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

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**MA Thesis**

**Gillian Callaghan**

**University of Durham**

**1991**



**10 JUL 1992**

# Appendix I      Table of Socio-economic indicators

	<i>Area</i>	<i>I.</i>	<i>II.</i>	<i>III.</i>
1. Total population	3522	2654	4410	
2. % population in private households 0-4	7.8	6.9	5.4	
3. % population in private households 5-15	18.7	18.5	13.9	
4. % households with children	46.0	39.6	38.9	
5. % households with children headed by a single parent	7.3	24.6	12.3	
6. % households with six or more persons	3.1	6.7	3.8	
7. % household density 1.5	0.3	1.1	0.5	
8. % households with five or more rooms	70.5	45.8	42.8	
9. % pop. resident in private households owner occupied	68.3	5.9	40.3	
10. % pop.resident in private households L.A. tenants	24.9	85.1	49.1	
11. % pop. resident in private households unfurnished tenants	2.1	1.6	4.9	
12. % pop. resident in private households furnished tenants	1.1	1.3	2.2	
13. % households with no car	28.6	73.5	60.1	
14. % households with 2 or more cars	15.3	2.8	5.4	
15. % total population economically active	66.5	58.4	56.4	
16. % married women economically active	52.3	38.6	44.0	
17. % total adults 16+ full time workers	50.8	33.5	39.8	
18. % total employed residents 16+	24.3	17.0	17.8	
19. % working full time	83.6	80.6	82.7	
20. % working part time	15.8	19.4	17.3	
21. % total females 16+ working full time	29.0	18.5	21.5	
22. % total females 16+ working part time	18.4	15.2	16.0	
23. unemployed males as % of economically active males	9.5	32.2	15.1	
24. unemployed females as % of economically active females	6.3	16.6	9.3	
25. % households head economically active and S.C.I	5.5	1.5	1.2	
26. % households head economically active and S.C.II	22.2	4.1	7.6	
27. % households head economically active and S.C.III (non-manual)	11.2	3.6	6.0	
28. % households head economically active and S.C.III(manual)	29.3	25.8	26.0	
29. % households head economically active and S.C.IV	7.6	12.9	11.2	
30. % households head economically active and S.C.V	1.9	8.0	3.7	
31. % total persons economically inactive	32.7	41.4	43.2	
32. % total persons 16+ students	4.8	3.1	3.0	

## *Appendix II*      **The Interview Schedule**

The interview schedule outlined below, was designed to address the issues outlined in the Problematic. I used it as a prompt and as a means of checking at the end of the interview that all of the topics of interest had been covered.

1.      *Personal Details*

age  
sex  
employment status  
home circumstances/ household structure

2.      *Personal History*

Education:

schools attended  
feelings about school  
qualifications  
staying on at 16  
parents views on education

Parents:

occupations  
ages  
home  
housing tenure  
type of accommodation  
area  
family networks

Siblings:

age  
sex  
occupations  
residence  
aspirations achievement

### 3. *Personal Relationships*

#### Parents:

- attitude to further training/ qualifications
- attitude to respondent's work/ unemployment
- parents aspirations for children
- independence v. subsidy
- expectation of independence
- life in two years time

#### Friends:

- employment status
- nature of employment
- changes in friendships and reasons
- effects of differences in money status on friendships

#### Partnerships:

- employment status of partner
- nature of employment
- effects of unemployment
- how time together is spent
- who pays

### 4. *Marriage / cohabitation:*

- intention/ expectation to marry
- age
- factors affecting decision
- attitude to cohabitation - as alternative or as preparation for marriage
- financial security
- effects of employment status
- life at 30
- breadwinner
- division of household chores
- children
- marriage and single parenthood
- effect of children on career/ working life
- independence before partnership
- parents views and their impact

- 
5.     *Leisure*
    - describe a typical week
    - significance of money
    - ability to choose leisure pursuits and restraints on choice     leisure quality for working and unemployed
  6.     *Work*
    - availability of work
    - employment history
    - expectations-type
    - satisfaction
    - wage
    - ideal job
    - jobs you would refuse
    - reasonable wage
    - what represents a reasonable, good and low wage
    - importance of promotion prospects
    - qualifications
  7.     *Spatial orientation*
    - Sunderland/ national labour market
    - preferences
    - travelling to work-job opportunities
  8.     *Attitude to Unemployed*
    - scrounger image
    - personal knowledge of scroungers
    - responsibility for unemployment
    - fiddle work
    - effects of long term unemployment
    - contact with unemployed people
  9.     *Finances*
    - managing money
    - parental support
    - effects on activities/ leisure
  10.    *Policy*
    - attitude to special employment schemes
    - as preparation for and access to full time work
    - compulsory schemes
    - personal experience

11. *Politics*

vote - most recent and projected

factors influencing vote

political activity

attitude to Trades Unions

Trade Union activity

expectations of unions- their role , effectiveness

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As a student of Durham University, I am undertaking research into the experience and expectations of young people in Sunderland. This involves a survey of a representative range of young people and I hope you will be prepared to help me with this survey by agreeing to be interviewed. The information I will collect will be strictly for the purposes of my research and no one who agrees to talk to me will be identified in the research by name.

I will be in you area in a couple of days and would like to call and see you. If you are not able to talk to me then I hope we will be able to make an appointment for some future date.

I would be very grateful for your help in this matter and look forward to seeing you later this week.

Yours sincerely,

Gill Callaghan



## *Appendix IV*      **Quantitative Tables**

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**Table 1**  
**Gender and Intention to have Children**

<i>GENDER</i>	<b>COUNT</b> <b>ROW PCT</b> <b>COL PCT</b> <b>TOT PCT</b>	<i>CHILDREN</i>			<b>ROW</b> <b>TOTAL</b>
		<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	
		<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>1</b>		<b>19</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>
		95.0		5.0	50.0
<b>Male</b>		51.4		50.0	
		47.5		2.5	
<b>2</b>		<b>18</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>
		90.0	5.0	5.0	50.0
<b>Female</b>		48.6	100.0	50.0	
		45.0	2.5	2.5	
<b>COLUMN</b>		<b>37</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		92.5	2.5	5.0	100.0

**Table 2**  
**Educational Qualifications and**  
**Preferred Age for Marriage**

		MARAGE				
EDQUALS	COUNT	Under	20 - 24	25 -	30+	ROW
	ROW PCT	20		29		TOTAL
	COL PCT					
	TOTAL PCT	1	2	3	4	
	1	1		4		5
		20.0		80.0		12.8
	None	33.3		15.4		
		2.6		10.3		
	2	1		7		13
	CSE below	7.7		53.8		33.3
	grade 1	33.3		26.9		
		2.6		17.9		
	3		2	6		8
	Up to 5 'O'		25.0	75.0		20.5
	levels or		25.0	23.1		
	CSE grade 1		5.1	15.4		
	4	1				1
	Above 5	100.0				2.6
	'O' levels	33.3				
		2.6				
	5		1	9	2	12
	'A' levels		8.3	75.0	16.7	30.8
	(currently		12.5	34.6	100.0	
	studying					
	or achieved)		2.6	23.1	5.1	
	COLUMN	3	8	26	2	39
	TOTAL	7.7	20.5	66.7	5.1	100

**Table 3**  
**Gender and Preferred Age for Marriage**

		MARAGE				ROW TOT
COUNT	ROW PCT	Under	20 -	25 -	30+	
COL PCT	TOT PCT	20	24	29		
		1	2	3	4	
1			5	13	1	19
GENDER			26.3	68.4	5.3	48.7
Male			62.5	50.0	50.0	
			12.8	33.3	2.6	
2		3	3	13	1	20
		15.0	15.0	65.0	5.0	51.3
Female		100.0	37.5	50.0	50.0	
		7.7	7.7	33.3	2.6	
COLUMN		3	8	26	2	39
TOT		7.7	20.5	66.7	5.1	100.0

**Table 4**  
**Gender and Work Expectations**

	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	INTENT			ROW TOTAL
		Career	Trade	Job	
		1	2	3	
GENDER	1	8	7	5	20
		40.0	35.0	25.0	50.0
	Male	50.0	63.6	38.5	
		20.0	17.5	12.5	
	2	8	4	8	20
		40.0	20.0	40.0	50.0
	Female	50.0	36.4	61.5	
		20.0	10.0	20.0	
	COLUMN	16	11	13	40
	TOTAL	40.0	27.5	32.5	100.0

**Table 5**  
**Gender and Social Class**

		SOCCLASS					ROW TOT
GENDER	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	1	2	3	4	6	
	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>
		5.3	21.1	10.5	10.5	52.6	48.7
	<b>Male</b>	25.0	66.7	22.2	28.6	76.9	
		2.6	10.3	5.1	5.1	25.6	
	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>20</b>
		15.0	10.0	35.0	25.0	15.0	51.3
	<b>Female</b>	75.0	33.3	77.8	71.4	23.1	
		7.7	5.1	17.9	12.8	7.7	
	<b>COLUMN</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>39</b>
	<b>TOT</b>	10.3	15.4	23.1	17.9	33.3	100.0

Key to Social Class

1 - Professional; 2 - Managerial and Technical; 3 - Clerical and minor supervisory; 4 - Skilled Manual; 6 - Unskilled Manual

\* Those with no Social Class assignment were assigned according to Social Class of father.

**Table 6**  
**Gender and Experience of 'Fiddle' Jobs**

		FIDDLE		ROW TOTAL
		Yes	No	
		1	2	
COUNT	ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT			
GENDER	1	6	14	20
		30.0	70.0	50.0
	Male	100.0	41.2	
		15.0	35.0	
	2		20	20
			100.0	50.0
	Female		58.8	
			50	
COLUMN		6	34	40
TOTAL		15.0	85.0	100.0



*Table 7*  
*Wage Expectations*

## WAGE

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
→£5,000 p.a	1	19	47.5	47.5	47.5
£5,000-£10,000	2	12	30.0	30.0	77.5
£10,000 +	3	9	22.5	22.5	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 8**  
**Gender and Wage Expectations**

	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	WAGE			ROW TOTAL
		→ £5,000	£5,000 - £10,000	£10,000+	
		1	2	3	
<i>GENDER</i>	1	7	8	5	20
		35.0	40.0	25.0	50.0
	Male	36.8	66.7	55.6	
		17.5	20.0	12.5	
	2	12	4	4	20
		60.0	20.0	20.0	50.0
	Female	63.2	33.3	44.4	
		30.0	10.0	10.0	
COLUMN		19	12	9	40
TOTAL		47.5	30.0	22.5	100.0

**Table 9**  
**Gender and Labour Market Orientation**

	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	ORIENT		ROW TOTAL
		Sunderland Orientation	Nationally Orientated	
		1	2	
GENDER	1	11	9	20
		55.0	45.0	50.0
	Male	40.7	69.2	
		27.5	22.5	
	2	16	4	20
		80.0	20.0	50.0
	Female	59.3	30.8	
		40.0	10.0	
	COLUMN	27	13	40
	TOTAL	67.5	32.5	100.0

**Table 10**  
**Gender and Occupation**

		OCC								
COUNT									ROW	
ROW PCT									TOT	
COL PCT										
TOT PCT		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
GENDER	1	6	4	2	5	3			20	
		30.0	20.0	10.0	25.0	15.0			50.0	
	Male	75.0	44.4	100.0	38.5	60.0				
		15.0	10.0	5	12.5	7.5				
	2	2	5		8	2	1	2	20	
		10.0	25.0		40.0	10.0	5.0	10.0	50.0	
	Female	25.0	55.6		61.5	40.0	100.0	100.0		
		5.0	12.5		20.0	5.0	2.5	5.0		
Column		8	9	2	13	5	1	2	40	
Tot		20.0	22.5	5.0	32.5	12.5	2.5	5.0	100.0	

Key to Occupation:

1 - Unemployed; 2 - Full-time education;  
 3 - Full-time education and part-time job; 4 - Work;  
 5 - YTS; 6 - Mother; 7 - Housewife/mother.

**Table 11**  
**Gender and Future Expectation of**  
**Unemployment**

		EXPECTUE				ROW TOT
COUNT						
ROW PCT						
COL PCT						
TOT PCT						
		1	2	3	4	
1		7	4	2	7	20
GENDER		35.0	20.0	10.0	35.0	50.0
Male		63.6	50.0	40.0	43.8	
		17.5	10.0	5.0	17.5	
2		4	4	3	9	20
		20.0	20.0	15.0	45.0	50.0
Female		36.4	50.0	60.0	56.3	
		10.0	10.0	7.5	22.5	
COLUMN		11	8	5	16	40
TOT		27.5	20.0	12.5	40.0	100.0

Key to Expectation of Unemployment:

1 - Probable; 2 - Possible; 3 - Unlikely; 4 - Impossible

**Table 12**  
**Gender and Expectation of Job Satisfaction**

		JSATEX			ROW TOT
COUNT	ROW PCT	None	Low	High	
COL PCT	TOT PCT	1	2	3	
1		8	5	7	20
GENDER		40.0	25.0	35.0	50.0
Male		57.1	50.0	43.8	
		20.0	12.5	17.5	
2		6	5	9	20
		30.0	25.0	45.0	50.0
Female		42.9	50.0	56.3	
		15.0	12.5	22.5	
COLUMN		14	10	16	40
TOT		35.0	25.0	40.0	100.0

**Table 13**  
**Household Structure**

**LIVING IN**

<b>VALUE</b>	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUM PERCENT</b>
<b>Family of Origin 1</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>82.5</b>	<b>82.5</b>	<b>82.5</b>
<b>Other 2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**Table 14**  
**Financial Status**

*FINSTAT*

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Independent	1	4	10.0	10.0	10.0
Subsidised	2	36	90.0	90.0	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	



**Table 15**  
**Locality and Financial Status**

		FINSTAT		ROW TOT
COUNT	ROW PCT	Independent	Subsidised	
COL PCT	TOT PCT	1	2	
Locality	1		14	14
	High		100.0	35.0
			38.9	
			35.0	
Intermediate	2	1	13	14
		7.1	92.9	35.0
		25.0	36.1	
		2.5	32.5	
Low	3	3	9	12
		25.0	75.0	30.0
		75.0	25.0	
		7.5	22.5	
COLUMN		4	36	40
TOT		10.0	90.0	100.0

**Table 16**  
**Educational Qualifications and Financial Status**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	FINSTAT		ROW TOT
	Independent	Subsidised	
	1	2	
<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<i>EDQUALS</i>	20.0	80.0	12.5
<b>None</b>	25.0	11.1	
	2.5	10.0	
<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>CSE below grade 1</b>	15.4	84.6	32.5
	50.0	30.6	
	5.0	27.5	
<b>3</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Up to 5</b>		100.0	20.0
<b>'O' levels or 5</b>		22.2	
<b>CSE grade 1</b>		20.0	
<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
<b>5+ 'O' levels</b>	100.0		2.5
<b>or CSE grade 1</b>	25.0		
	2.5		
<b>5</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>'A' levels</b>		100.0	32.5
<b>(currently studying</b>		36.1	
<b>or achieved)</b>		32.5	
<b>COLUMN</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>TOT</b>	10.0	90.0	100.0

**Table 17**  
**Social Class and Financial Status**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	FINSTAT		ROW TOT
	Independent	Subsidised	
	1	2	
1		4	4
SOCCLASS		100.0	10.3
Professional		11.4	
		10.3	
2		6	6
		100.0	15.4
Managerial		17.1	
		15.4	
3		9	9
		100.0	23.1
Clerical		25.7	
		23.1	
4		7	7
		100.0	17.9
Skilled Manual		20.0	
		17.9	
6	4	9	13
	30.8	69.2	33.3
Unskilled Manual	100.0	25.7	
	10.3	23.1	
COLUMN	4	35	39
TOT	10.3	89.7	100.0

**Table 18**  
**Locality and Similarity in Occupation**  
**between Respondent and Siblings**

		SIBLINGS		ROW TOT
COUNT		Homogeneous	Heterogeneous	
ROW PCT				
COL PCT				
TOT PCT		1	2	
1		12		12
LOCALITY		100.0		35.3
High		46.2		
		35.3		
2		8	4	12
		66.7	33.3	35.3
Intermediate		30.8	50.0	
		23.5	11.8	
3		6	4	10
		60.0	40.0	29.4
Low		23.1	50.0	
		17.6	11.8	
COLUMN		26	8	34
TOT		76.5	23.5	100.0

**Table 19**  
**Locality and Siblings Occupation**

SIBOCC							ROW TOT
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	2	3	5	6	7	8	
1	3				9		12
LOCALITY	25.0				75.0		35.3
High	50.0				60.0		
	8.8				26.5		
2	3	2	1	2	3	1	12
	25.0	16.7	8.3	16.7	25.0	8.3	35.3
Intermediate	50.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	20.0	20.0	
	8.8	5.9	2.9	5.9	8.8	2.9	
3			1	2	3	4	10
			10.0	20.0	30.0	40.0	29.4
Low			50.0	50.0	20.0	80.0	
			2.9	5.9	8.8	11.8	
COLUMN	6	2	2	4	15	5	34
TOT	17.6	5.9	5.9	11.8	44.1	14.7	100.0

Key to Siblings Occupation:

2 - Managerial; 3 - Clerical;  
 5 - Semi-skilled Manual; 6 - Unskilled Manual;  
 7 - Full-time education; 8 - Unemployed.

**Table 20**  
**Highest Level of Qualifications of Respondent**  
**and Similarity in Occupation of Sibling**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	SIBLINGS		ROW TOT
	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous	
	1	2	
1	4	1	5
EDQUALS	80.0	20.0	14.7
None	15.4	12.5	
	11.8	2.9	
2	8	2	10
CSE below	80.0	20.0	29.4
grade 1	30.8	25.0	
	23.5	5.9	
3	3	4	7
Up to 5 'O' levels	42.9	57.1	20.6
or CSE grade 1	11.5	50.0	
	8.8	11.8	
4		1	1
5+ 'O' levels		100.0	2.9
		12.5	
		2.9	
5	11		11
	100.0		32.4
'A' Level	42.3		
	32.4		
COLUMN	26	8	343
TOT	76.5	23.5	100.0

**Table 21**  
**Highest Educational Qualification**  
**gained by Siblings Occupation**

SIBOCC							ROW TOT
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	2	3	5	6	7	8	
<b>1</b> <i>EDQUALS</i> <b>None</b>			<b>1</b> 20.0 50.0 2.9		<b>1</b> 20.0 6.7 2.9	<b>3</b> 60.0 60.0 8.8	<b>5</b> 14.7
<b>2</b> <b>CSE below</b> <b>grade 1</b>		<b>2</b> 20.0 100.0 5.9	<b>1</b> 10.0 50.0 2.9	<b>1</b> 10.0 25.0 2.9	<b>5</b> 50.0 33.3 14.7	<b>1</b> 10.0 20.0 2.9	<b>10</b> 29.4
<b>3</b> <b>Up to 5'O'</b> <b>levels or CSE</b> <b>grade 1</b>	<b>2</b> 28.6 33.3 5.9			<b>2</b> 28.6 50.0 5.9	<b>2</b> 28.6 13.3 5.9	<b>1</b> 14.3 20.0 2.9	<b>7</b> 20.6
<b>4</b> <b>5+ 'O' levels</b>	<b>1</b> 100.0 16.7 2.9						<b>1</b> 2.9
<b>5</b> <b>'A' levels</b>	<b>3</b> 27.3 50.0 8.8			<b>1</b> 9.1 25.0 2.9	<b>7</b> 63.6 46.7 20.6		<b>11</b> 32.4
<b>COLUMN TOT</b>	<b>6</b> 17.6	<b>2</b> 5.9	<b>2</b> 5.9	<b>4</b> 11.8	<b>15</b> 44.1	<b>5</b> 14.7	<b>34</b> 100.0

Key to Siblings Occupation:

2 - Managerial; 3 - Clerical; 5 - Semi-skilled Manual; 6 - Unskilled Manual; 7 - Full-time education; 8 - Unemployed.

**Table 22**  
**Father's Occupation and Siblings Occupation**

COUNT	SIBOCC						ROW
ROW PCT							TOT
COL PCT							
TOT PCT	2	3	5	6	7	8	
1	1				3		4
FATHOCC	25.0				75.0		12.1
	20.0				20.0		
	3.0				9.1		
	2				6		8
	25.0				75.0		24.2
	40.0				40.0		
	6.1				18.2		
	3			1	1		3
	33.3			33.3	33.3		9.1
	20.0			25.0	6.7		
	3.0			3.0	3.0		
	4	1		1	4	1	8
	12.5	12.5		12.5	50.0	12.5	24.2
	20.0	50.0		25.0	26.7	20.0	
	3.0	3.0		3.0	12.1	3.0	
	5		1				1
			100.0				3.0
			50.0				
			3.0				
	6	1	1	2	1	4	9
		11.1	11.1	22.2	11.1	44.4	27.3
		50.0	50.0	50.0	6.7	80.0	
		3.0	3.0	6.1	3.0	12.1	
	COLUMN	5	2	2	4	15	5
TOT	15.2	6.1	6.1	12.1	45.5	15.2	100.0

Key to Occupations:

1 - Professional; 2 - Managerial; 3 - Clerical; 4 - Skilled Manual; 5 - Semi-skilled Manual; 6 - Unskilled; 7 - Full-time Education; 8 - Unemployed



**Table 23**  
**Intention to Marry**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	37	92.5	92.5	92.5
Uncertain	3	3	7.5	7.5	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 24**  
**Intention to Cohabit**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	19	47.5	47.5	47.5
No	2	11	27.5	27.5	75.0
Uncertain	3	10	25.0	25.0	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 25**  
**Intention to have Children**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Yes	1	37	92.5	92.5	92.5
No	2	1	2.5	2.5	95.0
Uncertain	3	2	5.0	5.0	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 26**  
**Preferred Age for Marriage**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Under 20	1	3	7.5	7.7	7.7
20 - 24	2	8	20.0	20.5	28.2
25 - 29	3	26	65.0	66.7	94.9
30+	4	2	5.0	5.1	100.0
	0	1	2.5	Missing	
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 27**  
**Tenure and Expectation of Home Ownership**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT  TOT PCT	HOMOWN			ROW TOT
	Expect Home Ownership	Do Not Expect Home Ownership	Unlikely to be Home Owner	
	1	2	3	
1	26	1	4	31
TENURE	83.9	3.2	12.9	77.5
Owner	96.3	25.0	44.4	
Occupier	65.0	2.5	10.0	
2	1	3	5	9
	11.1	33.3	55.6	22.5
Tenant	3.7	75.0	55.6	
	2.5	7.5	12.5	
COLUMN TOT	27	4	9	40
	67.5	10.0	22.5	100.0

**Table 28**  
**Similarity of Occupation of Partner and that of Respondent**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Homogeneous	1	27	67.5	81.8	81.8
Heterogeneous	2	6	15.0	18.2	100.0
No partner	3	7	17.5	Missing	
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 29**  
**Gender and Occupation of Partner**

PARTOCC					
COUNT	Work	Full-time	Unemployed	YTS (CP)	ROW
ROW PCT		Education			TOT
COL PCT					
TOT PCT	1	2	3	4	
1	5	4	2	5	16
GENDER	31.3	25.0	12.5	31.3	48.5
Male	41.7	50.0	25.0	100.0	
	15.2	12.1	6.1	15.2	
2	7	4	6		17
	41.2	23.5	35.3		51.5
Female	58.3	50.0	75.0		
	21.2	12.1	18.2		
COLUMN	12	8	8	5	33
TOT	36.4	24.2	24.2	15.2	100.0

**Table 30**  
**Occupation of Respondent**  
**and Occupation of Partner**

PARTOCC					
COUNT	Work	Full-time Education	Unemployed	YTS	ROW
ROW PCT					TOT
COL PCT					
TOT PCT	1	2	3	4	
1	3		3	2	8
OCC	37.5		37.5	25.0	24.2
	25.0		37.5	40.0	
	9.1		9.1	6.1	
2		4		2	6
		66.7		33.3	18.2
		50.0		40.0	
		12.1		6.1	
3		2			2
		100.0			6.1
		25.0			
		6.1			
4	6	1	3		10
	60.0	10.0	30.0		30.3
	50.0	12.5	37.5		
	18.2	3.0	9.1		
5	2	1		1	4
	50.0	25.0		25.0	12.1
	16.7	12.5		20.0	
	6.1	3.0		3.0	
6			1		1
			100.0		3.0
			12.5		
			3.0		
7	1		1		2
	50.0		50.0		6.1
	8.3		12.5		
	3.0		30.0		
COLUMN	12	8	8	5	33
TOT	36.4	24.2	24.2	15.2	100.0

Key to Respondent's Occupation:

1 - Unemployed; 2 - Full-time education; 3 - Full-time education plus a part-time job;  
 4 - Work; 5 - YTS; 6 - Mother; 7 - Housewife.



**Table 31**  
**Responsibility for Domestic Chores**

VALUE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Entirely sex determined 1	4	10.0	10.0	10.0
Partially sex determined 2	20	50.0	50.0	60.0
Entirely interchangeable 3	16	40.0	40.0	100.0
TOTAL	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 32**  
**Gender and Responsibility**  
**for Domestic Chores**

		DOMCH			ROW TOTAL
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT		Entirely by Sex	Partially by Sex	Entirely Interchange- able	
		1	2	3	
GENDER	1	4	9	7	20
		20.0	45.0	35.0	50.0
	Male	100.0	45.0	43.8	
		10.0	22.5	17.5	
	2		11	9	20
			55.0	45.0	50.0
	Female		55.0	56.3	
			27.5	22.5	
COLUMN		4	20	16	40
TOTAL		10.0	50.0	40.0	100.0

**Table 33**  
***Social Class and Responsibility***  
***for Domestic Chores***

<i>DOMCH</i>				
COUNT	Entirely Determined by Sex	Partially Determined by Sex	Entirely Interchange- able	ROW
ROW PCT				TOT
COL PCT				
TOT PCT	1	2	3	
<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>SOCCLASS</i>		25.0	75.0	10.3
<b>Professional</b>		5.3	18.8	
		2.6	7.7	
<b>2</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>
		33.3	66.7	15.4
<b>Managerial</b>		10.5	25.0	
		5.1	10.3	
<b>3</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>
		77.8	22.2	23.1
<b>Clerical</b>		36.8	12.5	
		17.9	5.1	
<b>4</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>
		57.1	42.9	17.9
<b>Skilled</b>		21.1	18.8	
<b>Manual</b>		10.3	7.7	
<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>
	30.8	38.5	30.8	33.3
<b>Unskilled</b>	100.0	26.3	25.0	
<b>Manual</b>	10.3	12.8	10.3	
<b>COLUMN</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>TOT</b>	10.3	48.7	41.0	100.0

**Table 34**  
**Educational Qualifications and**  
**Responsibility for Domestic Chores**

DOMCH				
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	Determined Entirely by Sex	Determined Partially by Sex	Entirely Interchange- able	ROW TOT
	1	2	3	
1	1	1	3	5
EDQUALS	20.0	20.0	60.0	12.5
None	25.0	5.0	18.8	
	2.5	2.5	7.5	
2	2	9	2	13
CSE below	15.4	69.2	15.4	32.5
grade 1	50.0	45.0	12.5	
	5.0	22.5	5.0	
3	1	4	3	8
Up to 5'O'	12.5	50.0	37.5	20.0
levels or CSE	25.0	20.0	18.8	
grade 1	2.5	10.0	7.5	
4		1		1
5+ 'O' levels		100.0		2.5
		5.0		
		2.5		
5		5	8	13
'A' levels		38.5	61.5	32.5
		25.0	50.0	
		12.5	20.0	
COLUMN	4	20	16	40
TOT	10.0	50.0	40.0	100.0

**Table 35**  
**Social Class**

				VALID	CUM
VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	PERCENT	PERCENT
Professional	1	4	10.0	10.3	10.3
Managerial	2	6	15.0	15.4	25.6
Clerical	3	9	22.5	23.1	48.7
Skilled Manual	4	7	17.5	17.9	66.7
Unskilled Manual	6	13	32.5	33.3	100.0
Armed Forces	0	1	2.5	Missing	
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 36**  
**Social Class of Respondent by Father's Occupation**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	SOCCLASS					ROW TOT
	1	2	3	4	6	
1	4					4
	100.0					10.5
FATHOCC	100.0					
	10.5					
2		5	3			8
		62.5	37.5			21.1
		100.0	33.3			
		13.2	7.9			
3			2		1	3
			66.7		33.3	7.9
			22.2		7.7	
			5.3		2.6	
4			2	6	4	12
			16.7	50.0	33.3	31.6
			22.2	85.7	30.8	
			5.3	15.8	10.5	
5					1	1
					100.0	2.6
					7.7	
					2.6	
6			2	1	7	10
			20.0	10.0	70.0	26.3
			22.2	14.3	53.8	
			5.3	2.6	18.4	
COLUMN	4	5	9	7	13	38
TOT	10.5	13.2	23.7	18.4	34.2	100.0

Key to Father's Occupations: 1 - Professional; 2 - Managerial; 3 - Clerical; 4 - Skilled Manual; 5 - Semi-skilled Manual; 6 - Unemployed

Key to Social Class: 1 - Professional; 2 - Managerial and Technical; 3 - Clerical and minor supervisory; 4 - Skilled Manual; 6 - Unskilled Manual

\* Those with no Social Class assignment were assigned according to Social Class of father.

