism have on young people's definition of their world?

The induction of women in large numbers into the labour market can be looked at in terms of its effect on the formation of women's consciousness, on the family and gender relations. This account need to be structured according to both age group and social class because as we have seen, women's consciousness will change at different points in the life cycle and according to particular class position. We have to ask how women experience work and how do they and their male counterparts regard their place in the labour market, is it a secondary one? Is there, as Angela McRobbie (1978) suggested a passive acceptance that the biological fact of motherhood inevitably implies disadvantage? We can, through the ethnographic material, make some such comparison of men's and women's consciousness according to age and social class. We can identify if there is differential experience as well as expectations of working life from men and women and we can learn something of what each expects of the other.

We have in the above account discussed a change in the working relations as embodied in Nissan. What we can learn through the ethnographic account is how far such changes are accepted or have affected the way young people expect to work. Have they absorbed capital's view of trade unions and do they believe that the unions to be tamed, or does there remain a collective identity as workers which might find its expression in the participation in the union? In dealing with this issue our interest may be different for women and for men because of the patriarchal structure and attitude of

most Trade Unions. We can examine political affiliations to learn about class consciousness or its disintegration.

This raises the central question of whether we have witnessed the development of a new cultural hegemony based on new modes of accumulation. We have outlined associated changes in the class structure. Is there evidence that the boundaries of traditional social groupings have been broken down that there is no class identity and therefore no potential for class action any more? Has the change brought with it a loss of certainty for these kids or do they still have clearly mapped paths through life based on their social class of origin? If there is loss of certainty is it so for all or some of them and who and why? Is there associated with it a loss of certainty about marriage and family - is it important that marriage should be lifelong or has this lost significance in a post modernist world?

We can also question whether there is evidence to suggest as Saunders (1984) does that relationship to the means of production is no longer central to determining lifestyles. We can seek to ascertain whether there is evidence of social polarisation occurring in Sunderland. Is there evidence of an underclass?

In attempting to understand social reproduction we can test whether the grooming for marriage which women receive is sufficient to draw their attention away from the dull meaningless work in which they are engaged. It is pertinent to ask questions about how young people view the giving of their labour power. We can relate this to the earlier discussion of class practices and address the question of whether Wallace (1987) is correct in her rebuttal of Willis (1977) on the basis of differential views of factory work. The factor not considered in Wallace's account relates to our interest in locality and the possibility that factory work may have a higher status in one locality than another, based on different sets of industrial relations and production conditions. There are questions about the hierarchy of manual work which Wallace poses and which we can consider.

The ideology of individualism has been an important theme in the work of Willis (1977), Jenkins (1983), Wallace (1987) and Hutson and Jenkins (1989), although formulated in different ways. The material from my interviews will be examined to learn about how this ideology actually operates in their lives. I will also consider the importance of the countering ideology of communalism.

Hutson and Jenkins have drawn our attention to the ways in which families cope with unemployment and the differential impact of locality on the attitudes of the unemployed and those of their families. This issue can usefully be examined for the unemployed and those who rely on low paid and casual work. Questions about the ideology of marriage and the family and their changing form arise in relation to these

young people. Is cohabitation an acceptable alternative to marriage? Do young people view illegitimacy and single parenthood rather differently as Wallace and Hutson and Jenkins have found?

Do these young people partially penetrate their domination and what are the limitations which act to prevent their full consciousness of it?

These questions briefly stated are the core issues which I want to consider. Clearly it is difficult to claim general significance for such a small scale study. My argument must be that while accepting the limited size of the group interviewed the crucial feature of such a study is that it develops an explanation which makes sense of the particular conditions in a particular place and in which the nature of the semi-structured interview is an appropriate means to learn.

This study is directed toward explaining a certain set of experiences of a group of young people in the world which has changed around them. We might expect them to feel that the rug had been pulled from under them, leaving them dispossessed of an industrial and employment heritage which had rightfully provided the certainty in their parents lives. The basis for understanding this change has been outlined here in terms of the propositions that base determines superstructure and that social being determines consciousness and it is the issues which these propositions have thrown up that I have identified as particularly relevant to my study in Sunderland. The next task will be to explain why I chose the particular approach of the semi-structured interview to gain access to these questions 'in the field' and how I went about it.

Chapter Three Methodology

In the introductory comments to this study I detailed the initial reasons for my interest. It is important to restate them here because they are at the base of the research and were therefore important in generating the methods used.

My interest was in young people at a point of crisis in terms of their present and their future. My Probation training gave me an understanding of crisis as a time of change, an opportunity to rebuild and renew. This view was given theoretical substance in later reading, particularly O'Connor's (1981) understanding of crises in capitalism. It was important therefore to choose young people at a time when their consciousness was particularly open to change. Eighteen seemed a good age because it was the point at which their paths most clearly diverge. At eighteen those who left school at sixteen have had two years experience of the labour market, have done YTS, or had a job or been on the 'dole'. They know a bit more than they did when they left school of what to expect. At eighteen those who are going into higher education have had to choose courses and may have decided on a career. Their future is rather clearer although perhaps not entirely settled. I wanted to talk to people on the basis of their experience of the world so far and I believe that at the age of eighteen they have begun to form their adult identities in a way which would not have been revealed if I had met them when they were younger. A practical point of course is that eighteen year olds are accessible through the electoral register. Dates of birth of all those who will be eighteen in a particular year are given and this made it easy for me to draw together my sample.

The next question was how to set about getting the information I wanted. Clearly the answer to this must depend upon the 'doctrine of man' which underlies one's thinking. Dawe (1970) outlines the conflicts between social action and social system approaches which have been central to sociological explanations in the past. He details two sociologies based either on social order in which the individual self is the social self and meanings are external to the actor, or on social control in which action is seen as a process over time and in which the subjective dimension of action is central. Marsh (1982) takes issue with Dawe's assertion that the two sociologies are so entirely separate, arguing that it is possible to generate an explanation of the social system in terms of the social action approach. She tells us that the aim of an explanation in sociology must be to show "...how the actions of the people involved were the actions of conscious human beings, reacting to an environment, trying to make sense of it and pursuing various goals in their actions with more or less success" (p98). I base my choice of method on the recognition with Marsh that "people may make history, they may exercise choice, but they cannot choose the conditions, the avenues of possibilities open to them" (p100).

The major aim of this study is to explain what is happening to young people in Sunderland in terms of this 'double-sided' nature of the human condition.

What I am seeking then, is an explanation which can take account of conscious human action and recognise the relative significance of both action and system in each particular situation. The semi structured interview was my chosen method of approach because the focus of this work is consciousness and involves an attempt to discover what meaning actions and events have for the actors involved. I hope from, actors' accounts, to provide an explanation which is "adequate at the level of meaning" (see Marsh). An account lacking such adequacy consists merely of a set of bald statements which convey no picture of what is happening because we have no means of understanding them. I have consequently used quantitative data in a supportive role, as a means of indicating, confirming or disputing interpretations which gain their meaning from the ethnographic account.

The use of the interview is based on the view that the only person who really knows about their experience is the actor himself and if the researcher wants to learn the best way is to ask him. The ways in which he understands that experience are grounded in common social practices, customs and language which are shared with the interviewer and which consequently give the interviewer access to meaning. We can acknowledge that there is a "spectrum from consciously known, perceived and communicable to the literally unknown" (Marsh, p105) in behaviour which complicates the problem of giving appropriate weight to the actor's account. We can also acknowledge that actors do not know all of the determinants of their behaviour and it is here that the insights of the observer can be used to supply meaning from his/her experience of a range and number of cases.

The Interview

Burgess (1982) describes the ideal, unstructured interview as "flexible but controlled" (p107) and it was this which I was attempting to achieve in my use of the semi structured interview. I describe my interview as semi rather than unstructured because although I did not rely on particular questions or follow an order in discussion of topics I nevertheless used a basic schedule. This consisted of a list of topics which I needed to cover throughout the interview. The form the interview took was flexible around this, changing in emphasis and order allowing the respondent to concentrate particularly on the issues which concerned them most. I had drawn up this schedule on the basis of the research questions which I wanted to set and the help of two of my eighteen year old students who agreed to be interviewed by me and to discuss the interview style and content. This helped me to establish the schedule with which I began, although it was just the beginning of a constant process of evaluation and change of focus. My aim was to

draw out information on both experiences and events in people's lives, their feelings about them and expectations for the future. The interview schedule therefore details a mix of evaluative and descriptive subjects for discussion. The semi structured approach is most useful in this type of research both because the information gained must be centred on the problematic and because as Whyte (1982) points out, an entirely unstructured approach can be counter productive in raising the anxieties of the respondent. Within this approach in as far as it was possible, particularly in discussing evaluative material, the questions were posed in such a way as to encourage respondents to elaborate replies. I found this a useful means not only of eliciting information but also often of checking that I understood what was meant. I took the view in interviewing that it was not appropriate to argue with respondents who held for example opposing political opinions. At times however, both with those whose opinions I opposed and those I sympathised with, I put the opposite case to clarify or draw out more detail from the respondent.

I needed to cover all of the topics of interest to me in a single interview and this made it especially important that a rapport was established early. I therefore began the interview with factual, non-threatening questions and developed my interest in more emotive issues as the interview progressed. I think this strategy was successful and in only one interview did I gradually realise that I had lost this rapport. Most people rarely have the complete and uncompeting attention of another person in expressing their views and it is a rather pleasant experience. In some cases the interviewee had imposed a time limit at the beginning for various reasons. One girl's grandmother had died and the family were visiting to make funeral arrangements, more often it was an appointment with a girlfriend or boyfriend. I found in all of these cases they were happy to let the interview overrun the appointed time and I took this as an indication that they were finding it interesting and enjoyable.

Drawing the Sample

Sunderland as I have said in my introduction is a place in crisis, where the effects of deindustrialisation are having a major impact on the consciousness of the people. It is an ideal setting for a study such as this. Young people are entering a labour market which has changed radically in their lifetime and one in which unemployment levels are very high.

I could only deal with a small sample as a single researcher working part time. I chose forty cases as both a minimum and a maximum. It was the minimum number, it seemed, upon which I could base any generalised statements with any degree of confidence and it was the maximum number with which I personally could deal with in a study such as this. As I was interested in the effects of gender I decided initially that the sample must be split equally between male and female respondents. Secondly as I have

said in the problematic I did not want to focus entirely on working class youth but to draw a picture of what was happening to young people from different types of backgrounds. This information could be analysed both internally and comparatively.

To draw together such a sample required a rather special selection. A random sample from the electoral register clearly would not meet the needs of this study because it would not enable me to begin to answer the questions which I had set.

A cluster analysis performed on census data had already been prepared by my tutor, David Byrne, and provided me with a ready source of information about the type of localities people live in and from which I could derive my sample.

Of 78 variables which were available in census information grouped according to enumeration district, I chose 32 which I considered of greatest value in indicating social and economic position. These variables concerned matters such as social class distribution (according to R.G.), size of household, tenure, age distribution, overcrowding, car ownership and the size of economically active, employed and unemployed populations for both men and women. (see Appendix 1)

The cluster analysis yielded three quite distinct areas which showed considerable internal consistency. Examination of the map showed that within one ward, Hendon ward, the three types of locality existed in close proximity. Hendon is not representative of Sunderland as a whole having an over representation of the upper two locality levels and an under representation of the lower level. However this in no way invalidates my study because as I have said I was seeking to draw my sample from the three discrete areas.

The upper locality showed a very few single parent families, smaller households but larger houses. A high rate of owner occupation (disproportionately high in Hendon at 68.3%) A majority of household with one car and over 15% with 2, a high proportion of men and women working while a similar proportion of women also worked part-time. the caricature of the typical household in this locality is of a 2 parent family where father is in full-time work with mother possibly in full or part-time work as well. Families are smaller but they well be younger than in the other two localities. They own their own home which is for all but a very few at the very least acceptably spacious. They belong to the upper half of the social class scale and less than 10% of this population are unemployed.

As a contrast in the poorest locality almost one quarter of households were headed by a single parent and 85% of heads of houses were tenants of the local authority. As one might expect with a low level of privately rented accommodation the rate of overcrowding was low at 1.1% but still the highest of the three localities. Only 26.5% of

households had a car, unemployment among economically active males was almost one third and 16.6% of economically active females were also unemployed. Less than 10% of this locality's population came from the upper three social classes. An 'average' household here therefore would be most likely to be a two parent family living in a council house. One would be most likely to live in a larger family or household group although house size was smaller and therefore more likely to be overcrowded. The risk of unemployment is much higher for men and women. The head of the household was more likely to be in semi or unskilled manual work.

The intermediate locality was, in all senses, intermediate, with the greatest mix of household types. There were equal proportions of owner occupiers and local authority tenants and workers were more likely to be skilled or semi-skilled.

I found by consulting the electoral register that the total population of Hendon's eighteen year olds was 118 and from this I was to draw 40. I sorted all 118 into three localities according to their address, finding the top and middle groups as expected were larger than the lower group. From each of the subgroups I chose an equal number of girls and boys, simply by dividing the subgroups further selecting the third member from each.

Approach

My first approach to those that I had chosen was by letter in which I gave a brief account of the nature of my research and the fact that all information would be treated as entirely confidential. This was followed with a visit to make an appointment for interview at some future date convenient to them. I found that most people were happy to help and appointments were duly made, occasionally I was asked to conduct the interview immediately and if it was at all possible I did.

I wrote to sixty - four people in all before achieving my required sample of forty. I was unable to contact seven of these people because they had moved house. The initial response to my letters was poor because they were typed on blank notepaper. I was met with a certain degree of suspicion at some houses. One father asked if I was one of "*this Red Wedge*" who had been writing to his daughter. The mother of another boy, in the middle of turbulent divorce, suspected that her husband had sent me to contact her son . The use of the University's writing paper provided me with the credibility I needed and the response rate subsequently improved.

Content

Each interview began with an explanation of its aims, a brief outline of the agenda of topics I was interested in, confidentiality and a request that I be allowed to tape record it. On only one occasion was that request refused and I took written notes - although I felt that the quality of this interview was affected by the distraction of note taking.

I used a schedule constructed around 13 separate issues. First of all I was interested to know about background to learn how it might affect consciousness. I sought to learn about the area they lived in and their 'connectedness' within it. Were wider family relations an important factor, how did they feel about the place they lived in and the people around them? This often revealed feelings about roughness and respectability as well as friendliness and family involvement. I asked about parents and siblings occupations, parents educational history and parents ages to draw out biographical details which would help me to understand not only their present position but something qualitative about their context. I was equally interested in their perceptions of their parents views on their position in the labour market. I asked about education. Most of them came from Southmoor Comprehensive school but their descriptions and experiences of school were many and various. I asked about how they felt about teachers and discipline, about qualifications and their own achievements in this area. I was also interested in their views on further education and whether they expected that this would be of value to them in their future working lives.

I was interested in how they identified in terms of friendships and how and whether these changed since school leaving age. I asked about their experiences in the labour market so far, for some this was negligible because they had been in full-time education, for others it involved a two year history of involvement in government schemes, of seeking and, perhaps, finding work.

Of equal interest to what is happening in a study of consciousness are questions about what they thought would be their place in the labour market in the future. I asked about their expectations of career, skilled or unskilled work, of wage level and the lifestyle it would support. I was also interested to learn if they would be spending the rest of their lives in Sunderland or whether they looked to the national labour market for jobs.

I was interested in their opinion of their contemporaries who had started along different paths in life. So, for example, for those going into higher education I asked about the choice of leaving school and where that would lead and their attitudes to it. For those who left at 16 I asked about the people who had stayed on and were going to university. This was useful in learning, not only how they saw the 'other half', but how they saw themselves. I was interested to learn of the impact of government training schemes on young peoples perceptions of the labour market both from those with experience and those who would never do one. A further interest here was in their perception of such schemes, their acceptability as a form of work and the views that young people held concerning the withdrawal of benefit for refusal to join a scheme.

I was interested in their image of unemployment and the unemployed and their explanations for it. I wanted to know whether the 'scrounger' was a real figure in their minds and their neighbourhood. I wanted to know about their political affiliations if any, were they life long or shifting? Had they voted at the last election and would they ever involve themselves in a political party?

I asked about trade unions, their role, their appropriateness and whether these young people would join and become activists.

I was interested in how these young people spent their leisure time and how they financed it. I wanted to learn about dependency on parents because I started with the understanding that unemployment was enforcing an extended adolescence.

I questioned them about their future in terms of partnerships and children. the importance of marriage, financial security, division of domestic responsibilities between husband and wife. I asked them to project to life as a 30 year old and try to get some idea of both what they wanted and what they expected.

As I have already explained these were pointers to the conversation and not adhered to sequentially. Often the course of the conversation led us to cover topics without any need for prompting. A further aspect of the interview schedule was that to a degree it developed and changed in the light of both my reading and the interviews which had been conducted. When I became aware that an issue was of relevance which I had not specifically addressed I would include it in future interviews. One example of this was an interest in the way in which they had experienced discipline at school. Discussions in early interviews supported by reading Bowles and Gintis (1976) suggested there was a qualitative difference in the experience of discipline according to social class. I included questions about this in later interviews. More often it was the significance accorded to particular issues rather than actual content which changed. It was in response to reading about gender for instance that gradually more emphasis was placed on examining these issues.

Analysis

Following each interview some brief notes were made about my impressions of the interviewee and some description of the home, other people present, etc. In transcribing the interviews this was very helpful in recalling the setting and the actual interview.

In this research I have discovered in practice that it is a fallacy that there is a simple relationship between the collection of information and testing hypothesis. I started with some problems and interest but my understanding of these both deepened and changed during the course of the research. The initial problems which are set dictate the

methodology but as my learning progressed and I have understood more the focus and the explanations I have sought have changed. Theory as Burgess (1982) says is “continually refined in relation to the problem posed, the data collected and the analysis that is provided”.

The best account I can offer of the process of analysis which I undertook is that of Becker and Geer’s model (1982) of sequential analysis in fieldwork:

1. the selection and definition of problems, concepts and indices in which the researcher constructs a theoretical model which forms the basis for further investigation comparing it with initial information connecting theory with observed fact helps to form the direction for future interviews. Pilot studies and on-going evaluation and change;
2. checking the frequency and distribution of the phenomena coding for statistical analysis - ‘quasi-statistics’;
3. construction of social system models - incorporating individual findings into a generalised model of the social system or organisation under study.

To begin the analysis I transcribed each interview and grouped them according to sex and locality as in the initial sample. The first approach to the material was quantitative and involved grading responses in terms of numerical values over fifty four variables.

The fifty four variables consist of a detailed breakdown of the fourteen separate issues which I described earlier. They are a mixture of factual information and attitudes and intentions. They describe people in terms of locality, gender, parents and siblings occupations, economic stability and housing tenure. They detail education in terms of school, banding, qualifications, discipline. Occupation is classified in terms of social class, stability, intentions, wage levels, job satisfaction. there are sections detailing friends and their occupations and partners and their occupations. Intentions regarding marriage and co-habitation, domestic responsibilities and children are also coded. Political and trade unions attitudes, membership and activity and employment history.

This information was analysed on a computer drawing up frequency tables and then by cross tabular analysis to point out significant relationships. It provided a useful means of handling a vast amount of information and seeking out similarities and significant differences.

In my initial categorization according to social class accepting the Registrar General's official definition of social classes I split my sample into the six sub groups, professional, intermediate, (non-manual and skilled manual), semi and unskilled. This approach is problematic in many respects. It required that for children with no social class of their own they be graded according to father, and that women who were not working were similarly graded. It is also accepted that what is described is closer to status than relationship to the means of production and therefore its value as an explanatory tool is limited. This description of class takes no account of the owners of the means of production, it equally does not comprehend the 'dispossessed' (Wright quoted in Nichols 1979). It is unable to point out the distinction between central and peripheral workforce, to explain the position of the reserve army of labour. If, however, one recognises it simply as a descriptive device then it certainly does appear to serve a purpose as a kind of shorthand of the collective lifestyle of each group. Of course taken too literally this is a dangerous shorthand and certainly in terms of my analysis I did not find it, finally, particularly useful to separate out the six categories.

In collecting together the ethnographic information and in the subsequent quantitative analysis I used such a categorization. What it appeared to yield was a more valuable three band categorization which approximated to the description of a middle class, a central working class and a peripheral class. These are categories I have used in discussion of the ethnographic material. It would seem a more useful analysis for understanding the importance of 'condition' than place (see Nichols 1979) but nevertheless forms the basis for a subsequent more detailed analysis and provides a platform for the questions about the existence or nature of interaction and mobility between the groupings.

Arising from this analysis the most obvious structuring factors seemed to be social class (mediated by educational achievement) and gender. Because there appeared, from the quantitative analysis, to be real differences in the experiences of young people according to these factors I decided to structure the ethnographic account accordingly. So there are three social class groupings which are in turn subdivided by sex. Members of these groups are not entirely similar and the shape of the group is affected by the fact that some are assigned according to social class of father while others have their own class assignments. However, bearing in mind these reservations, class and gender categories are the most consistent for handling the information. These provided the analytical categories from which I could draw the information I needed and answer the questions set in the problematic.

Evaluating the Method

As I have said at the beginning of this chapter I would seek to throw light on my findings by considering important work already undertaken in this field. In the Problematic chapter I identified the ethnographic studies which were the most relevant to my work. Here I think it will be of value to consider the similarities and differences in method which have bearing on the way in which we understand the results.

Both Willis (1977) and Jenkins (1983) centred their samples on working class people using the rough/respectable classification as a means of identifying the groups. For Willis this yields a twofold classification of lads and 'ear oles' and Willis concentrates his attention on the rough lads. Jenkins describes a continuum from rough to respectable which can essentially be broken down into three groups the lads, the citizens and the ordinary kids. I have not sought to define my sample in these terms. Although I recognise the classification as valid and can identify aspects of these lifestyles from my interview material, my method does not give me access to observing these social microcosms. What I am trying to do is something rather different. I am trying to draw on consciousness to learn about my young people, present and future and as I have said the interview method appears the most appropriate.

My approach is not a full-blooded ethnographic approach in the sense that I have spent time informally in their world. I believe however that the experience of working in Sunderland has enabled me to contextualise many of the concerns of these young people. My approach has allowed me to examine one system never addressed by Willis or Jenkins, that is the middle class career oriented lifestyle. This I believe has been worthwhile in promoting an understanding of each group from within and from without.