**Table 37**  
**Social Class of Father by**  
**Father's Employment Status**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	FATHES				ROW TOT
	Full-time Work	Unempl- oyed	Long term sick	Retired	
	1	2	3	4	
	1	2	3	4	
<b>1</b>  <i>FATHOCC</i>	<b>4</b>				<b>4</b>
	100.0				10.5
	16.7				
	10.5				
<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>
	88.9			11.1	23.7
	33.3			50.0	
	21.1			2.6	
<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>			<b>3</b>
	66.7	33.3			7.9
	8.3	11.1			
	5.3	2.6			
<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>			<b>11</b>
	72.7	27.3			28.9
	33.3	33.3			
	21.1	7.9			
<b>5</b>		<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
		100.0			2.6
		11.1			
		2.6			
<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>
	20.0	40.0	30.0	10.0	26.3
	8.3	44.4	100.0	50.0	
	5.3	10.5	7.9	2.6	
<b>COLUMN</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>TOT</b>	63.2	23.7	7.9	5.3	100.0

Key to Father's Occupations:

1 - Professional; 2 - Managerial; 3 - Clerical; 4 - Skilled Manual; 5 - Semi-skilled Manual; 6 - Unemployed

**Table 38**  
**Occupation of Respondent**  
**by Social Class of Father**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	OCC							ROW TOT
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1		4						4
FATHOCC		100.0						10.3
		50.0						
		10.3						
2	1	2	2	3		1		9
	11.1	22.2	22.2	33.3		11.1		23.1
	12.5	25.0	100.0	23.1		100.0		
	2.6	5.1	5.1	7.7		2.6		
3		1		1	1			3
		33.3		33.3	33.3			7.7
		12.5		7.7	20.7			
		2.6		2.6	2.6			
4	3	1		5	2		1	12
	25.0	8.3		41.7	16.7		8.3	30.8
	37.5	12.5		38.5	40.0		50.0	
	7.7	2.6		12.8	5.1		2.6	
5					1			1
					100.0			2.6
					20.0			
					2.6			
6	4			4	1		1	10
	40.0			40.0	10.0		10.0	25.6
	50.0			30.8	20.0		50.0	
	10.3			10.3	2.6		2.6	
COLUMN TOT	8	8	2	13	5	1	2	39
	20.5	20.5	5.1	33.3	12.8	2.6	5.1	100.0

Key to Respondent's Occupations:

1 - Unemployed; 2 - Full-time education; 3 - Part-time employment; 4 - Work; 5 - YTS; 6 - Mother; 7 - Housewife.

Key to Father's Occupations:

1 - Professional; 2 - Managerial; 3 - Clerical; 4 - Skilled Manual; 5 - Semi-skilled Manual; 6 - Unemployed



**Table 39**  
**Social Class of Respondent**  
**by Parents Employment Status**

PARES							ROW TOT
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	1	2	3	4	5	6	
<b>1</b> <b>SOCCLASS</b> <b>Professional</b>	<b>2</b> 50.0 28.6 5.1	<b>1</b> 25.0 12.5 2.6	<b>1</b> 25.0 11.1 2.6				<b>4</b> 10.3
<b>2</b> <b>Managerial</b>	<b>2</b> 33.3 28.6 5.1	<b>1</b> 16.7 12.5 2.6	<b>1</b> 16.7 11.1 2.6	<b>2</b> 33.3 33.3 5.1			<b>6</b> 15.4
<b>3</b> <b>Clerical</b>	<b>1</b> 11.1 14.3 2.6	<b>1</b> 11.1 12.5 2.6	<b>3</b> 33.3 33.3 7.7	<b>1</b> 11.1 16.7 2.6	<b>2</b> 22.2 28.6 5.1	<b>1</b> 11.1 50.0 2.6	<b>9</b> 23.1
<b>4</b> <b>Skilled</b> <b>Manual</b>	<b>2</b> 28.6 28.6 5.1	<b>2</b> 28.6 25.0 5.1	<b>1</b> 14.3 11.1 2.6	<b>1</b> 14.3 16.7 2.6	<b>1</b> 14.3 14.3 2.6		<b>7</b> 17.9
<b>6</b> <b>Unskilled</b> <b>Manual</b>		<b>3</b> 23.1 37.5 7.7	<b>3</b> 23.1 33.3 7.7	<b>2</b> 15.4 33.3 5.1	<b>4</b> 30.8 57.1 10.3	<b>1</b> 7.7 50.0 2.6	<b>13</b> 33.3
<b>COLUMN TOT</b>	<b>7</b> 17.9	<b>8</b> 20.5	<b>9</b> 23.1	<b>6</b> 15.4	<b>7</b> 17.9	<b>2</b> 5.1	<b>39</b> 100.0

Key to Parents Employment Status:

- 1 - Both parents in full-time employment;
- 2 - One parent in full-time employment and one parent in part-time employment;
- 3 - One parent in full-time employment;
- 4 - One parent in part-time employment;
- 5 - both parents unemployed;
- 6 - both parents retired.

**Table 40**  
**Social Class of Respondent by Occupation**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	OCC							ROW TOT
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
<b>1</b> SOCCLASS Professional		<b>4</b> 100.0 44.4 10.3						<b>4</b> 10.3
<b>2</b> Managerial		<b>3</b> 50.0 33.3 7.7	<b>2</b> 33.3 100.0 5.1			<b>1</b> 16.7 100.0 2.6		<b>6</b> 15.4
<b>3</b> Clerical	<b>1</b> 11.1 14.3 2.6	<b>1</b> 11.1 11.1 2.6		<b>6</b> 66.7 46.2 15.4	<b>1</b> 11.1 20.0 2.6			<b>9</b> 23.1
<b>4</b> Skilled Manual	<b>2</b> 28.6 28.6 5.1	<b>1</b> 14.3 11.1 2.6		<b>2</b> 28.6 15.4 5.1	<b>1</b> 14.3 20.0 2.6		<b>1</b> 14.3 50.0 2.6	<b>7</b> 17.9
<b>6</b> Unskilled Manual	<b>4</b> 30.8 57.1 10.3			<b>5</b> 38.5 38.5 12.8	<b>3</b> 23.1 60.0 7.7		<b>1</b> 7.7 50.0 2.6	<b>13</b> 33.3
<b>COLUMN TOT</b>	<b>7</b> 17.9	<b>9</b> 23.1	<b>2</b> 5.1	<b>13</b> 33.3	<b>5</b> 12.8	<b>1</b> 2.6	<b>2</b> 5.1	<b>39</b> 100.0

Key to Respondent's Occupations:

1 - Unemployed; 2 - Full-time education; 3 - Full-time education plus part-time employment; 4 - Work; 5 - YTS; 6 - Mother; 7 - Housewife.

**Table 41**  
**Voting Preference**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Labour	1	16	40.0	40.0	40.0
Conservative	2	13	32.5	32.5	72.5
Lib/SDP	3	4	10.0	10.0	82.5
None	5	7	17.5	17.5	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 42**  
**Voting Preference by Social Class**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	Lab	VOTE Cons	Lib/SDP	None	ROW TOT
1	1	2	3	4	
<b>1</b> SOCCLASS Professional		<b>4</b> 100.0 33.3 10.3			<b>4</b> 10.3
<b>2</b>  Managerial	<b>2</b> 33.3 12.5 5.1	<b>2</b> 33.3 16.7 5.1	<b>2</b> 33.3 50.0 5.1		<b>6</b> 15.4
<b>3</b>  Clerical	<b>4</b> 44.4 25.0 10.3	<b>2</b> 22.2 16.7 5.1	<b>1</b> 11.1 25.0 2.6	<b>2</b> 22.2 28.6 5.1	<b>9</b> 23.1
<b>4</b>  Skilled Manual	<b>3</b> 42.9 18.8 7.7	<b>3</b> 42.9 25.0 7.7		<b>1</b> 14.3 14.3 2.6	<b>7</b> 17.9
<b>6</b>  Unskilled Manual	<b>7</b> 53.8 43.8 17.9	<b>1</b> 7.7 8.3 2.6	<b>1</b> 7.7 25.0 2.6	<b>4</b> 30.8 57.1 10.3	<b>13</b> 33.3
<b>COLUMN TOT</b>	<b>16</b> 41.0	<b>12</b> 30.8	<b>4</b> 10.3	<b>7</b> 17.9	<b>39</b> 100.0

**Table 43**  
**Intention to become Politically Active**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
None	1	36	90.0	90.0	90.0
Will join a party	2	1	2.5	2.5	92.5
Will be an active member	3	3	7.5	7.5	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 44**  
**Intention to become active**  
**in a Trade Union by Social Class**

COUNT	TUACT			ROW
ROW PCT	None	Join	Active	TOT
COL PCT				
TOT PCT	1	2	3	
1	1	3		4
SOCCLASS	25.0	75.0		10.3
Professional	4.8	18.8		
	2.6	7.7		
2	3	3		6
	50.0	50.0		15.4
Managerial	14.3	18.8		
	7.7	7.7		
3	6	3		9
	66.7	33.3		23.1
Clerical	28.6	18.8		
	15.4	7.7		
4	6	1		7
	85.7	14.3		17.9
Skilled Manual	28.6	6.3		
	15.4	2.6		
6	5	6	2	13
	38.5	46.2	15.4	33.3
Unskilled Manual	23.8	37.5	100.0	
	12.8	15.4	5.1	
COLUMN	21	16	2	39
TOT	53.8	41.0	5.1	100.0

**Table 45**  
**Trade Union Support by Social Class**

COUNT ROW PCT  COL PCT TOT PCT	Non-Supporters	Supporters	ROW TOT
	1	3	
1 SOCCLASS Professional	4 100.0 16.2 10.3		4 10.3
2  Managerial	3 50.0 13.6 7.7	3 50.0 21.4 7.7	6 15.4
3  Clerical	6 66.6 27.2 15.4	3 33.3 21.4 7.7	9 23.1
4  Skilled Manual	6 85.7 15.8 15.4	1 14.3 7.1 2.6	7 17.9
6  Unskilled Manual	6 46.2 27.2 15.4	7 53.8 50.0 17.9	13 33.3
COLUMN TOT	25 64.1	14 35.9	39 100.0

**Table 46**  
**Social Class by Acceptance**  
**of Scrounger Image**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	SCROUN		ROW TOT
	Fair	Unfair	
	1	2	
1	4		4
SOCCLASS	100.0		10.3
Professional	33.1		
	10.3		
2	4	2	6
	66.6	33.3	15.4
Managerial	33.1	12.5	
	10.3	5.1	
3	6	3	9
	66.6	33.3	23.1
Clerical	50.8	18.8	
	15.4	7.7	
4	5	2	7
	61.4	28.6	17.9
Skilled Manual	47.7	12.5	
	12.9	5.1	
6	4	9	13
	30.8	69.2	33.3
Unskilled Manual	35.4	56.3	
	10.2	23.1	
COLUMN	23	16	39
TOT	59.0	41.0	100.0



**Table 47**  
**Social Class by Attitude to Fiddle Work**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	FIDATT		ROW TOT
	Other	Dishonest	
	1	2	
<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>4</b>
SOCCLASS	100.0		10.3
Professional	16.7		
	10.2		
<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
	50.0	50.0	15.4
Managerial	10.4	42.9	
	7.7	7.7	
<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>
	88.9	11.1	23.1
Clerical	29.1	14.3	
	20.5	2.6	
<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>
	71.4	28.6	17.9
Skilled Manual	14.6	28.6	
	12.9	5.1	
<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>
	92.3	7.7	33.3
Unskilled Manual	24.2	14.3	
	30.8	2.6	
<b>COLUMN TOT</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>39</b>
	82.1	17.9	100

**Table 48**  
**Attitude to Discipline by Social Class**

COUNT	Authoritarian	Other	ROW
ROW PCT			TOT
COL PCT			
TOT PCT	1	2	
1		4	4
SOCCLASS		100.0	
Professional		26.6	
		13.3	
2	3	3	6
	50.0	50.0	
Managerial	20.0	20.0	
	10.0	10.0	
3	3	6	9
	33.3	66.6	
Clerical	20.0	40.0	
	10.0	20.0	
4	1	1	2
	50.0	50.0	
Skilled Manual	6.7	6.7	
	3.3	3.3	
6	8	1	9
	88.9	11.1	
Unskilled Manual	53.3	6.7	
	26.7	3.3	
COLUMN	15	15	30
TOT			

**Table 49**  
**Social Class by Responsibility**  
**for Unemployment**

COUNT ROW PCT	Government	Unions	No single Cause	The Unemployed	ROW TOT
COL PCT TOT PCT	1	2	3	4	
1 SOCCLASS Professional			3 75.0 16.7 7.7	1 25.0 12.5 2.6	4 10.3
2 Managerial	1 16.7 10.0 2.6		4 66.7 22.2 10.3	1 16.7 12.5 2.6	6 15.4
3 Clerical	3 33.3 30.0 7.7	2 22.2 66.7 5.1	3 33.3 16.7 7.7	1 11.1 12.5 2.6	9 23.1
4 Skilled Manual	2 28.6 20.0 5.1		2 28.6 11.1 5.1	3 42.9 37.5 7.7	7 17.9
6 Unskilled Manual	4 30.8 40.0 10.3	1 7.7 33.3 2.6	6 46.2 33.3 15.4	2 15.4 25.0 5.1	13 33.3
COLUMN TOT	10 25.6	3 7.7	18 46.2	8 20.5	39 100.0

**Table 50**  
**Spatial Orientation**

VALUE		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUM PERCENT
Sunderland	1	27	67.5	67.5	67.5
National	2	13	32.5	32.5	100.0
TOTAL		40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 51**  
**Locality by Spatial Orientation**

		ORIENT		ROW TOT
		Sunderland	National	
COUNT				
ROW PCT				
COL PCT				
TOT PCT				
		1	2	
1		7	7	14
Locality		50.0	50.0	35.0
High		25.9	53.8	
		17.5	17.5	
2		8	6	14
		57.1	42.6	35.0
Intermediate		29.6	46.2	
		20.0	15.0	
3		12		12
		100.0		30.0
Low		44.4		
		30.0		
COLUMN		27	13	40
TOT		67.5	32.5	100.0

**Table 52**  
**Social Class by Spatial Orientation**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT	Sunderland	ORIENT National	ROW TOT
	1	2	
<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
SOCCLASS	25.0	75.0	10.3
Professional	3.8	23.1	
	2.6	7.7	
<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>
	33.3	66.7	15.4
Managerial	7.7	30.8	
	5.1	10.3	
<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>
	77.8	22.2	23.1
Clerical	26.9	15.4	
	17.9	5.1	
<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>
	85.7	14.3	17.9
Skilled Manual	23.1	7.7	
	15.4	2.6	
<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>
	76.9	23.1	33.3
Unskilled Manual	38.5	23.1	
	25.6	7.7	
<b>COLUMN TOT</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>39</b>
	66.7	33.3	100.0

**Table 53**  
**Educational Qualifications**  
**by Spatial Orientation**

		ORIENT		
COUNT		Sunderland	National	ROW
ROW PCT				TOTAL
COL PCT				
TOTAL PCT		1	2	
EDQUALS	1	4	1	5
	None	80.0	20.0	12.5
		14.8	7.7	
		10.0	2.5	
	2	11	2	13
	CSE below grade 1	84.6	15.4	32.5
		40.7	15.4	
		27.5	5.0	
	3	8		8
	Up to 5 'O' levels or CSE grade 1	100.0		20.0
		29.6		
		20.0		
4	1		1	
Above 5 'O' levels	100.0		2.5	
	3.7			
	2.5			
5	3	10	13	
'A' levels (currently studying or achieved)	23.1	76.9	32.5	
	11.1	76.9		
	7.5	25.0		
COLUMN		27	13	40
TOTAL		67.5	32.5	100

**Table 54**  
**Occupation by Labour Market Expectations**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT		INTENT			ROW TOT
		Career	Trade	Job	
		1	2	3	
1	OCC		3	5	8
			37.5	62.5	20.0
			27.3	38.5	
			7.5	12.5	
2		9			9
		100.0			22.5
		56.3			
		22.5			
3		2			2
		100.0			5.0
		12.5			
		5.0			
4		4	4	5	13
		30.8	30.8	36.5	32.5
		25.0	36.4	38.5	
		10.0	10.0	12.5	
5		1	3	1	5
		20.0	60.0	20.0	12.5
		6.3	27.3	7.7	
		2.5	7.5	2.5	
6				1	1
				100.0	2.5
				7.7	
				2.5	
7			1	1	2
			50.0	50.0	5.0
			9.1	7.7	
			2.5	2.5	
COLUMN TOT		16	11	13	40
		40.0	27.5	32.5	100.0

Key to Respondent's Occupation:

1 - Unemployed; 2 - Full-time education; 3 - Full-time education plus a part-time job;  
 4 - Work; 5 - YTS; 6 - Mother; 7 - Housewife.



**Table 55**  
**Occupation by Wage Expectation**

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT TOT PCT		WAGE			ROW TOT
		→ £5,000	£5,000 - £10,000	£10,000 +	
		1	2	3	
1	OCC	6	2		8
		75.0	25.0		20.0
		31.6	16.7		
		15.0	5.0		
2		2	7	9	
		22.2	77.8	22.5	
		16.7	77.8		
		5.0	17.8		
3			2	2	
			100.0	5.0	
			22.2		
			5.0		
4	10	3		13	
	76.9	23.1		32.5	
	52.6	25.0			
	25.0	7.5			
5	2	3		5	
	40.0	60.0		12.5	
	10.5	25.0			
	5.0	7.5			
6	1			1	
	100.0			2.5	
	5.3				
	2.6				
7		2		2	
		100.0		5.0	
		16.7			
		5.0			
COLUMN TOT		19	12	9	40
		47.8	30.0	22.0	100.0

Key to Respondent's Occupation:

1 - Unemployed; 2 - Full-time education; 3 - Full-time education plus a part-time job;  
 4 - Work; 5 - YTS; 6 - Mother; 7 - Housewife.

**Table 56**  
**Expectation of Unemployment by Occupation**

		EXPECTUE				ROW	
COUNT	ROW PCT	Probable	Possible	Unlikely	Impossible	TOT	
COL PCT							
TOT PCT		1	2	3	4		
1		6	1	1		8	
		75.0	12.5	12.5		20.0	
OCC		54.5	12.5	20.0			
		15.0	2.5	2.5			
2					9	9	
					100.0	22.5	
					56.3		
					22.5		
3					2	2	
					100.0	5.0	
					12.5		
					5.0		
4		3	2	3	5	13	
		23.1	15.4	23.1	38.5	32.5	
		27.3	25.0	60.0	31.3		
		7.5	5.0	7.5	12.5		
5		1	3	1		5	
		20.0	60.0	20.0		12.5	
		9.1	37.5	20.0			
		2.5	7.5	2.5			
6			1			1	
			100.0			2.5	
			12.5				
			2.5				
7		1	1			2	
		50.0	50.0			5.0	
		9.1	12.5				
		2.5	2.5				
COLUMN		11	8	5	16	40	
TOT		27.5	20.0	12.5	40.0	100.0	

Key to Respondent's Occupation:

1 - Unemployed; 2 - Full-time education; 3 - Full-time education plus a part-time job;  
 4 - Work; 5 - YTS; 6 - Mother; 7 - Housewife.

## *Appendix V.i*      **Ethnography Part 1 - The Lads**

### **Introduction**

The sample is not a 'typical' sample of Sunderland as a whole, the Hendon ward was chosen as one in which three localities exist in close proximity and in which most children attended a single school.

Hendon encompasses some of the best and some of the worst housing and social conditions in the borough. These extremes are represented in the statistics for the three cluster levels which demonstrate wider discrepancies than those seen in Sunderland as a whole. A further determining factor in the choice of Hendon is the fact that a single state comprehensive school, Southmoor school, serves the whole ward. This enables a sample to be drawn of young people from divergent social and economic backgrounds but with a 'common' educational background. It should therefore allow some conclusions to be drawn about differential experiences of education and their impact on work orientation and aspirations.

The ward lies at the heart of Sunderland and boasts a relatively high level of owner occupation echoing its Victorian past (Potts 1988). At its centre one can see the various styles of Victorian terraced dwelling, from large rambling houses to single storey cottages. There is a certain amount of redevelopment so that new council housing coexists, at the centre, with older types of dwelling, while on its western border lies the more expensive, almost entirely owner occupied housing. Some of this is old property but most of it is post war.

It will be useful here to draw a brief picture of each locality, based on the cluster analysis, to show the differential access to resources of its residents.

### **Area I**

The southern and western area is the most affluent part of the ward where the percentage of home ownership is very high at 88%. Homes tend to be larger than average while household size is average or less with only 3.5% of households comprising six or more persons. As one would expect the overcrowding rate is extremely low at less than 1/4 of one percent of the population.

A further indication of the material well being of the population can be seen in rates of car ownership. 65% of households in this area have one car and 16.4% own two or more cars.

The area has the highest proportion of economically active adults and of these 28% are employed in the professional and managerial occupations of social class I and II. This

provides a marked contrast to areas 2 and 3 where the population in those classes is 6.7% and 9% respectively. Only 1.6% of the population of area I were employed in the unskilled manual occupations of social class 5. In this part of the ward the level of unemployment is relatively low at 6.8% for men and 6.1% for women. Of those who are working the vast majority are in full time employment. The statistics suggest that in a relatively high proportion of households both husband and wife are working as over 52% of women are economically active.

## **Area II**

The northern and eastern part of Hendon contains a population who experience severe social and economic deprivation relative to area I. The rate of owner occupation is at its lowest in this area at 21.5% (although it is high for households in cluster II in Sunderland as a whole). Over 56% of people lived in council housing and, although a small percentage in absolute terms, Hendon does contain a relatively high proportion of privately rented property. The majority of people in this area do not own a car and only a very small proportion have two cars.

Household size tends to be large while homes are average to small in size. Not surprisingly the rate of overcrowding is at its highest in this part of the ward. The percentage of households with children is also at its highest and by far the largest proportion of single parent families live in this area.

Rates of economic activity, at just over 60%, are similar to area I however area 2 has the lowest rate of economic activity for married women.

Within the economically active group the largest single social grouping is that of skilled manual workers. None of the occupants of this area are employed in the professions, the majority being in some form of manual work.

Consistent with this class profile are the highest rates of unemployment for both men and women, averaging 43.6% and 24.3% respectively.

## **Area III**

This area forms a band across the ward from the north west to the south east. It provides a belt of intermediate housing between the contrasting conditions in areas I and II.

The population of this area tends to be older with the lowest number of households containing children and less than half as many single parent families as in the north east of the ward. Households tend to be smaller and the rate of overcrowding is just over half of that in the poorest area of the ward.

Housing is predominantly owner occupied, often older terraced property. Car ownership is also more prevalent than in the east of the ward yet the majority of households do not possess a car and only 4.6% have two or more cars.

The proportion of economically active adults is slightly lower than in the poorest area, however married women form a larger group within this population. The rate of male unemployment is less than half of that in the north east of the ward but it is almost three times that of area I. There is a wide range in terms of social class assignment but as in other respects this area is truly intermediate having fewer members of the upper social classes than area I and a larger group from classes III manual and non-manual than area II.

In this appendix I will offer descriptions of six groups of young people based on gender and social class assignment. This account will be structured in terms of home and family background, education, labour market experience, expectations, class and political attitudes and future household and family expectations. The aim will be to convey a picture of each group as a group, although of necessity individual variations must also be documented. This touches upon a problem which must face anyone presenting ethnographic research. While there is no wish to give descriptions in detail to the point of tedium there is clearly a need to offer sufficient information to allow the reader an opportunity to question the subsequent analysis and to arrive at a quite different conclusion. The balance is difficult to achieve and in the interests of completeness the following report may therefore err on the side of superfluity. The analysis which will be brought to bear on the descriptive account will follow the themes set out in the problematic chapter and examined in a preliminary fashion in the quantitative chapter.

## **Social Classes I and II Male**

The social class of almost all of this group was assigned according to social class of the father because they were all continuing their education. One member, Martin, was assigned according to his eldest brother who had recently left home. Martin's father, a skilled man, died when Martin was eleven and his mother relies on a widow's pension. Martin's eldest brother is a Community worker.

## **Home Background**

There was some diversity within the group in home and family background although this was within a limited range as all but one lived in the most affluent area.

Stewart's parents are both G.P's. The family live in a large Victorian semi-detached house and are clearly quite affluent. The remainder of this group was rather less advantaged. Roger and Charles live in similar modern semi-detached houses. Roger's

father owns a hairdressing business while his mother works part-time as a shop assistant. Charles's father is a civil servant in the management grades, his mother is a house wife.

Dominic and Craig both live in large Victorian terraced houses. Their fathers are both teachers in comprehensive schools. Dominic's father being head of Department and Craig's father working on supply after retiring from the navy as an Instructor Officer.

The father of all the lads in this group were in full time work, with the exception of Martin, already mentioned.

Martin is the only member of the group not to live in the most affluent area. He lives in a small terraced house in the intermediate locality. Martin's position in this group is debateable based on his brother's social class rather than his mother's. Martin's brother recently moved away from home and Martin describes him as the '*Yuppie of the family*' although it is quite clear that Martin is heading in the same direction himself. The family's current circumstances are rather poorer than those of the group as a whole relying on Supplementary benefit, widow's pension and Martin's educational maintenance grant. In many other respects however, and in terms of aspirations, Martin is more like this group than any other.

Their parents value educational qualifications highly and almost all had themselves undertaken some further education. Stewart who was expecting to go to Cambridge to study engineering expressed the general view in saying that his parents wanted him to go to University "*to get a job which will pay well, offer security and a high level of job satisfaction*". His father initially hoped that he would follow him into the medical profession but reconciled himself to Stewart's preference for engineering when he realised that there was "*more future in it*". None of the sample was pursuing higher education as an end in itself, all had careers firmly in mind.

Martin's mother had no experience of further education but he told me that she had "*pressurised*" him into continuing his education because she did not want him to see him on the dole. Dominic found conflict in his parent's view which he put down to their own personal experience. His mother wanted him to leave school after 'A' levels to get a job "*that's' the way she's orientated 'cos she's worked since she was fifteen*". His father he said was different, he "*understood more*" having gained qualifications himself and established a career.

More often the response to questions about parent's attitudes was that the question was not discussed, they simply always expected to go to University regardless of particular job choice. Charles denied any parental pressure upon him to continue his education and said that his parents had not urged him to stay on, or "*only as much as any parent would*".

It was clear that for most of the group higher education as a preliminary to a career was taken for granted as a route into work.

Roger's parents are in business rather than in professional occupations. His father, after a public school education, scandalised Roger's grandfather by becoming a hairdresser. He now runs his own business. Roger's mother took typing qualifications after leaving school but now works part-time as a shop assistant. Roger's parents are very keen to see him go into higher education and have urged him to continue accumulating 'O' levels and to take 'A' levels in the future. Roger's father would like him to apply for University like his elder brother who is currently studying for a Physics degree.

Roger accepts that he needs qualifications. He left school with 10 CSE's (one at grade 1) which he told me were not good enough. After two years at Monkwearmouth CFE he now has 2 'O' levels and will sit 'A' levels next year. He is unlike the rest of the group in that he does not aspire to go to University. He is entirely Sunderland orientated and would prefer a trade or job as a fireman to a professional career. It is clearly a major point of conflict between himself and his parents and the cause of one unsuccessful attempt to move away from home. Despite these differences, he clearly valued the access to a career which education can provide, he told me that if he gets a manual job he will continue to take 'A' levels at night classes.

## Education

The lads had either been to Southmoor or St. Aidan's school. All had been in the top band. Their routes into further education had, however, been quite different. Stewart and Charles, both at Southmoor, stayed on into the sixth form, took 'A' levels and at the time of interview were awaiting results for University places. Although Charles did not regard himself as particularly bright he expected to be going to University as Polytechnic was *"scraping the bottom of the barrel"*.

Craig had taken a similar route at St. Aidans and was studying for joint honours in Maths and Physics at Sussex University. He told me that he had been placed in the CSE stream at one point but was moved back into the 'O' level stream in response to pressure from his father and his maths teacher who was also a friend of the family. Martin and Dominic had left their respective schools at sixteen after taking 'O' levels. Martin said he was a *"bit of a punk"* and did not get on with the teachers which, in retrospect, he said was partly because of his attitudes. He was the only member of the sample to argue that insufficient attention was paid to the importance of qualifications in the school. Martin left Southmoor to take 'A' levels at Monkwearmouth College and at the time of the interview was on a Polytechnic foundation course in Art and Design and applying to Universities and Polytechnics to do a degree in Fine Art. Dominic similarly left St.

Aidans at sixteen and took 'A' levels at Monkwearmouth. He told me he had found that he had to take more responsibility for his own studying at Monkwearmouth and friends still at school would probably do better than him academically. Both St. Aidans and Southmoor appear to place considerable emphasis on qualifications to the point, Craig claimed, that pupils were often unable to make the transition to University where they were required to be considerably more self motivated. Only Roger felt his experience of school was entirely negative and told me he *"hated Southmoor and hated the teachers"*. He left with few qualifications and was studying while he was unemployed to try to improve his job prospects.

### **Labour Market Experience**

Labour market experience was quite limited among this group with only Roger having made sustained attempts to find a full-time job. Roger's aim is to become a fireman. He applies annually and has twice been rejected. He told me that selection is based on the letter of application rather than academic qualifications. Nevertheless he believes that qualifications are vital to getting a good job. So far Roger has not worked preferring to go to college than do a YTS He expects to be placed on a community programme scheme in the near future and is happy to do that because the wage is more reasonable. He told me that there is no work available for people like him.

Dominic, Charles and Martin had experience of part-time work, mostly the usual paper round, milk round, shop work etc. Martin occasionally takes sessions leading a music workshop at the local community centre. Only Stewart had never had any experience of paid work.

### **Labour Market Expectations**

Roger was the only member of this group who expected to live and work in Sunderland. All of those with professional careers in mind positively embraced the idea of moving south. Stewart represented this view at the extreme, describing Sunderland as *"dirty and slum-like"* which he ascribed to the *"hold"* of the Labour party in the area. While other members of the group looked forward to leaving the area, their emphasis was more on what 'the south' had to offer in terms of job prospects, excitement and culture. It was seen very much as 'the place to be'. It might be surprising that London was not the preferred destination but was regarded as an oversized and soulless place on the whole. Roger wanted to stay in Sunderland and firmly rejected any suggestion of a move. *"I couldn't get to the matches to start with...everybody I know is round here!"*.

In a sense all members of the group are career orientated. Five of them had professional careers in mind and Roger, whose ideal was to become a fireman, said *"everyone starts at the bottom and works up in the fire service. I'd rather move up in the*



*world than be a fireman all my life.* "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. In discussing the motivation for his choice of job he spoke of the job satisfaction, money and the *"contribution to the community"*. Craig was also confident that he would get a 'good' job. Despite the fact that his subject had no direct application, he told me that graduates from his course were much in demand. He was vague about his actual career choice and plans to have a *"brief but impressive career on the stage"* before perhaps a political career or *"something"* arising from his University degree. His main aim was to *"achieve something"* and he regarded wage level as irrelevant, although he immediately qualified this by saying *"if you're doing something monumental you get paid monumental amounts"*.

Craig and Stewart had the highest expectations of career and the strongest levels of confidence about their ability to succeed in the labour market. The remainder of the group had contingency plans for the future. It is true to say, however, that none of them expected to be stuck in a job they did not like.

Charles plans a route through university into the civil service for training as a forensic scientist. If his grades are unsatisfactory, he will, reluctantly, consider Polytechnic or directly enter the army as an Ammunitions Examiner. He felt a job was important because it confers independence and because *"people respect you if you've got money!"*. Promotion prospects would be a very important factor in job choice.

Martin and Kevin both plan to do degrees in Fine Art and while Martin would like to earn his living as an artist he considered that he would probably have to lecture at least on a part-time basis. There was no suggestion of the starving artist in his garret. *"I want a career job. I have specific ideas about what I want to do. I know people with degrees in Fine Art on CP schemes and I know people who are on scholarships in Rome"*. Dominic's preferred career is in advertising.

None of this group expected to have to take a job for life that they didn't want and apart from Roger, they did not expect to experience unemployment at all. Should the right job not be available immediately they would *"take almost any job"* until the right one came along. One of the most striking aspects of this group was their confidence of their place in the labour market. Dominic accounted for this by saying that employers would consider the school you came from and the area in which you lived as critical.

Martin had a slightly different perspective. *"You just go down to Market Force and say 'me aunt, Jessie, works here, I've got two arms, gis a job!'"*.

All members of this group expected parental support to last until they left further or higher education, although the level of support would vary for different reasons. Martin said his mother would not be able to supplement his income while he was away at college but he would be returning home during holidays and would stay with his mother then. Stewart was being sponsored by Rolls Royce for his Engineering degree at Cambridge and would consequently need less financial help. All expected to have above average levels of remuneration once they started work. Stewart told me that a newly qualified engineer would start on approximately £10,000 p.a. which he felt was *"a bit low"* but there were opportunities for a fairly quick rise. Charles expected £10,000 p.a. as a forensic scientist which was *"survivable but not very good"*. They all told me that initial wage was less important than considerations of job satisfaction and career prospects. It would seem fair to say, however, that they quite realistically expect to have a job which offers a fair measure of all three.

### **How the Other Half Lives**

The other half were generally defined in terms of those taking a different path in life from themselves. For most of the group this was people who had left education at 16, were unemployed or on YTS.

Stewart, Charles and Craig shared similar views on those who leave school at 16 to go on the dole as *"quiet happy"* with their situation, deserving no better having *"messed around"* at school. They could imagine life on the dole as being very limiting and would not choose this path for themselves.

Only Roger had friends who were unemployed and there was a sense in his family that they were partly responsible for Roger having failed to live up to their expectations of him. *"My parents think my friends drag me down to their level; they complain every time I come in about us hanging about down by the garage - they never shut up about it"*. Despite being unemployed Roger considered the long term unemployed to be *"the other half"*. He pins his hopes on becoming a fireman and rising through the ranks. Dominic felt that everyone did not have the same chances in the labour market and while it would probably be quite easy for him to get a job on leaving school *"class still exists - it carried on through school and where you live"*. *"If you've got a good education you're OK, if not you're looking for work in the shipyards and there's nothing there"*.

### **Unemployment**

Dominic quoted *"competition from Japan and Korea"* as the main cause of unemployment in Britain, the fact that British production methods are *"out of date"* and

a “*lot of reasons - mechanisation has taken a lot of work away*”. When asked if he thought that Government had a role to play Dominic said “*no, not directly - they could put people into jobs but it wouldn't be facing up to the situation*”. Charles similarly considered government to have no part to play in solving the problem and regarded it as an entirely individual issue. He felt that the problem of unemployment lay in either the persons lack of intelligence or unreasonable reluctance to move to where the work is.

Craig told me that “*unemployment isn't an issue because every government tries to reduce it - what's the difference between making more jobs and making more schemes?*”. 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*”. Stewart said that he didn't know these people personally but knew them “*by repute*”. He considered that unemployment benefit should be low but at the same time felt that many jobs that people were offered were too lowly paid. He saw government as having a role in encouraging employers “*but not paying to create jobs, like Huckney council*”. He regarded unions as part of the problem “*they're backward looking, they need more flexibility and more competition*” while management he felt could “*invest more in the future.*”

Martin had initially chosen to go into further education to avoid the risk of unemployment “*I didn't want to just slide into a rut of doing nothing, like some of my friends - I wanted some purpose to getting up in the morning. I know you get into a position where you like it - there's no challenge or stimulation. I know some who don't apply for jobs and don't want them, I know others who are really worried and want jobs*”. He regarded the scrounger image as “*very unfair - but saying that I can't see anything wrong in somebody being on the dole if they want to be on the dole. I don't feel bothered by it. If someone wants to live on the dole I can't see anything wrong with it, just another lifestyle*”. In contrast to the scrounger image Martin thought that “*dole can be hard work if you're bored*”.

In terms of responsibility for unemployment he said “*government has a part to play but it is not all on Thatcher - we're also part of the world recession*”. Roger as the only member of the group to have personal experience considered unemployment benefit to be high enough. “*It suits me 'cos I'm not up half the day*”.

He didn't regard anyone as responsible for the level of unemployment “*just things have gone out of date in this country - its the way the world develops - the shipyards ran out of buyers so they have to close it down*”.

Roger told me that all of his friends are unemployed. *"You just get used to it"*. His attitudes were mixed. *"Some people live all their lives on the dole, some just hate it! I can't see myself living on it all my life"*. Despite the fact that he described a lifestyle which typifies the scrounger image - *"getting up at lunchtime, watch TV and go to the bookies"* - Roger said he did not know anyone who could be described as a scrounger.

Dominic regarded the notion that there are scroungers *"lazing about"* as *"absolute rubbish, you can't say the unemployed are too lazy, there are no jobs them - you still get people saying that but its totally impossible to find work for some"*. In relation to his own expectations of unemployment he said *"I like to think I could get a job and not rely on the state"*. Dominic distinguished between unemployment for those at home with parents working and those dependent on benefit. he knew two lads from school who are currently unemployed *"one of them's enjoying the dole but he's living at home with his parents - he's not just relying on the dole to keep him"*. While he had little direct contact with unemployed people his attitudes had been affected by television documentaries.

In view of this range of opinions it is surprising to find that the group is at one in viewing 'fiddle jobs' as understandable while all but Craig saw them as a perfectly legitimate means of getting by.

## YTS

A range of opinions was expressed about YTS and although no-one regarded such schemes as an unalloyed blessing, there was a degree of tolerance for some schemes as an introduction to employment, a motivator etc.. Martin and Dominic had several friends who had experience of poor schemes in which they were used for menial tasks and there was little element of training. Whatever their views, only Stewart regarded making YTS compulsory as a good thing. It was the civil liberties issue which concerned them, expressed in different ways, from Martin saying *"it frightens me - I don't think they should be able to do that"* to Roger's comment *"Its their (the unemployed person's) problem if they just want to laze around all day"*.

Dominic, while accepting the government's motives as valid, pointed out that in the supermarket where he worked, *"the YTS kids do everything that full-timers do and get a quarter of the wage. I work 16 hours a week and they get less than I do"*. Stewart, as the only dissenter, felt that on the whole it was good to enforce YTS to get people off the dole, nevertheless he believed that some schemes were exploitative.

## Trade Unions

Trade Unions were generally seen as left wing political organisations. 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"*.

## Politics

Sunderland is something of a single party town and in their discussion of politics all of the group referred to this. Martin pointed out that the strength of the Labour Party was such that *"if they put a rabbit up, it would get in"*.

There was almost total absence of the stereotypical idealism of the young and in fact much more cynicism and disillusionment about politics and politicians than one might conventionally expect. Martin was the only Labour voter, a choice he had made as the lesser of three evils rather than as a positive commitment. Stewart, Charles and Roger were Conservative voters although the reasons for their choice was interesting. Stewart spoke darkly of *"some nasty things surfacing in the Labour Party"*. Roger would always vote Conservative although he said he did not know why *"they don't just have one big government with Labour and Conservative MP's"*. Charles's reasons for voting Conservative were entirely instrumental. *"If I've got a job I'll vote for the one who's in power...if not I'll vote for someone else...just look after No.1"*.

Dominic and Craig, as Alliance supporters, see themselves as between extremes of political opinion. They opposed Tory policies on the welfare state but saw the Labour Party as taxing the wealth creators.

## Leisure

Those who were at school/college and living at home were able to fill their time without difficulty and expressed satisfaction. Despite being short of money, they had between them, a wide variety of interests. Their leisure didn't centre around pubs and clubs partly because they were too expensive but also because they had other associations and interests. All of them mentioned studying as claiming a considerable portion of leisure time, other interest were typically going out for a drive, visits to friends and TV.

The two who differed were Craig and Roger. Craig having just completed his first term at University, had not yet become involved in the social life there although there was plenty on offer for him. At home he had a very full lists of interests and activities.

Roger being unemployed had more leisure time than anyone else and found it hard to fill it in a satisfactory way. He had given up Saturday afternoon at the match followed by a night out because it left him penniless for the remainder of the week. *"Now I go to*

*the beach or the park during the day and play golf or football at night. The days drag on now...if its sunny I sunbathe then go down to the bookies in the afternoon".*

Roger described typical day. *"Go to bed at 2(am), read for a while before going to sleep, get up at 12.30, watch TV till 2(p.m.), go to the beach till 5(p.m.), home for tea and out again at 7(p.m.) to play golf or football - home at 11, watch TV till 2, go to bed and the whole thing starts again".* Roger was not unhappy with his leisure time but felt restricted by lack of money.

## **Family**

They all expect to form a single lifelong partnership and only Martin thought he might not marry. While all but Craig expected to spend some time in a co-habiting relationship, this was regarded as a preliminary to rather than as an alternative to marriage. Craig, from a Catholic household, said his parents would object to his cohabiting and because of their views he would not do it.

All expected to be married and established in their careers before their children were born. The typical view was that there was *"no rush"* to get married and earlier marriages may be more at risk of breakdown than those which came later following a period of co-habitation.

All were 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, however, saw it as a reason to get married. Although attitudes to abortion were mixed there was no question for most of the group of 'having to get married'.

Within partnerships, as a group, they expected to exercise a considerable degree of flexibility and on the whole domestic chores would be done on the basis of need rather than gender, although it is fair to say that attitudes varied and for some there was only a reluctant acceptance of this role. On the whole they planned to be the breadwinner, while expectations of wives varied from *"a mother should be home to look after children"* to *"a wife should return to work after maternity leave"*. Martin accepted his role as a breadwinner but said he would really like a *"role swap"*. In current relationships there appeared to be a high degree of equality in terms of paying for a night out. Martin was regularly subsidised by his girlfriend, doing a CP scheme but for the remainder girlfriends were at school and in a similar financial situation to themselves. Lads appear to pay at the beginning of the relationship but in the longer term girls contribution increased to equal shares.

## Future

When discussing their future lifestyles all but Roger expected to be at least as well off as their parents currently are. Stewart was able, without reflection, to say 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.”*. He also told me that he would be planning for his children to go into private secondary education. Craig was equally confident of success and told me that by the age of thirty he would have tried everything, *“a brief but impressive career on stage... will be involved in politics and won’t be living in a semi”*. Charles and Dominic expected mundane careers but would be married, have children, careers would be established and they would be owner occupiers (*“perhaps a semi!”*).

Roger expected to be working towards achieving what his parents currently had but felt that he might well have a poorer standard of living and a small house, although as with the others this would be his own.

## Area

Roger’s parents bought their house when they were married and Roger has lived there all of his life. He likes the area and likes living close to his grandparent’s home. Roger has left home before but this was because of an argument with his parents rather than a desire to leave the area. He found he was unable to cope on his own and returned home after 3 months.

Dominic has lived in his present home since he was eleven and likes living there. *“There’s plenty to do around here - there’s three sets of tennis courts and the park.”* He has family living close by who he sees regularly and he also visits relatives in South Shields. When asked about Hendon and its reputation he said that he hadn’t seen much trouble there since he was very young. Dominic has no intention of staying in Sunderland both because of jobs and because *“I want somewhere a bit more exciting”*. He also wanted to be away from *“the lads who go around and cause a riot on a Saturday night when they’re drunk...I don’t like the sub-culture”*.

Charles was born in the south and feels no particular attachment to Sunderland although he sees relatives from North Sunderland and Seaham twice a week. He has lived in his present home for 10 years but clearly has no strong identification with it and will be glad to leave *“there’s no way I’ll come back to Sunderland”*. Charles described Sunderland as a whole as *“dirty”*. *“I live in a posh area - its alright...but I want to move”*.

Craig’s parents and grandparents are from Sunderland but his wider family is spread across the world. His family originates from Spain and he has relatives in Argentina, America and North Africa. Again Craig likes the area he lives in and said he would *“quite*

*like*" to return to Sunderland when he had his degree. He expects however to have to go elsewhere for a job and equally views this prospect with equanimity.

Stewart lives with his father and stepmother having moved to Sunderland from Newcastle. His wider family are in Scarborough and Newcastle and his natural mother currently lives in Stocksfield. Although in the most affluent area he considered it *"depressing"*. He told me *"I don't want to stay here - there's a don't care attitude. I've only noticed it recently"*. This accorded with his general view of Sunderland as *"dirty and slum-like"*. In fact Stewart said he would be happy to return to the North to live and work but he would not come back to Sunderland itself. In general his horizons were wider, including the possibility of work in America.

Martin in the intermediate area has lived there for 10 years. His family live on *"the estates"*. *"My mam really likes the area and I do 'cos my friends live around here"*. He spoke of the bottom of the long streets as an area with a bad reputation *"...because it's a council area - its snobbery from people up here - you're told not to go down the bottom because they're all villains...some of them are. I know a couple of lads from down there who are OK"*.

None of the lads identified themselves as living in Hendon. Hendon appears to be synonymous with 'rough' for most of the people in the sample as a whole. Even Martin living at the top of the street recognised a significant divide from those at the bottom.

### **Social Class III Manual and Non-manual**

This is the smallest group numerically, comprising of only four lads. Unlike their counterparts in SC I and II, they are mostly assigned according to their own occupation rather than the social class of their father. Barry is the exception being in full-time education and aiming to go to Polytechnic. Peter, Henry and Norman had entered the labour market. Peter was in a clerical job following YTS Henry was currently on YTS training to be a butcher with the promise that he would be kept on. Norman had been medically discharged from the army after an accident and was expecting to re-enter shortly.

### **Home background**

Three of the group live in the intermediate locality while Peter lives just over the border in the poorer area. Their parents were owner occupiers and, despite its location, Peter's home was very similar to the others in the group.

Barry's father had been a plumber in the shipyard for 25 years and after being made redundant had worked for some time *"in admin"* at Cherry Knowles Hospital. He is currently unemployed but is studying on a part-time basis for a new career. Barry's



mother had been a secretary but is now a housewife. The family home is a terraced house in the centre of Hendon and Barry told me that he was not fond of the area which he described as *"a bit rough"*. He told me that the people are violent, *"there are gangs on street corners with nothing to do but cause trouble"*. He felt that the situation had worsened in recent years.

Norman lives in a terraced house in the long streets. He talked of the *"criminals"* at the bottom of the streets and told me he never admits to living in Hendon when he meets somebody new. Norman's father is a driver for Vaux breweries and his mother is a *"part-time grocery assistant"*. He told me that his mother would have liked him to stay on at school to get further qualifications but that his father was happy that he should leave. Both parents approve of his decision to join the Marines.

Henry also lives in a terraced house with his mother. His parents are divorced and his mother works part-time in a petrol station. Henry told me that his mother wanted him to go to college rather than to take YTS but that she is happy that he is on a scheme which will lead on to a full-time job.

Peter also lives in a terraced street house and unlike the others he told me the area *"was 'quite nice'"*. His father is a maintenance joiner and his mother is a housewife. Peter told me that his parents were ambivalent in their attitude to education. *"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!"*.

None of the parents of this group had themselves taken full-time further education, however, they were clearly all prepared to allow their sons this opportunity. The emphasis was on a trade rather than a career and parents appear to be equally content if this was accessed through full-time work.

In terms of family background they all had roots in Hendon and had frequent and regular contact with wider kin.

## **Education**

All had attended Southmoor school and all had left school after CSE's and 'O' levels. In general they had lower levels of qualifications than the group of lads in Social Class I and II, Peter being the highest achiever at school with 8 CSE's and 1 'O' level. Barry left school to take 'O' levels at college because he told me that the option to take 'O' levels in the sixth form was not available at Southmoor. Norman initially returned to school to resit 'O' levels, having got one at his first attempt, but had not completed the year because he was offered a place in the marines. Henry said he had *"several"* CSE's grade I and II and thought that he could have done better if he *"had stuck in at school"*.

He was the only one to regret his school career in terms of academic attainment and all were happy with the position they had subsequently achieved.

With the exception of Henry, all said they were in the top band at school. Henry told me that he was glad to leave school, he had moved between top and middle bands during his school career. None of this group had very strong feelings about school and none of them felt that they had made the wrong decision by leaving. Henry and Norman both felt that academic qualifications were irrelevant to them being useful only to people who want an “office job”. Peter is currently studying for his National certificate on day release from his job. He plans to continue his training on this basis for a further 8 years to become a qualified Chartered Surveyor.

Barry was at the point where he could choose between two routes into his chosen career as an Engineer. He told me that when his BTEC course is finished he could go to Polytechnic to do an HND. Alternatively his preferred path (mainly because he was so short of money) would be to go into an apprenticeship and work his way up. He thought he was unlikely to get an apprenticeship and so he would probably have to continue in full-time education.

### **Labour Market Experience**

This group had more experience in the labour market than had the lads in SC I and II. Only Barry had not looked for full-time work and his decision to stay in full-time education had been made in the light of lack of work opportunities. Norman had been offered his place in the Marines while at school. He had completed his initial training but had injured himself in an exercise, been medically discharged and advised to apply to re-enter the marines after 12 months. As this was his preferred career he told me that he had not been seeking work in the meantime. He will earn £120 a week in the marines and felt that this was a good wage which compared favourably with anything he could have earned outside.

Henry and Peter had been on YTS and this had been their route into full-time employment. When Henry left school he wanted to be a mechanic or an electrician like his father but could not get an apprenticeship. He had worked on a part-time basis on a milk round but found it too exhausting when attending college as well. “*So I packed up college and went on the dole.*” His father started his own business on an Enterprise Allowance and Henry did some “fiddle work” for him. Henry has an uncle in catering who knew a butcher who wanted a lad so he got Henry the job. He earns £35 a week from the scheme and this is supplemented by commission from sales. He told me he will earn £80 a week when he is taken on full-time and he regards this as a good wage.

Three weeks after Peter left school he was offered a YTS place at the Business Training Centre. He was delighted ...*"when I got the opportunity for YTS , I said somebody's opened a door for us"*. At the end of the two year scheme he was offered a post in the large firm of estate agents with whom he had been on placement. He told me that at the moment he is at the bottom of the ladder but has job offers him good career prospects. Peter earns between £50 and £60 per week at the moment.

## YTS

All had to make their decision about work with reference to YTS. It was clearly closer to them than to the lads in Social Class I and II. Norman and Barry had taken steps to avoid YTS while Henry had only accepted his place on a scheme on the basis of a promise of full-time work. Peter had been placed on YTS at the Business Training Centre where job prospects were usually quite good.

Despite the fact that Norman had no direct experience of YTS he had very strong opinions about it. He told me that most of his friends that had taken YTS had got full-time jobs at the end. He nevertheless felt that they were not representative of most trainees and described the general scheme as *"pathetic"* in which *"trainees are treated like slaves"*.

Barry also had no direct experience but drew on the experience of his brother and his friends. He also felt YTS was *"slave labour"* and rarely offered jobs at the end. Like Norman, however, he felt that creating a compulsory YTS was a good thing to "stop those who just don't want to work".

Peter whose access to a career had come through YTS was very positive about it. He said *"I've been successful. I think they are a good idea. Southmoor gave you no preparation for the outside world...I got it at the Business Training Centre"*. He felt compulsory YTS was a good idea *"it builds you up and prepares you for the big step"*.

Henry took his YTS as a preliminary to full-time work. He had previously refuse to take YTS and had tried college, the dole and 'fiddle' work. He said he would not have taken his current scheme on the basic wage. Despite his dislike of YTS he regarded friends who left YTS placements as simply lazy.

## Labour Market Expectations

Norman planned to stay in the Marines and train as a Physical Training Instructor. He said he would stay on as long as possible *"because you go all over the world"*. He did not think that career prospects were very important rather it was *"the kind of job you were doing"*, and for him the Marines offered flexibility in training for anything. He told me that he would like to go into business for himself later in life and ideally would like a

job *"with a suit on"*. For Barry career was most important. He accepts reluctantly that he will have to spend several years in full-time education before his first job. Barry expects to be better off than his parents by the time he is 30. He will have his own semi-detached house and a car and be in the lower management grades in engineering. He told me that as an apprentice in Engineering he will start on £60 per week but that this will rise to £200+ on qualification. He feels that this is a good wage. He hopes to become a Production manager eventually primarily because of higher salary which is more important to him than job satisfaction. Money is most important, *"to be stable, to be safe"*. He does not expect to have to take a low status job and also feels that it will be quite easy for him to change jobs.

Henry had several *"false starts"* before getting the job he wanted which in the end he secured through family connections. Henry plans to become a Master Butcher and will stay in this job for the rest of his life. He wants eventually to have his own butcher's shop and expects, by the time he is 30, he will *"have money"*. He expects to stay in Sunderland and will be able to change his job quite easily because of his uncle's contacts in the catering trade.

Peter also got access to his career through YTS and is expecting after 10 years to qualify as a Chartered Surveyor. He is secure in his job and pointed to older colleagues who through a similar route, have qualified, and now earn a good salary and have a company car. His current wage of £50 - £60 per week he says is on the low side *"but in eight years time my salary will jump far above what the manual lads are getting"*. For Peter this is the important time *"when you're married and you've a family and you need it"*. He expects to remain in Sunderland *"in a nicer area"*. He told me he would earn approximately £15,000 p.a. when qualified and was not sure if *"that would be enough to look after a detached house"* but expected his partner to be earning as well.

Norman and Barry will have to leave Sunderland to further their careers while Henry and Peter feel there are sufficient opportunities for them in this area. In fact both are tied to their jobs by the nature of their training.

None of this group had or expected to face the prospect of long term unemployment and in the absence of any other qualification one of them had found family connections provided access to a skilled job.

### **How the Other Half Lives**

As a group one might say that these lads had a mix of experience of schemes and the labour market. However, despite a less promising start than most of their contemporaries in the upper social classes they have a solid foothold in the labour market and a fairly

clear set of aims for the future, all of which appear achievable. The 'other half' for this group is group is still the unemployed.

Norman felt that the scroungers' image was fair and included the majority of unemployed people in this category. *"If you want a job, you can get one...if you are really determined and work hard enough"*. His prime example of scroungers was the *"criminals at the bottom of the (long) streets"*. Nevertheless Norman felt that unemployment benefit was too low and said that he would not like to have to try and live on it without parental subsidy. Norman did not know any long term unemployed people personally.

Barry felt that a small percentage of the unemployed were scroungers who liked to live on the dole. Barry's father had been unemployed for six months and had tried very hard to find work. Barry clearly had more sympathy with the unemployed as a result of this although his father was the only person he knew to be unemployed. He thought that unemployment benefit should distinguish between those with no prospect of working (people over fifty) and those who could work. At present he felt the level of benefit was *"a little too low...but not much - you have to encourage people to work"*.

He 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"*.

Henry was condemning of friends who were unemployed *"they're just lazy, they complain about being tired and do nothing!! They could get jobs if they tried, they just enjoy being on the dole"*. He said that they differed from him because he got out a lot and they just liked to stay in and watch TV. Again Henry believed *"anyone could get a job if they try hard enough"*. He felt the scrounger image was true of the majority of the unemployed. Henry had himself done a fiddle job while on the dole. Peter also felt that some people on the dole were scroungers and gave an example of a friend who worked *"on the milk"* and claimed dole and intended to continue to do so. He felt that unemployment benefit was too low but said *"granted they don't do anything they must go and look for work"*. Peter felt that fiddle jobs were wrong *"because you get caught and would have to pay it all back...if you're on the dole you go out and look for a job and get off the dole"*.

While all of them said that they would hate to be unemployed they did not attribute these feelings to others who were unemployed. As a group they lived closer to the areas where unemployment was high than did the lads in Social Classes I and II but still had few contacts or family members who were unemployed. Their world and social networks were still dominated by work and its routines.

## Responsibility for Unemployment

As a group they did not have an identifiable stance on what was responsible for high levels of unemployment and there was no sense of indignation about it.

Barry divided responsibility between government and industry and did not think the unions bore any responsibility. He felt that government should *"try to attract more companies to the country"*.

Peter said *"I do not know who you could blame"* and felt that anyone could become self employed, financed by money from government.

Henry simply said that *"the Conservatives are responsible...but it doesn't bother me"*.

Norman attributed blame equally between government and lazy people. He felt National Service should be re-introduced but added ruefully *"I can't see my younger brother doing it"*.

## Politics

As a group, political issues held little real interest for them, they had no strong affiliations. Norman had no interest in politics, did not vote and would never take any interest. *"I get out of the way when they start taking about politics in the house. It gets very heated"*.

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 life-long Tory voter.

Barry told me his family were Labour supporters and he would probably vote Labour too but said *"for no main reason"*. He never discusses politics *"if the country starts to get back on its feet and unemployment reduces I will vote Conservative...I don't go into politics much...don't think I ever will"*.

Henry told me he would vote Conservative *"because I'm alright...I'd never vote Labour"*.

## Trade Unions

Norman expecting his future to be in the Marines felt that Trade Unions were irrelevant to him. His knowledge of them was very limited. *"I've no idea how they work - I couldn't say if I would join one or not"*.

Barry on the other hand expected to join a union because he looked for protection in terms of health and safety at work and, as a secondary matter, the negotiation of wages.

Peter is in full time employment but is not aware of an appropriate Trade Union. he had little knowledge of the role of unions asking *"is that if you're on the dole it helps you?"* When asked if he would join a union he simply said *"no, I don't think I would"*.

## Leisure

On the whole leisure time was organised around pubs and clubs with only Barry spending more of his time on other activities. Norman was unemployed at the time of interview and spent every afternoon weight and fitness training. In the evening he saw his girlfriend or went out with the lads (twenty of them). All nights out were at pubs and clubs. Henry also goes out every night to a pub and then once or twice a week to a nightclub. Sometimes he goes to nightclubs with his mother. He told me he goes out with lots of different people or alone and meets people when he is out. He told me that he no longer had any of his old school friends. He had two friends who were unemployed and lazy and the boss's son where he worked who he described as *"bone idle...suffers from depression"*. Barry made most of his friends through football. He spends three nights and Saturday mornings playing football. He goes to the pictures once a week or stays in and watches TV. On Saturday night he goes to the pub with his girlfriend. He told me he would like to go, out more but he cannot because he is short of money.

When I asked Peter about a typical week he said *"I was just thinking about how your life's set out. Up till 5 you don't know what's happening, from 5 to 18 you are at school. There you get 5 hours enjoyment then sleep and from 18 to 65 you're at work and then you get 5 hours enjoyment and sleep"*. He goes out to the pub to see his girlfriend every night and on Sundays plays snooker or squash. He was in training for the Great North Run.

## Family

The group affirmed the value of marriage and even where it had little significance personally it was felt to be important for children. They had quite 'traditional' views about financial arrangements but seemed slightly more flexible in their expectations regarding the division of labour within the home. On the whole they seem likely to follow patterns already established in their family of origin.

Peter expects to marry at the age of 27 to give himself the opportunity to *"have my life before I settle down"*. He felt that co-habiting was not *"right"* and would insist on marriage. In his present relationship his girl friend was still at school sitting 'A' levels and hoping to go to University. He told me he pays when they go out together despite the fact that his girlfriend would like to share. *"I'm working and I've been brought up to pay."* He acknowledged that if their positions were reversed he would want to pay half. Peter thought that he would like to be qualified or within 2 or 3 years of qualification before marriage. He considered the possibility that his wife might be the major earner and said he did not like the idea because he felt it was his role to look after the family. He told me that in the long run he would *"like some luxury so I would do what was best for the family"*.

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.