I value the insight which the participant observation method provides but it does have its problems. Jenkins found difficulty in gaining access to respectable kids and in the end had to content himself with requesting the adults of that community to select his sample for him according to his own preselected criteria of steadiness and respectability. In this sense he got just what he looked for.

Additionally Jenkins has considerable difficulty in gaining access to women because of what he describes as a bedroom culture and the confinement of the girls to the realm of the private. It leads to Jenkins describing girls in terms of how they are reflected in men's lives rather than in their own terms. Jenkins finds his insight into girls lifestyle extremely limited while Willis explains his decision not to attempt the project. The nature of my project has been such as to allow me to pay equal attention to both lads and girls and to learn how they saw themselves and how they saw each other. I would argue then that while I do not seek to learn in detail about the interaction within the group a sample

drawn in this way can, without entirely sacrificing depth, provide a breadth of view which is not accessible by any other method.

Selection of Information from the Ethnographic Account

In writing up an ethnographic study it is necessary to develop a strategy for making sense of the large amount of information collected. In this study this has been a two stage process. It began with the initial construction of the research problems which are the focus of the work. The information which could be used to throw light on the questions posed was selected out and subjected to a quantitative analysis from which a preliminary set of conclusions were drawn.

This quantitative analysis involved drawing, first a set of frequency tables and then cross tabulating to discover significant relationships or results. It yielded information about the overwhelming strength of the relationship of social class and gender to attitudes, values and expectations, modified at the margins by the impact of education.

In reporting the ethnographic findings it followed that the key life experiences and expectations, which I had identified as the content for discussion in interview, should be reported according to these structuring factors. In the ethnographic findings I have sought to provide an account focusing on the general view of the group, while not ignoring those whose perspective or experience was in some way different. In this way I hope I have represented what young people told me. The appendices, although still edited accounts, are designed to provide a more complete view of the material as a whole.

Presentation

Presentation of the results follows from the analysis. I have presented young people's accounts as members of their social class and gender group and have provided topic sub-headings to render the information more manageable for the purpose of discussion and comparison.

Their responses are thus detailed in terms of:

- Area
- Home background
- Education
- Labour market experience
- Labour market expectations
- How the other half lives
- Youth Training schemes

- Unemployment
- Politics
- Trade Unions
- Leisure
- Family
- Future

and these are organised in terms of their 'social class' and gender grouping. The ethnic minority population of Hendon is very small and it was not possible in a small study such as this to embrace the dimension of ethnicity.

The method of presentation will enable me in my conclusion to draw out what is common and what is different in experiences both within and between the groups and to develop some understanding of why. I have reported individual responses quite fully in the appendices because as Burgess (1984) points out, it is the "material that brings people to life". I have not detailed individual case histories however. While I am aware that my method of reporting results in individual histories becoming somewhat fragmented my aim is to try to pick out the common events and meanings rather than individual character traits or careers. Differences both within and between the groups are of interest to me as I have already said but I hope that I have recorded these young people's responses in sufficient fullness that they come across, in their context, without much further explanation from me. Clearly my aim in the final chapter will be to reflect upon these accounts and to develop an explanation of what it means to be 'in transition' in Sunderland today.

Chapter Four **Quantitative Results**

The interview material is amenable to two methods of analysis, quantitative and qualitative. The results of the quantitative analysis are presented here to illustrate the main themes of the research.

The responses gained about a number of the issues discussed in each interview were given numerical values so that a summary picture could be drawn of the research results. General attitudes and expectations as well as some hard information about current circumstances and personal history were rated in this way. There were many more issues or items which could have been collated similarly, but those which have been chosen were selected to represent the central issues with which this research is concerned. The particular factors chosen are believed to be those which are most likely to affect consciousness based on the analysis contained in the problematic.

The forty semi structured interviews were content analysed to produce a classification of the forty cases according to fifty six variables. They were listed initially in the form of frequency tables and then crosstabulated against the most critical variables such as occupation, locality, social class, educational qualifications and gender. The resulting data is contained in Appendix IV.

In examining the quantitative data it is important to bear in mind that the sample was drawn to give equal weight to three cluster levels. The study was conducted in the Hendon area, where all three levels existed in close proximity, so almost all of those interviewed attended the same school. The sample is consequently not representative of Sunderland as a whole, the upper locality being over represented while the intermediate and lower groups are under-represented.

The analysis which follows is not based on 'significant' data in the sense that the sample could be said to be large enough to provide such information. It offers, rather, an interesting set of aggregate results to illuminate the themes set out in Chapter 2. The major value of such an analysis however is that it should suggest topics for exploration in the ethnographic account.

Women in the Labour Market

As already discussed in the problematic, women's consciousness is shaped by a complex set of forces which operate in different ways at different points in the lifecycle. The family, social class and household structure are all factors which materially affect consciousness because they determine how peoples lives are organised. One of the constant themes throughout the interview material was the importance of social class and other related factors, such as educational qualifications, in determining women's

opportunities in, and expectations of, work. At the top of the scale of social class and educational qualifications women and men had very similar experience and expectations of the labour market. They generally expected to develop careers, have high levels of remuneration and a considerable degree of job satisfaction. Gender became most obviously decisive as one travelled down the social scale where, for similar levels of educational qualifications, men and women made very different assumptions about their future working lives.

Beginning at the top of the scale however, it would be untrue to say that women were placed in the labour market on entirely equal terms with men. Even those women, who like their male counterparts were seeking career opportunities, expected their career prospects to be damaged by having children. This has had no impact in terms of discouraging child-bearing. 90% of the sample of women quite definitely intend to have children while only 5% expressed a firm intention to remain childless (Table 1). The women with careers in mind however, felt that they needed to establish themselves before having children as all expected that children would bring with them some interruption to their working lives. People with higher educational qualifications who were also those aiming for a career, were consequently more likely to put off marriage until their late twenties and speak of having their first children in their thirties (Table 2). While men and women were similarly likely to put off marriage and family (Table 3) the reasons given were most often associated with the women's careers. None of the male respondents suggested that taking on family responsibilities would damage their own careers. The girls interviewed implicitly recognised this discrimination against them but accepted it as an inevitable fact of life.

A further obvious difference in men's and women's experience of work is that despite the fact that there is no significant difference in terms of educational qualifications (the table showing only that fewer girls have no qualification at all), in discussing their intentions in the labour market men were rather more likely to expect to have a trade than a job and women conversely were twice as likely to expect a job with no prospects as a trade (Table 4). There can only be two possible explanations for this, either that women enter an equal labour market with men but for some reason generally have a lower set of expectations or that, because of the processes of deskilling and feminization, by definition the work available to women does not offer the status and rewards associated with skilled employment.

Women's place in the labour market is further illuminated by the table sorting according to gender and social class (remembering that those with no social class of their own were assigned according to social class of their father). 60% of the female population of the sample were in social class III non-manual occupations and above

compared with only 36.5 of the male population. Males in contrast were heavily concentrated in the unskilled manual class (52.6% compared with only 15% of females). Again this gives an indication of the differences in the nature of work available to women and men, 35% of women in the sample being in minor clerical or service occupations (Table 5). It is interesting to note that no women in the sample had done a 'fiddle' job and this reflects on the nature of the two labour markets for men and women (Table 6). As women were generally at least as, if not more, tolerant than men in their attitudes to the informal economy it seems likely that they simply do not have similar access to this kind of work.

Some evidence can be elicited from the data in support of the Reserve army thesis outlined in the problematic chapter. By examining data on wage expectations, again we find significant differences between men's and women's experience in the lower reaches of the labour market. For the sample as a whole 47.5% earned or expected to earn less than £5,000 p.a. while 22.5% placed themselves in the £10,000+ category (Table 7). When comparing men's and women's experience it appears that the upper income group is divided equally between the sexes. In the middle income group men heavily outweigh women while 60% of women placed themselves in the lowest category compared with only 35% of men (Table 8). It is not simply women who populate the Reserve Army but working class women.

All of the women in the sample expected to remain part of the labour force with varying lengths of interruption to have children. Unlike some of their mothers these girls anticipated working full time until having children and then returning, on a full time or part time basis, to work. They are not yet in the part of the labour market which uses them for part time work however as many of their mothers are.

Another facet of the reserve army is that it is a 'captive' workforce. Women were considerably more Sunderland orientated than men (Table 9) and this varied according to current occupation and social class. Only 10% of women were unemployed compared with 30% of men a further 15% of women were not economically active due to pregnancy or motherhood. Women were more likely to be in full time employment (40% compared with 25% of men), although this was not necessarily secure employment (Table 10). Thus women by virtue of being in work were likely to be less mobile. Sunderland orientation increases as one goes down the scale of educational qualifications and social class. The majority of young people seeking work in the National Labour market are those who are career orientated. There are also a smaller number of unemployed young people, particularly men, who will travel away from home if it is the only way to find work. So it seems that a 'captive' and 'disposable' workforce is available. We can, further, find evidence to support Beechey's view that women are not necessarily more

expendable as a whole but in particular sectors, if we look at expectations of unemployment. Men were generally more threatened by unemployment than women (Table 11). This would appear to be a fairly realistic assessment however in a labour market in which heavy industry is closing down while expansion is taking place in the clothing industry, predominantly employing women, and in the service sector.

One further area of interest in looking at women's consciousness is to examine how far women's work consciousness has affected their attitudes to trade unions and their political opinions. Women and men were not significantly different although women show a lesser tendency to become active either politically or in their trade union. In quantitative terms women appear more likely to experience poor wages (Table 8), lower status work with fewer employment opportunities (Table 4). These are facts which they appear to accept and there is no significant difference in their expectation of job satisfaction from men's (Table 12). It seems that even at this point in their lives the anticipation of their other role prevents strong identification with work.

The information gained through quantitative analysis would appear to support the view of women's work consciousness outlined in chapter 2. It is clear that class divisions materially affect women's expectations. In the upper social class and educational groups though women, like men, have high expectations of career, they nevertheless recognise that their future domestic role will be in conflict with career objectives. At lower levels of occupational grading women more overtly recognise their position as 'migrants from the domestic domain' and appear content with inferior rewards for their labour. The implicit acceptance by women of a secondary position in work gives some indication of the importance of the family as another key element in the formation of consciousness.

The Family

The family its structure and relationships, plays a central role in the development of consciousness and one which again, men and women experience in very different ways. I was interested to discover how far their experience of the family has changed in response to the restructuring of the labour market and how people expect to organise their own partnerships and future family life.

Structure

The vast majority, 82.5% of young people in this sample still live in their 'conventional' family of origin, that is with both natural parents (Table 13). For the remainder, some lived in households with only one natural parent either through death or divorce while a small number had set up households of their own. It is clear however that for most young people independence from parents begins later. This reliance on parents is reinforced by financial dependence, as over 90% of the sample acknowledged

some level of financial dependence on their parents (Table 14). Children who were themselves benefit dependent but whose parents were working relied heavily on subsidy at home. Only those in families where parents were wholly dependent on state benefits saw themselves as paying the full cost of their board. Very few people expected to set up their own household in the near future and for many of those with low wage levels the idea was entirely impractical. Independence varied according to locality, educational qualification and social class. All of those in the most affluent area and 92.9% of those in the intermediate area were subsidised compared with 75% of the poorer group (Table 15). 75% of the independent people were those with no qualifications or low level CSE (Table 16), all of them were in the unskilled manual class (Table 17). Clearly it is the poorest and those with no special personal advantages are thrown on their own resources at an early age.

There is a high correlation between mothers and fathers occupations in that, although class assignments were frequently not identical, they tended to cluster around each other. The majority of fathers, 63.2%, were in full time work and a further 23.7% were currently unemployed (the unemployed were drawn from social class III non manual and the manual grades). Only 13.2% were long term sick or retired.

In looking at mothers employment status the highest single group is that of part time workers (33.3%) which as already noted is consistent with the location of a large group of women in the Reserve Army at this particular point in their lives. The low number of unemployed women is accounted for in the group of 30% who were housewives. Some of these women form the hidden reserve army who are not encouraged to regard themselves as unemployed by the state and who, because they have another recognised and accepted role available to them are unlikely to label themselves as unemployed. For the vast majority of families (77.3%) siblings tended to be in similar occupations to respondents while the remainder were spread across the social classes. Similarity in terms of occupations varies according to locality (Table 18). Those in the most affluent locality had siblings in entirely similar situations to themselves either pursuing professional occupations or in full time education. In the intermediate locality there was a greater degree of heterogeneity with 1/3 of siblings in different occupations. People in this locality showed the widest spread across the social classes with 66.7% in non-manual occupations or in full time education and with only 8.3% unemployed. The third locality could be said to show the greatest degree of heterogeneity in terms of occupation however even this was confined within the lower social classes with 40% unemployed and 30% in full time education. (Full time education includes under 16s) (Table 19).

A similar homogeneity can be found according to educational qualification with those in the group achieving between one and five 'O' levels having siblings in the widest range of occupation (Table 20). Again the better qualified had siblings in higher social classes while 60% of those with no qualification had siblings who were unemployed (Table 21).

There is clearly no marked degree of upward social mobility at this point within this generation and it would seem, no need to develop the isolated nuclear family as a means of resolving status conflict as Parsons (1954) suggested.

In terms of mobility between the generations a comparison of fathers social class with that of siblings shows a high level of homogeneity at the top of the social class scale. heterogeneity increases further down the scale however only the children of manual workers have brothers or sisters who are unemployed (Table 22).

For semi or unskilled manual fathers the highest social class of child was Social class III non manual, which of course embraces a wide variety of occupations. Most children however tended to be in a similar position to their father or to be unemployed. This lack of upward social mobility across generations is confirmed by crosstabulation of fathers occupation with occupation of subject. In this we see a degree of downward mobility by children which can be partly explained by the fact that children are at the beginning of their working lives while parents should have reached their peak. The wider point which constantly arises from the quantitative analysis is that there are three recognisable and separate groups and that these groups largely recruit from among their own children. Families in this sample clearly did not need to isolate themselves from their kin and in fact as will be shown in the ethnographic account, kinship networks were an important source of identity and reason for the reluctance of many young people to look to the national labour market.

When discussing with young people how they saw their own future family organisation there was a remarkable level of agreement 92.5% of the sample expected to marry at some point in their lives and no one had finally decided not to marry (Table 23). There was a very strong awareness of divorce and the need to 'find out about your partner' before marriage. Cohabitation is now very much on the agenda for young people. 72.5% said they may cohabit prior to marriage although it was an alternative to marriage for a very few (Table 24). The 27.5% who said that cohabitation was out of the question gave reasons of morality, religion or the need for a commitment. Continuity in the traditional family was further confirmed by the intention of 92.5% of respondents to have children of their own while a further 5% expressed some doubt (Table 25). Notions of ideal family size tended to be small and most young people expected to start families

later in life than had their parents. Only 7.5% expected to marry before the age of 20 while the vast majority (67.5%) thought the ideal age would be in the mid to late twenties (Table 26). Economic security and “enjoying yourself” before settling down were the main reasons given for marrying later. Economic security however covers two very different matters; those in the upper social classes who want to have established their career before marriage and those who were unemployed who felt that having the security of some kind of employment was necessary to enable them to take on the responsibilities of marriage and then children.

Evidence of social polarisation (Saunders 1981, Harloe 1981, Morris 1987) and its effect on intention appears in the evidence relating to home ownership. These young people expected or hoped, in large numbers, to be able to raise their families in houses of their own. 83.9% of the children of owner occupiers expected to buy their house compared with only 11.1% of the children of tenants. 33.3% of the children of tenants were certain that they would be unable to buy compared with only 3.2% of the children of home owners (Table 27).

A further 55.6% of the tenants children told me that they would like to be able to buy their house but felt there was no real prospect for home ownership for them (the corresponding figure for home owners was 12.9%).

Another issue relating to polarisation and household set up is the degree to which partners are likely to be of a similar social class to respondents. The sample shows that, of those who had partners, 81.8% had partners in occupations similar to their own (Table 28). Gender differences emerges in that women were three times as likely to have partners who were unemployed as men again a sign of the differences in the nature of the labour market for men and women (Table 29). In comparing partners occupation with respondents there is a marked degree of homogeneity. The unemployed predominantly went out with the unemployed or YTS trainees but never with people in full time education. Conversely those in full time education had partners in full time education or YTS schemes but never in work or unemployed (Table 30). Homogeneity is also clear according to social class.

Once partnerships were established young people were asked to project how they would divide domestic responsibilities if both parties were at work. The aim was to discover if attitudes were changing, as a result of mass induction of women into the labour force, from the style of family organisation quoted for example, by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1957). In the sample as a whole only 10% argued that housework was ‘women’s work’ in which there was no possibility of sharing or exchanging tasks. 50% of the sample still reserved certain jobs as women’s jobs while 40% had no

hard and fast rules and saw domestic chores as entirely interchangeable (Table 31). These responses were then looked at in terms of gender, social class and educational qualification. 20% of males felt that domestic chores were entirely sex determined while no girls did (Table 32). Girls were slightly more likely to expect total flexibility than their male counterparts. Only those in the lowest social class felt that domestic chores were entirely sex determined while large majorities of those in the upper two social classes regarded them as entirely interchangeable (Table 33). Crosstabulation with educational qualifications shows a similar pattern of consensus at the extremes (Table 34). No one with qualifications above five 'O' levels regarded domestic chores as entirely sex determined. People with lower levels of qualifications were the only ones to hold 'traditional' views about household organisation. These findings are consistent with the Rapoport's (1971) work on dual career families. At the other end of the social scale it seems that there are still a number of working class lads who are trying to hold on to the traditional model in which their working activities determine the organisation of the household. The problem with this model of course, as Hutson and Jenkins (1989) have pointed out, is that male unemployment and gender equality in benefits threatens this male domination. It seems likely that women, particularly among this group, will be in a position to demand more power than ever before.

Overall it appears from the quantitative results that the 'nuclear family' as the 'only repository for personal meaning' continues to be central to young people's lives. In Sunderland it is only those in the upper social classes who appear to fit neatly into Parsons (1964) model of an isolated nuclear family designed to facilitate geographic and social mobility. Ties with the wider kin do not generally present problems of status conflict and are on the whole regarded as important sources of identity and therefore reasons for remaining in the area. There is evidence that within the next generation of partnerships however women and men are developing greater flexibility in their attitudes to their roles and relationships. The battle which appears to have been won at the top of the scale of social class and educational qualification is still raging below and the analysis of gender expectations and domestic chores suggests a considerable disjuncture between those of some working class boys and girls. This response to the increasing economic power of women may provide a field ripe for conflict in future marriage partnerships.

Industrial Restructuring

The problematic was concerned with how Sunderland's Industrial structure was changing and how capital has been able, as a consequence, to effect new relations of production based on fragmentation of working class solidarity and the breakdown of traditional class alignments. In the quantitative analysis, I hope to be able to discover evidence relating to such changes and to learn how structural change affects daily life.

One of the major themes, which seems to emerge from an investigation of Sunderland's industrial structure is the loss of continuity in terms of its industrial base. There are no longer industries into which son 'naturally' follows father and wives and mothers are now much more likely to be involved in work outside the home than perhaps they were twenty years ago. The questions which I am interested in relate to these changes. Is there a decline in the size of the central working class, a loss of class identity, signs of discontinuity between parents generation and young people starting their working lives today?

The sample, divided according to social class, takes on an irregular shape. An initial analysis, which shows that the two largest classes are those of minor white collar workers (23.1%) and unskilled manual workers (33.3%), suggests the importance of the service class and of the peripheral manual class while the relatively small group of skilled manual workers (17.9%) identifies a rather less significant 'central' working class group (Table 35). A comparison across generations might indicate a shift in the class structure.

If we compare social class of father with that of child (remembering that children with no assignment of their own are assigned according to father) we find that the size of the upper two social classes is maintained across the generations. The change occurs in Social class III non manual which is trebled and in the manual classes. Social class III manual reduces from 31.6% in fathers to 18.4% in child's generation while unskilled manual work increases for 26.3% to 34.2% (Table 36).

These findings suggest that disorganisation in capitalism is having the effect upon the class structure which, in part, Lash and Urry outline. While, as already noted, these statistics must be treated with caution, they do point up issues for further investigation in the ethnographic account. The classic picture of Sunderland with its bottom-heavy social structure is intensified by the decline of the central working class group. This is further confirmed by an examination of how the various social class groups fare in the labour market.

If we look at father's social class crosstabulated by father's employment status some interesting results emerge. All of those in the upper two social classes were in full time work (with the exception of one person retired). Approximately 2/3 of social classes III manual and non manual were in full time employment. Among the semi to unskilled workers there is evidence of a substantial group of peripheral workers with only 20% in full time employment and almost all of the remainder out of work due to long term sickness or unemployment (Table 37). If we then compare fathers social class with occupation of child we find that 87.5% of unemployed young people have fathers in manual occupations as are 69.3% of those in work and 80% of YTS trainees. In contrast

80% of those in full time education are children of fathers in the upper two social classes with only 10% in manual grades (Table 38). In looking at the kind of work children are doing there is a very high correlation between fathers social class and that of child . It is in the unskilled manual class that the greatest spread in occupation of children occurs. While 70% of fathers who were unskilled manual workers had children in similar jobs, the remainder were in minor clerical or skilled manual work. Conversely some children who were in unskilled work had fathers who were minor clerical or manual workers. There is then some slight evidence of mobility but as noted in the previous section this mobility does not occur throughout the social scale but in small bands within it.

A crosstabulation of social class of child with parents employment status suggest, continuity in terms of economic security at the extremes. Children in the lowest social class did not live in households where two parents worked full time. Equally children in social class I lived in households with no experience of sickness, retirement or unemployment. There was invariably at least one full time worker (Table 39).

Relating social class to individuals own employment status gives further evidence of the change in size and nature of the class structure. Those in the upper two social classes were almost exclusively in full time education. Over half of the unemployed and 60% of YTS Trainees were from the unskilled manual class while 61.5% of full time workers were drawn from the central working class groups (Table 40).

There does therefore seem to be a fairly high degree of continuity in class terms although this does not reflect continuity in individual industries. Social classes I and II are self recruiting and there are three times as many children in social class III non manual as fathers. The skilled manual class has declined in size while that of the unskilled manual has grown, reflecting processes of deskilling and industrial change, it is then interesting to consider what picture of collective identity emerges. Is there a loss of class identity or is it as strong as ever?