A common theme running through many response about age at marriage was that one waited until youth and pleasure were over before 'settling down'. Like the others the material background to marriage was important. *"I would like to be able to stand my own ground...have a car and my own house and no debts"*. (Henry)

Henry told me his wife would work until children were born and would then remain at home until the children were at school. He expected to share the chores but his wife would do all the washing and he would iron his own clothes. He planned two children after spending the first two years of his marriage with his wife. If a girlfriend became pregnant now he told me that he would prefer abortion *"because its better for me"*.

Norman had a very different set of ideas. At 18 he was planning to get engaged in the next six months, followed fairly quickly by marriage. He told me he would like a period of cohabitation but expected to get married straight away to live in married quarters in Southampton. He, like Peter, stressed the importance of being employed before entering on marriage. He and his girlfriend split the cost of their nights out 50/50.

He would like 5 to 6 children but said that his girlfriend was not so keen. He did not think it so important nowadays to be married before having children but would wait until he was 25 to start a family. He told me that he would marry his girlfriend now if she were pregnant but would never regard this as a reason for marriage. At school he told me that it was the *"in thing"* to get a girl pregnant regardless of any relationship. He regarded girls *"who get themselves"* into this situation as *"pretty stupid"*. In terms of housework he



told me that there would be no gender divisions in labour but qualified this by saying that his wife would do all the cooking. He regarded the decision as to whether to stay at home and bring up children or return to work as his wife's alone.

Barry will marry at 20 if he is in a good job by then, but money would be critical to the decision. He would be prepared to cohabit but prefers marriage *"being stable"*. Financial security was central and this must be earned by him rather than by his wife. He would want his wife to stay at home and look after their 2 children. He felt that he would not marry just for a child if pregnancy was a mistake. He felt that abortion would be the best route.

Domestic chores would be shared although he regarded washing and ironing as his wife's domain. Barry's attitude to who pays was tempered by reality - *"we go halves...it wouldn't seem right for her to pay - if I was better off I'd pay"*. His girlfriend was on YTS at the Business Training Centre.

## Area

The lads in this group live in very similar housing in the area. Their parents are all owner occupiers. Norman has lived in the area for 14 years and he described it as *"not a good area - its getting worse. It's got a very bad reputation"*. Norman told me that he would not live there if he had a house of his own. *"It's bad to say you live in Hendon - you get picked on"*.

Barry has lived in his present house all his life but told me he didn't like the area. *"it's a bit rough - the people that live here - they're violent and that with all the gangs going round the streets and the break ins - there's loads of people on the street corners with nothing to do - its getting worse, not a great deal, but its definitely not getting better...its more obvious - writing on the walls"*. All of Barry's family live close by and Barry sees them *"all the time"*.

Henry lives at the edge of Grangetown and has been there all his life, although only for one year in his present home. He is very happy in Sunderland and when he leaves his mother's home he will want to move into a flat somewhere nearby. His parents are divorced and because of this his family are split, his father's family having distanced themselves. He no longer sees his paternal grandparents. Henry's mother's family are all from Grangetown and he spends a lot of time with them.

Peter lives on the edge of the poorest area of Hendon. His family live close by and he sees them almost every day. He describes Hendon as *"quite nice"* but said *"in my 20's I would like to move to a different area - granted, I'll have to spread my wings some time"*. Peter thought that it was *"mainly the reputation"* that was bad about living in Hendon. He

had lived in St. Leonard's Street when he was very young *"but I didn't really kick around the streets when I was a kid"*.

## **Future**

Norman was different from most of the other lads in the sample as a whole in planning to get married the following year. he expects to live with his wife in married quarters initially but said that they will buy a house eventually. By the age of 30 he expects to be *"married with three or four children....my own home and my own car. I want a big house to rattle around in"*. He will still be in the Marines at that age but when he does leave he would like to have his own business. Norman has worked briefly for a firm which organises exhibitions and Trade Fairs and told me that he would like to set up in business to do this. He was adamant that he would *"never take an office job- I couldn't bear to sit still all day"*. He would however like a *"job with a suit on"*.

At 30 Barry will be *"in lower management"* in engineering. This will be the first step on a career ladder. he will be married and will have his children and the family will live in a *"medium semi-detached house"*. Barry expects to have a higher standard of living than his parents. he would take a job in Sunderland if he could get one but said *"there's not much chance of that"*.

Henry will stay in Sunderland and will be a Master Butcher by the age of 30 *"I'll have money - hopefully I'll have my own shop - that's what I'm working for"*. He expects a lifestyle which will provide him with his own home *"a car and a holiday every year"*.

Peter expects to be qualified or close to being qualified as a chartered surveyor *"living in Sunderland in a nice area"*. He and his partner will both be working so that they can buy a detached house. Peter himself expects to earn approximately £15,000 a year when he is qualified.

## **Social Class IV and V Male**

This was the largest group for males and encompassed the widest range of social backgrounds from all three localities.

Tom was an apprentice in skilled work at the Shipyard and at the time of the interview he was anticipating its imminent closure and subsequent unemployment. In view of his expectation of losing his trade I included him in this category.

Keith was in a full time job in the building trade, on a short term contract but he was hopeful of getting another contract when the current one ended. George was also in a job but again only on a short term basis.

Andrew, William and Graham were currently on YTS programmes in manual occupations but none of them expected a job to be available for them at the end of the scheme.

Thomas, Gary, Paul and Kevin were currently unemployed. Two of them had had short term casual jobs. Norman had never worked and Kevin had a "*fiddle job*" on the boats. The group defined as Social Classes IV and V is therefore rather a heterogeneous one except that in terms of security of employment not one of them was in the position of the two groups already described.

### **Home Background**

Three clear groups emerge within this class group according to locality. Tom and Andrew live in the most affluent area in modern semi-detached houses on a private housing estate on the edge of the ward. Their fathers are both skilled men, a draughtsman and a joiner respectively. Tom's mother is a home help and Andrew's mother is a District Nurse.

Gary, Graham and William live in the intermediate area, two in Victorian terraced houses and the third in a 1930's semi. Again all are owner occupiers. Gary's father is a labourer. Graham's father is a hospital porter and William's father used to be a shipyard worker at the Doxford yard but is now unemployed. Their mothers are a housewife, a cleaner and a 'debt collector' for Shopacheques.

In the poorest locality George stands apart from the remainder of the group in that his parents are buying their modern council house. His father is a supervisor at Pyrex and his mother is a 'lollipop lady'. The remainder of the group, Paul, Kevin, Thomas and Keith all live in council houses. All of their fathers are unemployed, retired or on invalidity benefit. Paul's mother works as a cleaner but the other mothers are all described as housewives. Paul's father had been unemployed for nearly 15 years, until his son got him a job in the saw mill which went bankrupt shortly after. Keith's father has been unemployed for 7-8 years. Norman's father "*did his back in years ago*" and has not had a job since. Kevin does not know his father and lives with his grandparents. His grandfather is retired but used to work in the shipyards.

There is a degree of consistency taking locality as a structuring factor with parents' attitudes to the experience of education. Tom's and Andrew's parents both wanted their sons to stay on at school to get further qualifications and develop careers. None of the parents had themselves stayed after compulsory school leaving age, however, they had developed a skill once in work. Tom told me that his parents knew a couple of years before he left that he would not be staying on, so although they would have liked him to, they accepted his decision. Tom's elder brother is studying for a degree and will stay in

the South when he graduates. Andrew's mother went to grammar school and got 'O' levels before training to be a nurse while his father was at secondary modern school and left to go into an apprenticeship as a joiner. They both wanted Andrew to take 'O' and 'A' levels and his father threatened him *"if you are going to be a joiner, I'll chop your fingers off"*. Andrew is an only child.

All of the parents in the remainder of this group expected their children to leave school. Graham told me that his parents would have allowed him to stay on but he wanted to get away from the bullying and the possibility of staying on was never discussed at home. Both of his parents had left school as early as possible and both are unskilled workers although in relatively secure jobs. 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"*. William has one older brother *"a turner by trade"*. He was in the shipyards with William's father but since there are no jobs now he works for Luxdon Laundry in an unskilled job. Gary's father was relieved when Gary left school because of his truancy. *"The school board man said come in twice a week if you can"*. Gary told me his father *"works in the shipyards"* but could not say what he does there. He has a 19 year old sister, who has an illegitimate child and lives in a flat with her unemployed boyfriend, a brother aged 21, who apart from 6 months YTS has been unemployed since he left school and a 22 year old brother with a similar employment history who attends college part-time to study Art and Photography.

For those living in the poorest locality the question of 'staying on' does not arise. Both of George's parents left school at 15 and had no expectations of George in terms of educational achievement. George's sister is unemployed having left her job as a dental assistant *"for personal reasons"*.

Paul told me his mother tried to get him to go to school but his father would simply say it was his own choice. There was no question of him staying on at school. Paul has an elder brother who is a cook in a hospital, a 19 year old brother who is disabled and on long term sick and a younger brother at school. Kevin has lived all his life with his grandparents who also had no experience of further education and they did not encourage him to stay on at school. He has one younger brother who is in care for non school attendance.

Thomas was at Ryhope comprehensive (*"Southmoor wouldn't have us"*). He had spent his school life in care, at Detention Centre or truanting from Ryhope. Thomas did not know what his father did when he last worked - it was many years ago. Thomas had two older brothers both married, neither of whom are working and three older sisters

with children who are also unemployed. Keith's father is on the dole and has been for the last 7-8 years. Before that he worked on trawlers, on building sites and in the shipyards. His mother is a housewife. Keith told me he never thought of staying on at school and his parents thought that was right. He has a brother who is leaving school soon and a sister who is working at Dewhirsts clothing factory.

## Education

Again there is a degree of consistency between locality and banding at school - at least in the sense that the two lads in the more affluent locality were in the top band as was one of the intermediates but no-one in the poorest locality. The lads in the poorest locality were evenly divided between the middle and bottom school bands. As a consequence their qualifications display a similar pattern. Tom had the highest level of qualifications with 1 'O' level and several CSE's, while Andrew had CSE's grade 2. Both Graham and William had CSE's at low grades. Gary did not take any examinations having virtually left school by then. George and Keith had several CSE passes while Paul, Kevin and Thomas had not taken any exams.

Tom told me that school was "*alright*" but that he lost interest in the last couple of years as "*education seemed irrelevant*". His only real interest was in music but when he was offered a job he took the opportunity. He felt the teachers had a patronising attitude to those who did not wish to stay on at school.

Andrew felt that Southmoor was "*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*". He did not entirely regret his school career however because he told me of friends with 'A' levels who had been on the dole for some time. Like Tom he was dubious as to the benefit of qualifications in the job market.

Gary had moved into the long streets with his parents four years before leaving school and had not transferred from Farrington comprehensive. He told me he hated school, lessons were boring. "*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 is no good*". Gary said "*we had some good times at school*" referring to the social relationships rather than the formal side of school life. Graham had enjoyed his school life. "*It was canny*". He was in the intermediate band and got several CSE's at grade 3 and 4. He told me the teachers were alright but he wanted to get away from the other pupils. "*Some were alright but there was a lot of bullying...taking the mickey!*" He left at 16 to get away from it.

William found Southmoor "*alright...I was happy there...I truanted a couple of times...and then got caught and that was the end of it*". William took 8 CSE's but got poor

grades. *"It was my fault ...just carried on with me mates,now I'm regretting it...me mam said I always would. I want to join the Police Force and I need 2 'O' levels so I'll have to go to night class at college".*

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 but *"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".* Paul 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.

Thomas had attended Ryhope comprehensive and said Southmoor had refused to accept him when he moved into Hendon. He had spent two spells in Detention Centre while still at school and had been in Local Authority care for 16 months. He told me *"Ryhope wasn't really bad, I got in with the wrong people".* In a response to a question about qualifications he said *"I didn't do any...didn't think about it...I wish I had some now".*

Kevin had been a pupil at Southmoor but told me *"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.

Keith thought that Southmoor was a *"good school"*, The teachers were alright and he enjoyed it. He got CSE grades 2-5 and was pleased with his results, although he thought that qualifications were of no use because you were *"forced onto YTS anyway"*. Keith had never considered staying on at school.

George felt that school was boring *"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 but moved up to intermediate in the second year. He told me *"you didn't talk to the reds or the blues because they think they're better...they didn't want to talk to us."* George thought that qualifications were irrelevant *"unless you want to go to University"* - and that seemed to be the general opinion of the group.

## Labour Market Experience

Of the whole group only Tom had started with an apprenticeship and at another time he would naturally have been categorised as social class III manual. In looking at his future however, Tom saw no prospect of a trade but instead expected to be unemployed in the near future.

Tom had left school at 16 and his father had been instrumental in getting him an apprenticeship. He has spent nearly 2 years at the Shipyard and says that it will be another 4 years before he is out of his time. He thought his chances of another job were reduced because he had been a shipyard worker. *"They see shipyard workers as troublemakers - union men - they're blamed for the state of the industry"*. Tom told me it will be a relief when he gets made redundant *"the job depresses us...spending our life in a big hut...you have to be there at 8.30 and come home at night too tired to do anything"*. *"You get let out at weekends"* he told me *"there's no way I'm going to spend my life down there!"*. His reason for not leaving the job now was that he would be seen as a *"layabout"*. At present he earns £60 a week basic and told me this would rise to £90 as a fully fledged man. *"You can do extra shifts and get £150 a week"*. Tom was stuck with his job. He told me that if he any alternative at all he would have given up his apprenticeship for short term or lower paid work.

Tom told me that when he left school he thought it would be great to earn money *"now I see the world as it really is, not an easy place"*.

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 one 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"*.

His status as a YTS trainee is very low but he said he liked the men he worked with. *"You go for a drink with the blokes, talk your problems over...you've got to watch out for the bosses...they'll say black's white just to stamp their authority on the situation"*.

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".*

Gary is currently unemployed after 2 years in a job at the sawmills. He started on Springboard doing gardening then had a placement in a paint shop but was put off the scheme for being sick for more than 3 weeks when his *"back started to act up"*. He worked for 3 months at the sawmills but it went bankrupt and he was paid off. He told me *"I wasn't bothered... there were accidents everyday, no guards on the machines... I saw 3 serious accidents!"*. He did not like the job. He earned £52.53 a week take home pay and *"only looked forward to Friday"*. In the sawmill he had asked to change jobs because he was so bored. *"They said there's always the dole...I felt like saying alright its the dole...but I would have got my dole stopped."* Gary told me he would not do a clerical job but he would rather work *"getting dirty...heavy job, a proper job"*.

Graham is on a YTS gardening for the Borough Council. He told me his father does not think much of it and would prefer him to join the army. Graham felt YTS provided job experience and kept him *"off the streets"*. He will be applying to join the army, however, at the end of his YTS because there is no prospect of his being kept on.

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"*. William 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.

He told me that he used to go to the job centre but found *"jobs are getting scarcer and scarcer... you get lazy an'all"*.

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. *"I had a car but I couldn't keep up with the*



*payments". 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, Paul 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".*

Thomas has not worked since leaving school. He had been in Wetherby Youth Custody Centre for burglary for the last 18 months. He had no idea about what he wanted to do. *"I don't care what I do...I never have...I just want a job"*.

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 full-time."* 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. *"People who can't get a job aren't looking properly"*. Kevin 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.

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 *"it's 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"*. At present Keith earns £105 a week or £150 if he works on Sunday. Keith told me *"its easy to get a job 'cos there's so much construction work in Sunderland"*. Nevertheless he expects to have to go to London to find work once his contract is over.

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*".

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. George earns £70 a week when at work and felt in the light of YTS that it was a reasonable wage.

### **Labour Market Expectations**

Expectations of the labour market generally were not very high. This group were more Sunderland orientated than any other. Tom, Andrew and Gary said they were prepared to go South to improve their prospects but this would be done reluctantly and only if there was no work available in their home area, however unsatisfactory.

In fact job satisfaction was not an issue which exercised any of them very much. All of them expected to have to be prepared to do a job they wouldn't like and for most of them the question of an 'ideal' job was irrelevant. Kevin is a possible exception. He enjoys his work on the boats and ideally would like to own his own boat and in this way would earn very high wages. He spoke vaguely of "*getting the money together*" at some time in the future and applying for Enterprise Allowance but there were no actual plans underway, at the moment.

Tom told me that his apprenticeship in the shipyards has no future. His brother has told him of fitters jobs in the south but Tom is worried about moving and getting accommodation. The only real alternative to the shipyards that Tom could see was Nissan and he would not want a job there. He saw the organization as designed to demean, "*running between jobs because of the pressure and having to stay late at a moments notice*". He saw it as a "*kind of dictatorship*" and felt you would not be taken on if you were a union member. Tom finds his present job very depressing but feels that without a trade he will have no chance of a job. He told me he had no motivation to do further training because he feels so depressed. "*It's a vicious circle*". At some point he may take an HGV test and become a long distance lorry driver but he told me he has to wait until he is 21 to do this and he thinks he will probably be unemployed in the meantime.

Andrew will finish his YTS and has no expectation of being kept on by his present employer. His parents are "*shocked*" by his position, particularly his father. "*When he was*

*my age he was straight into an apprenticeship". Far from realising his father's objectives that he should "get an office job" Andrew has been unable to get a foothold in skilled manual work. Andrew has had 2 interviews at Nissan but told me "I didn't get anywhere...I passed the skills test...thought I did alright. You have to run between jobs...put your hand up to go to the toilet...but it is a steady job with prospects and good money".*

Andrew told me he does not expect to get a permanent job. Ideally he would like *"to have a trade, to move about, working in different places and working outside".*

At the end of his YTS one of his friends has asked him to join him *"down South"* where his father is a Contracts Manager. *"He's offered to take us on and show us the ropes so I think I'll do that ...you can get £600 a week as a skilled man".* He told me *"firms in the south don't ask for indentures...you can pretend to be a skilled man...they don't care, if you do the job".*

Andrew would be happier to stay in Sunderland *"because everyone knows everyone round here"* but he feels he will have to go south to get a job, even in the short term.

Gary told me he was *"sick"* of being unemployed and was thinking of going to London to get a job where *"there's tons of work"* but he saw accommodation as a problem. He had friend earning £225 a week in London. He had thought of hitching down or taking a van and sleeping in it. His Probation Officer has promised to get him a job for three and a half days a week with APEX Trust - a community programme, mostly employing offenders and, at the time of interview he was considering this. He thought if London didn't work out he could come back and put in an application form for APEX. In the longer term Gary had no idea what the future would hold.

Graham was about to enter the second year of his YTS scheme with no possibility of employment at the end. He told me he was about to join the TA and when he finishes his YTS he hopes to join the regular army. He will go into the army because there is no alternative for him at home and after 3 years he hopes he will be better equipped for a job in Sunderland. He told me he would like to take an HGV test and become a long distance lorry driver when he leaves. He would expect to earn £100 a week in the army which he sees as a good wage and one he could not achieve in Sunderland. Graham said that ideally he would have liked to work with animals but that there was no possibility of such a job for him. He said that he would prefer to travel and be away from Sunderland to work, however throughout the interview he spoke of his future as living in the town. Graham feels that promotion prospects will be important to him in his future job. At thirty he told me that he will *"be working but I don't know where"*. At the moment the only work available that Graham was aware of was Government schemes. he would be

prepared to work for £40 a week in a permanent job and told me that would be *“OK to work for”*.

William is currently earning £40 a week working for Community Industry and he told me that without qualifications there is no hope of a job - *“just daft sweeping and manual labour jobs”*. William’s uncle is a retired Police Superintendent and tried to encourage William to join the Police force when he was younger. *“He gave me the idea - I didn’t want it then but now I want a secure job with some money. If you are a policeman you are set for life”*. If he is accepted he will start in the Police Force on £110 a week which he feels is very good. *“Its heaven when you’ve had £20 a week on the dole. I was getting £70 a week where I worked before and I thought I was in heaven”*. William said *“I’ll go to college for a year and see if me uncle can put a word in”*. If William is not accepted into the Police Force he has no alternative job in mind.

Paul got his job by *“walking round the firms and asking if there was any work”*. Prior to that he had been on the dole and doing fiddle jobs. He was in his full-time job for almost 3 months. The firm, he said, went bankrupt and set up again immediately in Pallion under different name. Paul is *“living quite well on the fiddle”*. He can work when he wants to and work more when he need extra money. Shaun has no idea of an ideal job and is set to continue as he is although he also said that he would expect to be working when he is married.

Kevin wants to go on the boats and his ultimate aim is to own a boat. *“If you buy your own you can make good money. People who do have canny houses and new cars”*. He will stay in Sunderland. *“I was thinking about going to London...its a bit big”*. His family wanted him to get a job at the Post Office as his auntie works there because it offers security but his criminal record is a bar to full-time work there. Kevin told me that if he gets his own boat he will be his own boss and that would be important to him.

Thomas has never worked and feels he is unlikely to get a full-time job. He told me that his parents are always telling him to get a job. *“Especially me da...always moaning on”*. His Probation Officer had promised to get a community programme job with APEX Trust for three and a half days a week just before he was sent away and again when he was released but nothing had materialised. He sees it as *“just a waste of time”*. He told me that he would like to be a painter and decorator but there is no prospect of such a job *“especially when you have just come out of prison”*. Thomas would be prepared to work for £40 a week and felt that £50 would be quite a reasonable wage.

Keith is a labourer on short term contracts and expects this to be the only kind of work available to him in the future. He would like to be a foreman or a chargehand when he gets older because this would give him job security and a pension *“in contract work”*

*you can't plan ahead...I might be on the dole in 9 months".* Keith told me he would be prepared to travel if the job took him around the country but he would prefer to stay in Sunderland. At the moment he earns over £100 per week and he told me he would not work for less than £70. When asked about his ideal job he said *"a manager...anybody would say that...I might get there but I don't think so...the only way you get positions like that is if you left at 16 and work for the same company as an apprentice and worked your way up over 30 years"*. Keith feels any job that he does get, he must *"put up with"* as there will not be opportunities for him to change.

George is taken on for a week or a fortnight at a time. There are no promotion prospects, no element of training and no security. He has had to put off plans to get married next year because he has no job. He told me that the least he could work for would be £50 a week take home but there are no jobs even at this rate. He is putting in an application form at Pyrex where his father works - for a job on permanent night shift, a better paid job than his present one which will allow him to plan ahead. He does not want to leave Sunderland to look for work and says if he was to get a job at Pyrex he would not have the freedom to change it. George told me that ideally he would like to be a mechanic but he accepts that he would not be able to get an apprenticeship.

## YTS

Unlike the lads in the upper two social classes these lads had had to consider YTS as one option in the job market. All but Tom, who had an apprenticeship, Paul, who refused YTS, and Thomas who had been inside most of the time, had had some experience of YTS. None of the lads got a job as a result, even indirectly, of their work on YTS. On the whole they were cynical as to the purpose of YTS.

Tom felt that the sole purpose of YTS was to allow the government to manipulate the dole figures. He pointed out that it is argued that YTS gives experience and makes you more attractive to an employer. However, if everyone is to get the same experience it has no bearing on job prospects. He told me he would be in favour of YTS if people were offered jobs at the end but thought that the majority are not and that wages were *"pathetic"*. In commenting on the possibility that by removing benefit for those who refused YTS it would become compulsory he said *"its kicking democracy out of the window as well as removing the option of self employment."*

Andrew is on a YTS and sees it as a way of keeping himself occupied. He said some of the training he gets is good but he has to do a lot of labouring because the firm is small. He stays on the scheme because it is important to him to go out to work. He told me that he would not continue to work for £35 a week once the scheme was over. *"You can't do it. Its impossible. I don't know what they're thinking about, £35!"*. When asked

about YTS in general he said *"it should be banned completely. Its slave labour...they should drown the person who invented it"*. He felt that making it compulsory *"its catch 22...people getting paid £35 begrudge going to work so they do a poor job"*.

Gary had had two YTS placements, failing to complete his second because of illness. He told me that *"working for £27.30 a week gets you down"*. He had asked to be placed as a joiner but the careers service had placed him with springboard who *"don't do joinery so I got painter and decorator"*. In general he said that YTS was *"slave labour...not good experience..I don't know anyone who got a full-time job from one."*

Graham is on a YTS with 14 other trainees *"in a gang under a supervisor"*. He said that *"YTS is a start for a proper job"* and estimated that approximately 50% are kept on. *"Those who don't have to go on another scheme"*. On the whole he felt that *"the idea is worthwhile but wages should be higher...you are working like someone who works full-time but you are not working with full-time workers"*. In Graham's view it would be a *"good idea"* to make YTS compulsory *"everyone should do one if they get offered"*.

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"*. Paul 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.

Kevin had given up his scheme after 7 weeks. *"It just wasn't worth it...by the time you paid the rent you were left with just the same"*. He felt they were not good experience and would not help you to get a job. He told me that on his YTS they would get you to make the tea. *"I didn't learn anything"* His family agreed that YTS was a waste of time and didn't object to his leaving it even though his benefit was reduced for 6 weeks. In response to a question about compulsory YTS, Kevin said *"people will just have to go out and get a proper job"*.

Thomas had no direct experience of YTS and no very strong feelings about it. *"I've heard all sorts about them"* When asked about schemes being made compulsory he said *"I don't know...its better if you're working"*.

Keith had worked for a small building firm on YTS and said his employer was *"bad"*. Often keeping him until 6.30 at night. Apart from that he thought the experience was good and would support a compulsory scheme if wages were higher. *"£27.30 a week is slave labour"*.

George had left his YTS early and had all benefit stopped. He told me the wage was too low. *"Its a skivvy job...the wages are unreasonable...you just do what you have to"*. In general he thought that YTS was *"rubbish"* although *"some schemes are alright. In factories you're doing a full-time job for very low wages...sweeping up...all the rubbish jobs"*.

When asked about compulsory YTS he said *"I can't see why they shouldn't do it. I've done it...Why should they leave school and go on the dole?"*.

## Unemployment

Among this group the government was more readily identified as the creator or major contributor to high unemployment. However, this perspective does not necessarily entail anti-government attitudes.

Tom had never signed on but felt that unemployment would be a life of misery and boredom. and he has stayed in a job that he hates because of the stigma attached to being unemployed. Tom saw the problem in terms of the North/South divide. *"Mrs. Thatcher does not need people in the North to vote for her, there are plenty of jobs in the South."* He felt that the last Labour government could be seen as responsible for unemployment being high initially but the Tories had been responsible for the last 8 years. He was angry that people should be asked to leave their families to find a job in the south and felt that the Government had a role in creating work through public housing schemes and community schemes.

He felt that the level of unemployment benefit was *"alright for doing nothing...you can't expect a normal wage for not working"*. However he felt that it was not high enough for families, *"you have to give money for the kids sakes...to give them the best upbringing that they can."* 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"*.



Andrew had left school in May and begun his YTS in September and so had not been unemployed for long. He was not sure who was responsible for unemployment. *"The obvious choice would be the Conservative government - but before they came to power I was only 9 or 10 - Labour had high unemployment."* He considered the question further and said *"It's just the world's changing"* and then *"foreigners what come in the country...Pakis work all hours...white people could do that...but would they work all the hours?"*. Then he said *"I'd rather work with the blacks against people like Thatcher"*. He felt that the level of unemployment benefit was too low, *"it's less than I get so it can't be any good...it's a kick in the pants when your giro comes through...get yourself out and get a job"*. Andrew had no objection to fiddle jobs and felt on the whole they are a good thing. When asked about scroungers Andrew said *"yes 9 times out of 10 me dad says he has a bad back...but sometimes he just takes time off on the sick...it's a good thing if you can get as much out of them as you can for nothing"*.

He described two friends who had been unemployed for two and a half and three and a half years, both of whom had enjoyed it at first *"just settled into the routine, deliberately failed interviews ...one of them has just got a job, washing dishes in a pub...he was getting so depressed"*.

*"Personally I'd like a holiday but then I would get bored - I like plenty to do...if I was long term unemployed I'd have to go out everyday."*

Gary is unemployed and told me *"it gets me down being unemployed...just sit here bored ...watch TV, look at the video. The worst thing is when all my money has gone...I can't make it last. I've got £8 a week for myself and my mother buys some of my clothes. If I left home I couldn't live on the dole"*.

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"*. He thought the fiddle was *"not fair"* if, as some he knew, *"you were earning £45 a day"*. If you were only getting a few pounds, it would be fair to continue signing on.. He told me that most people in the area were on the fiddle and signing on. He said *"people turn to crime, sleep all day and go out and do burglaries at night"*. When asked about the scroungers image he said *"not really, I don't think anyone's really happy to be on the dole"*. He thought for a moment and said that in fact his brothers were happy on the dole. Then he said *"on the tele it shows you why don't you go to college ...but it's unreal"*.

Gary firmly placed responsibility for the level of unemployment at Mrs. Thatcher's door and said it was up to the government to create jobs.



Graham left school in May and started his YTS in October. Again he did not know anyone in full-time unemployment among his friends. He felt that people on the dole were not having an easy time and could not be described as scroungers. He has an uncle who has been on the dole for several years. When Graham was on benefit he was always short of money. He was not isolated because, he told me *"my friends came to the house to see me ...but I was glad when it ended"*. He thought that fiddle jobs were perfectly justifiable. Graham thought that the government was responsible for the high level of unemployment and should be *"doing something about it"*.

William's father was unemployed and Shaun told me he had adjusted *"keeps himself busy in the garden...he's quiet"*. Shaun thought that *"unemployment is alright at first then its a case of Oh God I'm bored. you just want to get off it but you can't."*

Talking about the experience of being unemployed he said the worst thing was *"boredom...you eat too much. You can't dress up, can't go out an 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."* Paul 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"*.

He felt there was no government role in unemployment levels but saw it as an individual issue.

Thomas who had never had a job or a YTS felt the scrounger image portrayed in much of the press was unfair. Despite his being prepared to work for as little as £44 he

had not been able to price himself into a job. He also felt that there were a lot more fiddle jobs about than *"ordinary jobs...they give you a bit of extra money in your pocket."* The best opportunities for fiddle work he thought were in London where you could go for a few weeks at a time and make a bit of money and then come back - although Thomas had not done this himself. He had no idea why unemployment was high.

Kevin had been on the dole for a short period after leaving school and told me he hated it, *"no money to do things and just walking about in the same routine everyday"*. He rejected the scrounger image saying that *"years ago people were better off on the dole...but now it's all changed, you just can't live on it"*. He articulated an issue which several of the lads touched on saying that some of his unemployed friends *"just go out pinching...nothing else for them to do - the dole gets them into trouble"*. He held *"Maggie Thatcher"* responsible for the level of unemployment. *"She put the block on everything"*. He also told me that the level of unemployment was disguised by YTS, Restart, CP, etc..

When asked about scroungers George said *"good luck to them...the government do nothing for people. DHSS people are bone idle...they never pay on time...you're always short of money"*. He felt that people eventually give up hope of getting a job and stop going to the Job Centre - *"you're all competing for the same job"*.

George felt that *"people who think the dole is easy should try living on it"*. *"You need to do something to enjoy yourself"*. He said that fiddling is alright because *"it keeps you in the working spirit...you have to keep yourself busy"*. Personally the prospect of unemployment did not worry George because he will be able to get a fiddle job.

In discussing the level of unemployment benefit he felt that it was as high as it could be *"it's all the country can afford...she (Mrs. Thatcher) gives us all she can...but I don't know if she would give us any more. She keeps the working class down"*.

George predominantly blamed *"Maggie Thatcher"* for the level of unemployment but then said *"everyone is to blame, factories losing orders, management and the workforce"*.

## Politics

Among this group there were no committed Tory voters and although there were several Labour voters for the most part there was no strong idealistic commitment to socialism and no activism. Most expressed rather a reaction to the Tory government. In fact in discussing individual issues, several of the group embraced the Tory ethic and had found their way to fulfil it through the Black economy.

Tom was very angry with the Tory Party and identified strongly with the class interests of his workmates. He identified major problems in the *"Tory press and the Tory*

*South*". he felt that the government had been responsible for fuelling race hatred and he saw the press as one arm of Tory party propaganda. The police, he felt, were also used politically to subdue strikes, instructed by the government. He was equally against what he saw as the extremes on the left. *"Bernie Grant...politicians can't believe in violence - they have to believe in democracy"*.

Tom is a Labour supporter and has been since he was fourteen but he said he could not support the defence policy and might vote Liberal as his parents do. His preference at the last election would have been for a Lab/Lib coalition.

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"*. Andrew, however, was disappointed with Labour's arms policy. *"It's a queer thing to say you're a socialist but proud to be British which is a far right thing...God save the Queen and that...The Tories defend the country better but for health...they're bad for us and benefits and housing 'cos we can't pay for these things. I'll probably continue to vote Labour 'cos they're more for people...I nearly joined the National Front...I was going through a rebel stage...the group I was going about with all call the blackies. (I've got nothing against them personally 'cos I don't know any.) I sent away for their policies...it just says clear all the blacks out...It makes me mad all these hippy socialists...the Irish free movement...get onto the British Police...it narks us when people put things like that up in their own country... The police like a fight, they're just human...on a Saturday night they're straight in with their fists. All the young communists at University, they all blame the police when its the government they're against...they nark me. They're middle class, got 'A' levels, go to University and change...become communists. I discuss politics with me dad - he says 'you just be quiet till you learn something'. Me mother has the same views as me father although in 1979 she thought of voting Tory - Dad said there would be trouble. I wouldn't have had the guts to tell them if I'd joined the National Front"*.

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.

Graham had no interest in politics and said there was no discussion about it in the house. He didn't know what his parents voted. he told me he would vote Labour now because they would not allow unemployment to continue at such a high level but this would not be a lifelong commitment.

William told me he didn't take any interest. *"I wouldn't know. I haven't follow it, they can do what they want it doesn't affect me"*. He thinks that when he sets up his own house he will begin to take an interest. *"I didn't vote in the General Election 'cos I was too young...voted Labour in the primaries round here...I would've voted SDP if I could. I don't know what I'll vote next time. I don't think I'll vote the same all my life. Might vote SDP for a change...see what they can do"*. William doesn't discuss politics at home or with his friends. He felt that it had little relevance for him.

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

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"*.

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"*.

## Leisure

Leisure is centred around pubs and clubs and, for three members of the group, the amusement arcade. There are no organised leisure pursuits but for most of them leisure time is quite satisfying. Those who are or who have been unemployed mentioned that it was different and less happy when they were out of work but for two of the group their unemployment was official rather than actual and they were able to balance leisure time with fiddle jobs in a way which was satisfying to them.

Tom finds that his leisure time is very unsatisfactory and he relates this to his unhappiness at work. *"I don't have much of a social life...it's work, home at 5 and sleep. I play my guitar and listen to records and go on a drinking binge at weekends. Starts Friday at 6. I go round all the pubs...just blotting out...it gives you confidence, drink...no cares. I'm cutting down now because I always get depressed after....It's as though I'm in limbo, doing the same thing...every week is the same...monotonous - it can't go on ...must change. I'd find a hobby or a steady relationship if I could. When I get home from the job, I'm just so sick...no motivation to do anything but drink. I always said I wouldn't end up in the shipyard"*.

Tom has no problems with money. *"I can't spend it all"*.

Andrew's leisure time is *"not good...alright you get a laugh but there's times when we just stand around on the corner - 15 or 20 of us - that starts to get into bother...just talking but the police move us on...times we have caused trouble but you grow out of it - its just something to do. I'd like more money to get out and enjoy ourselves more. We go to Shields quite often on the fruit machines and play pool. One lad is a civil servant and he just does the same as us on a night."*

Andrew spends a lot of time training in the football season and has had trials for professional clubs. The remainder of the time he spends with the lads or with his girlfriend.

On Saturday he goes to the match. He especially likes the away games. *"The trouble at the matches - people get a buzz from it...like animals when people fight...I don't fight. I'm tempted but I don't want to be destructive. After the Rotherham match we were all shaking just talking about it. It gets the adrenaline going. Its like fighting against the state when the police come in. I'd rather see that than men fighting with their wives and families"*.

Andrew goes out with the lads on a Saturday night, has a sleep in on a Sunday *"to sleep Saturday off"* then *"down to the pub on Sunday dinner time with me dad and some of his mates"*.

Gary is unemployed and finds his leisure time boring. He goes to his girlfriend's every evening and a couple of times a week he goes out to the pub with friends while his girlfriend goes out with her mates.

Graham does not go to pubs because he is a Mormon. He spends two nights each week at the Ice Rink and three nights doing jigsaw puzzles and watching TV. He has a friend who visits twice a week to play snooker and watch videos with him. Graham is happy with his leisure time. he does not have any relationships with girls. *"I see them at the ice rink but I don't fancy any of them"*.

William stays at home *"until 7 in the evening then I go up hers (his girlfriends) or go up Southmoor and play golf. Sometimes I go swimming. On Saturday nights I go out with me mates to the nightclubs. me girl friend goes round with her mates"*. On the whole William is quite satisfied with his leisure time although *"it would be better if I had more money...if I had the money I would join the golf club"*.

Paul goes to the leisure centre twice a week to the sessions for the unemployed and does weight training. He goes out most nights to the pubs with mates and on Saturday goes *"down town to buy clothes"*. He was quite happy with his leisure time and had enough money to do what he wanted.

Kevin said *"I gan to see me girlfriend - usually go round her house about 6 and we just stop in. We go out together one night a week"*. He does not like night clubs. *"I've been a few times but I don't like it. I go out with me mates in a car...we all go out together...wherever we fancy...travel a bit"*.

Thomas does not have any particular interests and spends most of his leisure time with family. *"I go and sit over me sister's at night...there's always someone coming to the door to get me to come burgling - its a waste of time. I'm not bothered about drinking...if I had loads of money I would gan out...I just walk about...gan out sometimes"*.

Keith sometimes works seven days a week but on Saturday when he is not working he goes to the town. *"Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights I go to the pubs and the nightclubs"*. On Friday and Sunday he takes his girlfriend out but Saturday night is a night out with the lads. He has plenty of money to do what he wants and enjoys his leisure time.

George stays in and watches TV two nights a week and on the other nights he either goes to the pubs with his girlfriend or his mates or to Seaburn to *"play on the amusements"*. On Sunday at lunch time he goes for a drink with his girlfriends father. His most valued possession is his car which he spends a lot of time and money on. George said when he is not working he cannot afford to go out so often.

## Family

At present Tom does not have any steady relationships *"I don't like to fork out all the time...I pay if I take someone out. Its the done thing"*. In discussing the merits of cohabitation over marriage, Tom said that marriage is *"just a bit of paper"* and he would prefer to live with someone for a period as a trial before marriage. *"I wouldn't mind not getting married at all...but I'd like to be married before the children were old enough to know"*. Tom did not feel that there was any stigma attached to illegitimacy in young people's eyes but older people and especially teachers would frown on it. The possibility that a girlfriend may become pregnant unintentionally would mean for Tom that they

would have to get married or live together. He felt that it would be a very bad start to a marriage. He would consider cohabiting at 22 or 23 and marriage at the age of 28. He would like to have three children and not wait until he was in his 30's to start his family.

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"*.

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 your marriage...if you were both on the dole you would never get out of each other's hair"*.

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"*. Andrew said that he would *"hate"* to have to do housework. *"I'd get someone in to do it for us - hope my wife would enjoy doing it. If we were both working I'd have to help."* Andrew's girlfriend is on a CP scheme and is better paid than Andrew - *"we go halves - not strictly, but we share."* He was very anxious about the possibility of his girlfriend becoming pregnant before they planned. *"I'd be shocked...it nearly happened a couple of time - its the biggest worry. I try not to worry about anything but that makes me worry. Now she would have an abortion but if it happened in a couple of years time we might get married...we're too young now for children"*. Andrew felt that there was a stigma attached to children whose parents were not married *"when they go to school and get into arguments in the yard"*.

He clearly shared this opinion in talking about a girl he knew from school who had a baby. *"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"*.

Gary said at first *"I expect I'll get married and have kids"* and after a moment's thought *"not married. I'd live with someone. Its not worth it today - there's that many living together."* Gary's sister had *"fallen"* pregnant at 17 and now lives with her boyfriend and child in a council flat nearby. Gary felt that it had worked out well for them. He told me that if his girlfriend were pregnant he would live with her even if they had not planned to. *"We'd live in with me mam and dad. Me sister and her boyfriend did it for 2 years then got a flat...it worked out alright."* Gary's girlfriend is on YTS but Gary likes to pay or at least to

appear to when they go out. *"I couldn't let a lass pay. If I haven't got enough money - she would give me the money and I would go for the drinks."* He would not like the prospect of his partner being the breadwinner. Gary did not reserve any of the domestic chores for his girlfriend and said he would *"help in the house"*. When he and his girlfriend settle down and if he has a job, he hoped to have a family. At present he would insist that his girlfriend had an abortion if she became pregnant. His plans are to settle down at 25 and to have children straight away.

Graham had never had a girlfriend but he expects to marry at the age of 25. He will stay at home until then. *"I like being at home...I get on alright here"* and he will marry rather than cohabit. He felt very strongly on this point attributing his feelings in part to the fact that he is a Mormon. He will have a *"decent job"* before he is married so that he can buy his own home. He 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 2 years after marriage before starting his family.

William will get married at 24. *"I want to enjoy myself first...before you have to stop in...you'll not be able to do things you would like with your mates."* Financial security will be important and having a *"proper job - I don't want to have to scrimp and save."* He 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.

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. William *"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.

Paul always pays when he takes a girl out because he would *"feel stupid"* if he did not. He will marry in his late 20's after he has had an opportunity to *"enjoy life"* first. Before marriage, however Paul will live with his partner and *"see how it goes"*. He said that his parents would approve of this decision as sensible. He will need to be financially secure, have the tenancy of a council house and the furniture and would *"want to be at work...not sitting around the house...supporting the family"*. Paul accepted that he would



have to be involved in the child rearing. He said *"I would but I wouldn't want to"*. Paul already has one child, a boy of 18 months. *"My girlfriend and me finished before I knew she was pregnant. I found out from the lads in Ryhope and asked if I could go up. I started going up a month ago. He doesn't see me as his dad. He calls me Paul. I would like us to get back...I don't know what will happen. I'll still visit him whatever happens between me and her. I'm just hoping we'll still get back - I'd prefer that than someone else between me and the bairn."* Paul expects to have more children as soon as he *"feels settled"* in a relationship.

Kevin will marry in his late 20's like Paul after he had had the chance to *"get out and enjoy myself"*. He expects to *"live in"* when he first gets married before getting a council flat. He has no strong feelings about marriage as opposed to cohabitation and said *"it depends on her...doesn't make much difference whether we ever get married or not"*. On domestic chores Kevin said *"she would do them... 'cos I can't cook or anything or wash"*. If his partner were working full-time however, Kevin said he would share the chores. He had no strong feelings about who pays for nights out. *"At present I pay mostly 'cos I've got more money. If she was working she would take me out."* Kevin will not start his family until he is 28 to *"test the marriage out first...when we are very sure, we'll have kids"*.

If his girlfriend became pregnant now he said that he would leave it to her to decide whether to have the baby or to have an abortion. he said he would live with her for the baby's sake but he'd *"break her neck. Me girlfriend's sister is 18 and she has a baby 3 months old...she's living at home...daft really. Me girlfriend thinks she's stupid...calls her a cow"*. Kevin did not feel that there was any real stigma attached to illegitimacy any more.

Thomas will cohabit before marriage and will get married at about 25. He expects to have 3 children and will start his family straight away. He said he would like to be in a job before marriage and would not like it if his wife was the breadwinner. *"We would argue."* Thomas would not marry a girl who became pregnant but he would oppose abortion and would take an interest in the baby. He knows one lad in this situation who *"keeps getting beaten up by the lass's brothers 'cos he's going with another girl"*.

Keith will get married from home at the age of 22 or 23. *"I want to enjoy myself for a couple of years before I get married and I want to save up for a house and furniture...I would like a mortgage if I'm still working but if I'm on the dole it would have to be council."* Keith would not cohabit because marriage is *"more decent...it stops people talking about you."* He will *"wait a year or two before we have them (children), get settled in first...see how you cope with each other."* If his girlfriend were pregnant now Keith would get married. he would not consider abortion *"I think its wrong."* He will be working before he gets married and if his wife is working as well he would do some of the domestic chores.

*"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."*

George usually takes his girlfriend out but they sometimes share costs. When he is not working they do not go out. *"It doesn't seem right to have her pay."* George and his girlfriend had planned to get married next year but *"money is a problem...we decided to have a holiday next year...in 2 years I'll have a proper job."* George was unsure about cohabitation. He felt that both his and his girlfriend's parents would disapprove and this would prevent them. They will have 2 children *"a year after we get married so we can get settled in...Debbie would have to go back to work...her mother would look after the baby...She would do most of the jobs in the house because I would be carrying on with the kids."* George saw his girlfriend as more forceful than him and thought she would probably make him change. If she were working and he was unemployed he would take over the housework *"except for the cooking."* George said that this would make him feel *"awful"*. If his girlfriend became pregnant now they would bring the marriage forward and would *"live in with Deb's parents."*

## **Future**

The most striking contrast between this and the upper Social Class group is in the level of uncertainty about their future in this group and the degree of pessimism for those who could look ahead. Household and family life depends on their future in the labour market and this was a matter for conjecture for all of them. The other groups could determine their futures much more clearly.

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.

Gary was also quite vague about what he would be doing at 30, *"probably be an alcoholic."* He thought he would be settled down and living in a council house. he was not sure if he would have a job by then.

Graham had no idea of which job he would be doing. He said he would live in Seaburn or Sunderland but not in Hendon and he will be married with 2 children.

William hopes to be a policeman. *"I'd want to do plain clothes to get promoted...I suppose I'd do more qualifications if it improved my career."*

Paul could only say that he would be living in a council house in Sunderland.

Kevin said *"I don't know really, probably working on the boats - people who do have a canny house, new cars...I would buy a house like this in this area (council houses at the bottom of the long streets). If I had enough money I would buy a boat...be self-employed."*

When asked about life at 30, Paul said *"I couldn't tell you."* He thought he would like to be a painter and decorator but had no prospects for a job.

Keith will be in Sunderland and if he is able to get a secure job he would like to buy a house near his parents.

George said of life at 30, *"I've no idea...just take a day at a time...I could be out of work tomorrow."*

## **Trade Unions**

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.

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.

Graham thought that he would join a trade union because it would *"give us experience...and would get us a job."*

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."*

Paul will not join a trade union. he agreed with Kevin that trade unions are *"a waste of time...always going on strike."*

Norman was not sure if he would join a union, *"I'm not sure what they do."*

Keith said he would join. He is not a member at the moment because he only has a few months work but *"if I had a permanent job I would."* He expects the union to negotiate *"wage rises (support you) or if the gaffers sacked you for practically nothing."*

George said he would join a union for the job protection but *"would never strike - you lose money for nothing."*

## Area

Tom and Andrew both liked the area in which they lived- a fairly small private estate of modern semis. Tom had *"moved from Hendon to here when I was little - I would like a place like this."* His family live in Tunstall which is quite close by and they see each other regularly.

Andrew said he would like to stay in the area when he marries. His wider family live in Easington and Hetton and Andrew sees them *"almost every weekend."* Andrew said *"a few years ago Hendon used to be rough...most people are alright - there's just a few nutcases...In the north you cannot be upper class. When you go to school and say where you live, people say 'you're from the posh end' - but we probably look to the south what Hendon looks to us. Its the people who live in Hendon who make the place what it is...in Southwick the dogs carry flick knives. 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."*

Gary lives towards the top of the long streets and has been there for four years. He told me the area is *"alright...better than the Garths...there's no real trouble."* None of his family live in Hendon. His parents *"just wanted to buy a house and liked this one"*. Nevertheless he sees some members of his family almost every day.

Graham lives in Victorian terraced housing in a fairly run down area and his family are natives of Hendon. Graham feels the *"area is OK but...they're not decent people...don't go around with them...always stealing and in trouble."* He would not live in Hendon from choice. His wider family are scattered all over Sunderland and Graham has no regular contact with them.

William lives in a semi on the main road bordering Hendon and his family live all around. *"I love this area...I don't want to move. I've got my friends around here, the shops are close, plenty of buses and you know everyone."*

Paul lives in a council house at the bottom of the long streets. he has lived there for 9 years after moving from the Garths. he would happily move to a house close by when he gets married. Most of Paul's family originated in Hendon *"but they're spread out now - I just see them now and again."*

Thomas told me he did not like Hendon. *"I want a flat...I asked my Probation Officer - but I don't want Hendon."* His brother and sisters live in the area and he sees them very regularly but he feels that Hendon is *"a place of trouble - I just want to leave."*

Kevin is from the bottom of the long streets and likes the area. *"I would want to live round here, I've lived here all my life."* His mother lives close by and he visits her 2 or 3 times a week. The remainder of his family are also in the area. He said *"its a good place to live...now and then there's fights, but not much."* Kevin has never had any contact with his father or his family.

Keith lives on a small modern council estate where he has been for 14 years. He would like to have a place of his own *"a couple of streets away"*. Almost all of his family live in Hendon and he sees them occasionally, the remainder of his family are in Thorney Close and he does not see them at all.

George has lived in the council house which his parents are buying for 15 years. the remainder of his family are in Downhill and Hetton. George told me *"the area is getting better"* but said *"when I get married I won't live here - you can't leave the car outside."* He sees his relatives on his mother's side of the family but not his father's.

### **How the Other Half Lives**

These lads did not compare themselves with those going into higher education. It clearly was not an option which they considered. Several of them affirmed the value of a *"proper job, a man's job"* and in talking of jobs they would refuse an 'office job' was most frequently identified. There were those who looked back with regret on 'wasting' their time at school but this was not because in their eyes it had prevented a brilliant career, simply a belief that they would have found it easier to find manual work.

Tom like all the others in this group left school at 16. He felt that those who were staying on were trying for University but that there is a 'glut' of qualifications now and he pointed out that in the shipyards *"who you know is important...they don't like to take people who are over-qualified 'cos they might think the work's beneath them"*.

Andrew could also point to friends with 'O' and 'A' levels who had been on the dole for some time. He also felt that *"who you know"* could be more important than qualifications.

Gary regretted failing to gain any qualifications at school and felt he would have had more opportunities, however like the others he would not have considered staying on at school or going into further education. Graham felt that 'O' levels were of value in the job market but 'CSE's were *"no use"*. He has one sister who stayed on after the age of 16 and her qualifications have secured her a job as a telephonist in the police station.

William said of people staying on at school *"I thought they were daft at the time. I couldn't wait to leave school. Me mam and dad wanted me to stop on...now I wish I could be at school all the time - great"*.

Paul said he thought qualifications would be no help in the job market.

Norman *"didn't do any qualifications - I didn't think about it - wish I had some now"*.

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 - no jobs anyway...no-one in my class stayed on"*.

## Appendix V.ii Ethnography Part 2 - The Girls

### Social Class I & II Female

This was a fairly homogenous group in many ways and all were assigned according to parents social class. The marked exception was Christine who was included in this group because her father was a self employed man, owner of a removal firm. Christine was clearly set on quite a different trajectory from the other girls and her background was different in that her father was in business while the other fathers were in the profession.

### Home Background

Lisa lives in a very grand and imposing Victorian house in a 'select' part of Hendon. It took several attempts to arrange to see her because Lisa was in America for the summer holidays. Lisa's home was clearly one of the most affluent I came across and her father was a consultant psychiatrist. Her mother was a housewife. Lisa told me that her father would have liked her to try for a career in medicine but she finally persuaded him that it was not for her. *"I'm a dunce, I put over the idea that I wasn't capable of doing it so I can get on with what I want to do"*. Lisa has a younger brother John (16) who *"can't wait to get away"* from Sunderland and a sister aged ten. She told me that she expects to be dependent on her parents until she leaves higher education at the age of 22.

Georgette lives with her mother and stepfather in a large Victorian terraced house. Georgette's mother is a teacher and her father is Under Manager at the colliery. Both parents had themselves been to university and hoped for a similar future for Georgette. Georgette 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"*. Georgette has a sister aged 10 who goes to St. Anthony's School. Georgette expects to be dependent on her parents until she is *"at least 22 years old"*.

Nicola lives in a large modern house in what her mother describes as a *"very snobby area"*. Her mother is headmistress of a small private school while her father works as a mining engineer for British Coal. Nicola has one elder brother, partner in a hotel, and an elder sister who is a nurse. Nicola's parents want her to go to university to improve her career prospects and are happy with her progress so far.

Helen lives in a pre war semi with her parents, her younger brother and sister. Her father is a lecturer at Sunderland Polytechnic while her mother is a Primary school teacher. They expect Helen to go to university to establish a career for herself and in the meantime she will be dependent upon them.

## Education

Christine's father owns a small Removals firm and I interviewed Christine at the rear of his shop. Neither of Christine's parents stayed at school after compulsory education. Christine's mother is a Provident Agent. They have never had any educational aspirations for Christine. *"Me mam said its your life make your own choice - me dad said the same. - They always knew I was going to leave"*. Christine, with a baby aged 5 months, is following a course in life very similar to her mother *"me mother was pregnant with me when she was fifteen"*. Her father left school at fifteen and has had no further education. Christine has a younger sister aged fifteen who is looking forward to leaving school at the end of the year but has no plans for work and a brother aged 7. All of Christine's wider family live in Hendon although she doesn't see her fathers relations.

Lisa is taking 3 'A' levels, in addition to 'A' level General Studies which she already has, at St. Anthony's R.C. School for girls. She told me that there were *"lots of rules and they give you hassle"*. Lisa described her school as very strict but one which gets good results. Speaking of her own aspirations she told me she wants to do a Business Studies degree and then to set up her own business. Lisa hadn't decided whether she wanted to go to university or to Sunderland Polytechnic *"I don't want to move away. It takes me a long time to adapt and I've no family elsewhere"*. She was clearly out of step with her contemporaries. *"My friends think I'm weird because I don't want to leave"*. Lisa regarded qualifications as central to getting a good career and these qualifications must be at 'A' level and degree standard. She described CSE's as *"irrelevant"*.

Georgette had completed her education at Southmoor school and told me that she had insisted on going to Southmoor in opposition to her mother who wanted her to go to a Catholic school. *"I didn't want to go to St. Anthony's, the girls there are either snobs or wild, in Southmoor you mix with all kinds of people and get to know everyone"*. When I interviewed Georgette she had just received her A level results which were *"disappointing"*. She had taken French, German and Business Studies A levels and told me that she thought she had chosen the wrong subjects. She was critical of the level of guidance offered at school and had chosen in the end with a view to *"going into management in a company abroad"*. Georgette now has 1 'A' level and has applied to Sunderland Polytechnic to do a Teachers Training course. She told me that her parents were disappointed in her A level results but knew that she wasn't working hard enough. *"I took too serious a view of my social life"*. If Sunderland Polytechnic don't accept her Georgette will go to the college to resit her A levels. Georgette was keen to get out of school into the student life which she described as *"a different world"*.

Nicola is about to leave Dame Allen Private School in Newcastle. She had spent most of her secondary education at the private school where her mother is headmistress



and had moved to Dame Allen for the 6th form. Nicola described her mother's school as *"quite a good school but there are a whole range of people there - at Dame Allen they're all top of the range. The discipline is good and there is no need to be strict"*. Nicola has 3 'A' levels and is going to Edinburgh university to do a degree in Geography. She chose Edinburgh because the course looked a good one. She told me she didn't think it mattered what degree she did *"I'll use it to get a good job - I don't know what yet - it'll show what level I am"*. Nicola felt Dame Allen had the advantages of discipline over comprehensive schools where people don't work very hard. She told me that her parents thought she could have done better if she'd worked a bit harder but on the whole they were happy with her achievement - She said that she had considered other options such as BTEC courses but felt she would improve her job chances with 'better qualifications'.

Helen took 'O' levels at Southmoor school and decided then to go to Central High Private school in Newcastle. She described Southmoor as *"chaotic"* and teaching standards as low. She compared it with Central High which she described as having the *"perfect system"* of privileges and responsibilities in the 6th form, the staff were *"relaxed in their approach"* but not *"uncaring"* as in Southmoor. Helen was in the red band at Southmoor and told me that she was able to motivate herself but that this often alienated other pupils. She had expected to take A level chemistry one year early but because of the teachers strike this was cancelled. Helen told me that most of her friends had moved to private schools. She plans to do a Maths degree because it will offer more employment opportunities but she told me that she didn't know exactly what she wanted to do with it. *"You rarely get a job where you can use Maths, but employers see that you can think logically"*.

Christine attended Thornhill Comprehensive school and had remained there after moving into Southmoor catchment area. She told me that discipline was good and put a lot of emphasis on the fact that the school had a uniform. Christine couldn't remember exactly which exams she had taken, they were clearly far behind her. She recalled taking CSE and RSA in typing and told me she got 3 or 4 CSE's and passed her RSA. She thought she could have done better really and told me that she hadn't entered for 3 exams in subjects which she was good at because *"I thought I wouldn't be able to do so many"*. For Christine qualifications are irrelevant *"you cannot get a job no matter what you get - that's why I didn't bother - not much point. I thought I would fail anyway"*. Christine told me she was *"over the moon"* to be able to leave school - *"to get on with life, do different things, instead of the same boring routine - maybe when I'm older I might wish I'd stayed on, not at the moment."*

She recognised an important sexual divide here *"If I were a boy I would have tried for qualifications for a job because the lads supposed to be the breadwinner."*

## Labour Market Experience

This is a very short section as only Georgette and Christine had any experience of work at all. Lisa told me she intends to get a Saturday job to supplement her pocket money. Georgette had worked as a receptionist/telephonist in a local Building Society office in the summer before - a job she got because she baby sits for the manager.

Christine has been “forced” into part time work by DHSS. *“I’ve been working for my dad for a couple of weeks. I was just doing it as a favour for him then the social security insisted I declare myself working - dad gives me £10 a week and they take £3 off me - I’ll do it till he finds someone else to do it, its boring and I want to be out with the baby.”*

Christine had experience of YTS having started a hairdressing placement 1 month after leaving school. She had taken the placement because there was nothing else available *“you’re just a skivvy the girls treat you like dirt - you get all the cleaning jobs to do. I was unhappy there - I’d just left then I found out I was pregnant”*. Christine left after 8 months and shortly afterwards found out she was pregnant and she hasn’t looked for work since.

## Labour Market Expectations

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 p.a.. Lisa said she does not expect to be in a position of having to take a job and she would prefer to remain unemployed and wait to see what comes up if that was the only alternative available. She had no expectation of ever becoming unemployed however.

One factor inextricably tied up with labour market expectations for the girls in a way which was not evident for the boys was the question of marriage and children and how they would combine these with work. 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”*.

Georgette will get a teaching job in Sunderland if she can. She thought she would probably start on £6-8,000 a year and felt that such a low wage wouldn’t give her a very good standard of living. Georgette told me that although she recognised that many teachers were leaving the profession because of the poor salary, job satisfaction would be more important to her. She aims to be promoted to become a Deputy Headmistress eventually but felt that the Headmistress tends to lose contact with children. She has no

expectations of becoming unemployed. Georgette told me that although she prefers to live in Sunderland she doesn't think she would return to the North if she was forced to go South for work.