Class and Politics

It is interesting to look at young people, political affiliations and their participation in labour and political organisations. The conventional wisdom has young people more politically motivated and more left wing than their elders. This orthodoxy has been questioned with an alternative concept of political generation in which it is argued, young people tend to identify with the party which is in the ascendancy at the point when they mature politically. It is important here to remember the inherent bias in the sample : 40% of these young people described themselves as labour supporters while 32% were Tories. A more surprising figure might be the 17.5% who were already disaffected voters and would not be prepared to vote for anyone (Table 41). If this is compared with the

social class table, it is clear that the voting pattern follows conventional lines i.e. higher social class voters tend to be Tory (in fact social class I is exclusively Tory) while the lower social class voters are more likely to be Labour supporters.

The most interesting comparison however is with the disaffected who constitute almost 1/3 of unskilled manual workers (Table 42). Gender comparisons show that women were more likely to participate than men by voting.

Again, as noted before strong class identification with political party occurs only at the extreme of the social classes; (only 7.7% of unskilled manual workers voted Conservative) among the intermediate class there is considerable fluidity.

The level of anticipated political activity was very low with only 7.7% of the sample expecting to become politically active (Table 43) drawn as one might expect from the above from the 'extremes of the social classes and entirely from the upper locality. Trade union activity was identified more clearly with manual workers although a higher proportion of the upper two class groups expected to be members of trade unions than any other (Table 44). In discussing general attitudes to trade unions it is interesting to look at them in terms of supporters and non supporters. Class I again were entirely non-supporters while only in class V did supporters outnumber non supporters (Table 45).

They were similarly divided in describing the scrounger image as fair approximately with only unskilled manual workers predominantly viewing the image as unfair (Table 46). Majorities of both groups said that they did not regard fiddle jobs as dishonest - 28.6% of manual workers felt it was dishonest compared with 11% of non manual workers although as has already been pointed out it is the former group which has experience of fiddle work (Table 47).

There is a clear divide in their attitude to school discipline with manual workers being like the lower classes in regarding it as authoritarian while non manual workers were more like classes I and II (Table 48). Neither social class expressed support for trade unions and they were also similar in their attitude to political activity with none of them expecting to be in any way involved in politics either as a member of a political party or as an activist. In this respect, as we have already noted, the lower and upper class groups are most alike although on different sides of the political fence. These attitudes might suggest that the lower and upper classes continue to recognise traditional class alignments and that it is this intermediate group that class identity is breaking down.

One further indicator of the ethic of individual achievement I took to be the question of who was regarded as responsible for the level of unemployment. In no class

did a majority choose the government as the culprit and in social class I no one attributed the blame here. In all classes there were those who blamed the unemployed themselves the largest single group to do so being, skilled manual workers (42.9%). 46.2% of the sample as a whole said there was no single cause for unemployment and these respondents often attributed it jointly to the trade cycle, unions, government and individuals (Table 49).

Outmigration

Another factor in the changing industrial structure and its effect on social relations is that of the rate at which young people are leaving Sunderland to find work in the National labour market. There are two aspects of interest here. Firstly that Outmigration, as already noted, a continuing theme in Sunderland's history, makes for a bottom heavy social structure and this is certainly borne out by the sample response. The reason for this being that those who leave are the better qualified, intent on developing careers and who perceive a need to seek opportunities in a wider field. This was a constant theme in the interviews conducted for this research.

If one looks at orientation of the whole sample the majority, 67.5%, were Sunderland orientated (Table 50). It is interesting then to consider who the 32.5% are, their gender, level of educational qualification and social class and which locality they live in.

It is clear that women are more Sunderland orientated than men. Almost 60% of women compared with only 40% of men were intent on staying in Sunderland (Table 11), Sunderland orientation was also determined according to locality with 50% of the upper locality, 42.9% of the intermediate but none of the poorer intending to leave the area to find work (Table 51). Looking at social class, we find Sunderland orientation increases as we go down the social scale. Social class III manual being higher than unskilled manual probably reflects the fact that a trade implies being tied to a job and that there are still some opportunities for skilled manual workers (Table 52). There is also a high level of consistency with educational qualifications. 80% of those with 'O' levels were Sunderland orientated. It is when one reaches the group taking 'A' levels that the balance completely changes so that only 23.1% are Sunderland orientated (Table 53). There were two groups of people leaving Sunderland, the highly qualified career orientated of both sexes, who seek career and wider 'cultural' horizons in London and the South. The other group are male manual workers who feel they have no opportunities here and are prepared to go south for work. The first groups go willingly, the second are the homelander who will migrate north again as soon as they can. Looking across the generations one can see a high degree of association between father's occupation and children's orientation.

In order to assess how work is being restructured one can begin by examining current occupation of respondents. 32.5% are in full time work while a further 32.5% are unemployed or on YTS, 27.5% are still in full time education while 7.5% are mothers. Crosstabulation of occupation by intentions tells us about the nature of work that young people in Sunderland are experiencing. Those currently in work and those who are unemployed, we have established, are likely to be least geographically mobile. For the unemployed over 62.5% expect only to get a job and have no high hopes of opportunities in future. None of this group thought a career was likely to be open to them. For those in work 30.8% expected career, a similarly sized group expected a trade and slightly more, 38.5% expected just a job. All of those in education expect a career. Current YTS trainees predominantly hoped for a trade however the figures for previous experience do not suggest this is a very realistic expectation (Table 54).

The unemployed all expected to get jobs earning less than £10,000 a year, 75% of them expecting less than £5,000. Those in work expressed similar expectations. While the YTS groups expected less than £10,000 a greater proportion of them were optimistic of getting wages above £5,000. Only those in full time education expected above £10,000 (Table 55). Again the unemployed, workers and YTS had largely no or low expectation of job satisfaction while full time education gave rise to high expectations. Expectation of unemployment differed according to current position with 75% of unemployed expecting their unemployment to continue while no one was strongly optimistic about getting a job. By contrast all of those in full time education said unemployment was impossible. For those currently in work there was a spread of response with 38.5% believing unemployment be impossible for them. Responses from YTS trainees were also diverse although none thought unemployment impossible (Table 56). Women currently at home felt a fairly high degree of pessimism about work prospects.

If we look at the experience of the sample in terms of social class three clear bands appear. From the quantitative analysis we can clearly identify three types in terms of education experience and expectations, economic security and aspirations. Aspects of these types have been pointed to throughout the section however it is worthwhile at this point to draw a brief picture of each group as a backdrop to the ethnographic account. In offering this brief account I accept there is an element of caricature. However this tendency should be corrected by the more comprehensive information provided through the interview material in the appendices which will be summarised in the following chapter.

Social Class I & II

Children in social class I and II live in the most affluent area and have at least one parent in full time work. The common pattern is for father to be in full time employment

and for the mother to be in full or part time work or to be a housewife. The experience of unemployment is entirely missing from families in this upper band so that siblings were in a similar class position or more frequently in full time education.

These are the children of home owners whose parent place a high value on further education. They are still heavily dependent on parents and derive their income from pocket money.

The experience of education among this group can be distinguished from the remainder. They are in the top stream at school and a small percentage are in private education. Although they form a small proportion of the school population they are exclusively in the top band. This group values educational qualifications highly as a means to improved career prospects and they stay on into further education. They have a conformist view of education and experience school discipline as necessary and helpful rather than as authoritarian.

The experience these young people have of the labour market is small, some had part time jobs. Their expectations however are high. They expect careers which pay well and in which job satisfaction is pronounced. They do not expect to find such careers in Sunderland or the North East and most of them welcome the prospect of living in the South of England away from the 'cultural desert' of the north where life is perceived as 'dirty' and 'narrow'. These young people believe that unemployment is not a possibility for them and on the whole they do not know anyone who has the experience. Family friends and partners tend to be doing similar things to themselves and to have similar aspirations.

They are a group which sees itself using the protection of the trades union movement as a support in the field of employment but they do not see it as a means of workers struggle and are not prepared to be activists. They are Tory voters and there is little apathy, without exception they believe it is important to vote and some see themselves as potential political activists at university or afterwards.

All members of this group expect to marry to have families and to be home owners. Marriage will be in the late 20s or early 30s to allow an opportunity to establish a career (especially for girls) and children were often to be put off until 30s. (Educational qualifications were more decisive in determining their attitudes than was social class). On the whole they saw the domestic unit as based on equal and similar roles and did not reserve domestic chores to a particular sex.

In terms of their attitudes to the unemployed they tend not to blame the government for unemployment but see it as a result of a mix of factors including the

individuals own deficiency. They regard the scrounger image as fair to some degree although the vast majority has no personal knowledge of scroungers. Perhaps surprisingly they were tolerant of people doing 'fiddle' jobs and did not regard this as dishonest.

The Intermediate Group

I have placed emphasis so far in this chapter on comparisons of life experience at the extremes. There is clear evidence that the two ends of the social scale have markedly different lifestyles which in no way touch each other. Another equally important theme arises in looking at the intermediate group. The statistics suggest that this group with its mixture of experience and attitudes is the only one which is upwardly socially mobile.

The group constitutes 41% of the sample as a whole although those in non manual occupations are in the majority. While it is correct to see it as a single group in terms of its range of experience, attitudes and expectations a closer examination of the evidence shows a clear divide between the non manual and manual workers.

It is a group which lives predominantly in the intermediate locality although almost 1/3 live in the poorest area and approximately 12.5% live in the more affluent part of Hendon. The group is almost 75% female (although almost all females designated class III manual have been assigned according to their father's or in once case, husband's, occupations).

Children in these social classes have fathers predominantly in full time work but there is also some experience of unemployment and long term sickness. Their mothers are less likely to be full time employment than the upper classes but more often have part time jobs. 33% of all housewives are in social class III non manual.

Social class III non manual is the highest in which there is any experience of unemployment among siblings and again the classes are in an intermediate position. It seems the siblings occupations become more diverse down the social scale so that there is a range of occupational experience in the middle social classes.

Most of the parents of this group are home owners but 22% are tenants. The vast majority of their children expect to own their own homes and the remainder have aspirations for home ownership. This groups is still heavily dependent on parents although a majority are wage earners while the rest derived their income from benefit or pocket money.

The vast majority of this sample described their parents attitude and educational qualifications as supportive or neutral and only a very small group felt their parents were hostile to education.

The group has members in each of the school streams although a considerable majority are in the top band. On the whole they value qualifications to some degree but there is a substantial minority (approximately 30%) who do not see educational qualifications as having any value in the job market. They are however more likely than those in the unskilled manual class to stay on into further education. Almost half of this groups were inclined to view discipline as authoritarian compared with no one in social class I and 88.9% of unskilled manual workers.

This group has experience of the labour market. For class III non manual this is mostly in terms of full time employment while class III manual has a much higher level of YTS experience and their expectations of the labour market are mixed. Class III non manual group expects a career while class III manual expect a trade, 1/3 of this group expects just a job with no further prospects. The wage expectations of the majority are low although 11% of the sample think they will earn over £10,000 per annum and while over 70% of them expect some satisfaction from their job less than 1/3 expect this to be high. They would prefer to spend their working lives in Sunderland and in this respect all are much like the lads in class V.

The vast majority of this group do not expect to experience unemployment, however they were much less likely to be certain of this than were members of the top group. They are more likely than the other groups to join trade union but, like the upper classes, would not be activists. As regards their political affiliations they are fairly evenly split between Tory and Labour and approximately 20% do not see themselves as voting at all. None of them expected to join or become active in political parties. Their intentions in relation to family are similar to the other groups in that they all expect to marry by the age of 30 although some said they would marry younger. They were much more likely than any other group to regard some domestic chores as sex determined.

In terms of attitudes to employment this group was more likely than the upper group to blame the government for unemployment however this accounted for only 30% of this response. They were in the middle range in viewing the scroungers image as fair but like other groups in the sample, the vast majority had no personal knowledge of scroungers. They were less tolerant of the 'fiddle' than either social classes I or V and were more likely to describe it as dishonest, although this again was a minority opinion. Some significant divisions can be delineated within this intermediate group between manual and non manual workers.

Education

It is the non manual workers in the intermediate group who have a background of one parent who has had further education (none of this group had two parents who had

further education). It is also this non manual group which itself has experience of full time education after the age of sixteen. If we look at qualifications therefore it is the class III non manual group which might have the potential for upward access through educational achievement. All of this group had some qualifications and 33.3% had up to 'A' level standard compared with only 14.3% of the manual group. This second group also has 14.3% with no qualifications.

87.5% of non manual and 66.7% of manual workers had been in band I at school, however everyone in the first group and all but 14.3% of the second group had some qualifications. In the second group despite 66.7% in the upper band only 16.7% achieved up to 'A' level standard. Education clearly separates the two groups and it is not surprising therefore that the non manual group is three times as likely as the manual to have had some full time further education. This is not a reflection of parents' attitudes as parents were similar in their attitudes to the different paths their children have chosen into the labour market.

Labour Market Experience

The route which this group has taken, in large numbers, into the labour market has been through Youth Training schemes with approximately 70% of the group as a whole having been on YTS. The major difference in the experience of this group of manual and non manual workers is that the previous employment history shows non manual workers having changed jobs more frequently.

The two social classes which have had previous experience of a full time job are the unskilled manual workers and the social class III non manual, most of the latter being shop assistants. This suggests casualisation of employment in the service class while by contrast, those few who are in apprenticeships are in steady employment. The skilled worker was able to do 'fiddle' jobs while the non manual class did not have access to this area of the labour market. (Only a small proportion of the sample as a whole had experience of 'fiddle' jobs and most of this was in the unskilled manual class).

This intermediate group enters the labour market largely through YTS and in proportions far above the upper two social classes. Their experience of YTS and its results were different from both ends of the social scale. In the bottom social classes no one who had completed a Youth Training Scheme had found full time employment as a result, while the vast majority of the upper two social classes had no experience of YTS at all. In the intermediate group 33% of non manual workers had found either job or career after YTS while 28.6% of manual workers had got a job as a direct result - expressed as a percentage of those with YTS experience 50% of class III manual and

40% class III non manual got jobs from YTS while the remainder were on the dole or had yet to complete these schemes.

Current occupation again shows up differences between the manual and non manual workers in this intermediate group. The majority of non manual workers are currently working while a few are in Youth training, full time education or unemployed. The balance for manual workers is rather different with 28.6% in work and further 28.6% unemployed. As one would expect these differences in previous experience and current occupation have consequences for labour market expectations.

Labour Market Expectations

While social class III non manual workers were more likely to be in full time work they were also more likely to have had other jobs since leaving school. They were much more likely than their contemporaries in the manual class to be secure in their ability to stay in work, 2/3 of this group feeling that unemployment was impossible for them compared with 14.3% of manual workers. Manual workers were predominantly aware of a risk of unemployment but regarded it as 'unlikely'. In the group as a whole quite similar proportions felt unemployment was a real threat (25% average).

The range of wage expectations was similar for manual and non manual workers with the latter having slightly lower wage expectations. The vast majority of both groups however expect to earn below £10,000-per annum.

In discussing their future the non manual class were rather like classes I and II in that over half of them were seeking a career. 33.3% of this group expected a job with no other prospects and the remaining 11% hoped to have a trade. This group is the central working class which is surviving in Sunderland and which is heavily Sunderland orientated. Not all of those with career intentions expects to leave the town, however some clearly are. For those seeking a trade from the skilled manual group the fact that 57% expect to find skilled work while only 28% are currently in full time employment, begs the question whether the changed industrial structure can meet their wants or if, as the new industries like Nissan have dispensed with traditional skills, the new Sunderland can provide an equivalent for these young people.

Social Class IV & V

At the other end of the scale are the children in social class IV and V who for the most part are male, live in the poorest locality and have a high percentage of parents who are unemployed. Mother is often either unemployed or described as a housewife. This is the only social class where there is no household with both parents in full time employment. Unemployment is a common experience among partners and friends and very few partners (approximately 10%) are in full time education. They are the children

of tenants and are least likely to expect to own their house. 75% of non-aspirers to home ownership also come from this social class, all of whom happen to be male. Although most of them are still subsidised by parents it is from this group that the only entirely independent children come, these being children of benefit dependent families.

40% of the population of Southmoor comes from Social class V, however they constitute only 21% of the top band of pupils. They feel that their parents see education as of little or no value and almost half of them place no value on qualifications themselves. None of this group has qualifications up to 'A' levels standard, the vast majority having no qualifications or up to 'CSE' level. The attitude appears to bear out Paul Willis (1977) argument that middle and working class people have different perspectives on theory and practice "whereas in middle class culture knowledge and qualifications are seen as a way of shifting upwards, the whole mode of practical alternatives open to an individual, in working class eyes theory is riveted to particular productive practices". (p56) For the middle classes the application of what is learned is irrelevant, qualifications are recognised as instrumental in career terms.

The young people in this sample have had two years in the labour market and their expectations are low. Characteristically they expect low wages, poor security, little satisfaction from their work. Labour is manual rather than mental and some of these working class lads value heavy dirty work as masculine. As Willis says, they do not involve themselves in their work so that ideas of job satisfaction are alien to them. They are heavily Sunderland orientated placing family, friends and familiarity with the area above opportunities to "broaden their experience" although opportunities to broaden experience might be pretty limited even if you go South!

This group seems to regard the traditional political parties with suspicion and many would not vote at elections. Of those who do the majority are Labour supporters but none of them could see themselves becoming activists. Their attitudes to unions was more positive in that the majority expected to join a union while 15% would be active (the only social class which would). They are like their counterparts in class I in their aspirations for marriage and children (educational qualifications appear a more significant factor in determining views on age of marriage than social class). For those who were going to put off marriage until the late 20s the reason was usually "*to enjoy myself before I get tied down.*"

There was evidence of working class sexism in that males in social class V were the only people who regarded domestic chores as entirely sex determined but they were in the minority. None of this group however expected to practice entirely interchangeable roles.

This group was more likely to have done fiddle work and was also more likely than any other to blame government for high unemployment (30%).

At opposite ends of the social scale it seems that two types can be clearly distinguished. For those who lie in between educational qualification appear to act to change work experience and life style. As Willis says "cultural location especially in terms of shifts between patterns is a much better model for explaining social mobility than is the mechanistic undialectical notion of intelligence.". If one looks at educational qualifications in terms of locality and social class it is clear that all those in the most affluent area had qualifications and those among the lower social classes with qualifications were also the ones who lived in the 'better' area.

For several factors educational qualifications appear to be decisive but this relates closely to parents economic status. Parents in full time employment were more likely to have children with qualifications and in these families siblings were also qualified. In addition to the issue of cultural location, as one would expect these parents would be able to bear the cost of their children's dependency past the age of sixteen. Education is clearly an important factor in young people's future orientation and it is worthwhile to draw together some of the key findings here.

Trade union activity varies with qualification in that only 20% if those with no qualifications would join a trade union while 70% of those with 'A' levels would. This seems to be a reflection of change in the labour market into more insecure jobs at the bottom of the scale and workplaces like Nissan, where unions are not welcomed. Higher up the class ladder there is more confidence in job security, and ironically less risk in joining a union.

Experience of YTS was most significant with educational qualifications. Majorities in the groups with up to 5 'O' levels had experience of YTS but no one with 5 'O' levels or above had. Those with no qualifications and 69% of those with 'CSE': had ended up on the dole after YTS. The only group with any substantial chance of getting a job from a scheme was the groups with up to 5 'O' levels and of these slightly over 1/3 had got full time work. Educational qualifications also appear more significant than social class in deciding age at marriage. While majorities at all levels expected to marry between the ages of 25 and 30 the more highly qualified the individual was, the more likely he/she was to put off marriage until later in life, with only 'A' levels students expecting to marry after 30.

Overall it seems that Sunderland with its already bottom heavy social structure is experiencing further polarisation. It is the upper social class groupings who have higher level qualification who are leaving while those in manual occupations wish to stay. As one

might suppose the expectations people have of the labour market hang together in groups of attitudes so that those with good qualifications expect careers with substantial job satisfaction and high wages in the South of England, while the poorly qualified have the opposite set of expectations. At this bottom end of the scale there does seem to be some evidence of a definable group with oppositional attitudes. These are lads in social class V who don't aspire to home ownership or value qualifications. They do fiddle jobs and value heavy, dirty work as an expression of their masculinity. They experience school as authoritarian and are alienated from the traditional working class political institutions. They have a high expectations of unemployment which appear entirely realistic given the evidence of previous occupational experience. Half of those who are currently unemployed have had full time jobs in the past and this suggests a casualisation of the labour market for people at the bottom end of the scale. This group seems much like the lads described by Paul Willis, prepared by the imposition of state education, mediated through the insights of their own culture to undertake undifferentiated manual work in a deskilled labour market.

Conclusion

A quantitative analysis is useful in suggesting some of the ways in which life in Sunderland is changing in response to economic restructuring. One of the most striking features is the difference in experience of the labour market of men and women. This distinction interacts with social class to ensure that availability of a reserve army of female labour for the rising service occupations and a decrease in the traditional female 'working' class. For men the labour market has altered towards a deskilled labour force with little need for traditional trade skills for which Sunderland was well known and which formed the basis of its 19th century industrial base. The cost of labour power is central to determining the location of new industries such as Nissan. Urry (*Localities, Religious and Social Class*, 1981) points out that the need to attract such industry undermines class identification and encourages social movements based on other lines so that in fighting to prevent deindustrialisation the way is made open for the area to become a source of secondary labour.

In Sunderland there has been a fundamental change in the productive base from heavy industry - shipbuilding, mining, lime burning, saltmaking, glass works, to the clothing industry predominantly employing female labour. The fall in engineering and allied industries has been double that of the national rate and large to medium sized firms have suffered most from that contraction.

As Stone et al (1985) say there has been a 'dramatic collapse' in employment in large manufacturing plants because of two related processes. A general contraction of the traditional manufacturing industries and cut backs in the branch plant sector.

The move of capital from the local to an international base has had further impact on social relations. The distancing of the capitalist class has made closure decisions easier, increased insecurity in employment and facilitated the casualisation process. There is no longer any motivation to support existing forms of worker identity and so the traditional work and social organisations change in response to the dictates of capital. The quantitative analysis suggests that young people do not hold traditional work identities and that workers solidarity is not a central feature of the modern industrial culture.

It is interesting to discover from the quantitative analysis how the three tier structure of social stratification is so closely reproduced in this group. There is, in addition, clear evidence of a marked degree of insulation of classes I and II and IV and V from each other. They have no knowledge of each others lifestyle by direct experience. Despite geographical proximity, the complete separation of their life experiences is remarkable.