Georgette expects to marry but not to have children and thinks there will be no tension between home and career.

Nicola told me that she would like to go into business. *"I just want to make a lot of money"*. She expects her eventual job to be both satisfying and well paid. To find such a job she told me she would have to leave Sunderland. Nicola would like to travel around the world before she settles down to work but she said whether she does so will depend on what kind of job she can get when she leaves university. She told me that she would refuse any jobs that didn't have promotion prospects. She regarded reasonable earnings *"for a first job - about £10,000 a year"* but this would increase fairly rapidly. Nicola would be prepared to take a job starting at £7,000 or £8,000 if her prospects were good.

Nicola expects to marry and have children and will stay at home until the children are at school. She recognised that this would have consequences for her career but said she would prefer that than to leave her children with other people.

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."*

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"*.

Christine told me that when she was at school she wanted to be a secretary. *"If I ever did get a proper job when I'm older it would be a secretary - I left school not thinking about a thing really, just hoping something would happen"*. For Christine career and jobs were not relevant. She talked about a job as some vague future possibility. *"I've got no career ideas, I just live day to day"*. She was certain that whatever job she gets she won't leave Sunderland and the furthest she would travel to work is Washington *"I wouldn't move whatever the job because Sunderland is me home"*.

She would expect to earn £60 or £70 per week and felt that was a reasonable wage. *"I could bring Terry up on that".*

Her expectations of work are that eventually when she is ready to go out to work she will get a job as a secretary. She said she would consider part time jobs such as cleaning in the interim but would not be satisfied with it as a job for life. Her expectations seem high in view of her lack of qualifications and experience.

### **How the Other Half Lives**

The views of the group are split with Christine being the odd one out. Necessarily as their paths in life are diverging their experiences are different and so is the other half.

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"*. She told me that she had lost contact with the girls who had left school at 16. *"They look down on people who are still at school - they're all grown up - they think!"* Even when these people had been at school Lisa didn't know them. They were in different streams. *"They're not people I really talk to."*

Georgette had a rather different perspective although no more egalitarian, *"People from Hendon are mostly in yellow stream, a few in green but there's an odd one in red or blue. You learn to handle all kinds of people"* She felt that because she knew people who lived in Hendon she didn't have to worry about the violence the area was noted for. *"I've waited for my sister off the school bus and they have bicycle chains to wait for the other kids"*.

Georgette also lost contact with people who had left school at 16. *"People who leave cut you off completely - you can be friends with people from other schools who left at 16. They think you are a bit stupid, staying on - they call you 'schoolie' - it's embarrassing if you go into a pub and they shout at you"*. Georgette didn't think this would change when she became a student. *"They don't see it as any different 'cos you're not on the dole or working - they say you stay in education because you don't want to go into work"*. Georgette didn't know anyone who was unemployed long term.

Nicola told me that most of the people she knows who are now unemployed could have gone on BTEC courses - *"I wouldn't say everyone should stay on because some don't want to but they should realise it's hard to get a job - my boyfriend's sisters' husband was unemployed for a long time and he had to go to London for work - they have a lot more money. The people I know who are unemployed are at home with their parents - they don't pay lodge"*.

Helen told me she didn't know anyone who was unemployed. She agreed with the other members of the group that *"education is very important you must get as much as possible out of education - people with no qualifications end up long term unemployed - it's very hard to imagine what that is like"*.

Christine told me that quite a few people from her class stayed on. *"I don't see them now - I don't know how they did - I think that's not sensible - it's daft staying on"*.

Most of Christine's friends are unemployed and themselves have children. She sees one girl from school who is living with a boy and has a child. *"Most of me dad's side of the family are unemployed and me mam's' - it used to affect me grandad a lot - he likes to be busy all the time - he's got used to it now."*

## YTS

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"*.

Georgette told me *"at 15 you get indoctrinated about YTS is slave labour but if there's nothing else you should take it."* She thought that refusing a YTS placement would be like *"cutting off your nose to spite your face - you never know something good might come out of it. In theory it's a good thing but in practice I'm not so sure"*. Georgette knew one girl on YTS at the Building Society where she had worked for the summer.

Nicola also felt it was probably a good idea to make it compulsory, *"then everyone will get some experience and qualifications"*.

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"*. The wages are too low for *"slaving your guts out"* and Christine thought it was wrong to enforce YTS because *"people pay taxes to cover unemployment - you should be allowed to make your own choice"*.

## Responsibility for Unemployment

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*". She knew something about unemployment *"it would be really tough if you were middle aged and lost your job - if you were straight out of school you might think it was freedom at first but it comes home after a while ... no structure to your day"*. Lisa thought the scroungers image was most unfair *"most of them seem to want to get out of being unemployed. What gets me are those who don't even try for a job - the government should do something to encourage people to look for jobs"*. She thought that reducing benefit would create more problems than it solved and estimated the number of scroungers to be a very small percentage of the unemployed as a whole. Lisa thought it would be a good idea to bring back National Service and said she would quite like to do it.

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 ....it can't hurt people trying for jobs"*. When asked about the scrounger image she said *"there obviously are people who stay on the dole because they get more than from schemes, you can't blame them really"* Ultimately she ascribed the level of unemployment to the *"trade cycle"* and saw it as inevitable. She didn't see any role for government in dealing with unemployment. *"Unemployment is happening all over the world - it's not a result of British policies."*

Personally Georgette 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"*.

Nicola said *"I don't consider the level to be very high nationally, it's high in the North East because of the decline in traditional industries"*. She didn't see the government as having any direct role, *"they can facilitate and make the environment right but they can't make real jobs"*. Nicola had sympathy with the unemployed regarding it as an uncomfortable life unless you were a single young person at home with parents who had no living expenses. She felt the scroungers image was unfair of the majority but accepted that a small minority scrounge on the dole. For herself Nicola felt there was no possibility of experiencing unemployment.

Helen also felt the scrounger image was fair for some *"particularly younger people living with parents - but for older people with families it's not fair"*. She, like most of her contemporaries, had no idea of the level of unemployment benefit. She saw unemployment most emphatically as not the responsibility of the Conservative government.

Christine's boyfriend and many of her friends are unemployed. She said that the scrounger image was *"unfair of most people - loads of people try to get jobs"*. She felt

unemployment benefit was too low and she had too little to manage on *"by the time you've had a night out - they can't deny that can they?"* When asked about the view that unemployment benefit should be low she said *"it's true that way, if you were getting a lot on benefit you wouldn't bother looking for jobs"* and decided that it should be a little higher but not much. She thought part time jobs should be allowed without detracting from benefit but when fiddle jobs were mentioned she said firmly that it was wrong *"because you end up getting caught anyway - you get enough to start with - it's all worked out and everybody gets the same - it's not fair that some should get more"*. However she would never report anyone doing fiddle jobs to the DHSS. *"Let them lead their own lives and do what they want"*.

Christine was out of step with the other girls in this respect as well as they were a lot more tolerant of fiddle jobs, Nicola saying *"I'd probably do it myself"*. Lisa *"it's fine by me - it provides competition"*. Asked about responsibility for unemployment Christine clearly blamed Margaret Thatcher.

## Politics

Again most of the girls had political views in common with only Christine standing apart as a Labour supporter.

Lisa said that she would normally vote Conservative and gave as her reasons that Neil Kinnock wasn't strong enough and Labour defence policy *"maybe it is because of my class that I vote Conservative. I think they have a lot more to offer...Labour couldn't control militant and hadn't worked out policies"* (at the recent general election). She told me that she might join the Conservative party and become an active local member. She sees Conservatism as a lifelong allegiance but said if the SDP had more chance she would go for them. She had followed the election campaign *"but got bored with it"*. Lisa's mother is a Conservative supporter and is a major influence on her views while her father *"doesn't like to speak his mind. In general politics are not discussed at home"*.

Georgette told me that she is *"totally anti-left, you can always spot left wingers - we've got into really heated discussions, some of them are over our heads, they just condemned everything we said"*. Georgette described herself as *"not a conservative but not left"*. She hadn't followed the recent election campaign *"it didn't interest me - I'd already made my mind up about my vote... 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."*

Nicola voted Conservative at the last local election *"because we always get a Labour council"*. Conservatives were also *"the best to lead the country"* and she felt that neither the Labour Party nor the SDP had the ability to provide leadership. She preferred the

Conservatives policy, saw them as consistent and as better at managing the economy. She pointed out that unemployment was reducing. She cited criticism over the NHS but said that there was *"nothing wrong with the NHS - there are new operations available so waiting lists are longer"*. Nicola will *"never"* vote Labour, but said that she may vote for the SDP if they become credible. She would never become active in politics.

Helen had a lifelong affiliation to the Conservative party and said she would under no circumstances vote Labour. She felt she might join the Conservative party and become an activist in the future.

Christine wasn't eighteen at the last election. She said she would have voted Labour but qualified this with *"I'm not really bothered"*. She had discussed politics with her boyfriend when the election campaign was underway, *"he (boyfriend) thinks she (Mrs. Thatcher) is right"*.

Generally Christine thought her family were all Labour supporters but politics aren't discussed at home. Her friend who was present throughout the interview broke in at this point to say *"we all vote Labour, it just the way we've been brought up"*. Christine won't ever become involved in a local party.

## Leisure

Lisa spends most of her leisure time at home. She told me she gets a lot of homework and as she always does it watching TV she finds it takes a long time. She listens to a lot of records in her room. On Saturday nights she goes out with friends to Annabels night club. She told me that the girls and the boys go out in separate groups not as pairs. She receives £5 a week pocket money which she spends mostly on sweets. Her parents give her extra money when she wants to go out. *"My parents don't expect me to budget for myself"*.

Lisa's boyfriends have all been at St. Aidans School *"all the other schools hate us..our school has a good reputation"*. She has never had a boyfriend who was unemployed or at work.

Georgette had a much more active social life. *"Monday I recover from the weekend, go swimming after school and stay in at night, Tuesday night I go to a night club, Wednesday swimming, Thursday either stay in or go to a night club, Friday and Saturday nights out. Saturday afternoon I walk round the town centre with my friend"*. She felt that she had too much time on her hands, especially in school holidays when *"you can imagine what it's like for people on the dole"*. She told me she would enjoy her leisure time more if there were more places to go or if she had more money. She told me she gets £10 at the weekend for pocket money and usually had nothing left on Sunday morning. She has to



ask for more on Tuesday night. *"I get more than other people.. it goes on a lot of things with nothing to show for it ....on Saturday and Tuesday it's £2 to get in the nightclub, drinks and cigarettes takes up the rest". "I don't know how to look after myself, the more money I've got the quicker I spend it."*

Nicola told me that her leisure time was affected by being on pocket money and compared herself with a friend on the dole who didn't pay board and lodging to her parents and so could do much more. Nicola spends her leisure time at a youth club and singing in the choir, she also does aerobics and plays badminton. She told me that she goes to pubs occasionally but would go more often if she had more money. She manages her own pocket money on the whole but sometimes has to have an advance from her parents.

Her boyfriend currently is at the Polytechnic in Sunderland doing a degree in Electrical Engineering and she told me her boyfriends had all been at school or college, she hadn't had a boyfriend who was working or unemployed.

Helen spent most of her free time studying and when interviewed was in the middle of A level exams. She told me that from 7 a.m. till 5 p.m. at night she was going to or returning home from school. Then she would do homework and then read. Friday night was her night out and she would sometimes go the pubs and clubs. When not doing exams her regime was similar, but she took the whole weekend off. She felt this was satisfactory involving a short term sacrifice for good qualifications. She receives an allowance from her parents and often buys her own clothes and this has been agreed between them *"as a step toward coping at university"*.

Christine budgets her money very carefully and told me in detail what it is spent on. Her life revolved around looking after her baby and visiting her 'mates'. On Saturday night she goes out round the town with female friends, but not to the night clubs which is too expensive. She has very little time for herself *"at times I think I could be doing more things, but that's the way it is, I'm happy the way I am"*. She would like to have more money to buy things for the baby but said that she wasn't really bothered. She would like to go horse riding but it's too dear.

She receives £32 a week for herself and Terry and £10 from her father for part time work. She pays £15 to her mother, £9 clubs (for clothes) £2 milk £1 food for the baby. *"One night out and cigarettes through the week and I'm usually left with £2 or £3. Once every few weeks I stay in and get him (Terry) something new"*. Her boyfriend usually pays if they go out together because she has little left over.

## Family

Lisa is not seeking any enduring relationship at the moment and although she may cohabit with someone in her 20's she won't marry until her 30's if at all. Her Catholic background does not affect her views. Her main feeling was *"I want to do everything I want before I settle down - I don't want to be tied down"*. She felt that a cohabiting relationship would be more casual and that if the decision to marry is put off for as long as possible the chances of its survival would increase.

She will have 2 children while she is in her 20s because she feels that her relationship will be better with them as they grow up. She 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. The partnership which she finally envisages will be based on very sound financial basis and she would not consider 'love on the dole'.

Lisa expects domestic chores to be split equally with her partner and reserved none to herself. She felt that *"you lose some individuality when you get married, children are quite important but marriage isn't"*.

Georgette has had numerous boyfriends mostly also at school although the last one was working as a trainee gardener. She described him as a *"scruff"* and told me her mother had commented *"you just do it to embarrass us"*. Georgette told me that status was irrelevant to her but then commented *"I have a knack of picking up boys who aren't as intelligent as me - I like to have the upper hand"*.

Looking forward to marriage she told me that she wouldn't marry a gardener. Initially Georgette said she hadn't given the matter much thought as she was more interested in her career, but later she joked *"if I'm not married by 30 I'll become an old maid with cats and hamsters - I'll be left on the shelf. I hope I will get married. I'd like to get married between 25 and 30. I hope to be financially secure....If he was on the dole it wouldn't matter....I'd like to think I would get married to someone who had job but it wouldn't matter ....he might be very well educated but not be able to get the job he wanted"*. Georgette described her current boyfriend as *"upper class and middle class at the same time he can easily stoop to my level and mix well with everyone"*. She thought she would marry someone like him as financial problems put a strain on marriage. She had no reasons for a preference between marriage and cohabitation but thought she would probably marry. Georgette expects to share everything with her partner including money management and all domestic chores with the comment *"I can't really see a man ironing....but he should have to learn"*.

She 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"*. She regards the

girls she knows who have taken this course as having spoiled their chances in life *"usually it's a complete accident and they're just unlucky"*. For those who choose to have children early *"they don't know what they're going to miss out on...no freedom"*.

Nicola is certain that she will get married. She would *"live with someone with a view to marriage but not otherwise"*. *"I don't know why, I don't think I go as far as to live with someone unless I was actually thinking of marrying them"*. She couldn't imagine being married on the dole, *"I wouldn't mind that much as long as I wasn't poor"*.

Nicola won't marry until she is at least 25 both because *"people change so much"* in the years of early adulthood and because *"I want to see things, do things before I get married and tied down"*.

Faced with the prospect of unplanned pregnancy she said that she did not think she would have an abortion...*"I would expect my parents to help and I'd still try to get my qualifications"*. She has one friend who had a child at 16 and managed with considerable support from her parents but on the whole Nicola thought *"you shouldn't have children until you can support them"*.

Nicola expects to share all domestic responsibilities equally in her future partnership.

Helen's boyfriends so far have been at school and they have shared costs equally when out together. She told me that she might marry after the age of thirty, certainly not before. *"I just want to be independent, I don't want to share"*.

Asked about cohabitation she said *"Yes - I haven't a religious background so I've no objections' I think probably as you get older you get more insecure so I probably will opt for marriage"*.

Helen was equally unsure about having children but said if she does have them it will be after the age of 30. She felt her career was most important and that *"it would drive me mad to give up my career"*. So she would need to be well established before considering children. All domestic responsibilities would be equally shared between herself and her partner. She had strong and firm views on unplanned pregnancy *"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"*.

Christine again stands out from the remainder of this group. She already has a child and depends on a mixture of Supplementary Benefit and parental support. Her views about children as one might expect are widely at variance with the rest of the group.

Christine still sees her baby's father but doesn't live with him. *"I sleep at home so many nights then at me boyfriends so many nights. She is on the council housing list but tells me she won't get a place for a long time"*. Christine is happy to stay at home with her parents because she recognises that they give her a lot of help and perform baby-sitting tasks etc. When she gets her own home she does not expect to start to live with her boyfriend. *"I don't know what he'll do. He's got his own place. He'll probably stop at his so many nights and mine so many nights"*.

She is considering marrying her boyfriend at some time in the future. *"I've been with him a year now so in another year, I will be sure....then I would live with him for six months before we got married. I'll be married by the time I'm 20"*. Christine is happier at the prospect of cohabitation than marriage. *"It's him that goes on about marriage. I probably will, I do want to get married"*.

Christine told me she is *"taking things as they come"*. She expects that her boyfriend will still be unemployed when they get married but she said *"I'd like some savings behind us first"*.

She was equally happy to face the prospect of single parenthood saying that *"it wouldn't worry me"*. In discussing household chores she told me *"my boyfriend would do it - or we'd share - my boyfriend won't do the washing or ironing"*. She did not see her boyfriend as at all competent in child care and said that if she were working *"my mother would look after the baby - I wouldn't leave him with my boyfriend"*.

Christine's baby Terry is five months old and she said that she will have another two children. *"I don't know if I'll space them out - I could be pregnant now - I'd prefer him to be a bit older but I'm not bothered if I am...I believe in having them as young as you can...get them over with"*.

She told me that she hadn't planned her last pregnancy but that she was pleased about it as was her boyfriend. She felt no sense of being tied down. *"I take him everywhere . I enjoy it - it doesn't worry us"*. Christine feels that child-bearing is her main priority now and that she will not be looking for work until her children are at school. *"I've always thought I'd have a baby - that's a girls duty, to have children"*.

## **Future**

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"*.

Georgette first response to the question of life at 30 was I don't know. I take everything as it comes. A little further reflection and she said *"I will have a house of my*

*own and a secure job, perhaps I'll be married but I don't want any children - other peoples kids are alright but I don't want any of my own. If I do have one it will be a complete accident."*

Before marriage Georgette intends to share a flat with a friend *"I wouldn't be very good at living alone. I need a lot of guidance..."*

Later she 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."* She expects her job in teaching to be secure but feels it is poorly paid.

Nicola told me that she was looking for a job which is both satisfying and well paid and expects to achieve both. At the age of 30 she expects to be established in her own home *"not in Sunderland"*. She will be taking a break from her career to bring up her children but will be living at a very high material standard.

Helen expects to live alone for *"a while"* in her own home before establishing any relationship. She will have established her career and will be *"looking for promotion into management"*.

The first thing Christine told me about herself at 30 was that she would have three kids. *"I'll probably be married, probably a housewife with a part time job in an office...I wouldn't go somewhere like Market Force"*.

She will make her home in Sunderland *"I prefer to be in Hendon, I'll be buying my own home by the time I'm 30....near to me mam. I wouldn't move away from my parents"*.

## **Trade Union**

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."*

Georgette thought she would probably join a union because *"it gives you strength in a dispute with your employer"*.

Similarly Nicola said that she would probably join a union to support her in case of difficulties with an employer although she thought this was unlikely to occur. She would not be an activist however.

Helen was unsure but felt that if there were an appropriate Trade Union she might join. *"I think they are more concerned with themselves than their members....they have been too powerful but that has changed now."*

Christine was very definite in her reply. *"No there's too much bother with them - always going on strike - they're stupid"*.

### **Area**

All of this group lived in the most affluent locality although in different settings within it. As a group they tend to be more content to stay in Sunderland than the lads but they are also the girls most likely to leave.

Lisa is very happy in Sunderland and one of her possible future plans is to rent the top floor of her family home from her parents. When she speaks of the future however she speaks of living abroad

Georgette has also settled for Sunderland in the immediate future although this was mainly put down to *"disappointing"* 'A' level results. She told me *"I like the town and the people, I'll stay in Sunderland at least for the time being"*. She envisages starting work as a primary teacher in Sunderland and buying her first house here. *"If you tell people you live in Hendon they take a step backwards...the people in Hendon are friendly"*.

Nicola told me that the area she lives in is the *"best in Sunderland. I wouldn't be so happy about living elsewhere in Sunderland"*. Her mother intervened and described the street as *"snobby... 'no-one drops in uninvited"*.

Helen told me her family had lived in their home all her life as do most of her extended family. Her intention is to go south however for work as she feels she has no real ties up here.

Christine's feelings about her immediate area are that it is a *"nice place to live in"* and despite the fact that she is closer than the others to Hendon of violent reputation she told me that she never sees any trouble. She will aim eventually to buy her own home in the area.

### **Female Social Class III Manual and Non-manual**

This is the largest group for girls. The girls in this group come from all three localities although they were mainly concentrated in the intermediate locality. Unlike those in the upper social class group several of these girls had their own social class assignments having been in the labour market for some time.

## Area

Beverley lives in the upper locality in a post war semi detached house on the edge of a modern estate. She told me that the area was *"nice"* that she liked the people living around them and that she would like to have a house of her own here.

Wendy lives in a Victorian terrace also in the upper locality. She expects to remain at home until she marries. She told me it was her ambition to work abroad but that she *"wouldn't go anywhere where I don't know anyone..... at least until I'm a few years older"*.

Margaret lives in the intermediate locality in a post war semi bordering on the upper locality. She has lived there all her life and says she knows everyone and likes the area. She is considering a move south in her job at the bank because it would be a good career move. *"I think I'd like a change...I like travelling. On the other hand it's the cost, I've got a cushy number at home"*. She thought she would be homesick if she moved but said *"If I want to make a move I'll just have to do it"*. A few moments later she said *"I probably won't move - I'll probably end up here for the rest of my life"*.

Suzanne, also in the intermediate locality, lives in a Victorian terrace in 'the long streets'. She had just moved into her present home with her parents and told me *"I don't like the area but the house is nice"*. She expects to continue to live in Sunderland for the rest of her life.

Angela lives in the same area as Suzanne and in a similar house. She has lived in the area all her life and said *"This isn't too bad where we are, when you get further down to the east end it gets bad. There a couple of blocks of council houses - they are bad - people make jokes about where you come from. I'd like to move. I'd like to leave Sunderland.....somewhere not as big as London but with more opportunities than here"*.

Eve also lives in the long streets and has been there all her life. She told me she likes living there *"it has a reputation but it's alright - you know everybody - most of my friends from round here have left school"*.

Susan also from intermediate locality has lived in Hendon all her life and said *"this end is quite good"*.

Zena lives in the intermediate locality in a semi again bordering on the upper locality in the house her parents bought when they were first married. She described the area as *"nice"*.

Tracey lives in a modern council house in the poorer locality. The family originate from Hendon and have been in this present house since it was newly built 14 years ago. Although the area is in the poor locality the houses are modern and bright with gardens.

Sandra had married and left her mothers home when I traced her to a small terraced bungalow in Grangetown. Although originally selected from the poorer locality Sandra had moved into the intermediate area with her husband and is paying a mortgage on their home. She had been in her new home for 14 weeks and told me she had lived in Hendon all her life. She likes the area and wants to stay in it.

Elizabeth lives in a mid terrace house in the poorest locality. They moved three years ago to their present home from Pennywell council estate. Her parents are now owner occupiers. Elizabeth is happy in the area, much of her family coming from Hendon, she feels she wants to stay.

Pamela lives at the bottom of the long streets, the 'rough' area. She is a shy quiet diminutive figure and she told me she doesn't feel easy there. She told me that she speaks to people but has only made one friend in the area, an older girl who has a child and who lives across the road. Pamela said *"I don't like the gangs that stand on the street corners and pick on people - I keep out of their way"*. Her twin brother is a member of one of the gangs. Pamela told me that despite being here all her life she would like to move from the area. *"The people in this street are alright but the next street is awful"*. She has an elder brother and sister as well as grandparents who live in their own homes in the same small area.

### **Home Background**

Janet lives at home with her parents and younger sister. Her father started work at Binns at the age of fifteen and continues to work there. Her mother is an auxiliary nurse. Neither of her parents had any further education. Janet expects to remain at home with her parents until she gets married. *"I couldn't cope on my own - I rely too much on my mother"*. She doesn't see herself as being independent. Her parents are happy with her chosen avenue into work through a YTS at Binns which her father secured for her. Janet's extended family live close by.

Wendy is an only child living with her parents. Her father is a post office van driver and her mother is a housewife. Her wider family live close but involvement with them is not frequent. Wendy's parents agreed that she should leave school because she was unhappy there but they would like her to take further qualifications. They support her in her aim to become a hairdresser. Wendy doesn't expect to be entirely financially independent of her parents for a few years.

Margaret is an only child living at home with her parents. Her father is a design draughtsman in Wallsend. Margaret told me her father had been a chief engineer in the merchant navy before leaving to become a draughtsman at Steeles. He was subsequently made redundant and now works on a contract basis. Margaret's parents were keen that



she should have a “*secure profession*”. She described her mother as “*a housewife - I’d better not say she doesn’t work*”.

Margaret’s parents were happy with her qualifications “*I don’t think they were bothered if I stayed on or not*”. She had considered applying for university but she said “*they’re happy I’m at the bank and I’ve got a job I like*”.

Suzanne is living at home with her parents who have recently retired from their own business, a small newsagents in Grangetown. Prior to that Suzanne’s father was a plater, working abroad and her mother was a housewife.

They are very pleased with Suzanne’s achievement. Suzanne has a stepbrother and sister from her fathers previous marriage. Her stepbrother is “*trying to get into drama college*” and her stepsister has 3 children and is a part time youth worker. Suzanne told me that her father would have liked her to go to university “*I was going to be an infant teacher but I got a job at Sunderland library*”. Most of Suzanne’s family live in the area but she described them as “*not too close family - my nana has just died and they’re all coming to the house tonight*”.

Angela lives with her parents and one elder sister who has a clerical job at the civic centre. Angela’s father is a workshop supervisor at a large garage and her mother is a clerical worker. “*They didn’t want me to stay on (at school) - I wasn’t exactly a genius - they know how I was getting on at school. If I was any good I would have done more ‘O’ levels.*” They had been pleased when she got her job as a hairdresser because “*everything else had just fell through.*”

Eve is an only child living with her parents. Her father is a joiner and her mother is a tailoress at a factory in Seaham. Neither of them had any further education. Eve told me “*me mam is more ambitious for us than me dad is*”. She put this down to the fact that her mother is unhappy in her job and finds it very boring. Her father is happy with anything she wants to do. “*My parents are fairly easy going they would have been happy if I’d left at 16.*” Eve’s family live quite close by and she sees her aunties quite regularly.

Susan’s parents had both attended Hendon Board school and left at 14. Her father is a plumber and her mother is a kitchen assistant in an old peoples home. They both wanted Susan to improve her prospects by studying “*they were pushing us to stick in - I was rebelling because I didn’t like school - they were disappointed. They would have liked me to get good grades, me father would have liked me to study but he said it was up to me*”. Susan has a younger sister who is 14 and still at school, “*she wants to be an air hostess - she’s taking languages and sticking in*”.

Zena's father is sales director in a credit control company and had done further education at night classes while working. Her mother is *"just a housewife"* looking after her grandmother who lives with them. Her parents are pleased with her job at the bank *"they're keen for me to do exams and get on"*. Zena told me they had been pleased with her education but that her father had wanted her to go to university.

Tracey lives with her parents an elder brother and younger sister. Her oldest brother is married and living in Hendon. Tracey's father was a factory worker until 1 year ago when he went on invalidity benefit. Her mother is a part time cleaner. They were *"glad I left school at 16 because I had to get a job"*.

Sandra's parents similarly didn't try to persuade her to stay on at school *"at first they thought I should have stayed on - but it was my own decision- They were just bothered about a job"*. Both of Sandra's parents are unemployed. Her father was a miner but was made redundant when his pit closed several years ago. He hasn't worked since. Her mother worked in the kiosk at the Odeon and when that closed took a cleaning job. She became unemployed two years after Sandra's father and *"hasn't bothered since"*. Sandra's husband is an apprentice electrician, and when he qualifies, will become a partner in his fathers small firm. Sandra has an elder sister and elder brother both of whom are now unemployed.

Elizabeth lives with her parents and younger brother and sister. Her father used to be a bus driver but following a heart attack he was made welfare officer in the union. He had taken further qualifications later in life and Elizabeth felt that he wanted her to get qualifications *"because he's got some"*. He thought she would get a better job with qualifications and she thought he would have preferred her to stay on at school - *"he said it was up to me"*. Elizabeth's mother works as a cook in an old peoples home. Her parents while accepting she is unable to work put pressure on Elizabeth *"every so often me dad says you can get yourself out and spend all day looking for a job - he doesn't think it's my fault but he thinks I should try harder"*. Her mother *"doesn't talk about it"*. Elizabeth felt her father had her best interests at heart. *"He was over the moon"* about the YTS job at first but eventually he had begun to feel that Elizabeth was being exploited and should leave.

Pamela lives with her parents and twin brother. Her father has angina and *"hasn't worked for a lot of years"*. Her mother is a part time cleaner. She told me that her parents wanted her to go to school *"but they didn't say if they wanted me to stay on - we never talked about it. I just expected to go out on to YTS"*.

## Education

Beverley completed her education at Southmoor school. She was in blue band. Leaving at 16 with 'O' level Art and 6 CSE she said she regretted not having worked harder and felt too little emphasis was placed on qualifications in her school. *"A bunch of five of us used to carry on and that, - I might have stayed on to sit 'O' levels but you could only take 'A' levels"*. She felt that CSE's were of little use in the job market *"nowadays you need degrees. 'O' levels don't count... It's nice to have them behind you though"*. She regarded her qualifications as sufficient for a job in Binns but said she was a *"dunce"* at school and wasted her time. *"If I had the chance again I would work"*.