In this respect class practices, labour market expectations and social contacts appear to retain their traditional character. It is the intermediate group which exhibits a degree of fluidity and educational qualifications which are most significant here in determining future in the labour market. For a small number the possession of educational qualifications provides a route out of the working class and out of Sunderland. Current occupation is very significant with labour market expectations and with social contacts. Those who are in full time education and those who are unemployed show the greatest homogeneity in terms of future expectation although at opposite ends of the scale. For those currently in work or on YTS the range is wider.

Gender relations have also changed in response to a changing labour market and the resulting commodification of the domestic sphere. Women are now likely to expect a contribution to the domestic chores from their partner although over half of them still regarded certain jobs as theirs alone. 80% of men expected to make some contribution to domestic chores, leaving 20% who still firmly held it to be women's work. This was strongly associated with social class so that the 'traditionalists' were working class men. Nevertheless a considerable change in relations within the household has occurred in a generation. Friendships and partnerships were significantly different according to gender, girls were more likely to have friends in full time education or on YTS but considerably less likely to have unemployed friends. They were three times as likely to have a partner who was unemployed. Boys were the only ones with partners on special employment schemes and this accounted for 1/3 of the male sample. The question arises whether these girls will be downwardly mobile. Will young people be setting up homes and having their families on the dole? The evidence from most studies of social polarisation shows

that in partnerships it is usually not worthwhile for the women to work because of penalties imposed by social security. Lydia Morris (1987) points out, in her study of Hartlepool, the tendency for there to be dual income or no income households. Intentions and expectations in this respect can be more fully investigated in the ethnographic account.

In as far as it is possible to draw conclusions from the limited size of this sample and bearing in mind the inbuilt bias in its selection, the quantitative analysis suggests that the issues raised in the problematic are relevant to young people in Sunderland and merit further investigation.

There appears to be evidence that class demarcation continues, that social polarisation is occurring at the extremes, by that I mean that the upper and lower social classes are more firmly set on characteristic trajectories than ever. There is little evidence to show that those at the bottom of the social scale have any access to the rewards of middle class lifestyle. There is also evidence of a decline of the central working class group and rise in the service class if we look across the generations. It is this intermediate group in which traditional class alignments may appear to be disappearing. These issues are at the core of the concerns outlined in the Problematic chapter. It remains for them to be examined in depth in terms of the interview material which will be outlined in the ethnographic account.

Chapter Five Ethnographic Findings

In the ethnography I have presented the material in terms of Gender and social class groups. These groupings arise from the quantitative analysis. They form the basis of my attempt to develop a meaningful typology through which the material can be sifted and useful insights can be gained into how young people in Sunderland relate to their contemporaries in other circumstances, set on other trajectories. It has provided me thus far with a way of handling a great deal of information and beginning to make sense of it. Now it is time to take the analysis further to recognise that while gender and social class are of massive significance they are not objective categories in that their meaning can be entirely conferred from outside. What I want to get at is the way in which these people are orientated, of how they see themselves now and what that means for their expectations for the future. In order to do this I will undertake the analysis in two stages. It would seem useful first of all to draw together a summary of the experience of each social class group in terms of the topics addressed in the interview material. This will complement and develop the preliminary analysis of the quantitative results offered in the previous chapter. In the following chapter I will consider how this material can be used to answer the questions posed by the Problematic.

There is no doubt that clear differences can be discerned between the groups. At times I have been dissatisfied with social class assignments as a basis for analysing the information because it is so clearly inadequate to explain some individual cases. It is when we look at comparative groupings that its value is clear. With all its drawbacks it is the critical factor in identifying those who are most alike and in which areas they contrast with other groups.

Home Background

In terms of backgrounds gender differences are not significant. Obviously the likelihood of a girl having parents who are owner occupiers etc. is no different from that of a boy. On the whole gender and parents attitudes to education did not appear to vary greatly although this may be a function of a belief which is so implicit it is not questioned. There were certainly instances of girls who viewed the acquisition of education or skill by men as more important than their own. Christine pointed out that although she did not consider qualifications important to her own future *"if I had been a lad I would"*. Overall however there was a feeling that girls had to find their place in the jobs market and to work just as do the boys.

Taking home background in terms of locality and tenure almost all of the people in the upper two social classes were children of owner occupiers living in the upper locality.

The one exception being Martin, assigned according to brother's social class living in owner occupied accommodation in the intermediate locality.

Parents were predominantly in professional occupations and these parents clearly valued their children's educational achievements as the only means to a 'good career'. The degree to which this remained an unquestioned assumption was illustrated by Charles's adamant denial of any parental pressure to stay on at school and go to university qualified by "*only as much as any parents would*".

Georgette articulated the general view and said "*they think I should do what's best for me - they see that as a better career - they expect me to go into further education and get a career before marriage*". Two parents, Roger's and Christine's, were businessmen and their children had not achieved as well as the rest of the group. These were the only two children from this group who at present appear set on a downwardly mobile path although of course the fact of their parents being in business may mean that the opportunities of a job or inheritance may be greater for them than for those whose parents are professionals in public service.

Among most of the other children in this group it was simply assumed that their route into work would be through university. Aspirations of parents for girls and boys were very similar encouraging their children to use the access which higher education would give them to professional careers. Stewart's father, despite preferring his son to be a doctor, accepted that there was "*more future*" in engineering. Christine was the notable exception, following a similar path to her mother in having children at an early age with no qualifications and no career in mind.

All of those in this group were the children of owner occupiers.

The class III lads were a very homogeneous group in terms of background. All were children of owner occupiers in similar types of housing and although most had their own social class assignment all are children of skilled men. These lads live in area bordering the 'roughest' part of Hendon and only Peter, living in the poor locality thought the area "*nice*". They all left school at 16 and this had been an approved route by parents although they offered the opportunity to remain in education to their children, e.g. Peter told me "*they wanted us to stop on in one way, for more qualifications...but in another way they wanted us to come out and find out about the world!*".

For the girls this group is the largest and as noted earlier this reflects the differences in labour markets for boys and girls. Again most of them had their own social class assignment. Girls lived in all three localities although they were concentrated in the intermediate. Like the boys they are predominantly the children of skilled men.

Parents of both boys and girls appear to have similar attitudes to education in this sample and are similar in their own experience of education leaving at the earliest opportunity to train for a trade or going straight into unskilled work. Mothers were in a variety of occupations mostly part time. They include a cook, several cleaners and a factory worker. Describing mother's position is less straightforward in that the title 'housewife' is often a euphemism for unemployed. The two 'housewives' in this category fit the traditional image and are not the women of the Reserve army. Three of the girls in this group however were in families where father was unemployed and mother was working part time or not at all.

For the lads of social class IV and V (the largest group of lads) home background was more diverse in that while some had fathers in full time skilled employment others came from families dependant on long term state benefit. The divide here is quite dramatic.

Tom and Andrew from the upper locality are the children of skilled men. Three lads in the intermediate locality and one from the poorest are the sons of semi and unskilled workers, all of whom are also owner occupiers. The remaining lads in the poorest locality are the children of council tenants who are all long term sick or unemployed.

Tom and Andrew's parents would have liked them to stay on at school but were equally happy for their children to leave and go to work. These lads considered their parent's view of the possibility of staying on as a real alternative against the background of high unemployment. There was clearly a sense for both of them that their parents had expected them to *"do better"* than themselves when in fact they appeared to be unlikely to do as well.

Andrew's father had threatened *"if you are going to be a joiner, I'll chop your fingers off"*.

For the remainder of the group staying on was not discussed. None of the parents had further education themselves and while some expressed the view that their children should stay on there was clearly an acceptance that they would leave as soon as they could. William's parents did not expect him to stay on and in fact had given up trying to persuade him to work at school when he was in the third year. *"They kept on at us until the third year and then gave it up... he's going to find out the hard way"*. Lesley described the general view. *"Everyone in my class left school. I did my exams, I was one of the few who did exams, they all wanted to get the dole money. I didn't expect anything from school, I was looking forward to leaving till the end but there were no jobs. I wasn't a good girl at school - they wouldn't have kept us on ... smoking round the back. I enjoyed school but you didn't think about it, you didn't work for qualifications. We messed about with the soft*

teachers - there was only a few. My father made me do exams, the other kids didn't bother because you don't get dole till September."

Education

The girls in the upper social class group are predominantly going into higher education and have career aspirations. Two of the girls are taking 'A' levels at private schools while the other two are at state schools. Christine is the exception leaving school at 16 and already having a young baby.

The girls were all at top band and for the girls going into higher education experience was similar to boys in this group. All but Roger and Christine expected to go to University or Polytechnic. They were all planning to follow educational choices to improve career prospects. None of the group would simply be taking a University course because it interested them. Helen and Craig believed that despite its lack of immediate application the possession of a Maths degree would impress employers. Nicola would *"show the level I am"* by taking a degree in Geography while the remainder were taking qualifications which could be translated more immediately into work. Here there was a wide range from teaching and engineering and forensic science to commercial art. There was a feeling of security among most of this group because of their access to careers through educational qualifications. None of those with careers in mind had any concern about the possibility of becoming unemployed.

Roger, the only lad to have no prospects of higher education was nevertheless studying to ensure his position in the labour market, hoping to enter the Fire Service.

In social class III all of the girls attended local comprehensive schools mostly Southmoor. Only one girl from this group, the daughter of a skilled man, is going into higher education. The two girls in banking had taken 'A' levels and left school at 18 both had considered higher education but were *"sick of studying"*. The remainder had left at 16. These girls had not enjoyed school and although some had qualifications these were of 4 'O' levels or less. they placed far less value on qualifications and often said that they had not bothered to find out how they had done in exams. Suzanne felt qualifications were of limited value *"they're more interested in personality for the job I've got now - can you get along with people. They require English and Maths but they've never really helped - I got this job against people with 'A' levels"*.

Angela attended Southmoor and *"didn't like it at all. I didn't enjoy sitting in lessons. I think it was being treated like kids, some of the teachers were a bit rotten. I was in the red band. Most of the people I was at school with were doing CSE's, not many in my class were doing 'O' levels. I did all CSE's and 3 'O' levels but I failed the 'O' levels and didn't get all the CSE's at top marks. Nobody in my class was really keen - some were really quiet and*

some were rebellious. I didn't rebel or get into trouble, I just didn't like it. I was desperate to leave at 16 but I was worried about a job". She has found her qualifications were no help - *"I got mostly grade 2 CSE's but I haven't really needed them. I was accepted at college to do hairdressing then one of the interviewers phoned me and offered me a YTS at his shop".* On the whole they regarded qualifications as unimportant for the sector of the labour market they were entering. The lads experience of education in this group was similar. Barry like Eve was entering Higher Education but the remainder felt that they had made the right decision in leaving school at 16.

The girls in social classes IV and V left school at 16. Barbara had then taken a nursery nurse course at Monkwearmouth College of F.E. but had to leave because she was pregnant. Barbara was the only member of this group to be in the top band at school, the other girls being in the intermediate band. She is assigned according to her husband's social class. Lesley and Debora had experienced school in a much more negative way. Lesley had been *"put down"* from top to intermediate band and was frequently in trouble at school. Debora had moved up from bottom to intermediate but experienced difficulties with teachers because she was not offered help to bring her work up to standard. They both experienced school *"as imposition"* (Corrigan, 1979), Debora described it as *"like prison"* and this in itself made them consider the experience of less value to them. These girls were very different from those in the upper social class in that education was not going to help them in the labour market. For the jobs that they were seeking qualifications were irrelevant and what they learned at school had no immediate practical value to their work. Debora particularly recognised the discrimination against children in the middle band in preventing them from taking languages and computer studies and offering practical subjects instead. She pointed out that she had been prepared for manual work while those in the upper band were groomed for 'office jobs'. *"I loved school until the third year. They had stupid rules about uniform, you'd get sent home for wearing the wrong shoes ... they'd expel you for anything ... The teachers were lousy. I've learned more since I left. There was my maths teacher, she was good. If I had a problem she would sit down and help you out ...but the rest, well the lads used to mess on all the time...they just told you to copy from a book... In our class the lads just messed about"*. Debora was in the middle band but said, *"we got no respect, they [the teachers] just didn't bother with us. If you started off on a bad footing at that school you just never got a chance. They put us straight into yellow (bottom band). I was bored to death. Six weeks later they put me into green (middle), that was the worst day in my life, the day they put us in there 'cos I was six weeks behind with everything. The maths teacher helped me and I passed maths with grade four. A classic example - I was good at French but they stopped it at third year because they said other subjects were more important for greens - we were denied*

languages and computers because, as far as they were concerned, green and yellows were thickoes".

"I was going to stay on but I got that sick by the end of fifth year, I left. I would have stayed on for languages. Reds and blues got typing and computers and that, things that lead to office jobs and that - no-one from yellow is working. Most of the people in my class are working and the reds and blues, they all got office jobs and that."

The lads in social classes IV and V similarly saw school as irrelevant at the time and were glad to leave. Gary told me *"I wanted to do something practical"*. He started to truant in the third year *"cos me mates did"*. *"I didn't think qualifications were important... I do now...wish I was back... the dole's no good"*. Several of the lads regretted their school career in retrospect. Andrew said *"like any school, it had its ups and downs...I miss it now but when I was there I didn't enjoy it much...by the fifth year, I was sick of it. If I'd stuck in I could've got 'O' levels"*. Only one lad subsequently decided that qualifications were of value. This was because he had chosen to enter the Police Force and needed 2 'O' levels.

There was a divide in their experience between those who had conformed and had unremarkable careers and those who had rebelled. Several of these lads had truanted frequently. They rejected teacher's discipline and clearly embraced the counter school culture *"toughness"* and *"messaging around"*. Paul told me *"I was a bully at school...I got took to court for fighting and got attendance centre"*. He was in the bottom band at school. He told me he had enjoyed school until the third year and *"gradually grew out of it. Most people round here didn't like school"*. He told me he was unpopular until he started to fight and he still feels *"its important to be tough"*. Shaun was expelled four weeks before he was due to leave school. He was quite happy about that and told me *"school was boring. I still think it was a waste of time."* He did not get any qualifications and had no regrets about that. Kevin had been a pupil at Southmoor but said *"I was there for one month in the whole of the last year...I ended up suspended..I didn't like school - it seemed like a waste of time. They didn't try to get us to gan. I lost me blazer. They told me to get another one and I wouldn't, so they suspended me."* He had truanted with mates and taken no exams but he told me he would go in to school for metalwork, maths and science lessons. His grandparents didn't mind that he did not get on at school.

Like the girls the lads felt that there was little value in the lessons because they were not applicable to their future experience. George articulated a general view *"you just sat in the classroom and got shouted at...the teachers saw us as little swines and we saw them as a joke"*. He told me that he learned nothing of any use, *"there were no jobs anyway when you left - just crappy little government schemes"*. George got several CSE's

but felt they were of no use in getting a job - "*knowing someone to get you in is more important!*". George had started his secondary career in the bottom (yellow) band.

The lads in the upper and intermediate and two of the lads in the poor localities were the conformists who found the discipline irksome but accepted it. Only lads from the poorest locality rejected the school values and consequently experienced suspension and even expulsion from school.

Labour Market Experience

For both the girls and lads in classes I and II labour market experience was very limited. One girl had worked for several weeks in a building society the previous summer and a second was helping her father on a part time basis until he could get a full time replacement. None of the group were taking work in a field in which they would eventually expect to spend their working lives.

Experience was considerably greater among those in social class III. Only two members of this group expects to go into higher education and they had an experience of work similar to those in Social Class I and II. Of those seeking or in work 3 out of 4 of the lads and all but two of the girls had taken YTS.

This group had the greatest range of occupations of any group in the sample and consequently the greatest variety of futures. Overall the lads seem to be in more secure employment with better prospects than the girls. Two of the girls were in banking and expected eventually to be promoted and in this respect were upwardly mobile.

Suzanne, currently in a clerical job, will be working and saving to follow in her parents footsteps by opening a small newsagents shop.

The remainder of the girls are predominantly in office or shop work. Three members of this group are assigned according to parents' or husband's social class.

In relation to their parents these girls appear to be static or downwardly mobile in employment terms with the possible exception of Sandra for whom marriage has been the decisive factor. Of course it is entirely accepted that in comparing girls with father's occupation I am not comparing like with like but it is equally invalid to compare girls with mother's current occupation because as we have already recognised the point in the life cycle is a major determining factor for women's employment.

YTS was significant for lads in social class IV and V but the preparation of YTS for manual work was generally felt to be of little value. There was no means of transferring their experience into skilled work. Andrew worked on a 2 year YTS which involves periods at college and periods on placement with a firm. He feels he is "*working just like*

anyone else but they can just blow me out at the end of the course and get another. There's been one bricklayer kept on out of 6 or 7 and 1 joiner out of 3. I've been more or less told they haven't got the money to keep me on 'cos they're only a small firm".

He felt ambivalent about his YTS placement. *"It keeps you off the streets - somewhere to go on a morning. Me mate's on the dole but he gets pretty bored...there's times I think I won't get up in the morning for a fiver a day, but its better than the dole".* William is on a YTS in the building trade and felt he was getting good experience, but told me *"there won't be any jobs after I've left unless I can pick up an apprenticeship".* Shaun has been unemployed twice since leaving school at 16. He started on a 2 year YTS which involved alternating college and placement but said of it *"it was a daft course - making daft things and daft placements...I packed it up after a year".* He was on the dole for 7 months before getting a labouring job with a joinery and shopfitting firm - this lasted for 5 months before he was paid off. He has worked on his present scheme for 6 months and is putting in an application to the police force. Keith told me that *"when you leave school you're forced onto YTS".*

The lads who embraced the counter school culture were those as Willis (1977) identified who sought heavy dirty manual work as 'real work'. There was also a feeling that there would be pride in being in a trade and this is regarded as of greater status than much office work. Andrew told me he liked manual work *"with blokes just like yourself...they're not thick...you can't be thick because (when you're working on a job) you have to think about it. When you go in for a trade you've got to be proud. I suppose sometimes I think I'll go to college , get exams... a good steady job with prospects, but most of the time I think I'll just go down South with the rest of the lads and make lots of money".*

Andrew had some training in joinery and told me he was too old to be indentured now. He had no respect for the 'dilutees' who do TOPS courses. *"You cannot be a joiner in six months - can't do anything in six months".*

Paul articulated the view of those for whom the nature of their labour was irrelevant, "taking the form of undifferentiated manual labour" (Willis).

Paul told me he wanted a "dirty job". *"I like hard work...real work, not an office job. I don't want to go to work with a briefcase - its not very masculine".* Now, Shaun told me, he prefers the fiddle *"if you get a proper job you don't know how long it is going to last...a fiddle job you do for a few days. I was getting bored with my job...same things all day".*

For the lads in this group there were greater opportunities to do fiddle jobs and considerably greater experience of unemployment than any other group. In fact much of this work falls into the category described by Norris (1978) as subemployment. Kevin said

"After school I went down to the careers...got a government scheme after Christmas. I did it for 6 or 7 weeks and then packed it in...it wasn't worth it. By the time you paid your rent you were left with just the same! Me Auntie got me in the Post. I get a job there sometimes but I've got a criminal record so they won't take me on." Kevin is unemployed at the moment but goes *"on the boats for odd days...they take people on casual...there are no permanent jobs now...doesn't bother me"*.

Kevin said he would not do a YTS and wouldn't work for less than £90 a week. At the moment he can work when he wants and because he says the work is quite highly paid he can have a lot of time off. *"I earn £20 - £30 a day and go out 2 or 3 days a week"*. Kevin is happy with his lifestyle and said he could go out and get a 'proper' job if he wanted to. He claimed that *"People who can't get a job aren't looking properly"*. although he had taken a 1 year YTS scheme with no job prospects at the end - after 7 weeks he had given up and said he would not do it again.

George is currently employed as a labourer in a furniture shop again on a short term basis. He told me his girlfriend's uncle got him in. *"everyone knows someone. They don't bring strangers in"*, George told me it was a good job but said *"its not that I'm happy in it, its something I've got to do"*.

Paul started on the dole and doing fiddle jobs when he left school. He told me *"more people round here do jobs on the fiddle - you get a job for a few days and its not worth signing off the dole for"*. In the following February he got a full time job at the sawmill which ended with the company going bankrupt. *"I wasn't bothered when I left...they would make you work extra hours without notice"*. He felt it was a well paid job because he came out with £52 a week.

For the two in full time work there was no security, work being offered on a short term contract basis. Their place in the labour market was at the periphery.

Keith is currently working as a labourer on a short term contract. He described himself as a plumber but qualified this by saying he was *"classed as a labourer but I do the plumbing"*. He has been in this employment for 4 months and was spoken for by his girlfriend's father. Keith is pleased with his job. he told me *"its big gaffers so they are not around...they tell you what to do at the beginning of the day."* At the end of 9 months the firm will move to another job out of Sunderland and this will be the end of Keith's employment. He explained *"I hope they will take me on somewhere else but they might not 'cos they would have to pay travelling expenses...they employ local labour...but keep some on...especially tradesmen...labourers don't get kept on...that's why its best to have a trade. I would have to pay for an apprenticeship myself...I'm 19 so I am getting too old...so I won't be able to do it...I'll probably just end up as a labourer"*.

On leaving school George had started a government scheme in car mechanics. *"I always wanted to do it"*. However, he argued with the boss, who was a friend of the family, and walked out. Because of a *'bad back'* he couldn't take an alternative placement so he left the scheme. George went onto the dole and did a few fiddle jobs until his girlfriend's uncle got him an interview in the furniture shop and he has worked there intermittently since. There is no prospect of a full-time job. he told me that they would not give him more than 12 weeks work because the employer would have to give him a contract and pay holiday pay.

Of the girls, Debora was in a relatively stable factory job although she told me that she would not feel secure until she had been there for two years, at which point her workmates assured her that her chances of getting the sack *"go right off"*. The other girl, Lesley, had worked for three years for Market Force. She had never been unemployed for more than 2 weeks but had never had a continuous period of employment longer than 12 weeks.

Wage levels for the whole of this group were relatively low with only Tom and Keith having the opportunity to earn over £100 a week by doing extra shifts. Apart from those on YTS the common wage appeared to be between £50 and £70 and girls continue to expect lower wages than boys, a fact they accept without apparent resentment.

Labour Market Expectations

All but two of the upper social class group had careers in mind and most of them expected these to take them out of Sunderland. They were very certain of getting jobs which would offer them high levels of remuneration, security and satisfaction and for most £10,000 would be a minimum starting point.