Wendy spent her final 2 years at school at Southmoor leaving at the age of 16 with 4 CSE's and 1 'O' level. She didn't like school and felt that she was behind the other children because of her transfer from Washington. She described the school as *"alright"* and said it had a *"good reputation"* but she felt there was too little career guidance. Wendy regards qualifications as important and wishes that she had more than her 4 CSE'S and 1 'O' level.

Margaret commented *"I enjoyed it - nobody likes school but - it wasn't dead strict but the teachers were quite good"*. Margaret was in the top band at school and stayed until she was 18 leaving with 8 'O' levels and 1 of the three 'A' levels that she took. She got a D in Business Studies and said that this was the 'A' level she wanted. She had not really considered leaving at 16 *"I knew I would stop on- I did have the chance of a job at 16 but I didn't take it"*.

Generally of school Margaret told me *"the blues (top) didn't mix with the greens (middle) or yellows (bottom band) - they all came from Hendon and the East end whereas people in reds and blues came from estates like this - there were quite a few people in blue from Vilette road but no-one came from the council estates"*.

Suzanne also attended Southmoor and had been in the red (top) band. She left with 4 'O' levels, some CSE's and RSA typing and shorthand. She 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".*

Eve is the only member of the group planning to go into Higher Education. She was in top band in Southmoor and told me it was unusual for there to be any movement between bands. Eve has 7 'O' levels and 1 CSE grade 1 but said she felt her qualifications were insufficient because her grades weren't very good. She was taking 3 'A' levels and aiming for a degree. *"O' levels aren't enough to get you on in a career. Even 'A' levels are not much use you've got to have a degree. All my friends are aiming in the same direction".* Of the school Eve commented that *"some things" are good - "it's not strict in the 6th form but some of them (the teachers) have the wrong attitude, sometimes they're too easy going".*

Susan had attended Thornhill school *"I couldn't settle in the 4th and 5th years. I didn't like some of the teachers. I took exams but I never got the grades. I should have stuck in for me exams. I wish I'd stayed".* *"A few of the teachers were strict but some of them were alright - if I liked the teacher I could do the subject, if not I couldn't. If they didn't like you you wouldn't get on - a group of us always got into trouble for nothing if we didn't like them we'd take no notice."* *"I done human biology, religious studies, English and history CSE's but I never went for the results. A boy at school got 'A' levels and he's on the streets so I didn't think it was worthwhile".* She acknowledged however that employers ask for qualifications. After leaving school Susan told me *"I could have gone to Monkwearmouth I'd jump at the chance now if it came up".* She had no plans to apply for a course however saying *"if there was something interesting I would like to do I would apply".*

Zena was in the top band at Southmoor and felt that the teachers were good *"I always got on well with them - it was different in 6th form - they treated you like adults. I was terrified of them for the first 3 years. It got better when we took options and then in the 6th form they were more like just other people".* *I was always going to stay on because I didn't feel ready to leave - I wasn't sure if I should go to university. After the 6th form I wanted a job. I was sick of studying".* Zena got 3 'A' levels but wasn't chosen for the management development course at the bank. *"I went in on general entry on my 'O' level results."*

Tracey described school as *"alright"* but said the *"teachers don't help - you're left to your own devices".* Tracey got 4 CSE's and 4 'O' levels and was surprised at her own attainment. *"I did better than my friends because I worked in school".* Tracey felt qualifications were very important.

Sandra said that Southmoor was a *“good school and the teachers were OK. I used to get sick but now I miss it. I don’t see my friends so much. I did exams but I don’t know how I did. I took four CSE’s - I don’t want to find out how I’ve done because it might not be very good”*.

Sandra was in the yellow band and said most of her classmates did CSE’s but some didn’t bother with exams. *“I decided to stick in and have a go at the exams - leave school with something to show for what you’ve done at school. But they’re no use for the jobs you get nowadays”*. *“I went for an interview at the clothes factory and they asked me if I had any qualifications then they said they didn’t matter really”*.

Elizabeth attended Bede Comprehensive which she said was *“alright”* it was an *“old school with holes in the ceiling but they taught you good”*. Some of the teachers emphasised qualifications but *“mostly it was up to you”*. Elizabeth didn’t think qualifications were important *“my friend has ‘O’ levels and she’s in a shop - I don’t think they help”*. Elizabeth left school with 2 CSE’s *“I didn’t really understand the unemployment problem then, I thought I would just get a job - I wish I’d stayed on”*.

Pamela was in the bottom band at Southmoor and described school as *“alright sometimes. I wasn’t keen on school but I used to go. Most of the time I wasn’t interested - it was too strict sometimes - I didn’t like history or English. It was boring and we did the same things nearly every year. I just didn’t feel like working”*. Of qualifications Pamela said *“they’re not important - if you take CSE’s you can’t get a job - I took CSE’s and got grades 1 & 2 for 4 or 5 of them - I can’t remember - they didn’t help me get a job. Most of the teachers were alright - I just wasn’t interested at school. I don’t know why - I used to do my lessons. I’m glad I left”*.

### **Labour Market Experience**

Like the lads in Social Class III, YTS was a fairly central feature of their experience. Only 2 girls had got jobs without taking YTS. Expectations of job satisfaction, career prospects and remuneration are all considerably lower than those of the Upper Social Class group.

Beverley left school not knowing what she wanted to do. Initially she thought that she would like to be a nurse like her mother but then said she decided *“it wouldn’t do for me”*. Beverley decided to try for a YTS in Binns and her father used his influence to get her in. Beverley is currently on the second of a 2 year scheme at Binns. At present she tells me there is an employment ban in force but she will be first in line for any job that does come up. Beverley was clearly ambivalent about her experience there. *“I used to enjoy it, I’m not so keen now, it’s alright - I’ve got the hang of everything now - I used to enjoy it a lot - I definitely won’t be at Binns for the rest of my life- I don’t think I will - I’ll*

*stick it out as long as I can. I used to think qualifications were important to get you a job, now I think it's who you know". If she is kept on after YTS Janet will earn £70 a week which she thinks is a good wage.*

Wendy was unemployed for the first six months after leaving school at 16 and in September was taken on a 1 year YTS course in catering. This involved 2 days in college and 3 days on work placement. In her second placement she was required to work from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 6 p.m. often till 2 a.m. the following morning. She felt there was no training involved and it was a simple case of job substitution. Wendy started a second scheme the following January in hairdressing *"which was what I wanted in the first place"*. This scheme lasts for 1 year and she hopes to be kept on at the end of the year. She was in the process of being moved to another salon when I interviewed her because there were *"too many YTS people"* at her present placement. She is paid £35 a week in her present placement but wouldn't accept this as a wage in a full time job.

Margaret left school at 18 and was taken on by the bank in a clerical job. She has been studying for institute of banking exams and is considering, after this, whether to apply for the Banks management development course. She feels she has a job with prospects but acknowledges that she is at a disadvantage because she is a woman. *"There are chances for women in management but you don't see many women bank managers. You can do quite well really. I'm the only woman in the branch who's taking exams because they think women get married and leave. I was lucky really to get a job I enjoy. I don't know if I will stay in banking forever, sometimes it's a bit monotonous. I was thinking of joining the police force - When I first left school I did think of joining the forces - I've got a friend in the Navy - she loves it - I was thinking of a holiday reps job but it might be too insecure - giving up a good job to do that - I might not even like it - I know I like my job now."*

Suzanne started her working life in a clerical YTS first at a catering company in Hendon and later in an estate agents. She described it as *"total exploitation - he made someone else redundant and took me on to do exactly the same job - I was left on my own till 9 p.m. typing invoices - the training centre was no help. I left and went to college to do 2 'A' levels but I was offered a job at Sunderland Library and I gave it up"*. She started that job in July and was offered her present job at Thompsons in October so she moved there because *"there seemed to be more prospects"*. Suzanne works in the accounts department at Thompsons the printers dealing with enquiries about accounts, preparing invoices, typing and filing. She identifies very strongly with Thompsons *"they will send me to college , I'll go on an in service course for 1 or 2 years. I wanted the job because I can go to six or seven departments and improve my prospects."* Suzanne is paid £80 for a 44 hour week a wage which she feels is reasonable. She plans to remain there for the foreseeable future.

Angela left school and prepared to go to college for a hairdressing course when her present employer contacted her to ask her to work for him as a YTS student. She has completed 2 years on this basis and was recently taken on full time. She will be going to college on a day release course. *'After that I don't know what I'll do - see how things go. I'd like a change. I'm thinking about physiotherapy but there's all the training to go through - Hairdressing was the thing I wanted but the salon I'm at - the clientele are all old ladies who've been there for years. It's the same thing every week - I'd like some young ones in and I'd need more training in cutting to give me confidence to do new styles. I'll stick this job until I find something else - you could say it's using your employer but these days you've got to think of yourself'*.

Angela earns £49 which she says is reasonable for hairdressing. It is the lowest wage she would be prepared to work for.

Eve has been in full time education. She had a part time job until halfway through the lower 6th form but gave this up to concentrate on her studies.

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"*.

Susan is currently unemployed with only the prospect of a CP scheme following a year on the dole to look forward to.

Zena left school to start her career in banking at the age of 18. She chose banking because she had been going out with a boy who worked in a bank for eighteen months and she thought it was a *"steady, reliable job"*. At present she is a clerical worker earning £4,600 a year. She feels that this is a good wage comparing it with a friend who has spent the last 2 years working in a shop in the Metro centre who earns a lower wage. Zena told me that life at the bank is very competitive and *"becoming more so. Tempers are getting a bit frayed because we have to wait for people in front of us to move on so we can progress. Six of us are fighting for each others jobs. I'll have to move about in the end. They keep you there until your grade 111 and then you have to be prepared to go to another branch."*

Tracey left school at 16 and was unemployed for 6 weeks before being placed on YTS at the Business Training Centre. *"I never thought about going for a job - I just went straight for YTS"*. At the end of her YTS she was kept on and is Administrative Assistant there. She doesn't like the job because of the people she works with and says there are no promotion prospects. *"I'll stick it out rather than be unemployed"*. Tracey is currently doing a BTEC day release course. She told me she has never talked about her job with her parents.

Tracey regards herself as lucky to have a job at all despite the fact she is not happy in it. She earns £60 a week which initially she thought was a high wage but which she now considers only *"reasonable"*.

Sandra left school at 16 and started work in a laundry on a YTS scheme. She thought she would enjoy the work because she had spent a week on work experience there. *"It was different altogether - it was slave labour - just going to the shop for them"*.

*"When I left school I wanted to work with horses but the teachers thought it might be unrealistic. I wanted to work with old people but there was nothing going so I did YTS"*.

Sandra left school in May and was offered her first YTS in September. *"It was at Luxdon laundry and Wearside College... woodwork mostly. I don't understand why they teach you that - it was called 'foundation skills'. Then I had six weeks replacement at Luxdon laundry. The tutors visited from the college and I was told it would be alright but after I went back to college the second time I was there I was being used as a general dogsbody - the college told me to stick it out - folding tea towels. The day the teacher came I was put on a press but I was taken off as soon as the teacher left. The college told me I would have to leave and they stopped my money for 6 weeks. After six weeks I started to look for work but that's when I met Michael - I had one week at Market Force and then one week before we got married they offered me a part time job for £30 - £40 a week but I was pregnant so I didn't take it"*.

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 Dewhursts 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 no prospect of work on the horizon.

Pamela left school at 16 immediately after CSEs. Her YTS began in September as a shop assistant and at the end of her scheme she was taken on full time. Her employer initially asked her to work 'on the fiddle' signing on at the same time but Pamela had refused. The shop is open from 2 a.m. till 10 p.m. and she is therefore required to do shift work for which she is paid anything between £49 and £60 a week which she describes as



*"not a bad wage". Pamela regards herself as lucky to get the job "a lot of people come off YTS and don't get offered anything at the end".*

### **Labour Market Expectations**

Beverley is beginning to find her YTS rather boring and is clearly unsure about a full time job at Binns. She has no ideas of career or what her future will be: *"I can't imagine. I just like things as they are."* Beverley told me she likes shop work because of the contact with people *"but I get sick of it. I don't really know what I would choose."* She feels that the potential to earn a "good" wage is unimportant and seeks job satisfaction above money and career prospects. She 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.

Wendy hopes to qualify as a hairdresser. At present she is on a YTS placement with no promise of work at the end. She hopes eventually to set up her own hair salon and believes she would be able to continue this with child rearing. Wendy is keen to establish a career in hairdressing because it is *"creative."* She would expect to earn about £50 a week in a full time hairdressing job and sees this as rather low. Wendy would regard £100 a week as a reasonable wage.

Margaret is considering a move within the bank to further her career. If she is prepared to travel south, she told me: *"My prospects are better - I can go up the grades much faster and get more money."* Work is very important to Margaret and she would not give up work to look after her children: *"I could never stay in the house all day, day in day out - me Mam gave up work after she had me. Now she gets sick because Dad and me are out all day."* Margaret will rely on her mother to look after her children when she returns to work. At present Margaret earns £5,600 p.a. and aims eventually to be promoted to a grade 4 position in the bank which would pay £8,000 a year. She didn't feel her job was ideal but regarded it as satisfactory.

Suzanne intends to remain in her job at Thompson's for a few years until she and her prospective husband can open a newsagent's shop. At present she gets £80 for a 44 hour week which she feels is quite a reasonable wage. She expects to improve on this over time, telling me that some women who have been there for a long time earn £4 an hour. Suzanne wants to open her newsagent's shop in Sunderland. *"I've never really been anywhere else... I want to start off in an area like this and then go into a better shop."*

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.

Eve will look for a *"marketing job"* when she completes her Business Studies degree but she told me that the competition for jobs is intense. *"The opportunities are better down south... Once you're stuck here you can't really get away... I want more out of life than this... I'd rather meet new people."* Promotion and career prospects are important to Eve: *"I probably would take an interesting job with a few career prospects if I enjoyed it, but I don't want to get stuck in a rut. I don't always want to strive for more and more."* She expects to start above £10,000 p.a. and aims to be a Marketing Manager earning approximately. £25,000. Eve doesn't expect to have to face unemployment herself.

Susan has no firm ideas about her working life in the future: *"I want to go into window dressing but it's hard to get into. I might go on a government scheme. When you've been unemployed a year you get a proper wage and you get to choose what you want to do."* Susan is not going to leave Sunderland: *"I'd hate to leave,"* but she feels Sunderland is *"a terrible area for work."* Susan would expect to give up full time work while her children were very young: *"I'd stay off until the children were settled ... but not totally off because we'd need the money. When the children were 3 or 4 I'd go back full time."* Her mother would then look after the children. Angela told me that she would prefer a shop job to work in a factory despite the fact that wages are lower. She would expect to earn £50 - £60 a week in a shop and said that she would be happy with that although she wouldn't be able to support herself. I asked her if that meant a shop job is a young person's job, but she said: *"Not everyone's... a woman's job"*.

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 ranging 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.

Tracey is in a job she doesn't like at the business training centre, but tells me she will put up with it until she finds something else: "I've been looking for other jobs, but I haven't seen anything yet." She is looking for another job which involves typing and bookkeeping and in which no further training is required. She applied for a job in a factory when she first left school but says she is glad she didn't get it even though the wages are higher. She hopes to secure a job which will give her £75 a week: "I wouldn't mind that for the rest of my life." Tracey told me that she would be prepared to move away from Sunderland if she were offered a better job but she was not actually looking at the national labour market for jobs.

Sandra will look for work at Market Force when her baby is "old enough". "I'll go back part time... My mam and his mam would take the baby if I wanted... I'm not looking for anything else. I've been round the Jobcentre and they all want experience... I haven't got any so I'll just go back there." She expects to return to work full-time when her child is at school. She doesn't know what kind of work that will be: "Any job... like Market Force. I think later on I might want to do a particular job but... just a job really." Asked to think about the ideal job Sandra said, "In a nursery... Market Force pays you off for nothing... I'd go for a secure job if I could."

Pamela feels her job as a shop assistant is a good job and she will remain there for the foreseeable future. She has no thought of career which she feels is not important and she intends to stay in shop work all her working life with a short interruption to have children. Pamela would like to get away from the area she lives in but would be very hesitant to leave Sunderland.

Elizabeth is currently unemployed and has little hope of work in the near future. She would like to be a hairdresser but having had no experience so far she thinks it unlikely that she will get an apprenticeship at her age. She thinks she might get shop work - "anything you don't need experience and qualifications for". She told me that she would be prepared to work full-time for £40 a week although she felt a more reasonable wage would be £60 a week. She told me that being unemployed is "bad, there's no one in the house. I just watch TV all day, tidy up and make me dad's dinner... That's all I do every day... A job is the only way out of that. I want one but I don't see how I'll get one."

Elizabeth thought she might get a job “next year”. She would not go out of Sunderland to find work: *“I would move away if I had a job to go to but I wouldn’t go looking... I don’t really want to leave Sunderland.”*

### How the Other Half Lives

My first approach to this question was to consider the differences between girls who were going into employment or education and those having children.

Speaking of girls who had already had children, Margaret said that there were several girls from her school that she knew of but that for most she didn’t know how it had worked out. 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. Most of the people I know are working on at college. The blues didn’t mix with the greens and yellows. They all came from Hendon and the East end...Most of the greens and yellows weren’t interested in (school) work - they got remedial teachers - they treated them different - they were always shouting because someone was always carrying on. The teachers thought that because we were in blues and reds we were more prepared to learn. In some classes when you chose options in the fourth year we were with people from Hendon... We sat in one corner and the teachers talked to us while the lads were having riots.”*

Of people who leave school at 16, Margaret said: *“A lot of people are sick of school and want to be out as quick as possible... In some ways it’s foolish if you just want to laze about. You could’ve stayed on and got A levels and got a job... but most of those who left were in greens and yellows and just doing CSEs.”*

Eve is going into higher education and described her contemporaries who had left school as wasting their lives. She was particularly condemning of a friend who had a baby. *“I told her I think it’s pathetic - she’s just wasting her time, she’s not stupid - she’s happy now. What about 10 or 15 years time? She doesn’t think that far ahead - she just thinks for now... She tells me she didn’t decide to get pregnant but, I mean, there’s plenty of precautions. She’s married - he was an apprentice at the shipyard but he failed his exams so he was chucked off and he’s just doing contract work. Plenty of other girls get themselves pregnant - amazing when you think, isn’t it, it wouldn’t happen to me.”*

Tracey told me of a friend who “got herself pregnant to get off a YTS.” On the whole she regarded girls who had children early as “a bit silly”. She felt that people on the estate who are unemployed “sit around all the time and go into crime.”

Beverley spoke of a friend who had married because she had become pregnant and she thought this was the right thing to do. She also knew of “a couple of girls who haven’t got married - it’s hard for them but they were stupid enough to do it.” Of girls who stayed on

at school to get qualifications for a career Beverley regarded these as an entirely separate group: *"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."*

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."*

Angela thought girls who got pregnant at her age were *"stupid"*. *"I wouldn't have a child before I was married. It's not the 'done thing'."* She felt that it was impossible to enjoy life while having children so young.

Susan knows several girls who had children or were pregnant, all of whom were finding it hard to cope: *"If I got pregnant I'd have to leave here because me gran couldn't face it."* She told me, *"My friend wasn't working. She was glad when she found out she was pregnant because she's getting more money."* Of people who stayed on at school she said, *"I know a few people, they say it's great and stay on. I wish I'd stayed on. In the fourth and fifth years I just got so depressed with school I just left."*

Sandra had been married for 13 weeks with a baby due in 2 months when I met her and was enjoying the new role of housewife. Although the pregnancy was unplanned and the marriage brought forward, she didn't regard it as too much responsibility. *"It was just really what I wanted."* Sandra pointed out her mother had married at 18, *"but she didn't want me to get married so young because she says I've had no life."* Sandra didn't think girls who stayed on at school would get better jobs and considered her learning from school irrelevant to life afterwards. *"Experience is more important - and knowing someone to get you in. There was a girl at Luxdon Laundry on YTS. Her uncle was the manager. She got kept on at the end."*

Pamela considered having children young as *"spoiling your life - you lose your independence."* Of girls who took qualifications as wasting their time - *"at least at CSE level. If you take CSEs you can't get a job."*

Elizabeth had no idea, like several of the other girls, what those who stayed on at school would be doing because her friends had all left with her. She felt 'O' levels would be of little use, citing people she knows with 'O' levels who are unemployed like her. Girls said those who had children early were ruining their lives *"at such a young age - they miss out on everything."*

## Youth Training Schemes

Margaret had herself no experience of YTS having got her full-time job immediately on leaving school. She felt that YTS was a good way of providing experience but she felt that it was too poorly paid. She was entirely opposed to making it compulsory: *"I wouldn't have gone on one. When I was 16 I thought it was just slave labour - stories about promises of jobs and nothing after two years."*

Zena worked with girls at the bank who were there on YTS placements: *"I was surprised. You get the impression of YTS as general dogsbody but she gets courses and will get a job as soon as one comes available - she doesn't get put upon to make tea... I was surprised. YTS gives people another chance when they didn't do well in their exams - if they can get somewhere that keeps them on, or even if not, if they get experience it's as good as exams."* On the whole Zena was opposed to imposing YTS on those who didn't want to do it.

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 Administrative Assistant for the B.T.C., 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 B.T.C.

Beverley's two years in Binns is beginning to pall: with another year to go she has learned what there is to learn. Nevertheless she felt the idea of YTS was a good one: *"It's just the money - you work the same as anyone else - it's just the money."* *"I see it as training - it's opened me out - I speak for myself now."* She thought that compulsory YTS would be *"good really"*, then she said, *"It's wrong and it's right. It's not fair to people who don't believe in YTS; people should make their own decision whether YTS is a good thing."*

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 had left three YTS placements for various reasons. She had left her last placement because her boss changed her hours, cancelled tea breaks, etc., and after complaining to the managing agent - with no results - she left. Despite the fact that she was simply asking for the standard of training and conditions of work she had been promised, Susan clearly felt that her leaving cast her in a bad light. She was entirely opposed to YTS and said, *"It's no good, you get pushed on to it."*

Sandra also had a poor experience of YTS and felt that the element of training was minimal. She told me that college work didn't relate to her placement and while in the placement she was used to run errands. When she complained to the college she was told *"to stick it out"*. Sandra decided to leave and lost her benefit for six weeks. Sandra told me that initially her mother had tried to persuade her to stay on: *"She said you have to try hard and accept that everything's not what you want"* - but at the end she agreed. Generally of YTS she said, *"They don't help you - you don't get jobs at the end unless you know someone who's working there."* She considered compulsory YTS *"a bad idea. Some of them on the dole don't bother looking for jobs but those that do shouldn't get shoved on a YTS they don't want to do."*

Pamela had got her job following a YTS and her twin brother had just started a second scheme after leaving a 2 year scheme early. She felt her own YTS was *"not worth it for what you do. Some schemes are a disgrace. You don't even learn anything - they are a waste of time for a lot of people."* She was opposed to a compulsory YTS because people *"should be allowed choice."*

Elizabeth had left two YTS placements neither of which was satisfactory. She said she would take another if offered: *"I would have to take one cos me dole would be cut but I wouldn't go out of the way to get another. You can do anything on YTS but there's no point because you get sacked after 2 years... You get experience but so does everybody else so it doesn't help..."* Asked about YTS as an introduction to work she said: *"You get work experience at school for that... I honestly don't see it... The schemes are just to keep the unemployment figures down - Most people don't get taken on."* She felt compulsory YTS was *"not fair - No one else is forced to take a job... just our age. If there are no jobs they can't expect you to live on nothing... At the factory (Dewhirst's) I was doing the same job as*

*a girl getting up to £95 a week take home. I did nearly as much for £29 - it used to sicken me at the end of the week". Elizabeth told me her friends were mostly on YTS and none of them expected to be kept on at the end of their scheme.*

## Unemployment

Margaret's only experience of unemployment was the interval between leaving school in May and starting work in August. *"I was terribly bored."* She felt the image of the unemployed scrounger was very unfair. *"Some blame lack of qualifications but some with them are still on the dole... It all depends on what you want to do. I'd rather be on the dole than go to a factory."* She said she didn't know any scroungers: *"There might have been a few from school but most of the people I knew are working or at college."* She blamed *"just any government - they've all had unemployment... government, technology - there's no demand for the shipyards any more. The government's got a bit to do with it but I mean everything's on the decline really in industry. Technology's taking people's jobs. At the bank there's a new system that will take a lot of the jobs in banking."* Of the 'fiddle' Margaret said *"it doesn't bother us really, just as long as they know that they're doing it."* She spoke of the level of unemployment benefit: *"You can see there people who go off to Spain on the dole - just what you read in the papers. People in bed and breakfast and the DHSS paying for them."* Margaret didn't personally know anyone in this position.

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."* She spoke of people who didn't work at school but also of people who did who didn't get jobs: *"People get taken on YTS and then just finished - it's a shame really."* She thought the level of unemployment benefit was *"fair but hard"*. Zena didn't know anyone who was unemployed herself. She thought that working on the fiddle was wrong but people are that desperate for money to keep their head above water: *"There are some people who earn extra on the dole... it's all about survival - a lot of jobs are for a pittance."* Of responsibility for the level of unemployment benefit she said: *"I don't know - I don't think you can blame the government - It's because computers are taking over people's jobs."*

Eve had experience of living on unemployment benefit when she was younger and her father had been unemployed although her mother was still working. *"He was only getting £30 a week for him and me. How can you live on that? Some people are better off on social security but they're just the exceptions."* She thought there were a small group of "scroungers". *"The majority of people want stable employment - decent people who can't get a job."* She knew one person who she felt was a scrounger: *"He just sits and does nothing"* but she was not in favour of forcing him into work *"if he's happy the way he is."* Despite the fact that she lives in the long streets Eve only knows 3 unemployed people - the father of 2 of her friends and the lad described above. From her own experience however



she described living on the dole as “*degrading*.” Of fiddle jobs she said “*I know it goes on but I don’t know anyone who does it - they’re just trying to get by same as everybody else. Supplementary benefit is so low... I suppose it’s wrong but I wouldn’t do anything about it.*” She didn’t see the government as having a major role to play in unemployment levels. “*It’s O.K. saying it’s the government but everybody blames the government. I just think it’s just a natural thing. I mean it was high when Labour was in... It’s the trade cycle.*”

Suzanne thought it was very hard to get a job and regarded herself as lucky to get the first job she applied for. “*I suppose if you look hard enough you can find one - but most jobs are after schemes or require experience.*”

Tracey had been unemployed for 6 weeks after leaving school before starting her YTS. “*I’ve never thought of going for a job. I just went straight for YTS.*” She told me that she knew several people with fiddle jobs: “*It’s just an everyday occurrence. It’s alright if it’s to support a family,*” but she distinguishes this from people making a lot of money and taking their dole as well. “*Some people don’t bother to look for jobs - Some people look for jobs and can’t get them, but there are people who don’t want work.*”

She didn’t regard anyone as responsible for the level of unemployment but qualified this by saying that “*the government could have brought it down.*”

Beverley said there are “*bound to be a few scroungers but most people in Sunderland would take a job.*” She thought unemployment would be hardest for people who have been used to high incomes and have to adjust to the drop. “*People do spend money on things they don’t need, some people just go and get sloshed - some people just drink two, three, four, five pints,*” but Beverley didn’t know anyone personally who fitted this description. She thought fiddle jobs were “*obviously wrong - but it doesn’t bother me - I wouldn’t turn anyone in.*” She regarded the government as responsible for unemployment “*not necessarily Margaret Thatcher - all of them put together.*” Beverley does not expect to be unemployed at the end of her scheme although she has no promise of work. Considering the possibility that she will be on the dole she said: “*I don’t know how I’ll cope if it happens.*”

Wendy told me she didn’t know any scroungers although she accepted that they exist - “*but most people are just scraping a living... Some people fiddle and that’s wrong.*” She regarded the government as responsible for unemployment. “*Mrs. Thatcher doesn’t care - The government could create jobs if they wanted to.*”

Angela’s boyfriend is currently unemployed having worked on a commission basis for a firm designing fitted kitchens. “*He’s had interviews. I think the jobs are there but you’ve got to want to do them. He turned them down because he didn’t want to travel or*

*they weren't interesting. If you look in the right places you can get there."* Of 'scroungers' she said, *"I don't think anyone can enjoy it but there again there will be people who get as much as they can out of the state. I suppose there are quite a few people with fiddle jobs - if they can make some extra money it's fair enough."*

She said "people themselves" are responsible for the high level of unemployment and didn't see government as having any part to play.