Lisa intends to work for a firm before setting up in business of her own. She thought she would probably have to go south to get a job. Lisa hopes to *"go into management"*. She would like to get a job in *"Public Relations"* and said the salary wouldn't be too good initially but would improve as she is promoted. She thought she would probably start on approximately £12,000.

Stewart is intent on a career and already has plans for its development. He intends to be a design engineer and told me that he would make fairly rapid promotion once he is qualified. He has chosen this in preference to a career in medicine (following his father) because there are *"plenty of doctors"*. He told me that when he is qualified he will consider going to America where he would be very highly paid.

Helen was very certain of establishing a career and said that job satisfaction would outweigh salary in her mind. *"but I'm obviously looking for a certain salary - at least*

£10,000. If I put in 3 years at university and get a degree I deserve a good salary." Helen will be looking at the National labour market for jobs and told me that Sunderland *"is not the place I would choose to live in, it hasn't got much culturally. I'll probably go south, I don't feel I have particularly strong ties here."*

The girls seemed slightly more Sunderland orientated than the lads although only the two people with no career prospects, Roger and Christine, were certainly going to stay in Sunderland. For most, career prospects and levels of remuneration were more important than the particular job - most of them had not chosen which career they wanted to follow yet, although business and public relations were attractive to the girls. There was no 'youthful idealism' among them in terms of their job choices. Gender was an issue in discussing career because girls so obviously accepted the harm which having children will do them, although this was perhaps more significant for women in the lower social groups.

Helen had no ideal job but equally unemployment held no fears for her and she was confident of establishing a well paid career. She was not certain whether she wanted children but told me that if she decided to have them her career would have to wait for a while. After a little further thought Helen said it would *"drive me mad to give up my career - I'd have to well established first"*.

Lisa would go back to work and hire a nanny *"I would want to get on with my career, I don't see why I should give it up. My priorities would be with the children if there were any problems - he (the prospective husband) probably wouldn't give up his job and do the child minding but I would try to get him to"*.

Unlike the upper class groups the middle group had made such choices as were open to them about their future and were more firmly set on their path. They are considerably more attached to Sunderland with only Eve among the girls and Barry among the boys certain to leave, again the two who were entering higher education and had careers in mind.

There is a greater mixture of expectations for this group commensurate with their different experiences so far. Girls like Susan, Sandra and Elizabeth who had never worked in a 'proper job' have very low expectations of work. Looking upon shop work as an ideal, Elizabeth recognised the nature of the labour market for women in saying that by the time she was 30 that she expected to be a cleaner. Among most of the girls in the group there was a disinclination to work in a factory where 'rough' girls work. As a social class group they do not hang together in terms of expectations. There are some who are upwardly mobile while others will remain in the central working class. A small part of the group however, exclusively girls, are moving on a downward path.

Susan's and Elizabeth's fathers are both skilled men. Susan after three attempts at YTS found herself unemployed with no qualifications, skills or prospects. She hoped after a full year's unemployment to get onto a CP scheme.

Elizabeth left school at 16 and one month later started on YTS hairdressing. *"I didn't like it there so I packed it in and asked for one at Dewhirsts but we were finished after 4 months because they said there was no job for us."* She had been unemployed since then and there was not prospect of work on the horizon.

For those in social classes IV and V work was difficult to get and when in employment their position was generally insecure. This was true for both sexes. They had low expectations in terms of job satisfaction and were not in the kind of jobs where promotion was an issue. If anything there was a greater weight placed on solidarity with workmates in opposition to superiors as Lesley explained *"you (supervisors) get called all sorts because of the job"*. Overall the lads looked down on people in office jobs and accompanying that was an assertion of their masculinity through manual labour. The girls did not feel similarly alienated from women in clerical or shop work perhaps because of closer gender identification with such work. Debora ideally would have liked to work in a shop but while on YTS placement in a fruit and vegetable shop was told by her employer that she was "too common" to be a shop assistant. The people in this group are all intending to stay in Sunderland.

How the Other Half Lives

This issue is constructed out of discussions with young people about how they perceived the choices made of forces shaping the lives of their contemporaries.

In social classes I and II the contrast was clear for the large majority. The other half were an entirely separate group and characteristically they were unemployed. They may have been in the same school but if were in different bands, in the words of Georgette, one learned how to "handle" them rather than to be their friends. It was clearly considered that they had taken the wrong path in life usually through personal failings, lack of intelligence or failure to recognise the value of education to their later working lives.

Lisa didn't know anyone who was unemployed but said *"if they don't stay on at school they know what they're letting themselves in for - it's their decision"*. I asked if everyone could stay on at school. *"Not everyone has the capability and there's always got to be somebody to do the boring jobs"*.

On the whole girls who do not intend to have children until later in their lives, throughout the social classes, consider those who have children early to be both foolish

and frequently irresponsible in embracing the commitment of children before they are fully mature. Views ranged from those like Georgette who felt girls in this position were simply unlucky to those who regarded it as blameworthy. Nicola thought *"you shouldn't have children until you can support them"*. Helen said *"It's not going to happen to me...it's irresponsible...most of the group who do that don't have a job they're dependent on their parents. It's not fair on the child because they can't look after it properly...they're emotionally inadequate. If they would look at it logically they would see"*. Of course one member of this social group was in exactly this position and regarded her choice as the proper one. The girls who *"get themselves pregnant"* are clearly seen as those who had missed out on an alternative and much brighter future by those in the upper class group. In the middle group there is equal condemnation but a recognition that the choices are not so broad. Stories are of girls who *"get pregnant to get out of YTS"* or out of unpleasant jobs. Among the middle group of girls there was a feeling, much more evident than, upper group that child-bearing early and out of marriage was not respectable and would bring shame on the family.

Susan told me *"If I got pregnant I'd have to leave here because me gran couldn't face it."* Margaret spoke of one girl who became pregnant in the fifth form: *"People said that's what you'd expect - she was that type of girl."* Wendy said she would *"never be a single parent because it's not socially acceptable. The girls who do aren't my friends - they're rough girls, wasting their lives taking on the responsibilities of a family when they're so young."*

Of the whole sample of girls, three girls had become pregnant or already had their babies. Each had been an accident but none was regretted. Two of the girls were married and would be putting off having more children until they were comfortably placed. The third, Christine, from the upper group was still at home with parents, valuing the support this gave both financially and in sharing the child care, possibly already expecting her second child.

In terms of jobs, the middle group were split as to the other half. The realities of labour had brought home to some the feeling of missed opportunities in education but for those in secure jobs there was little or no regret about not having gone further.

Beverley currently on a YTS scheme said of girls who stayed on at school to get qualifications for a career: *"Those who've gone on to college have an ambition. When I left school I didn't know what I wanted to do. I wasted time. I was a dunce at school - if I had a chance again I would work."*

Two members of this group, Barry and Eve are going into higher education. There was no sense for any of the remainder that they might have had a better future if they had worked for more qualifications and gone to university. The lads had access to careers

or trades as did a number of the girls and this represented their horizon. Some of the girls were in less secure work, shopworkers or unemployed. They accepted the choice of those who enter higher education as valid but as somewhat removed from their own experiences.

The lower social class group was similar to the intermediate in this respect. For them the other half were those who took qualifications and went to University. Qualifications had little or no value in the kind of jobs they were seeking. Several of the lads articulated this and generally employers do not appear to ask. Tom pointed out that it is possible to be overqualified for a manual job. Employers might think the work was "*beneath you*". Education had little practical relevance to work for this group. Kevin said qualifications were less important than knowing someone to get a job. "*O' and 'A' levels won't help*" When asked about people in further education he said "*if you go to university you'll get jobs like doctors and things...I'd never think of doing that*".

Keith said "*qualifications were no use - you're forced on to YTS anyway*".

George felt it was important to know someone to get a job. He said "*nothing I learned was any use - there's no jobs anyway...no-one in my class stayed on*".

The girls who had children were regarded as foolish even, and particularly by the lads, as disreputable. Girls seem less likely to moralise than their male contemporaries and more likely to regard unplanned pregnancies as simple 'bad luck'.

Area

All but one of the upper social group lived in the most affluent locality. There was no strong feeling of attachment to the area for most of this group and this was particularly true for the career orientated. Sunderland was seen by some as 'dirty' and was generally regarded as an unexciting place to live. While some of them liked the town and particularly the area they lived in, only Roger among the lads thought of staying. Relatives tended to be widely spread across the country and abroad and there seemed to be a lesser identification with the place.

There was a gender divide here in that girls were more likely to see their futures in Sunderland, however this group of girls was more likely than any other to leave. Christine was the only girl who could not envisage living anywhere other than Sunderland. She was reluctant to consider the idea of travelling to Washington to work.

It was generally true of this group that their spatial horizons were wider than Sunderland. One girl commented that her friends thought her 'weird' because she was considering staying in the town.

The lads in the intermediate group like those in the upper group were the children of home owners. They were divided in their views of Hendon. None of this group referred to the town as dirty or desperately wanted to leave it. They were more likely than the upper group to consider the area they lived in as undesirable and there was some concern from the lads in central Hendon about violence and crime generally. These lads claimed to have witnessed a deterioration in general standards in the area and would work toward buying a house in a 'better' part of Sunderland. Both girls and lads in this group like their contemporaries in the upper group recognised Hendon's reputation but in living in close proximity to it were more likely to be unhappy. The large majority of the group as a whole planned to stay in Sunderland and most would be happy to set up homes close to their parents.

The lads in the lower social class group came from all three localities while the girls were from the intermediate and poorer locality. Tom and Andrew from the upper locality didn't regard themselves as living in Hendon at all. Andrew, discussing the area, argued that class was a relative concept "... in the north you cannot be upper class....we probably look to the south what Hendon looks to us..". For both the lads and the girls there was generally a much greater degree of contentment with the place they lived in. The fact of established friends and family relationships was very important. Some mentioned the high level of crime as a reason for wanting to leave Hendon but no-one was intent on leaving Sunderland. The images of a 'dirty' and 'slumlike' town were entirely absent from their descriptions of Sunderland.

Youth Training Schemes

The upper social group were ambivalent about YTS in that they thought that YTS had a bad press and despite the fact that they accepted some of that image as valid they also regarded YTS as serving a useful purpose in providing training and experience and preventing people from getting their dole money for nothing. The lads more often expressed concern about the issue of people's rights and freedoms.

Charles said *"I don't know much about it. My friend did alright but he had to live with his parents- it stops you being bored"*. He thought compulsory YTS was *"wrong - sometimes people get more on the dole"*. He was in favour of conscription for the unemployed. Craig told me *"My friend Rich did quite well on one - basically by breaking cases open and being able to sell them"*. He felt however that it would not be *"right to cut down people's choice"* by making YTS compulsory.

Lisa does not know anyone on a YTS scheme but she thought that to make YTS compulsory would be a good thing *"it gives them something to do"*. Later she said *"in some ways it is really good in others ...if you're on a really bad scheme it is slave labour, if*

you're on a good scheme it can work out to your advantage ... I imagine some of the time they get jobs from it and training gives you insight into work".

Helen said *"in principle I agree with it, no-one should be paid just because they don't want to work, but in practice YTS is not very satisfactory training....on the whole I would support the policy (of making it compulsory)"*.

Christine, as the only one with experience of YTS said *"it's a good idea but you get treated like dirt, they've got to realise you're a human being"*.

Stewart said *"most schemes are an introduction to work - that's fair enough. I don't like the exploitative ones"*. Overall Stewart believed that *"employers are more likely to take people on"* and *"it keeps people off the dole"*. Roger similarly regarded it as an introduction to work. Both Martin and Kevin concentrated on the issue of civil liberties. Kevin accepting that the motivation may be good felt the policy to be misguided. Martin said *"I think they are a waste of time basically - you get work experience but the moneys not well spent - they get used to make the tea"*. He was totally opposed to compulsory YTS.

They all recognised a difference between the principle of providing training and its value in application. Christine was the only member of the group to have actually done YTS and felt it did not offer her any positive experience.

In the intermediate group feelings are much more mixed. Experience of YTS is more common and where people have got their jobs as a result of taking YTS it has been exclusively from this social class group. Tracey, Angela and Peter who have got full-time jobs from their YTS were understandably positive about the scheme as offering access to jobs. Those who had not got a job were more ambivalent in their attitudes. All felt there was a considerable degree of exploitation, the wages were too low and little training was offered. They were less likely to approve of making the scheme compulsory. All had siblings or friends who had done YTS and in this sense were more directly in touch with it than were those in social classes I and II.

Eve thought, *"Some of them are just a rip-off. One girl I know was told to work hard and she would get a job at the end and then they said there wasn't one. Another girl did two years hairdressing and wasn't kept on for her third year to get her qualification - it's just a waste."* She was opposed to compulsory YTS on the general grounds that *"you shouldn't make anyone do things they don't want to do."*

Suzanne had experience of two YTS placements and felt that she learned nothing and was exploited. When asked about withdrawal of benefit, however, she said, *"At first I thought it was a bit unfair, but at least it's forcing some people to get experience - but for the majority who don't want to do it it's just hassle."*

Tracey works as an Administration Assistant for the Business Training Centre which places YTS trainees. She got this job from YTS herself. She regards it as *“a good way of getting people started at work... It gives trainees maturity before going into full-time work and it gives the discipline of work... The wages could be higher.”* She was certain that there was no job substitution - at least by those employers who receive trainees from the Business Training Centre.

Wendy had experience of being exploited on a YTS in a restaurant and was subsequently placed in a hairdressing salon, the placement she had originally asked for. *“You get the worst jobs - sweeping up the hair and making coffee - there’s some training but you’re taken advantage of.”* Wendy said YTS *“should never be compulsory - they are just cheap labour.”*

Angela got her hairdressing job after a YTS and thought they should be made compulsory: *“You get paid to do what you want... It’ll stop people coming straight from school and thinking, ‘Oh great, on the dole’.”*

Susan’s first experience of work was as window dresser on a YTS but she left when a new boss took over. *“He’d butt in and just change things for the sake of it”*. Subsequently she had an interview for Topshop but was dismissed from the scheme after three weeks sickness. *“I thought I’d get another job”*. Following that she got another YTS as a shop assistant with Miss London but left after 4 weeks because she couldn’t get on with the manageress. Susan smiled ruefully *“I sound awful don’t I, but she made us miss out tea breaks if we were busy and she changed our hours to suit herself. I complained and they said they’d see what they could do but nothing came of it so I just left. I’d never go on one again out of 25 of us who started together only 3 got jobs”*.

In the social class IV and V band there was no-one who got a job as a direct result of taking YTS. While some people saw value in YTS, they were much more likely to regard the schemes as wholly exploitative and as a device for holding down unemployment figures. The wage levels were low and they were often used in drudge jobs or as extra workers with simply poorer conditions than their fully employed counterparts.

Debora had done a YTS in 2 shops and her experience of YTS was entirely negative. *“I was on a YTS but I was in 2 shops. I was down the town. I was getting used as a skivvy...I don’t rate YTS. The moneys alright, better than the dole, but some people.. the first shop he was an Iranian and I was just practically a dog’s body. One of me friend’s been on one, she loves it...I think its just pot luck. Me other friend - she was promised a full-time job but they’ve dropped her to part-time...When I finished me YTS the Manpower Services sent me a form out for me opinions and that. I wrote and told them that they should be*

abolished and I've never had no word from them since then...now if you refuse a YTS or if you come off one they'll stop your dole. One good thing about it if you're off bad they'll take you off the scheme and put you on the sick so you can start again when you're better - but that's the only good thing I can say for them. They're closing loads of factories round here - instead of wasting it on YTS they should be spending money on factories".

William is on a CP scheme and told me *"I'm learning things...all the building trade...I like joinery"*. However he already knows that no job will be offered at the end of the scheme. He has previously had a YTS which he left because it was *"daft"*. He thought that YTS was a good idea but qualified this by saying *"it doesn't exactly give you one skill so that you can go to a job with a qualification...it keeps the dole figures down in the end...I just wish the pay was better"*.

He felt that the scheme would be of value if they offered recognised training and said of a compulsory scheme *"its a good idea for the government"*.

Paul had refused to do a YTS describing the scheme as *"rubbish"*. When asked if they give experience he said *"Yes if you're interested...the schemes I know of people are just going back on the dole. You do the same as having a job but you only get £27.50 a week for it"*. Shaun thought people should be allowed to make their own decision about whether to take YTS or not and said if his benefit were withdrawn he could survive by doing fiddle jobs.

Unemployment

In general in discussions about unemployment there was a tendency to see the "unemployment problem" in terms of overwhelming forces which could not be countered by any agency including the Government, while individually the issue was regarded as a personal pathology which the individual could, but chose not to, overcome. Both lads and girls in the upper social groups tended to see the problem of unemployment both as a result of larger forces and as an individual one. While Christine and Roger had personal experience all subscribed to the view that with effort anyone can find work.

To the question of where she would place responsibility for the level of unemployment Lisa answered unequivocally *"the individual, if they leave school without qualifications they know they are going to end up on the dole"*.

Georgette said that there are quite a lot people trying hard for jobs who can't get them but she thought it was also *"easy to go to the job centre and say you'll go for a job but not do it seriously"*

Personally Alex couldn't see unemployment happening to her *"I can't really picture being unemployed and just sitting around. I would have to do something for myself.....if you really try you can get a job"*.

While Stewart expressed the view that unemployment must be very depressing a situation in which people are bound to give up trying to get a job. He also described the unemployed as a type *"young people in second class council homes - the number of people who spend their money on beer and fags - a lot of money"*. Norman said that he didn't know these people personally but knew them *"by repute"*.

The remainder of the group had no experience nor had they any close relatives who had been unemployed. One member of this group, Martin, considered it acceptable to choose to remain unemployed as simply an alternative lifestyle.

No-one singled out the government as the major force in the creation of the problem of unemployment. Mostly the response to the question of responsibility for unemployment was 'world recession'. Charles regarded it as an individual issue although not necessarily a matter for blame. *"If they're not bright...anyone who is capable and will move house can get a job"*. Despite the fact that all had been through the comprehensive system and necessarily had been at school with those who would now be unemployed, school did not appear to have brought them into contact. Stewart pointed out that those people *"tended to be in the bottom classes so you don't get to know them"*.

The intermediate group also did not predominantly identify the government as the author of the high unemployment rate. More often individuals were blamed for not trying hard enough or not having *"what it takes"*.

Zena said that *"if you work hard at school... if you try hard, in the end you will get something - if you've got what it takes"*

Susan is unemployed and has been for almost a year. She told me, *"During the day I stay in. I should go out and look for work. Me mam says it'll not come to me... Sometimes I feel I am going out of my mind; it's really depressing."* Susan's friendships have changed. She described them as *"a bit distant - friends who was working, they were bragging about being in work... I feel a bit outcast. Most of me friends now are unemployed."* She thought the scrounger image was *"not right - we can't find work, it's not cos we're lazy... There's nothing to do, no money to go out with. When you go out there's nothing to do - it's just so depressing. I just cannot describe it."* She thought unemployment benefit was too low for some *"but some of them get too much. I know a lad living in a flat getting £60."* Susan thought the fiddle was *"fine as long as you don't get caught. I'd do it but I'd be too*

worried." She considered "Mrs. Thatcher" responsible for the level of unemployment *"robbing the poor to feed the rich - it's just terrible. I wish I could shoot the woman."*

Barry articulated a contradiction in attitudes which frequently arose. He told me that his father had tried very hard but was unable to get a job and then, speaking generally, said *"everyone's got a chance of a job really"*.

There was still a tendency for those in employment to have a degree of insulation from the unemployed although there was more often experience of unemployment among family members than in the upper groups. The unemployed associated with other unemployed people far more but, almost by definition for the unemployed in this group, their parents were still likely to be working. There was, like the upper group, an acceptance of the scrounger image as a valid one, people who don't want to work, who drink too much and idle their time away, but it was generally believed that this described a small minority of people. The prevalence of the image itself however is sufficient to make those who are unemployed feel defensive, believing that it is applied to them. The people who were unemployed seemed more likely to blame government for their unemployment. Generally there was acceptance if not of legitimacy of doing fiddle jobs, then certainly of the need for them as a means of surviving.

Among the lower social class group the experience of unemployment was much more widespread particularly among the lads. The girls, although not secure, were working and there was one girl who had a baby. There was more readiness to identify government as creator of high levels of unemployment but as Andrew pointed out they had nothing to compare this with, the Labour Party having last been in power when they were 9 or 10 years old. There was more discussion of the actual experience of unemployment and less tendency to believe in the *"Costa del Dole"*. They were also closer to fiddle jobs and in the poorest locality several of them estimated that there were more people *"on the fiddle"* than in proper jobs. This was regarded as an acceptable means of getting by - a valid alternative to full-time employment especially when the only such employment ever offered to them was very poorly paid, insecure and even, as two lads described, dangerous work. He believed that *"the fiddle"* was quite fair, *"good luck to them...you've got to get as much as you can"*. Tom rejected the scrounger image, saying the problem was the lack of work. He told me of one friend who works on a milk round and spends the rest of the day in bed. He felt that this was alright as *"he doesn't cause any trouble for his family"*. Gary told me that none of his friends were in permanent jobs and in fact most are unemployed. He felt it was hard to get a job in Sunderland but said *"if you try really hard something will crop up. I've tried all the factories and phoned places all over - there are no jobs"*.

Talking about the experience of being unemployed Paul said the worst thing was *"boredom...you eat too much. You can't dress up, can't go out and do what your mates do. I used to go out one week and stay in the next!"*.

Paul had always been able to do fiddle jobs while on the dole and had had one full-time job for almost 3 months. He said *"everyone round here is the same as me...you don't have to think about getting caught"*. His friends, his parents and all of his parents' friends are unemployed he told me. *"They all just work on the fiddle"*. He thought that unemployment benefit was high enough. *"The money I get would do me for a week but after that I go on the fiddle."* Shaun had no idea who was responsible for unemployment being high.

Kevin told me *"if I wanted work I would just go out and get it"*. His friends are all unemployed and most of them are doing the same as him. *"I don't know anyone with a permanent job"*, then he thought a moment and said *"a lad round the corner works down the dole...don't know anyone else"*.

In general all the lads answered that it was hard to get a *"proper job"* in Sunderland and they were doing fiddle jobs or YTS because of this. At the same time, like the others, Kevin argued if you want a job you can get one...*"you just have to keep looking."* He told me *"there are as many people doing fiddle jobs as there are doing proper jobs"*. While he knew people on the fiddle who got a *"decent wage"* he said *"it's not a good wage if you weren't on the dole as well"*.

There was equally an acceptance in general that state benefit should remain low to encourage people to go out to work. The belief that those who tried hard enough could get a job still held some currency among this group. There was again a contradiction in their views in that while they held this to be theoretically true their practical experience told them otherwise. Although girls were not themselves unemployed all had parents who were unemployed or long term sick.

Politics

The upper social grouping were predominantly Conservative voters and theirs was to be a lifelong affiliation. There was only one male Labour voter, Martin, who lived in the intermediate locality and was a frequent exception to this group. Two members of the male group were Alliance supporters in that they viewed Thatcherite policies on the welfare state as punitive but regarded free market policies as in the end the correct ones. They identified the Labour Party as one of high taxation thereby strangling enterprise. In general the girls were more polarised all but one being Conservative voters.

Alex said *"I voted conservative because I believe in getting in what I want. I won't ever vote labour. I don't see myself as SDP. Why ruin what's going on at the moment, the economy seems to be OK."*

Only Christine voted Labour and this was, for her, rather a half hearted commitment which arose from family background rather than personal conviction.

In the intermediate group there appeared to be no strength of feeling about political issues and their decision about their vote was very much in the balance. They tended to the Conservative Party often because this was the status quo and they were doing alright in it. Henry told me he would vote Conservative *"because I'm alright...I'd never vote Labour"*.

Barry has voted Labour in the past but was equally prepared to vote Tory. The girls were much more likely to vote Labour than girls in the upper group and their reasons were commonly to do with living in a Labour area, parents preferences were mentioned for both Labour and Conservative supporters etc. In common with the boys, they had no really strong affiliations. This group were more polarised into Labour and Tory voters with few planning to vote Green, Alliance etc. Labour voters quote themselves as following the tradition of the area, parents votes etc. Tory voters quote the preservation of a government already in power for the last 10 years.

Susan voted Labour and said she always will: *"I've been brought up in a Labour area."* She didn't follow the election campaign or discuss her vote with anyone. She said that she would never join a political party but would *"just vote"*.

Peter had no particular affiliation and said he would vote for the *"one that's best - I don't really agree with any of them."* He summed up his feelings about the main parties by saying *"Conservatives have done no good, Labour want to abolish nuclear missiles and the SDP are a bunch of cowboys."* When asked how he voted at the last election he said *"I voted Conservative because I turned round and said to myself, the country's being run on the right lines, why change it"*. Peter did not know if he would become a lifelong Tory supporter.

Of the lower social group only Barbara was a Conservative voter and most of them felt a strong distaste for the idea of voting Tory. Lesley told me she would *"never understand politics"* but voted labour because *"my parents always have...I only know...well Maggie Thatcher of course...and the one with the ginger hair and the big nose from the people who did the muppets...and the one who spits all the time"*. Lesley thought that she would follow the next election campaign but described it as *"very hard to understand...all the politicians say the same"*.

Andrew was interested in politics and had followed the last election campaign closely. *"I vote Labour, they look after people more than the Tories...round here you're brought up to look after your mates and share things. Labour's more that way inclined than the Tories"*.

Gary will be a lifelong Labour supporter like his parents. *"Labour would take a few years but they would stop unemployment"*. He followed the last election and *"felt sick when the Conservatives got in again"*. Gary had no thoughts of becoming a active supporter of the Labour Party other than by voting for it.

George had no political affiliation and did not vote at the last general election. He thought that perhaps he would have voted SDP *"to give them a try"*. He thought that Mrs. Thatcher was *"terrible"* especially her record on unemployment. *"It was high when she got in but its much worse now"*. George would *"vote anything but Tory"*. He said he would *"probably vote Labour but I didn't like their defence policy"*. George had not watched the campaign and said that he did not know until three days after the election what the result was. His parents are Labour voters but politics is not discussed in the house. George said *"I might follow it next time when I'm a bit older"*.

Equally however there were no socialists and none of this group intended to involve themselves in any political activity. The Labour voters again often quoted tradition as the reason for their vote but there was little feeling of a strong lifelong commitment and more often was expressed a total alienation from the whole process.

Paul will never vote. It is a subject he has no interest in. *"I'd just tick a box if I had to"*.

Kevin could not remember what he had voted in the last election. He had not followed the campaign and had no reason to decide on any party. When asked why he voted at all he said *"they came for us and said 'have you been out yet' so I went"*. Kevin's girlfriend is a Conservative voter and he said he may vote like her at the next election.

Thomas had been 'inside' at the last election but said he wouldn't vote in any case. *"I've no politics...no idea"*.

Keith's family are all Labour voters and Keith will follow the tradition. He had no plans to become active in any way. *"No, I wouldn't do things like that"*. His reasons for voting Labour at the moment were *"'cos Labour will make mortgages easier and increase dole and YTS money"*.

Only Tom and Andrew had taken an interest in politics. Tom identified as a worker with his mates down at the shipyard and recognised class interests. His solution would not



necessarily be to vote Labour but may draw him to vote Liberal. Andrew with a similar identification is a Labour supporter but had seriously considered joining the National Front. Those who had detailed particular policies preferred Labour's policy on the welfare state while Tories were generally seen as more sound on defence.

Trade Unions

There does seem to be some evidence of different models of labour relations between social classes.

The upper two social class groups regarded unions as organisations which had little use but which needed to be controlled.

Lisa told me she might join a trade union *"in my own best interest"* but felt that generally unions cause a lot of trouble. She cited the miners strike and talked about violence and *"calling people names who did want to work"*. *"I don't think I would strike, there wouldn't be any need for it in my job. As an employer I would have one union to cover everything."*

Despite opposition to their stance, however, most of the group said they would join. Their involvement would be limited to paying fees. The most important roles identified for unions were to guard against injustices and to ensure health and safety rather than negotiate wages or *"point out the flaws in management"* (Stewart).

Both Roger and Charles said they would prefer not to join. For Charles it would mean *"risking my job for nothing"*, while Roger felt *"they just bring people out on strike"*.

They generally would not strike and would see no need for this kind of action in the jobs they were entering. They wanted unions as support in cases of injustice and to ensure health and safety at work. Christine was at one with the rest of the group in regarding unions as too prone to strike and like Roger and Charles, had no intention of joining a union. The group were closely identified in this respect, those who intended to join a trade union would do so as a means of personal protection rather than out of any 'community' of view.

Lads in the intermediate group were either not interested or simply interested in union support for health and safety etc. There was little evidence of support for unions in the intermediate group and a considerable degree of ignorance of their purpose.

Suzanne won't join a union because she says she is working for *"a family firm"*: *"I haven't signed a contract. They knew my mam had been there (21 years before). It's got a family atmosphere. Now the trade union bosses are out for themselves."*

Tracey told me she *“didn’t bother to join”* her trade union. She didn’t think it was necessary for an office worker to join a union. *“I’d join if I was a factory worker... but not in an office.”* Generally the people in her office were not members of a union but Tracey said she would join one if they did.

Beverley similarly felt there was no need for her to join a Trade Union. *“They’re not needed in Binns; we never have any strikes... Most of them are not in the union.”*

The girls in the bank were supporters and this was clearly encouraged by their employers. The only other union supporter was Elizabeth whose own father was a full-time trade union official. No-one intended to be active in their union and several of this group thought that a union would be irrelevant in their work situation.

It was interesting that Suzanne who worked in the office at Thompsons regarded hers as *“a family firm”* where no-one felt the need for a union. Debora on the factory floor at Thompsons had an entirely different perspective.

In social classes IV and V the girls currently working in factories wanted to secure a union protection for themselves but because of the belief among the women that anyone who tried to introduce a union would lose their job they saw themselves at the mercy of tyrannical management.

Despite Lesley’s general attitude to trade unions, she feels that in her factory they would be a welcome support to the workers - *“we tried to join - the management threatened to sack us. Kath, she’s the shop steward, she decided because we get unfair work we should have a union. The temps tried to join because we get sent home without pay if there’s no heating - we get laid off at a moments notice. Everyone said they would join - then the rumour went round that we’d be paid off if we joined so no-one would. It’s not on. We’ve tried about three times - if people would stick together it would be alright but I wouldn’t take the chance alone...we would have been paid off by the management even though they denied it even if it was about three months time we would have been paid off.”*

Debora was also prevented from joining a union because of intimidation at work. *“I would join a union. I believe in unions because they can’t sack you and get away with it. If the printers are allowed a trade union I think we should - I don’t think anyone’s even tried and I’ve never dared open me mouth yet - he wouldn’t sack you outright but he’d be on your back so much you’d be pleased to go. Mr. White doesn’t want a union ‘cos he’s getting away with murder”.*

Only two of the lads in this group would not join a union. On the whole unions were regarded as a valuable source of protection This group expressed rather more interest in mutual support both in politics and in trade unions, however the expected level of

involvement was low and there was no sign of the stereotypical militant trade unionist. Only Tom, Lesley and Debora, through their work experience, held an explicit oppositional model. In fact they were the only people in the sample to be employed in the traditional manufacturing sector.

Andrew said that he would join a trade union for security but then said *"I reckon its a waste of time now, dad's a trade union man and a socialist. He says the government put the block on everything. My firm doesn't allow unions."* Andrew would go to trade union meetings but *"wouldn't let it affect my life too much...I wouldn't let it go over the top"*.

Gary would join a trade union primarily because of pay negotiations and because *"they keep you right."* He felt that if a union had been operating in the sawmill they would have had more protection both for their jobs and in safety at work. he thought that he might become active in a trade union if he joined one.

William said *"don't know nothing about them"* at first and then said *"they're there to help you in all kinds of ways if you've got a problem...pay, fight redundancies."* In terms of joining one himself he said *"I'll just have to wait and see."*

Tom is a strong union supporter although not yet a member. *"I'll join when I'm a skilled man"* He felt that unions were needed to give protection to the employee and ensure job security and working conditions. he felt the media were biased against the unions. *"They see workers as mindless idiots who follow shop stewards."* He felt that the unions were the only powerful force resisting privatisation which meant *"people would be sacked and contractors brought in"* which in turn would mean short-term employment for the workers.

Leisure

Leisure for the upper group was largely determined by their studying. They did not often go to pubs for some because of the restrictions of pocket money and for others because other leisure interests claimed most of their time. In general there was a high level of satisfaction with leisure time. Roger, who is unemployed, was the only one to express dissatisfaction with his leisure time. Despite being a single parent, the support of her own parents meant that Christine was quite happy with her use of time.

For the intermediate group pubs and clubs were more important as centres of leisure. Lads have particular nights when they go out together in large groups, while girls go round the town with their mates. They appear to follow the same route each week so that they meet the same people. After the pubs they go to a nightclub. The exceptions to this rule seem to be in those who can not afford it because of limited pocket money or

dole money and the girls who had boyfriends who they accompanied to pubs but did not to go to nightclubs with.

In the lower group the major recreation was pubs and clubs although unemployment restricted it for some. Again the lads and the girls often saw each other and stayed in together but went out in single sex groups. For some, money was a bar while for others the ability to do fiddle jobs allowed them the freedom to decide how to spend their leisure time. Some of the lads and one of the girls were interested in some sports and this took up part of their week.

Family

In the upper social group they all expect to form a single lifelong partnership. The girls were more likely than girls in the other group to consider co-habiting as an alternative rather than as a preliminary to marriage. Craig from a Catholic household was the only person to reject the idea of cohabitation before marriage because of his parents objections to it.

All expected, nevertheless, to be married and established in their careers before children were born. For the lads this was generally because there was *"no rush"* to get married. For the girls there was the concern that they would virtually surrender any promotion prospects by having children and they would therefore need to have got as far as they wanted to go. Christine was the notable exception already having her first child and possibly already pregnant with her second.

The lads were all prepared to accept the possibility that an unplanned pregnancy would have an impact not only on their girlfriends but also on their own plans. Only Craig regarded it as a sufficient reason for marriage. Although attitudes to abortion were mixed the lads did not in general feel they would *"have to get married"*. Girls looked at the issue rather differently. For most of them there was a feeling of horror, perhaps an expression of fear that unplanned children would spoil their life. They had plans and they did not wish them to be disrupted.

Georgette would choose abortion if she found out that she was pregnant before she planned it. *"I wouldn't ruin my life when I have so much going for me"*.

Lisa was very certain that she would have an abortion if a pregnancy was unplanned. She was confident that she could cope as a single parent but felt it would spoil her life.

Again attitudes to abortion were mixed but abortion would be the choice of the majority. Christine represented the opposite pole in opinions about a 'woman's role'. She claimed it as her *"duty"* to have children and believed that she was embarked on the woman's true path in life.

Both lads and girls expected to be financially secure before starting their families and only Christine considered marriage on the dole. Christine expected the continued support of her parents once married.

They expect domestic chores to be shared equally although for some of the lads it was a reluctant acceptance of equality. Christine and Roger tended to the more "traditional" models of the division of labour in the household in that although both expected a considerable degree of flexibility they still ascribed some chores to the wife alone.

The intermediate group were more likely to marry slightly earlier and anticipated setting up a household together in their early 20s before marriage at 24 or 25. One of the lads and two of the girls already have long term relationships which they expect to lead or already have led to marriage before the age of 20. All expect to have children in their late 20's or early 30's.

Career was less often mentioned as a reason for putting off children until later and only those girls wishing to follow careers expected to have children in their 30's. In terms of child care the lads seemed to place more value on their wives being at home to look after the children than did the girls. Domestic chores were to be shared but most frequently both the lads and the girls reserved some of them to the girl. There was no uniformity in what was considered unmanly however, for some it was cooking, for others washing and ironing.

Margaret planned a career in banking. Within a partnership she would expect domestic chores to be split equally, *"just what needs doing - there is an expectation that women should go home, make the tea and tidy up. I probably would do the ironing and the washing more and let him do washing up and tidying"*.

At about 30 Margaret will *"probably"* start a family, *"it depends on how my career is going. I'd have one or two. I couldn't stand a big family, I'm not used to it - I've never wanted a brother or a sister, my friends all fight with their brothers and sisters"*.

Girls frequently expressed the view that it was *"the lads place to take the girl out"* (Wendy) and although there was an acceptance of sharing costs it was generally the view that the lad would pay at least half for nights out and in future partnerships would be the breadwinner. Margaret's boyfriends have all been in work. *"I wouldn't like an unemployed boyfriend if it stopped us going out. I like to go out - its expensive ... a friend at work has a boyfriend who's unemployed and she can't do things because of him."* She would not entertain the idea of marriage on the dole. She and her current boyfriend split

the costs of nights out together equally, *"I wouldn't like him paying all the time whatever his income ... if he was unemployed I'd pay more but I don't know if he'd like it."*

Beverley's boyfriends have been both working and unemployed. *"You can't go out as much if they're unemployed ... but it wouldn't matter."* She could not envisage paying for her boyfriend on a night out although she equally did not expect him to pay for her. *"I don't think he would let me pay ... any decent lad wouldn't let the woman pay. I'd pay my own way. I'd expect to pay for myself under any circumstances, however well off he was ... I want to be independent."*

Beverley doesn't expect to marry *"too young"*. *"I wouldn't care whether we lived together or got married but I like to please me mam so I don't think I would live together"*. She expects to get married from home at the age of 25, *"you've got to make sacrifices when you get married, you can't go out with the girls"*.

She wouldn't consider marrying someone unemployed and would expect to start her married life in her own house. She won't get married until she can afford a big wedding, *"for my mother. She's looking forward to the big day, she talks about it now"*.

Beverley would expect her husband, *"to pull his weight"* in the house but *"not the washing or ironing"*. Towards the end of her 20's Beverley will start her family and will have 2 or 3 children.

Henry will get married at 25 after he has had a few years living on his own. He would prefer to live with someone before he married. He does not appear to have had any but fleeting relationships and saw relationships with women explicitly in power terms. *"If she had a better job and takes me out she would just be laughing at me...taking me out when she wants."* He thought it unfair that as the male he always paid for nights out but said that he would not ask a girl to pay.

Some girls accept the idea of marriage on the dole and this seems to relate to their own position in relation to a job. Susan felt marriage on the dole would be alright *"if we had enough money"*, and *"wouldn't mind being the breadwinner if he didn't. I would feel bad on his behalf but it wouldn't bother us"*.

She would expect to do the lion's share of the housework and to take sole responsibility for it, *"I would do it but I'd make him do a bit as well ... I would do certain jobs, washing and ironing"*.

The girls accept responsibility for housework even if they do not expect to do all of it themselves. They largely expect to be able to set up house with a fair degree of

financial security behind them and in fact will defer “settling down” until they are able to do so.

All of the girls and a majority of the lads in the social classes IV and V group expect to be in settled partnerships by their early 20's and in fact Barbara is already married. Unplanned pregnancy would not be a reason for marriage and the lads in this group more often spoke disdainfully of girls who had children before marriage.

Andrew spoke of a girl he knew from school, *“I remember a girl from school...one who got married. A lass who has a bairn is a slag...it turned a few heads. She was a really nice lass at school, not a slag”*.

William was firmly opposed to cohabitation. *“Its not the right thing to do.”* It was most important that children were legitimate. *“I wouldn't want people talking about us - behind our backs.”* In William's view a girl who is pregnant before marriage is a “slag” and this is the general feeling among his friends. William said that if his girlfriend got pregnant *“I wouldn't dare go round the house...I don't know what I'd do.”* He did not have any strong feelings about abortion or early marriage.

There was as in the other two groups a strong consciousness of divorce and the need to “*find out*” about one's partner before marriage prompted most of them to expect to co-habit while some of the lads preferred co-habiting to marriage. There was a double standard about girls and sex and it seems that the crime is in “*getting caught*” and unmarried girls with babies are “*slags*”

Andrew will marry at 25 because *“I'd like to stay single for a while and do what I want - go out when I want...buy a car. I'd rather cohabit than get married at first and then wait for a while before having children - in case it doesn't work out - we might get divorced...there'd be no point in having kids then. I would want a decent house or a flat...if you're on the dole you can't afford things for the house...it puts a strain on you marriage...if you were both on the dole you would never get out of each other's hair”*.

Lesley will be getting married to her fiancé in the next few years. *“We've been engaged a year and we were going to get married after we had been engaged for 2 years but we're no further forward”*. They are saving up for the ‘big day’ and will put off marriage until they can afford a big wedding...*“after that I'm not bothered if he's not working”*. Lesley and her fiancé had decided to cohabit *“but my parents didn't like the idea...and me nana - she went mad”* so they gave it up and decided to wait. Lesley expects to be the breadwinner and if she can get a permanent job at Market Force will earn £80 a week which she believes will be enough.

Barbara's pregnancy was unexpected. She described it as a *"lovely accident. When I found out I was pregnant I was pleased. Philip was pleased as well but it happened at the wrong time - we got married just before she was born. We'd already been engaged for a while. I wasn't bothered about getting married. Philip wanted to - I decided to just before the end of my pregnancy - as much for her sake as for mine. I'd rather she was a Simpson and her mammy had the same name as her dad. We're not having another one for ten years (joking) no - I think we'll have another one. I think 2 children is enough. We'll wait until she's at nursery and see if Philip can finish his training - when we get on our feet!"*

Philip helps Barbara with domestic chores but it is clearly her responsibility. *"He helps but I have to ask him - he won't change a dirty nappy if I'm there".* Philip has always paid for Barbara when they go out together. *"Philip wouldn't let me pay he doesn't like it - it's the way he's been brought up".*

Lads were more likely to explicitly assert their manliness in this group than in any other and to consider certain of the domestic chores to be *"not a man's job"*.

Tom felt that it would be his wife's decision whether to stay at home and look after the children or whether to return to work *"unless we were really poor then I would expect her to work"*. He thought that his wife would probably do the majority of the housework but he would share certain tasks such as cooking but *"I wouldn't want to be seen Hoovering...its not a man's job...or washing or ironing"*.

Graham expects to manage finances jointly with his wife but will expect his wife to *"do most in the house...cooking is a woman's job but we'll share everything else."* He plans to wait for two years after marriage before starting his family.

William will stay at home until he is married *"where I'm best off...I get looked after"* and when he is married *"whoever has the most time"* will do the domestic chores. Shaun *"couldn't iron but I can do anything else."* He thought for a moment and added *"I can't cook...just beefburgers and chips...she'd probably do most but I'd help."* William was adamant that his wife would leave work to look after the children in the early years. He would be involved with the children but would leave decisions about their education etc. to his wife. Keith said *"I would do what a man should do in the house...the gardening and decorating. I wouldn't do any cooking...I would do some ironing if she wasn't there and I needed a pair of trousers - but otherwise that's her job"*.

There were strong views expressed by many of the lads about the male role as breadwinner. For some there was acceptance of the idea of the women as major earner and Andrew's mother was the major earner. Andrew nevertheless had reservations. He considered the possibility that his wife might be the breadwinner *"deep down I'd feel a bit*

hurt...me mam earns more than me dad 'cos he's out of work at the moment...but I'd like to make a contribution...It doesn't matter in our house".

Future

All of the social classes I and II group expect stability and economic security in their future lives. They will mostly not be living in Sunderland and will have, at the very least, begun upon the promotion ladder in their choice of career by the age of thirty. There was a feeling of confidence when they talked of the future that even those with no clear direction at the moment will nevertheless be prospering in their chosen profession. In this respect Christine and Roger are like the remainder of the group. They had no fear that they would be struggling at the age of 30. Christine despite her current position and lack of qualifications considers a factory job beneath her.

At 30 Lisa envisages that she will have a career and 2 children and will be living abroad *"perhaps in a large house like this"*. Later she said *"I will have a large house and keep horses, I want to go to live in Boston, I may have 2 houses"*.

Alex commented on looking at the future *"you just drift....people don't have a clue what you will do at 30. As long as you're determined to do your best you can do it...you don't have to have a direct aim in mind."*

Stewart expected that at thirty he would have a *"steady job climbing into management, married with one or two children, a house, a mortgage and an income of £15-20,00 p.a."*.

In the intermediate group three of the girls had career aspirations working in a bank and hoped to achieve a position in lower management to *"breakaway from the bottom"*. Eve will place a high value on career and as with the other girls this will affect her decision about when to have children. The remainder of the girls did not view their working lives in terms of career. Suzanne expected to become self employed and therefore to be able to combine child rearing with work on her own terms.

All of the girls want to be home owners although there is a difference in their expectations as to what they will achieve and mostly this seemed to follow their parents experience. For some a house of their own would be a necessary prerequisite to beginning married life while others expected to start in rented accommodation and work toward owning their own house. They sought a level generally similar to that which their parents had achieved., Eve being the exception in having rather higher expectations of what her education would give her access to. None of the girls were entirely satisfied with their present job. Beverley does not want to spend her working life at Binns: *"I don't want to stay in Binns... If I get kept on... I'll know when to leave."* Beverley believes that *"if*

you have children you should bring them up" and will give up work when she starts her family. Zena is keen to develop her career at the bank: *"I want to do more. If I don't get ahead, the others who started with me will leave me behind... I want something a bit better."* She will settle for a middle ranking position: *"I'm not dedicated enough to get to the top. I want to break away a bit from the bottom."* She aims to be fourth in charge at the bank because this will provide *"some responsibility but not the pressure of the Manager or Assistant Managers. I like organising. I used to do it at school."* Zena will stay in Sunderland and intends to remain at the same branch of the bank. She comments that it would be harder for her to achieve promotion than for a man: *"They really encourage them to do exams... When women get married and have to do housework they don't have time for exams... If it was a choice between keeping the house clean and doing exams I would probably let my career slip... It would probably seem more important at the time."* Zena would expect children to enforce a break in her career: *"I'd take some time off but go back eventually... If you go part time you're out of the promotion stakes... I wouldn't be very happy... but at that age (28) I wouldn't want to have to try for promotion. I'd want to be fourth in charge before I have children."* Zena regards unemployment as impossible for her and says she is in *"a job for life"*. She currently earns £4,600 p.a. and when qualified will earn £6,000. Ultimately, when she reaches her career goal, she will earn £6,500-£7,000.

Angela told me that career *"is not that important. I'd like to be able to set up a salon of my own but it's going to take a long time cos I've got no money to back me up."* She has the prospect of taking over the management of the shop she works in now but regards this as too much responsibility: *"That shop struggles to keep going. I wouldn't want the responsibility of a bad week."* Although Angela is not happy in her present job, she intends to *"stick it out"* until she finds something else: *"It's better to be working... The idea of going on the dole doesn't appeal to me at all."* Angela earns £49 a week and expects that she will not better this if she remains a hairdresser.

The lads in this group expect to be well established in their chosen career or trade by the age of 30. They will all be owner occupiers and both Henry and Peter expect to achieve a good lifestyle in Sunderland. Norman was rather more vague about where he will settle when he leaves the marines while Barry expects that to further his prospects in engineering he will have to leave the area. All of the lads were quite clearly expecting to achieve at least as much if not more than their parents in material terms at a considerably younger age.

Those in the group comprising social classes IV and V were much more uncertain about what the future held for them. Most of the lads did not expect to buy their own homes and several of them said that they would prefer not to. The girls also expected to

be living in a council house. Unlike the other girls Debora said that she was “*not bothered*” about owning her own house. Only one lad had a very clear idea about his future job, William, who hoped to join the Police Force. However his plans were based upon a hoped for acceptance into the Force. It was from within this group that a degree of despondency about the future was evident and here they were unlike many of the others, although it would not be fair to say that this was characteristic of the group as a whole. A more encompassing description would be the inability of most of them to project with any degree of confidence what life will be like when they are 30.

Tom was despondent about the future. “*I don’t want to be a boring old man who goes off to the club on Fridays and Saturdays.*” He saw his existence as fairly monotonous living in “*another house in a terraced street.*” Tom said “*I live day by day - don’t think too much of the future- I don’t really see myself in a job I will enjoy.*” He would like to be able to buy his own house and be established in a settled relationship by the time he is 30.

Andrew had no idea what life would be like for him when he was 30, “*no...I try not to look at the future - you see the weekend when it comes...if you look too far ahead you just get depressed.*” He expects at some point to buy his own house.

Lesley and her fiancé have put their names on the waiting list for a council house and has asked for estates very close to her parents home. “*I’d prefer to be close to me mam - but she wouldn’t let us run back (laughing) I’d love to buy a house but I doubt if we’ll ever be able to - neither of us have any skills*”.

Debora said she would “*probably still be working for Thompsons - I won’t go on the estates. I’ll live in Hillview or Tunstall. I might buy a house but I’m not bothered. I’d rather have a car. I’ll have three children by then...we’ll probably both be working*”.

Barbara said “*I want to be settled with both me kids, Philip in work and living in my own home - comfortably off. That’s just the ideal though...I don’t know I might be working by then*”.

In relating these findings from the main ethnographic research I have attempted to provide a flavour of the material as a whole. It is designed to be a summary of the groups’ broad experience, to show the perspectives they held, the attitudes and values which guided their choices. Its purpose is to provide the collated material upon which the concluding remarks, made in the following chapter, are based.

Chapter Six **Conclusion**

The underlying theme upon which this work has been based is change and the implications of such rapid and comprehensive change for the lives of young adults in Sunderland. It began with a concern to understand what was happening to young people in a world where jobs were scarce, not it seemed because of temporary recession, but because of a long term steady decline which was unlikely to be reversed. It developed into an interest in the effects of restructuring more generally. My desire was to learn about how young people were establishing adult identities when their traditional source, a job, was not available. I was interested to learn about how young people from different socio-economic groupings perceived the labour market and what they expected of it. It seemed that looking across the classes would help me to learn more about each, about what was particular to one group and what was general to all. This would be the means to learn about the qualitative aspects - the meaningful elements in their explanations of their world.

The next step was to separate out the many strands which could be identified as formative or influential in developing consciousness among these young people and the ways in which they acted to shape the world around them.

I formulated this in terms of the two propositions that 'base determines superstructure' and 'social being determines consciousness'. The problematic chapter was devoted to unravelling these strands and learning about their impact in general terms and in the context of Sunderland. In concluding I want to draw on those themes again and to consider them in terms of what I have learned from talking to young people.

It is clear that deindustrialisation has had a considerable impact on the way that young people see themselves and their futures. I have looked at the history of the town from its Victorian prosperity to its more recent story of decline and I have attempted to locate young people today in terms of the overriding economic and associated cultural forces.

The changes which have been described have been neither immediate and complete nor in any sense do they describe a gradual process. They give young people who face them a dislocating set of experiences with which to contend. There is as much evidence of the attempts to retain familiar and comfortable terms of reference in the face of new realities as there is of young people embracing new ideologies and throwing out the old.

The ways in which young people respond to these changes vary according to social class and gender and it is to these issues I must inevitably turn in structuring the conclusion to this study.

Restructuring has been identified as a central issue and one whose numerous effects vary both in nature and in degree. The movement from heavy to light industry, from manual to service employment has affected the kind of work these young people expect to be able to get. Changes in the sources of capital have loosened ties with the area and may not only have had the impact of reducing capital's commitment to the locale but also that of its workforce. If the Research and Development functions go elsewhere then so do associated professions and staff which serve them. This raises a second core issue for consideration - the question of spatial boundaries. The sample for this study was structured upon a particular locality and subdivided into particular areas according to socio-economic status and this was for a very good reason. In talking to young people it is clear that they recognise several boundaries as relevant. There are boundaries within Sunderland which they recognise and discuss and which have meaning in terms of their image of the area. They all lived in Hendon local authority ward but they did not all live in 'Hendon'. They frequently had strong feelings about it whether they were in it or not. Secondly there is the boundary of Sunderland in the larger socio-spatial context. Again a significant aspect of consciousness and in terms of looking at their futures, an indication of what is the spatial aspect of their careers.

How do people see themselves within Sunderland and in relation to it in the rest of the world? The answer varies from the girl who could not imagine travelling as far as Washington to work to those who could not bear the prospect of a life's work in Sunderland.

Then we must turn to a consideration of how the changes in base have inspired changes in a culture and whether there is evidence of a post modernist Sunderland. Changes in the mode of accumulation and in associated work relations, it is proposed, have centrally affected the class structure and the nature of class consciousness. Many of these young people do not have long experience in the labour market but for some work identities are already formed while for others even limited experience has clearly affected their view of work and their relation to it.

Gender is the simplest and most obvious factor structuring life experience. I have raised questions in the problematic chapter about the nature of women's experiences of the labour market and how women and men expect to constitute their families and conduct family life. I want to consider how gender relations are changing in response to changes in work, to learn what women and men will expect of each other in future partnerships, whether women universally expect to be disadvantaged by their sex or whether they have recognised and repudiated the disadvantages conferred upon them.

In a study about change my concern has been not only to get a picture of what life is like now but of what these people expect in the future because it is this which tells us much about how they perceive and organise their world.

These are the issues which are at the heart of this study. In this conclusion I want to enlarge upon them, to draw what insights I can from the interview material and to learn how they are reflected in young people's images of themselves, their contemporaries and their partners.

I have presented the information in two ways, quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative analysis was designed to present an overview, a pointer to the most significant factors shaping experience. It is worth mentioning again that I do not claim for these results significance in statistical terms, the size of the sample being far too small. It nevertheless offers a useful starting point in analysing the information collected from these young people.

The quantitative analysis was structured according to the themes set out in the problematic and one striking feature which emerged was that the only factor which modified the effect of social class of origin on career was educational qualification. What we see is not simply social class of origin as a determining factor but the combination of social class and education. This model of course recognises that social class largely determines educational achievement, however there were young people, both upwardly and downwardly mobile for whom education was the decisive factor.

Looking at industrial restructuring the quantitative analysis does bear out in practical experience the larger picture which has been drawn in the contextual chapter. The shift from skilled to unskilled manual work, when comparing parents with children, is notable and cannot be explained away in terms of age. In fact several of these young men regretfully acknowledged that they were already too old for apprenticeships and therefore the opportunity for skilled work was now closed. For women the major shift appears to be in the direction of clerical, shop and service jobs of social class III non manual. A clear picture emerges across the generations of a declining central working class.

Social class of origin retains a strong hold in determining future, and here we can find evidence to support Wallace's 'mismatch model' (p34). The overwhelming likelihood of being unemployed or on YTS in this sample is for those children who originate from manual workers. The social mobility which does occur is limited to small bands rather than spanning the social scale.

Overall from the quantitative analysis it was clear that young peoples experience could be defined within three discrete groups in which the combination of social class of origin and educational qualification are decisive. These groups must be further divided according to gender because that so crucially structures experience. From these broad outlines it is appropriate now to turn to what was learned from the ethnographic account in terms of the meaning of these general descriptions in peoples actual lives.

The first question I want to deal with is that of the significance of gender divisions. From the evidence provided by the people in this study it seems that it provides a fracture, so fundamental that it is second only to social class in its impact on consciousness. There has been much debate about which is the most significant source of division (CSE 1982, Cockburn 1981), I can only argue from the point of view of my evidence which suggests that if priority must be given to one over the other it must be that of class over gender. Such a view pays attention to the fact that gender oppressions have certainly preceded capitalism, that oppressive relations were experienced in pre-capitalist society. The point here is what capitalism has done to those gender relations. "The categories through which capitalism divides up the world (wage labour/non wage labour, skilled/unskilled etc.) and which it may present to us as gender-free categories, can on the contrary have gender division written into them from the beginning" (p80 CSE Sex and Class). In my view what is important is the recognition that it is in the interaction between sex and class that consciousness is crucially formed and worked upon and in which identities are shaped and reinforced. It is clearly true that there are common experiences which hold the gender groups together and, frequently in the labour process, in opposition to each other. I have referred in the Problematic to the tendency for men in industry to maintain their relative position by undermining women. The clothing industry is one clear example. These divisions in work serve to reinforce divisions outside of work in the home and family. In key areas of life men work together to exclude and oppress women to retain their relative advantage. While this is no doubt true I would refer to the divisions of social class as the ones which crucially determine how men impose and how women suffer this oppression.

The quantitative analysis was able to reflect the impact of restructuring of the labour market on gender grouping showing a greater tendency for girls to be in the service class while males tended to be concentrated in the unskilled manual class. The absence of women doing fiddle jobs is a reflection of the combination of factors of age and gender. Women are not employed in the heavy manual fiddle jobs and they do not become domestic cleaners, the woman's major avenue for fiddle work, at least until they are older and have had their children.

We discovered signs of women's entry into or at least preparation for the reserve army of labour in their lower expectations of skill level and pay. Their orientation toward Sunderland places them firmly in a captive workforce. In general terms the quantitative analysis confirmed the importance of examining issues of gender in terms of social class and point in the lifecycle as Beechey (1983) proposed.

An examination of the ethnographic evidence lends support to this view and it is interesting to look at the impact of sex and class on expectations of the labour market. It is clear from the evidence provided in the ethnography that girls in the upper class group have similar expectations of work and career to their male counterparts. They may be largely herded into particular sectors of the labour market defined either as feminine or gender neutral, but they nevertheless expect to do well there. The crucial distinction comes for them when they start child-bearing. At this point all recognised that they would lose their place in the promotion race. Thirty years ago marriage was often the end of career aspirations for women and it was not unusual for a woman to be forced to leave her job. Today it is the role of the mother rather than wife which visits this disadvantage upon the woman.

Professional women expect equal pay with their male counterparts but they accept that the commitment to children is viewed by partners, colleagues and employers as a divided loyalty. Lisa illustrated this belief. While she expected to employ a nanny so that she could go on with her work, even in this relatively privileged position she recognised that *"my priorities would be with the children"* and if it came to a choice she rather than her partner would have to give up her career.

There was some resentment about the effects these expectations on their future aspirations but the girls I interviewed largely accepted this disadvantage, not particularly as socially constructed, but rather as a simple fact of life.

For women in the intermediate group a return to work would almost always depend upon support from maternal or paternal grandmothers. (This may go some way to explain why women, especially working class women, are more Sunderland bound.)

If we then examine what happens to women in the lower social group we can see that from the beginning girls expect a poorer status in work and generally accept wage levels considerably lower than the boys. Lesley, although claiming a high wage level, articulated this reality. To impress upon me that her wages were very high she pointed out *"a lad could gan out and earn that"*. This continues throughout their working lives and their relative status, in fact, worsens as they grow older and have children, when they become prime candidates for the reserve army of labour.

It may be that because of high unemployment and state benefit the balance between men and women is changing and that women are claiming more power in the family based on their position in the labour market. We have speculated earlier that the equality which YTS wages and unemployment benefit impose upon this group is beginning to affect consciousness and increase women's expectations or rather to dampen men's. It is clear then that the form and effect of women's disadvantage is radically different according to social class.

The question of the response of gender relations to the reconstructed local labour market has been dealt with in part by J. Wheelock (1990) in her study of role swapping in Sunderland. Wheelock (1990) identifies families where the imperative of a post industrial economy have resulted in husbands staying at home while their wives go out to work to maintain the family. This remains, however, a marginal phenomenon for the reasons already well documented by Pahl (1984), Morris (1987) etc.. I believe that the changes wrought in more traditional seeming relationships, although perhaps less dramatic, are at least equally significant. As Williams (1982) pointed out these changes become apparent in the adaptation of old ideologies to new circumstances, the persistence of residual ideologies and the development of new ones. I want to consider the evidence for how far this has occurred, provided by the ethnographic material.

I have structured the ethnographic account according to social class and while clearly it is not a sole predictor it does serve my purpose in looking at the general themes and features of the group. I would make some general points about gender and the labour market in terms of these social class divisions.

As I have said lads and girls in the upper two social class groups are generally career orientated. They look forward, after a period in higher education to careers which will yield job satisfaction, high rates of remuneration and promotion prospects.

In the lads view this necessarily implies an orientation to the national labour market where career prospects are perceived as being considerably better than those in Sunderland. There is a gender divide here for while many of the girls are also leaving there are still girls of relatively high educational standing who are Sunderland bound. This suggests a degree of downward mobility for girls in their future partnerships.

The link between education and career was strong for both sexes and this relates to the universal subscription to the ethic of individual achievement. At eighteen they are striving to ensure their place in the labour market and are explicitly looking forward to the kind of lifestyle and jobs they expect to have when they are thirty. For men as I have said gender presents no conflict while for women in this group this is the point at which they expect their disadvantage to begin. These basic gender disadvantages have long

been recognised and accepted but what I am interested in is whether there is any sign of change when work is changing for both men and women. We have identified in the Problematic that women's experience in the labour market is of a different quality from that of men, particularly for women in the middle and lower social class groups. It is more frequently defined as unskilled and poorly paid and casualised in form. Two things are changing here, much of the men's work in Sunderland is being deskilled and the possession of a trade, an important factor in the development of consciousness for many of their fathers, is not a realistic aspiration for most of this group of lads. Linked with this is sexual equality in state provision through YTS and unemployment benefit which erodes differentials at the bottom end of the labour market. This is inevitably having an impact. While women continue to accept wages that are lower than men's they are nevertheless now regarded as essential to the family budget. The notion of a man earning a 'family wage' has all but disappeared. It is a model which nevertheless continues to have currency in some of their idealised views of family life. If anything the image is held to more fondly by some working class lads who want their future wives to stay at home to bring up the children than working class girls who have already considered where to look for substitute child care to enable them to return to work.

This disjuncture in belief and experience is evident throughout. Both Willis (1977) and Jenkins (1983) identified working class male sexism and the sexual double standard and I too came across this as a strong theme amongst many working class lads and girls. Like Willis and Jenkins I encountered the male expectation that his demands of his girlfriend were the ones which would define the relationship. I also met several working class girls who in retrospect regretfully acknowledged that in gaining a boyfriend they had lost all of their female friends. This is a traditional model universally recognised. At the same time there is another model for working class kids. The factory girls seemed to be at the forefront of this displaying a certain peer group solidarity, going out in large groups on Friday nights, *"the night out with the lasses"*. This group identity undermines their experience of masculine domination and notions of feminine respectability and brings them out of their 'proper' place in the private domestic sphere. It is probably this boldness which further contributes to their 'rough image'. Increasing equality in benefits and in government schemes must also have an impact on how young women see their relative status. There was frequently an expectation for both sexes of having *"a night out with your mates"* each week, often meeting your boyfriend or girlfriend, in passing, on your established route around town.

There was a mixture of expectations and ideologies. It was not uncommon for lads and girls to expect the lads to pay when they had a night out together. At the same time the reality of the situation often meant that girls had at least as much money as lads. In established partnerships this appeared to present few or no problems for most of them

and they would generally share costs. For some this was still hard and the issue was one of public image. Gary told me that he *"couldn't let a lass pay"* for a drink so his girlfriend would give him the money surreptitiously and he would go to the bar. The problem was not in accepting the money, it was in being seen to accept it. Quite commonly in the initial stages of the relationships the lad was expected to *"take the girl out"*.

What we are seeing is an attempt in all areas of life to manage competing views of the world. No doubt this has always been the case. The additional factor which we are considering here is the impact of rapid change. Changes in gender relations and in the family are bringing with them, for many, a heightened risk of disintegration. These young people are very aware of that, particularly in relation to the family. They hold for instance, to the idealised image of marriage and family life and they resolve the conflict between that and the soaring divorce rate by stressing the importance of adequate preparation for marriage.

Cohabitation is popularly seen as a means of getting to know your partner before taking the larger step into marriage. Objectively it undermines the avowed purpose of marriage as a socially sanctioned sexual relationship and yet its purpose is to bolster the image of marriage as a lifelong institution.

The control of women's sexuality which the image of the 'slag' provides may have been largely thrown off by the career minded and geographically mobile but it still has a hold among those who are Sunderland bound. Its purchase is evident in the fact that people react to it, accepting or denying it but always acknowledging that it is there. The ideology of marriage remained of overwhelming importance to these young people although cohabitation was also very popular as preparation. The quantitative analysis showed that marriage was almost inevitably to be followed by children but was generally to be put off until later in life. This accords with the findings of both Wallace (1987) and Hutson and Jenkins (1989) although for my young working class, particularly lads, marriage was very important in confirming their respectability. The competing images of sexuality and of marriage are particularly difficult and dangerous ones for women to manage. Sandra, married with a baby, experienced this first hand when learning that she was pregnant *"it was a shock at the beginning...it spoiled the white wedding, I dreaded telling my parents, that was more important than the baby - I knew they would be disappointed in me"*. On the whole girls do not moralise about the girls who get pregnant. Although they frequently think them stupid all are in the position of having to cope with a sexual double standard which operates to control them and to reinforce the ideology of the family.

Children from the upper social group had a rather different perspective and for them the focus on a wider spatial horizon was consistent with a more fluid view of relationships, cohabitation, marriage, children etc. In the end however almost all expected eventually to fall into a pattern similar to their parents.

Changes in women's involvement in the labour market and their relative power in the family have had some impact on domestic organisation. Women had higher expectations of the male contribution to household chores generally than had the men. Again in the upper group where women had higher expectations of status and remuneration at work they also had higher expectations of partners. Their expectations were largely accepted and shared by the lads in this group. The lower groups conformed more readily to the 'traditional' form of partnership in which at least some of the chores were reserved for the woman, although girls in this group did expect more 'help' from the lads than the lads seemed likely to give. Throughout the social class groups however the fact remained that the running of the household was to be the woman's responsibility, the distinctions between groups lying in how much she would be able to delegate to her partner.

Domestic organisation was clearly an issue in which there was evidence of differential views according to both gender and social class. Although a small proportion (10%), it was only males who thought that all domestic work was women's work. They fitted, or at least wanted to fit, the stereotypical northern patriarchal working class family while middle class males seemed more likely to assume equal roles. A note of caution must be entered here, being mindful of Leonard and Speakman (1986) discussion of the differences between what middle class husbands claimed to do and what time budgets showed they actually did, in terms of work in the home.

In general it is clear that there is some shift in gender and in family relations in response to changes in work. The mixture of the traditional ideology of the family with the realities of coping with working life in the eighties brings with it contradictions between beliefs and practices. Discussions about household chores find working class lads trying desperately to define what is not 'manly' but saw no consensus between them in definition. This is perhaps an issue still in the realm of the private, not one that you discuss with your mates at work or in the pub. While claims were made for the new 'equality of the sexes', the pervasiveness of the traditional ideology of the family countered the expectations to which it might have given rise. It has rendered actual practice a much more uncertain thing.

This gives some indication of how changes in the work may be affecting gender relations in the organisation of the home. There is also the question of how restructuring

has affected the discrete gender groups. The composition of social classes III, IV and V offers an immediate reflection of restructuring in the local labour market. The intermediate group, social class III manual and non manual, is very largely female and this reflects the rise in the service class. The males in this group have a very firm position in the labour market with career opportunities open to all of them. The person we would once have expected in this group in Sunderland, the skilled tradesman entering coal mining or heavy manufacturing industry, is now almost entirely absent. I met only one such person in my sample and he had quite correctly predicted the future for himself. It consisted of uncertainty for his trade and the awareness of the inevitable closure of the shipyard where he worked. Girls experience is more variable in this group including office workers with career opportunities alongside office and shop workers in less rewarding, less secure, jobs with few or no career prospects.

The people in this intermediate group are firmly Sunderland bound, they have a solid foothold in the labour market and they are staying. There appears to be continuity over the generations in terms of social class assignment but in fact this is where we begin to see the divide between central and peripheral workers in the Sunderland economy and here again gender appears significant in the division.

The semi or unskilled group is largely male, work is casualised, wages for both sexes are, on the whole, poor although often higher than for many of those in social class III - non manual, at least until they reach the age of 21. Women consistently earn less than men in this sector.

Lads were more likely to be unemployed but had greater access to work in the black economy than had any other sex or class group. Female factory workers regarded their wages as good *"for a girl"* and with their counterparts in other social classes, implicitly accepted this discrimination against them.

It was in this lower group that one might expect that the problem of work and gender to be most keenly felt in the formation of consciousness (Pollert 1981). Girls in the upper two social groups had employment which was consistent with their femininity and there was a tendency to look down on factory work as work which the rough girls do. Lads in this lower group expressed their masculinity by looking down on men in office jobs because they do not get their hands dirty. What is revealing is not only the views of the girls involved in factory work but also of those looking at them. Christine who had no skills told me that she would refuse factory work and with several of the other girls discussed factory girls in derogatory terms. This image was acknowledged by Debora who resented descriptions of herself as rough and *"too common"* for shop work. Debora might have been said to conform to Saunders' view of modern life motivated by

consumption. She was glad to have a good wage which enabled her to fulfil all of her material wants, driving lessons, a car, holidays etc. For Debora however this was a means of accepting her lack of choice in her relation to production. A factory job might not be the ideal but if she must work in a factory then at least there were material compensations. The other factory girl had already begun to develop her identity outside of work in focusing on being married in the near future. It lends support to the idea that the view that you can be summed up by the job you do is a particularly middle class notion. These girls were seeking alternative means of defining themselves and establishing their identities.

In the problematic chapter I have identified the issue of transition. Turning to the family it is worth reiterating that these young people are in the process of, and the young mothers would claim to have completed, the transition to adulthood.

For the vast majority living at home with parents meant being financially dependent, whether they were in education working or unemployed. Parents did not only subsidize the young who were unemployed or in education. Young workers also received significant subsidy from working parents. Like Hutson and Jenkins (1983) I found that the token board and lodge payments which most young people made were returned in other forms by parents. The quantitative analysis showed that it was only in the very poorest of families that young people had to manage without such support.

There is evidence, from interviews, of these young peoples views on adult status. Those who had stayed on at school described the way in which young people who had left school at sixteen saw them as extending their childhood. They were called "*schoolie*" and jeered at in pubs. These kids commented that those in work or on the dole claimed adult status in relation to them. "*They look down on people who are still at school - they're all grown up - they think!*" (Lisa). As Hutson and Jenkins argued these young people were beginning to lay claim to adult status based on the very limited resources of unemployment benefit. It remains to be seen with what success they will do so.

For the kids whose work was casualised or who were wholly unemployed the most striking feature was the uncertainty with which they viewed their futures. They expected to make the transitions which Willis (1984) described although perhaps later than their parents had. They were fearful of the effects of unemployment on their ability to establish their homes, maintain relationships, provide for their families. They were frequently reluctant to consider what the future held in detail, preferring a "*take it as it comes*" attitude, but this was generally linked with a vague belief that they would be in a job by their early 20s. A few lads who had regular fiddle jobs were happy to continue in those and managed the anxiety about discovery by DSS by refusing to think about it.

In considering the reproduction of adult roles in relation to family the views of the three young mothers on unemployment benefit were of interest. Two of them expressed what seems to be the common view about the importance of a stable parental relationship in child rearing and although one girl had initially been reluctant to marry, her decision to do so was based on her child's legitimacy.

Christine was more unusual among my group in having one child, planning to have another soon and, at least for the immediate future, to live in her own flat separately from the children's father. If one took her to be typical then one would argue that marriage and partnerships have lost their significance today. Christine's peculiarity arises from the fact that economically she belongs to a group who have the freedom and confidence furnished by parental support to make choices about her future lifestyle. She relies heavily on her parents and expects to continue to do so. She has less need to worry about "*marriageability*" and the 'slag' image. In that sense her transition to adult role could be said to have been delayed or disrupted. In general it was true that the more affluent young women were confident they wouldn't marry for children.

Next I want to consider the question of the significance of locality in the development of consciousness, shaped by the relations of production, associated social relations and the institutional specificities (Cooke 1985) of the area.

There are three strands which need to be separated here. There is ascription to the ethic of individual achievement which, as I have already mentioned, appears to be universally accepted by the young people I interviewed. There is the question of communalism which seems to have currency particularly among the semi and unskilled working class kids and there is 'localism' which Jenkins (1983) argues limits the working class world view and ensures the attribution of responsibility for their ills to either a neighbour or a distant scapegoat. I would take issue with Jenkins at this point.

My argument rests on the foundation that social being determines consciousness and one inescapable fact of young people's social being today is that capital is no longer local but global. There has been a change from the world which Foster (1974) described in which local capital, limited communications and a system of tied loyalists could insulate the locality from the rest of the world.

Some indications can be drawn from the quantitative account of the nature of spatial orientation. Outmigration was recognised as a feature of Sunderland's history and partly because it occurs among the more highly educated, accounts for the bottom heavy social structure. Deindustrialisation inevitably confirms and deepens this process. Women and the lower social class group are the most Sunderland orientated. Education, as we have identified earlier, is the single factor which alters what young people make of

their cultural background and it most crucially affects those at the margins between two cultural styles in terms of enabling social mobility to occur.

Turning to the ethnographic account, it is clear that feelings about locality differed almost inversely according to social class. The upper social class group of children in the 'posh' areas of the town scorned their origins and sought something better. The lower class children in the 'rough' areas were happy to remain where they were. What was crucially important in this identification was the overreaching importance of family, friends and belonging to a place.

Family remained very important in the lives of young working class people and they tended to quote that as one reason for wanting to stay in Sunderland. Family did not stand on its own in this respect, but was part of the sense of belonging to the place.

The fact is that spatial horizons are not so limited at least for my kids in Sunderland. It is true that in keeping with their ascription to individualism the middle class kids do not subscribe to the local world view. They are going for the career jobs and these clearly are not in Sunderland. Their spatial horizons are not necessarily bound to the U.K. and involve consideration of international migration if the right job comes along. Equally there are, and always have been, (Robson 1971, Dennis 1976) those who are not doing so well locally who are reluctantly prepared to leave to find a job somewhere else if needs be. In Sunderland now these are particularly lower working class lads. The local labour market offers jobs for girls and although they may be insecure and poorly paid their chances are as good as they would be anywhere. Additionally there is a gender factor in that girls across the classes are generally more locally orientated than boys.

The group who are locally bound are those who have got jobs in Sunderland and these people are not blind to the outside world. They have experience through the media and through mass communications of influences which tend to break down the boundaries of the local world and to reinforce the dominant ideology. They experience either directly or through friends and family the changes in working relations brought about in a casualised labour market and Just in Time production.

There is no doubt that localism is important but it is not about having a world view so restricted that you can not see the source of your oppression and instead blame you neighbour. The single lad who identified "*blacks*" as the source of the problem had himself recognised that it was a myth, although generally ethnicity is not an issue in Sunderland.

Local boundaries are recognised and they are important. There were strong feelings about being in Hendon and it was clear that, within Sunderland, Hendon has a reputation

to which its inhabitants respond in different ways. Those in the posh area did not regard themselves as living in Hendon and tended to hold a view of it as an undesirable area. For many of the lads, living in the 'rough' part of the ward being from Hendon was part of this identity which along with heavy manual work confirmed their 'macho' image. It was the girls in the rough area and the kids who lived on the border of it who liked it least and who reacted most strongly to it. This relates to the dichotomy of roughness and respectability in life styles which Jenkins discussed in 1983. Andrew articulated the significance of boundaries when he described Hendon, Southwick and Town End Farm - *"I borrow me mother's car to go to me girlfriend's at Town End Farm...people stare...they can tell you're not a local"* Perhaps Andrew was exaggerating, I do not know, but he articulates very clearly the importance of being 'a local' in Sunderland.

Localism is about belonging to a place. These young people knew the world outside existed, they frequently referred to the exhortation to *"get on your bike"* to find work elsewhere, some of them would go but those who could manage to would stay and take their chances in Sunderland where at least the support of parents and wider kin could mitigate the worst effects of unemployment or poorly paid work, provide help in child-rearing and be a source of sociability if the other major avenue, of work, is disrupted.

Localism is inextricably bound up with the communalism that many of these young people regard as an important part of their lives in Sunderland. There was respect for that feeling and it was contrasted with what was seen as a more empty existence in the south. Andrew told me *"round here you're brought up to look after your mates"*. This is believed by these young people to be special to the north and reinforces their desire to stay here.

One of the interesting illustrations of the interaction of communalism with individualism is evidenced in their attitude to trade unions. Many of them know, despite an apparent acceptance that the unions are out of hand, that they need some defence against their employers and the union is the focus for that. So while they condemned unions generally they wanted their support in their own particular workplace. For the factory girls the desire for union protection was strong and frustrated only by their powerlessness at work. They also expressed the importance of *"staying with your mates"* and not rising above them to a supervisory position. Relationships with fellow workers on the shop floor were of sufficient significance to prevent them from following the logic of individualism.

Individualism, everyone agrees, is not a particularly working class belief. As I have said earlier it is almost universal and it is held to with far greater ease by those in the

upper class groups for whom it performs an important supportive function. Willis (1977) discusses the dislocating impact of individualism in disintegrating the recognition of class oppression from within the working class and in terms of my study this is useful in examining the interview material. Unfortunately Willis does not complete the picture by considering the contribution of locality to the development of consciousness.

It is undeniably true that *"life is what you make it"* has real meaning and this is why it is accepted. It is also true that individualism, the belief in success, merit and competition all come from the dominant ideology and importantly serve the system. At the same time for the young working class actual experience in many ways contradicts this view. The attachment to communalism and the recognition of its importance as a defence works against individualism and prevents some of its worst excesses. Young people believe that in general anyone can get a job if they want one but they know in practice that they or their siblings, parents or friends simply cannot. This leads as Willis says to their holding a view of the world which is fragmented and it is this which prevents wholehearted political action.

Willis (1977) has described for us the process in which the variable capacity of labour power, combined with its standardisation, enables capital to exploit labour in a unique way. The young factory workers I met had experience of this. Lesley and Debora and the lads in the sawmill described in detail the strategies which their employers used to extract maximum work for minimum cost. Nissan's approach is celebrated for its ability to do just this. These are recognised and these are the cultural penetrations which make the labour process one of struggle. These penetrations are undermined precisely by the individualism which Wallace (1987) claims that Willis ignores. Individualism as it is handed down to these kids confirms the view that they are in the jobs they are in because they don't have the merit to do better ones. All of the kids I met subscribed to an individualistic philosophy although it had different effects according to social class. For those who could claim status or success it confirmed and supported their choices and saved them from any feelings of discomfort about those who are lower in the conventional hierarchy. For those at the bottom of the scale its effect was oppressive confirming that they were in their rightful place. Its effect is to ensure that they are ideologically hemmed in and that their room for manoeuvre is limited. They accept meritocratic individualism but look to the support of their peers to resist its worst implications.

I have suggested that in adapting to change these young people have to hold more than a single ideology and this becomes apparent when we consider position in the labour market. It is when they are out of step with family or peers that this becomes most obvious. Roger from the upper social class group was at odds with his family

because he was unemployed. He changed peer group to spend time with people with a similar lifestyle to himself and this lent him support against the dominant view. Shaun on the other hand was happy on the dole because *"everyone round here is the same"*, this was the dominant mode of living in the area. Hutson and Jenkins (1989) have documented this phenomenon in their study of locality and unemployment. What cuts across that view is a dominant ideology which characterises those on the fiddle as scroungers. In order to cope with the two world views which result these young people have to develop a defensive accommodating culture. Such an ideology can also be allowed, but not approved by the mainstream. It is tolerated because it *"keeps you in the working spirit"* (George) and it is marginal.

Hutson and Jenkins (1989) have contributed to the discussion of the importance of individualism in explaining experiences of unemployment and their findings were consistent with my rather smaller group of unemployed people. The function of such individualism, in my view, was not just that it allowed them hope for individual improvement against a bleak background, but that it restored to them some power over their situation. While that might entail a depressing present, it also means the ability to create and to change in the future.

In the end I have to conclude with Willis that they do not see the source of their oppression because it is not simply down to the combination of individualism and limited spatial horizons. In fact as Willis says "A quite marked degree of disenchantment with the prevailing system and a degree of knowledge of exploitation, coupled with culturally mediated (though distorted and partially lived out penetrations of the capitalist system), can co-exist with a calm acceptance of a system and belief that there is no systematic suppression of personal chances in life." (p165).

There is a remaining class/party identification in voting patterns and attitudes to Trades unions although it is not a very strong one. It would be simplistic to see in this evidence of a breakdown of class identity however and I have no comparative evidence upon which to base such a claim. If anything what we see is firm loyalty to the Tory Party in the upper group, a mixed middle group, while the poorest group were either Labour voters or entirely disaffected. It would then be reasonable to argue that the disaffection of the latter group relates to the failure of the Labour Party to serve its masters rather than a general disintegration of class/party identification. The ideology of individualism is significant in affecting young peoples attitudes and the fact of maturing during a period when it has been in the ascendancy politically must inevitably colour their early perceptions of the labour market and their place in it.

Those working class kids who held firm political views held them with an emotional commitment which denied a straight forward instrumental view of politics. Anger and hatred were the main feelings toward the Tory government who were recognised as not serving the interests of working people. This was accompanied by a commitment to the Labour Party or, frequently, a total alienation from the political process. The movement away from the Labour Party to the SDP or to total disenchantment by its 'traditional' supporters as I have said does not signal a breakdown in communalism. Some of those prepared to try another party were aiming to do so in furtherance of this ideology.

What mitigates the worst effects of individualism for the young working class is precisely the combination of localism and communalism which provides worth and meaning in their lives. The place they live in has been shaped by social and working relationships from the past and is adapting to those of the present. These provide the familiar boundaries within which they organise their lives. It is true that on the whole they do not recognise their oppression as emanating from a single identifiable source.

These young people gather their self respect and personal dignity by holding to an alternative ideology which neither challenges nor accepts the ideal of individual achievement. The fragmentation in their perspective arises from their attempt simultaneously to sustain these uncomfortable world views.

Fragmentation is clearly not only experienced in relation to the sense of place in the world in general but can be isolated more particularly both in the relations of production and the social relations to which they give rise. The simple and much recognised fact of social polarisation is evidence of that.

There is no doubt that relationship to the means of production remains the central defining characteristic in determining lifestyle. These young people are not property owners although clearly their parents ownership of property was important to their attitudes. They have not reached the point in their lives when inheritance is a factor. They look forward to a lifestyle based on what they do themselves, although clearly the more affluent children were expecting to receive significant parental support while they established their careers.

It seems likely that the process which Saunders describes reinforces rather than alters this basic relationship.

Fragmentation occurs somewhere down the social scale. For those at the top the confidence with which they meet the future is assured. There is an overarching sense of power over their world which relates to their ability to determine their future and not only in employment terms. They are perhaps more career minded earlier in their lives

than were young people in the 1970s, but they believe and they have evidence to support the view, that they have access to a high standard of living through the medium of educational qualifications. The fact of such single minded career orientation at such a young age might argue for an impoverishment in the quality and choice in the lives of these young people compared with their predecessors. In this respect it allies them more closely to the work attitudes of the intermediate group.

Change is yet more apparent across the generations for those whose life twenty years ago would have been based on a trade. I include women in this in recognition of the fact that their lifestyle would have been based on their husbands income and status. It would be repetition to outline the changes in the class structure and the nature of work , but it is worth pointing out that there are clear discontinuities between the groups over time and if anything these gaps are widening.

There is a myth which continues to have currency, because it actually happened twenty or thirty years ago. This is the myth I alluded to earlier that hard work and talent would result in achievement and social mobility. There are examples of this but they are not numerous. In their parents generation a major change in the occupational structure brought people out of the working class and moved them into the middle class. It is hard to deny this belief when everyone knows someone who *"did well for themselves"*. Nevertheless expectations on a similar scale for this generation are bound to be frustrated.

The world is not experienced as a continuum by these young people in which by dint of hard work and a modicum of talent you can achieve anything. It is a whole series of broken and distinct places and it is the lack of mobility between them which makes the experience of stratification also one of fragmentation.

This first direct experience of it is in their education when they learn that, despite the official claims that their education is a continuum tailored to their individual needs and abilities, most of the people in the bottom band are from the poor area, those in the top band are from the affluent one and movement between bands is rare. Instead of being able to achieve anything, children in the bottom band recognise that they are being made ready for work in the lower reaches of the labour market. As Jenkins (1983) points out they have to contend with 'a taken for granted model of ability and meritocratic achievement which seem to legitimise both success and failure. (Jenkins p61). The point is clearly made when qualifications are discussed .

Qualifications do not all have value even when they are aligned to particular sectors of the labour market. While 'A' and 'O' levels were universally regarded as worthwhile 'CSE's were universally deemed irrelevant, by the upper class children because of their

poor academic standing and by the lower class children for their lack of applicability to work and the recognition that their potential employers had no interest in them anyway. The model which recognises the instrumental attitude of the middle classes to education, seeking qualifications as a gateway to a career and compares that with working class attitudes which seek relevance in learning, appears to have been borne out in this study.

In addition to this these kids are well aware that it is simply not the case that if you work hard at school what you can achieve is limited only by your own intelligence. They know that their movement is free within a fairly restricted band and they act upon this knowledge either by acceptance or by developing an alternative or oppositional culture such as the counter school culture described by Willis. If the arguments for an open society were generally true there would be more evidence of mobility than appeared from this sample. In fact Sennett and Cobb's (1972) description of American society as a 'permeable' hierarchy is closer to reality. The fact that upward social mobility can be achieved reinforces the negative judgements made of those who don't manage it.

Fragmentation in education is confirmed by the fragmentation evident in work between the central and peripheral workforce. In YTS there is also evidence of stratification in experience and this is a significant reinforcement to the labour process because at the point of their entry to the labour market it provides preparation for the form of one's future labour and acts as a yardstick against which people measure the lowest acceptable wage.

There remains a small group of working class lads who still value heavy dirty manual work as an affirmation of their masculinity. The kind of work they relate to is less and less in evidence in Sunderland. They are in a sense being restructured out of existence. The world they identify with, which shaped the lives of their fathers and grandfathers and in turn determined family organisation, is passing. It is still there in part in fiddle jobs on the boats, in peripheral sector jobs in the sawmill but they are not the stuff to base a working life on. There is no shortage of subemployment, (Norris) but if these lads are to get full time long term work their opportunities are very limited. Nissan, modelled on a rather different concept of worker relations and a very different worker image is more likely to be the future style.

This group is not interchangeable with the young people in the central working class and it might be argued that this lends support to the view that there is an underclass. What is wrong with the concept of underclass however is that it is an analysis which sees that group as subject but never as creator. It fails to recognise the dynamic element in class relations. It posits a model in which capitalism defines the world and consequently orders the way in which people live. Such a model cannot be a competent representation

of reality because it fails to take account of how actors understand the world and how they act upon it.

We have seen evidence of struggle and the achievement in the past of some part of the working class in gaining control in the production process. Capital's response to this has been an attempt to redefine boundaries and to break down lines of demarcation. As I have said in the problematic chapter the closure of traditional industries and undermining of skills in the production process have in part served this purpose. The model of working relations at Nissan is the epitome of that achievement. What we have no clear perspective on, as yet, is what the collective response of working people will be to these changes.

We must ask then what will be the further implications of these changes for young people now entering the labour market. Jenkins (1983) found that "the surest route to an unskilled job or indeed unemployment, is the absence of a clearly formulated goal in the labour market which is predicated on the establishment of specific occupational identities". If what is happening is the creation of job 'flexibility' such as that identified at Nissan then here again we see a tradition changing. This change is also percolating through to the once impregnable realms of the skilled worker. A sign that capital is explicitly embracing and turning to advantage what the lads in both Jenkins and Willis studies had already recognised, the undifferentiated nature of much manual work.

What is essential to understanding this process is the recognition with Foster (1974) of an ever changing balance in the struggle between capital and labour.

In a study which relies on the proposition that 'base determines superstructure' and that 'social being determines consciousness' and which understands these propositions in the terms outlined in Chapter 2, the approach of asking people seemed to be the most appropriate. While recognising the strictures upon this approach (Hammersley 1989) I would still hold that this is the most sensible way to do it.

Asking people has yielded a mountain of information which I have sifted through and tried to make sense of using concepts detailed in the problematic chapter. I have organised what I have learned around these concepts and it has yielded an understanding of Sunderland and its young people which perhaps hold few or no surprises for the reader. It is nonetheless an attempt to render an account of how the young people I interviewed expressed their world to me and how I understood it. One area which requires greater attention than the study has been able to give is the meaning of leisure. I take note of Willis (1990) point that since work has been stripped of aspects of control and creativity for young working class people, leisure has assumed far greater significance in forming personal identity. I have gathered together a set of ideas related to the

structure of Sunderland to help in understanding processes of deindustrialisation and associated changes in gender and family. The aim has been to develop a way of understanding the world these young people encountered.

I have learned what I could from the work of other ethnographers and have used their insights to inform my work. The major difference in emphasis comes in my conclusions in relation to the impact of change. My interviews have led me to conclude that for the intermediate and lower groups in my study fragmentation occurs not only between groups but within each groups model of the world. This is a reflection of the need to accommodate change and to restyle their lives in response and it is this which gives rise to a fragmented world view.

In dealing with a fragmenting world it seems to me that these young people hold to their origins as the only model they have. Underlying this is the truth that it is origin combined with educational achievement which determines their lives. Most are seeking a way of establishing lifestyles similar to their own parents, with more or less optimism of their chances of success. I can see no evidence from the ethnographic material to support the view that with changes in the specifics of the traditional world, have come changes in the basic facts of class.

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