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."*

Sandra had been unemployed until her pregnancy and marriage. Both of her parents were unemployed. Her married brother and sister are also both unemployed. *"The day I left school was great - lie in bed all day, do what I want. It was alright for the first couple of weeks then I got bored. There were no jobs and you don't see your friends any more - it's not the same; you don't know what to talk to them about."* Sandra did recognise scroungers *"out every night drinking and then take, take, take"*, but thought that most people look for jobs. She didn't know any scroungers but knew of them. *"People me mam's talked to whose sons and daughters mope around the house all day."* Sandra's husband is working but she lived on unemployment benefit when at home. *"It's not enough but if you give more you get then who'll take advantage."* She thought, *"They should spend money and make jobs,"* and said unemployment was hardest on families. *"I know one family that bought this council house and had to have it reposessed."* On responsibility for unemployment, she said, *"Some people blame that Maggie, Margaret Thatcher or somebody... but I don't know who you can blame really. They should give more money to make new jobs."* She thought fiddle jobs were *"fair enough - you're still working as hard as other people but on the cheap."*

Pamela is working but her parents rely on invalidity benefit. The two eldest brothers work in a bakery - the elder getting a job for the younger. She has three brothers and one

sister unemployed. She felt the scrounger image was unfair. *"There are no jobs to get now. My boyfriend has tried very hard - he just gets messed about."* Her boyfriend has never worked. *"He's getting sick of everything - I get at him to get a job and he gets sick."* She knows *"quite a few people without a job. I think they're glad they don't have to get up in the morning."* Of the fiddle she said, *"There's loads more does that round here than real jobs. It's a good idea but it's awful if someone shops you."* She blamed "Maggie Thatcher" for the level of unemployment but said, *"Some people don't want a job - loads of people round here."* Pamela thought her twin brother would rather be on the dole than work. *"Some people enjoy the dole - it's an easy life. If people don't want a job I don't mind. I go out to work because I want to."*

Elizabeth is unemployed as is her younger brother and was finding it difficult to cope with the boredom of her daily life. She hotly refuted the scrounger image. *"It's not fair at all. It's her (Mrs. Thatcher's) fault, all this unemployment. She should do something about it."* Later she said she did know someone who was a scrounger. *"I know one on the dole. She's got a flat but she's living with her mother, so she's got more money for the flat but she's spending it."* Of the fiddle she said, *"It's up to them if they do it. I know it's wrong but it's the only way they can see of getting more money - the people who stop them are awful."* She accepted the argument that benefit should be low to get people to look for work, *"but they shouldn't keep them that low because there's no jobs to go out and get for most people. If they've lived for a couple of years it should go up."*

## Politics

Margaret had no particular political affiliation and couldn't remember how she had voted. *"I knew Labour would get in here anyway. I think I voted SDP for a change. I'm not really political. I haven't got any strong feelings. At school there used to be big arguments in the common room. Me dad tends to be Labour and me mam is Conservative. I'm not sure what I'll be - I think I'll be a floating voter."*

Zena didn't vote. *"I would have voted Labour. I voted Conservative at the one before last, but my grandmother has lost all her benefits in the last year and the poll tax... makes me think I'll vote Labour. I've seen how she's been affected."* Zena doesn't expect to take an active interest. *"I wouldn't join a party. It doesn't interest me that much."*

Eve votes Labour in Local elections but Conservative in General elections. *"The Conservatives are doing more for the economy. I wouldn't want the economy to go down the drain."* She has no lifelong affiliations and says she will change her vote according to the circumstances. Eve thought she might be active in politics at some point but said she hadn't followed the election campaign *"as much as I would like to"*.

Suzanne told me, *"I don't listen to politics. I believe you get what you work for."* She voted Conservative at the General election and said she *"probably always will"*.

Tracey said she hadn't *"taken much notice"* of the recent general election because she was unable to vote. She thought she would probably vote Alliance *"because they haven't been tried"*. Her mother and brother have recently changed to the Alliance from being Labour voters. Tracey said quite vehemently that she would not vote Conservative.

Beverley said she didn't know much about politics. *"I don't know why but I don't agree with Labour. My parents agree with Thatcher. I think I would vote for the Green Party. I'm not so sure - I don't know if I'd vote, not next year. I'll follow it when I get older... when I get married."*

Wendy had no political affiliations but she said she would have voted Labour if she had been able to vote at the last election. She identified being in the North as a reason for voting Labour while the Conservatives looked after Southerners. She had sent for some information from Red Wedge and said, *"I thought it was good but my father was annoyed about it and took it to the M.P."* When I called to make the appointment with Wendy her father had questioned whether I was a member of *"this Red Wedge"* as he intended to refuse to allow her to see me if this were the case.

Angela voted Conservative but said, *"I'm not really a political person."* She didn't follow the election campaign and said, *"I never will; I'll probably just vote the same next time"*. Her boyfriend's family were Conservatives and Angela thought that *"Labour didn't seem that organised"* and she *"wouldn't vote Green."*

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"*.

Sandra had been too young to vote but said she would vote Labour at the next election because *"more people vote Labour round this area"*. She didn't follow the election but said, *"I like to know who gets in at the finish... It doesn't matter who gets in, it doesn't change."*

Pamela voted Labour and says that she always will: *"Everybody votes Labour round here."* She never discusses politics and didn't follow the election campaign.

Elizabeth is also a Labour supporter. *"I don't really know why... I don't take much notice of politics... Me mam and dad vote Labour. I just copy them. I watched this election on telly but I didn't understand much. Maybe later on I'll make my own mind up."* Asked

about friends' interest she said, *"We talked about politics - just calling the Conservatives - no one's really interested."*

### Trades Unions

Margaret isn't a member of a Trade Union. *"I think I should join but I've never got round to it. I will join."* She expects her Trade Union primarily to be a support in cases such as unfair dismissal but would also expect it to negotiate her pay and working standards. Margaret would not be an activist.

Zena is a member of her Trade Union but is not active in it: *"They're there if you need them."* She was recruited into the union during the bank's induction course. In general she saw unions as *"a good thing to protect workers"*.

Eve said she could see *"their point of view, sticking up for their workers"* but wasn't sure if she would join one: *"Some of them are too militant - the miners - it didn't get them anywhere."* If she did join however she would want to be active in determining policy.

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."*

Wendy said, *"I don't know anything about Trade Unions. I don't expect I'll join one."* She said that she would join a union if there was one where she worked but in general hairdressers are not unionised.

Angela similarly said, *"I don't know that much about them"* and asked, *"What would they do... I don't know?"*

Susan had little knowledge of unions and when asked if she would join one simply said, *"I suppose I would."*

Sandra was equally unsure of the role of trade unions and felt they were irrelevant to her present circumstances. *"I'm not bothered about unions and things. I'd wait to see what type of work it was and what other people were doing."*

Pamela didn't know if she would join a union: *"We don't have one in the shop. The shop manager doesn't want a union... I wouldn't try to get one."*

Elizabeth's father is a Trade Union official. Elizabeth told me she would certainly join *"because everybody advises you to (at Dewhirst's) because they help support you against an unjust management."* She was not so certain of their role in negotiating wages: *"No, I'm not really sure what they do. I wasn't there long enough."*

## Leisure

Margaret is in full time work and has no friends who are unemployed. She found that money presented no problems for leisure time and told me that her time was split between watching TV at home or at friends' houses, and going to the pictures or out for a drink. At weekends she goes *"night clubbing"*. She told me that she does get bored with her leisure time. Her friendships have fallen off since leaving school but she puts this mostly down to having a boyfriend.

For Zena leisure time had changed radically after a relationship with a boy of eighteen months' standing had broken up six months before. *"I lost my friends a bit - I've got over him now. I stay in a lot ... sometimes go out on Friday and Saturday to a nightclub. On Sunday I go to the pictures with a girl from work. I'm sick of staying in ... I'd like to go out and enjoy myself more but I'm saving up for a holiday in Tenerife."* Her friends are all working in non-manual occupations, none of them are unemployed.

Eve was still at school and said that at the moment she stays in a lot because of her 'A' levels. A typical week involved school and homework, walking around the town on Saturdays and visiting relatives on Sunday. She visits friends in their own homes and goes to the pub only for 18th birthday parties. Eve was happy with her leisure time and said she didn't find it restricted by pocket money.

Suzanne was in a steady relationship and pointed out, *"your friends die off a bit with a boyfriend"*. Suzanne told me that she didn't like to go to the pubs in the town, *"we go out 9.30 or so for one drink in a pub and then go night clubbing"*. Suzanne also spends a lot of her free time studying and teaches Dance at the local community centre, she hopes before marriage to establish her own dancing school.

Tracey stays at home or goes to friends houses on weekday evenings and goes out on Friday and Saturday nights to the pubs and nightclubs. She told me *"you do the circuit of the pubs, you go to regular pubs at regular times and meet the same people every week at the same time"*. Tracey found her leisure time *"often boring - I can't find anything different to do ... drinking just happens, you don't need it but you do it 'cos everyone else does"*.

Beverley spends most of her evenings at friends' houses or with them at her house. On Thursdays and Saturdays she goes to the pub and the nightclub. She told me she enjoys her leisure time.

Wendy had friends who were working, some on YTS and others unemployed, and told me that while she didn't feel it made much difference to relationships, *"I did feel a bit jealous of my friends when I was unemployed"*. Wendy had lost contact with her friends since moving from Washington, and told me she doesn't go out much. She occasionally visits a friend's house or goes to the pictures. Her leisure time is very home centred, listening to records, watching videos and writing to pen pals. *"I don't like the pubs in town, they're too loud ... a waste of money."*

Angela's friends were mostly *"boyfriends"*, friends, and workfriends, and she had some friends at college. Her boyfriend is unemployed at the moment and her low wages prevent their going out during the week but Angela was happy with that, *"I don't want to go out all the time. I don't like pub crawls ... If I had more money I'm not sure it would change ... I'd probably go out more during the week ... might go out for days"*.

Susan's friends, like herself, are mostly unemployed while her boyfriend "is setting himself up in business" selling cash registers which pays on commission only. Susan told me he doesn't sell them often.

Susan watches TV most of the time and has Thursday night out once a fortnight. She sees her boyfriend several nights a week but they stay in. Susan told me that her leisure time is not satisfactory, *"money stops you doing things"*.

Sandra spends her daytimes with her mother and sisters and her evenings with her husband, going for a ride in the car, a walk on the beach or stay at home watching TV. She told me she was enjoying her leisure but that if the baby was not due she wouldn't enjoy the daytime so much. She has only one friend from school *"when you get a boyfriend you drift away from friends"*. This friend is working and Sandra feels they have nothing in common any more.

Pamela told me she didn't really have any friendships, *"I just see people"*. She stays at home, sees her boyfriend every night and occasionally babysits for her sister's children. She had never been to a nightclub and told me that she was happy with her leisure time. She is saving up to get married.

Elizabeth finds her leisure time boring. *"Monday - I tidy up, watch Neighbours, do the washing and me dad's dinner. I go to the YMCA youth club in the evening. Tuesdays the same as every other day - sometimes I go to the shops. I do the same things every day. I do go to pubs but not much. I went out with my cousin once and got in the middle of a fight so*

*me dad barred me from going any more until I'm eighteen. The YM's alright but it can get a bit boring going all the time, but they take us out when they can".*

She felt her leisure was different qualitatively from those in work because *"I've got it all the time"*. Money was particularly a limit on her leisure in the evenings but not during the day *"because there is no-one about anyway"*.

## **Family**

Margaret thought she would marry although not for some years. *"I don't want to be married until I'm 28."* She would, on balance, prefer a period of cohabitation prior to marriage because of the high divorce rate but would marry eventually because *"my parents would like it"*.

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"*.

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."*

Zena's boyfriends have also been working and they share costs. *"I don't think it fair they should pay all the time. If he was unemployed I wouldn't pay all the time, but I wouldn't go out with someone who is unemployed."* She expects to be married at 25 and sees the commitment of marriage as very important. She would need to be financially well established and buying her own home with her husband. Zena had no set ideas about splitting domestic chores but expected to share and *"just do what's needed"*. Zena will have two children eventually but will not give up work completely. Her attitude is coloured by her mother's feelings of being stuck as *"just a housewife, I couldn't stand it"*.

Eve expects to marry at 25 because her career is important. She did not have any relationships with boys currently. *"I haven't got one and I don't want one - not now. Its pointless. I've got other things to do - people with boyfriends are just wrapped up in them, I've got more to think about. At the moment I just want independence."*



She would be financially secure before marriage, owning her own home and she was prepared to be the breadwinner if her husband was unemployed. She wanted to be in a position to earn enough to keep them both. She expects domestic chores to be split equally *"just each do what is necessary"*.

Eve will have four children when she is in her 30's but would continue to work throughout, *"because if you don't you just go to sleep ... I'll probably put the kids in day care or have me mam to help out."*

Suzanne is engaged and will cohabit with her fiancée for two years before marriage at 24 or 25. *"I wouldn't marry unless I'd lived with someone first ... you don't know anyone till you live with them, its no good people saying you shouldn't do that, its not their divorce."* Suzanne thought that if an unplanned pregnancy happened she would probably terminate, *"my career would be spoiled, both our mothers wouldn't help"*.

The domestic chores will be divided equally, *"Anthony would make meals and lend a hand"*. After a period of unemployment Anthony is currently a trainee at an insurance firm, earning £50 a week and will not get *"a proper salary"* until he gets his own area. Suzanne said she would not object to being the breadwinner if Anthony became unemployed again. *"I wouldn't mind but if Anthony couldn't get a job it would break us up in the end. When he was unemployed he was totally moody and snappy ... so our marriage wouldn't survive."*

Tracey told me she enjoys her independence and wouldn't want to be married until she is 25. With marriage comes responsibility and *"having to put money into the house"*. She expects to marry from home but said that it wouldn't matter if she cohabited without marriage. She told me that she would live with her partner until they could afford a *"white wedding"*. She will expect her partner to take an equal share in the housework and would expect an unemployed husband to take on the major load of housework and childrearing. After having her two children Tracey will decide whether to give up work or to take maternity leave based on the quality of substitute care available.

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.

Wendy will marry from home at 26 when her career is established, her husband is working and they can buy their own house. Wendy's boyfriends have been working and Wendy said she would share costs if her boyfriend was unemployed but, on the whole, *"it's a boy's place to take a girl out"*. She does not expect flexibility in domestic chores if her husband becomes unemployed she would expect him to Hoover and dust but she would always cook, iron, wash and clean. She will have 3 or 4 children, starting when she is 30.

Angela will move to live with her boyfriend in another year although she expects opposition from her mother. *"I mentioned moving to live with him a while ago, my mother said, 'no way'. Now I've got older, if I want to go I can, she knows that ... I've never really spoken to her recently about it. It's important to live together before you get married just to find out what the other person is like ... marriage is in my mind but we'll just see how things go."*

Angela wouldn't mind being the breadwinner and in view of the fact that her boyfriend is currently unemployed this must be a real possibility but she said that she *"wouldn't get married and permanently settled"* until she felt financially secure. Giving the matter further thought she said, *"I don't think we'll move into a flat until he's working ... I don't earn that much but the dole wouldn't pay the rent because I'm working."*

Angela would expect equal involvement in domestic chores but *"wouldn't expect him to do the washing and ironing - he'd do most of the cooking ... I'd end up doing the most even though I'm working - me mam does it all in our house"*. She wasn't sure if she would have children, *"it's difficult to see myself with screaming kids and waking through the night would drive me mad"*. *"I want a stable home and everything to be right first ... I wouldn't go back to work straight after ... I've never really thought about it, it's a long way off"*.

Susan will get married at 25 or 26. *"I hope so but first I'd like to have a job to save up and buy a car and a house."* She would not like to cohabit preferring marriage as *"a good*

basis" for a relationship. She will have two children, starting her family a year after marriage.

Susan will marry from her home. She told me that she had been through a "difficult" period when she was 16. *"I was very temperamental when I was sixteen, I'd shout at anyone."* She had left home and moved into a flat for two months, *"in the end I had no money, I couldn't go out so I gave up my flat and came back ... I was by myself on the estate and I was scared."*

Susan told me that after this experience she would not leave home again. She 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"*.

Sandra has been married for thirteen weeks and expects her first child quite soon. Already she has experienced major changes in her expectations and plans. *"At school I always said I wouldn't have any children, I would never marry ... I wanted to stay at home and not to have children and the trouble but I changed my mind because the right person came along."*

The couple brought their marriage plans forward when they learned about the pregnancy. *"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"*. Sandra does almost all of the housework at present but she expects this to change when the baby comes along.

## **Female Social Class IV and V**

This is the smallest group comprising only 3 girls. None of them are assigned according to parents social class but one, Barbara, is in the group by virtue of her husband being at present an unemployed labourer. They will not remain in this group for many years as he is seeking to recommence a failed apprenticeship while she will return to an interrupted Nursery Nursing course.

The remaining 2 girls are factory workers neither of whom, despite being employed by the same firm since leaving school, appears to feel very secure in their jobs.

### **Area**

Barbara lives with her husband in a first floor flat in a 19th century terraced house. They have a baby daughter and are waiting to be allocated a council house. Philip is

unemployed so they will be unable to buy a house at least for the moment. Her father and her husband's parents live close by but Barbara would prefer to move out of the area although her reasons were mainly concerned with her personal relationships with parents.

Lesley described her part of Hendon as *"alright. We've been fourteen years in this house and I talk to everyone. 'Nana' and auntie Brenda live in the bad part of Hendon but they've always been there"*. The remainder of the family live on the Pennywell and Thorney Close estates.

Debora lives at the bottom of the long streets and can't wait to get away. *"I can't bring people round here ... I'm ashamed ... most of the lasses round here end up pregnant ... breeding for the family allowance, the kids live on packets of crisps. I was born on the estate but we've been in Hendon for 11 years ... I don't bother with anyone round here."* Later she said, *"most of them round her go out stealing all night and sleep all day. If you try to improve your house they think you must be buying it. They tear everything down ... I want to move out ... if they put decent families in the street I wouldn't want to move. We put a drive in because the car was always getting vandalised. Certain families have been put in from Norman Court. The area's been going downhill for the last 3 or 4 years ... if you live in a bad area people think you are rough."*

### Home Background

Barbara's father is unemployed, having been made redundant from the shipyards. Her mother died when Barbara was four and her eighteen year old sister took over her mother's role. Barbara's sister has recently had a baby and has left her job at the Hendon advice centre to look after it. Barbara's brother *"the brainy one - got 'O' levels and 'A' levels, works as a quantity surveyor at the Civic Centre"*. All of Barbara's wider family live in Hendon and she describes relationships as *"quite close"*. Her father had no strong feelings about her education, *"he just left it to me. There were problems when I went to college because I didn't get a grant but he wouldn't stop me"*.

Lesley's father and mother are unemployed which Lesley sees as a focus of many family rows and much marital discord. *"My father gets depressed and withdraws from the family, my mother calls him lazy."* Lesley told me her father was a glazier and her mother worked as a sewing machinist until she contracted epilepsy. Her father had to leave work to look after her and has now been unemployed for 10 years. He was keen for Lesley to work at school and wanted her to stay on into the sixth form. Lesley felt this was impossible because both of her parents were out of work. Lesley has 3 brothers and one sister. One brother, aged 15, is *"really brainy, he's in the top form, he wants to be a doctor"*.

Debora's parents are unemployed. Her father used to be a steelworker and was made redundant two years ago. Her mother worked at Janet Fraser's. Debora could have

stayed on at school but said that her parents were glad for her to leave to get a job. Debora pays £12 per week rent (which her parents had deducted from their housing benefit when she started work) and £10 board for her food but she accepts that her parents subsidise her and will continue to do so until she leaves home.

## Education

Barbara was in Red band at Southmoor School. *"It was alright as far as school goes, I quite enjoyed it. I did cookery, biology, French, English language and literature 'O' levels. I got 5 'O' levels and some CSE's. I failed Maths 'O' level and got CSE."*

Of discipline she said, *"I suppose with the tough ones they would have been quite hard but they didn't need to with our class. They didn't expect you to be throwing yourself about the class when you were in the top stream. We weren't always supervised ... you'd have work set and be left to get on with it yourself. I think you've got to get on with your own thing."*

*"When I was at school I wanted to be a nanny. I went to Monkwearmouth and did the Nursery Nurse course. I did the first year and left to have my daughter. I will go back next year."*

Lesley also attended Southmoor which she described as *"alright"*. The teachers were *"hard"* and she *"didn't do very well"* leaving with 3 CSE's. *"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 ... I wanted to join the Navy but I'm not very brainy."*

*"I was in the top form for the first two years then I misbehaved and they put me down to the middle. When you're put down all the others misbehave so I joined in. I regret that happening but its hard to get back up because there's pressure on you not to work. My parents would like me to take training, my father especially because he feels he's missed out."*

Debora described Southmoor as *"like prison"*. *"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. In cookery, I had a right go with the teacher in cookery. The teacher concentrated on the good ones and wouldn't help us. They wanted a quiet lesson. Nearly every week I was coming home with half cooked meals, me mam went off it, me mam is on the dole, she said I'm not paying money for half cooked meals."*

*"In the fifth year they started pulling you in to get your exams. If anyone was to say to me, 'Southmoor School', I wouldn't recommend it to nobody. They accused me of being off for 5 weeks, and glue sniffing. I was there every day - the headmistress got me in, she was really nasty. They were just there for the money ... they were always on strike, sending us home when our exams were coming. They've got no concern at all. I think I could of done better if I'd been pushed."*

*"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."*

### **Labour Market Experience**

Barbara left college to have her baby and hasn't any personal experience of work. Both her father and her husband are unemployed.

Lesley works at Market Force where she earns £75 a week. She left school with no careers guidance apart from information about *"banks and the navy"*. *"I wanted to join the navy but I would have had to do more exams. I'm not very brainy. I've put in for two permanent jobs at Market Force, whether I'll get it - checkers and packers - you've got to be a good worker to stop there. There is about 10 permanent checkers, two supervisors, and the boss of the floor. Then there's sometimes 20 temps, sometimes there's 250 temps. Its the pits man, they just mess you about. I've worked there 3 years and I've been bad. You don't get paid anything, once I had an accident there. I didn't get anything. I couldn't walk, they keep you for so many weeks but they stop you before they have to pay holiday pay. I like the company and I like the money ... I'm a permanent temp. I would like to do better but there's no jobs, if I got a permanent job its easier than a temp ... probably be there forever ... its alright, its a job."*

*"I've been at Market Force three years ... you meet different people practically every week ... you never get the same people. Sometimes it can get boring if you do the same job for 3 weeks - we pack some stupid things. People come and go. Sometimes the girls get sick - if they come on the Monday and get paid off on the Friday, most of them never come back, they think, 'what's the point'."*

*Debora left school two years before and after a YTS in two shops where she was "being used as a skivvy", she left to take her present job at Thompsons factory stapling bingo books together. "I'll have been there two years in December. If me totals is up I like it, if somebody's on me back, I hate it. You get up to 16 points and you get £1.50 a point. I usually come out with £75. There are girls there on £2.44 an hour, and I'm on £1.88. They're not really much of a firm to work for 'cos when you do overtime they don't do special rates, they just give you single rates, Saturdays and Sundays, even nightwork. They've just put me on the night shift - you're supposed to be on 10 to 6 am. He put me on 9 to 8 o'clock in the next morning...'cos the part-timers offered to go in cheap and they clicked on to it and they just go in all the time - part-timers gain 'cos they don't pay as high a stamp as I do. Nobody works, just idiots like me when I'm short of money. I couldn't sleep during the day so I told the boss when I came back. He wiped the floor with us, he had us in tears, said I wouldn't be considered again."*

*"As long as I'm working 8 till 5 I'm alright. I'm settled now, there's just days when I feel as I'm sick. I want to go somewhere else. The boss with his rules, he's always coming out with new rules, but once the dust settles the lasses I get on great with and everyone knows us now. We just wait till the bosses get back in the office and call him."*

*"On Monday and Thursday you get an hour's dinner and Tuesday and Wednesday you get half an hour. He puts the totals up - in the time it used to take to wire one, you can wire 2 with the new machinery. When you're a new starter he gives you time to get your total out - it takes practice. You get 3 or 4 warnings and then you get the sack. We've got no union, the bosses just do what they want and they get away with it. One of the floor managers got caught pinching and he's so good they kept him on but a lad took a tin of varnish on the factory floor, he got the sack."*

*"There's lasses getting pregnant to get out. Three of them are 16, one lass is 19. They have their good moments, he lets you out early on Christmas Eve."*

*"The whole factory walked out once four years ago. As soon as Mr. White came, they all walked back in. They were frightened of getting the sack, you can't sack a whole factory."*

*"Everybody's on different wages. They can be doing the same job but they are on different grades. I can't understand it. I'm doing the same...everyone on different wages even*

*though they're doing the same totals. You can make your money on wiring, the lasses who do the colouring can only get 12 points. I've got a part-time job an all, on a Sunday I work on an ice cream van. I've been there 7 years - I like retail but I've never been able to get in a shop I liked, so I've got it in the van."*

*"I'll be in Thompsons the rest of my life now 'cos I've been there nearly two years and they say once you've been there two years, your chances of getting sacked go right off. I've never been in the office for anything."*

*"You get a 10 minute break and you work 8 till 10 past 4 to make up for the break. by rights you're supposed to get two 15 minute breaks."*

*"Every now and again I take a day off, 3 or 4 times in the last 2 years. If I sleep in, I'll not go in. When you're sick you go in and fill in the self cert thing. I start stammering 'cos I don't like the boss, he worries us and my hands start to shake. If you're off one day you lose the day's pay and you're whole bonus for the week, so you can lose nearly £30 for one day. I don't have a day off now since I started taking driving lessons. he gives you up till 10, you get your bonus still but after 10 o'clock you lose your bonus".*

### **Labour Market Expectations**

Barbara will return to college to complete her Nursery Nurse course and will start work again when her daughter is in full time school. She would like to work in a Social Services or Education Department nursery. Although she had some doubts about her future, *"I hope to go back to the Nursery Nurse course next year, but whether I do or not is another matter ... but I hope I'm going back"*.

In the meantime Barbara will look for part-time evening work so that Philip can look after the baby while she is out. Barbara expects to be selective about the kind of work she takes, *"I wouldn't take just any job - factory work - I'd expect a bit better than that"*.

Lesley is hoping for a permanent job at Market Force and will continue in that job for the rest of her life. She told me she had 'no idea' of a job that she would like to do and only wanted to join the navy because *"the school pushed the idea"*. She told me that its very hard to get a job in Sunderland, *"its not what you know, its who you know"*. Lesley regards her present wage of £75 a week as *"a hell of a wage for a girl, a lad can go to work and earn that"*. Lesley has no ambitions for promotion. *"I don't want to be a supervisor, you get called all sorts just because of the job."* She says she is not particularly Sunderland orientated but would only move south if her boyfriend had a job to go to.

Debora will also stay in the factory although really she would have liked to work in shops. On reflection she said that perhaps a shop job would not be such a good idea for



her, *"in a shop the customers and the boss can tell you off, we don't get aggro from customers, just from one boss"*. She will work at Thompsons until she has children and will then give up work until they are at school.

Debora expects to stay in Sunderland although she would go to London for work if she had to because she has *"family"* there.

### **How the Other Half Lives**

For Lesley and Debora the other half were the children who had stayed on to go into Higher education. Lesley simply said of those who stay on at school *"good luck to them"*. Although she told me that she could have stayed on at school and her brother is *"really brainy"* and will stay on to eventually train to be a doctor. There was clearly no sense for Lesley that she had missed out on opportunities through not pursuing her education. Debora similarly was glad to leave full-time education and saw her's and the group of children who stayed on at school as entirely separate. Both girls had been *"sick"* of school and glad to leave at 16.

Barbara had taken a Nursery Nursing course but because of her unplanned pregnancy and marriage had to leave and is now dependent on supplementary benefit. She feels that she will still have access to a career when her daughter is a little older. Barbara hopes to return to complete the second year of the nursery nurses course. In this respect her consciousness differs from the other girls in the group in terms of who she would see as *"the other half"*. Despite her poorer current circumstances her potential in both earning power and status is higher than theirs. In particular Barbara told me that she *"wouldn't take just any job - factory work - I'd expect a bit better than that"*.

### **Youth Training Schemes**

Barbara had no personal experience of YTS but said *"none of the people I know are happy on them - it doesn't say much for them does it? I haven't met a person yet that's been happy with them. You can't get any benefits if you don't go on YTS and I don't think that's right either. I can see why they do it because a lot of people will just be content to leave school and go on supplementary benefit but I mean the majority of kids want to get a job. I don't think they should be forced onto them. I don't think I would have gone onto YTS if I'd left school and not been going to college"*.

Lesley said *"they've just started taking them into Market Force - in the offices - the schemes are good for the likes of my brother with a bad back 'cos he can't do anything else but I don't think people should be pushed into it...its good experience but I don't think people should be forced. They do exactly the same as people in full-time jobs - my brother has a chance one day of getting a full-time job but its not fair on the ones who just get the*

*drudge jobs...I know some people who enjoyed YTS". Lesley thought for some of the girls she knew YTS had been a maturing experience.*

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".*

### **Unemployment**

Both of Lesley's parents are unemployed as well as her boyfriend and Lesley described the effects it had on all of them. *"He tries for jobs - he's been bad - he had an accident and he went blind in one eye...I get on at him 'cos sometimes he's lazy but he's picking up now - he went for an interview the other day to be a packer - he's been out of work for 2 years now...he gets depressed sometimes - really bad".* The longest Lesley has been unemployed is 2 weeks. *"A week gets us bored".*

The scrounger image *"its not right because a lot of people go for interview after interview and they haven't got a job - they've got to stay on the dole, its the only way to survive...me dad gets his pocket money out of his dole and he gans out sometimes and me mam does an'all...that's with 2 of us working...me boyfriend gets depressed 'cos he thinks I'll be took over by a lad with a flash car and a job...he saves up and buys us things out of his dole. Me mam gets sick because she's in the house all day and me dad gets on her nerves so they start arguing. Me dad gets depressed but he doesn't say nowt, he just sits and he doesn't talk - he got offered a job but it was £80 a week to keep a family. He goes to the job club and he's embarrassed because he was the oldest there - its just meetings and free stamps and write for jobs...he can do a lot of things, me dad".*

Who is responsible for unemployment? *"I would say nobody...I listen to all of them on the telly and I believe every one of them."* Asked about the unions role *"maybe its the unions - the miners, they're ridiculous - they're going to do it all over again after what's happened to the families. Unemployment benefit is high enough...people shouldn't be paid*

*too much. If it got any higher they would all stop work, wouldn't they...there's people gannin out for forty five pounds isn't there - if they put it up to £40 nobody would gan out".*

Debora thought it was hard to get a job *"but if you really want a job it doesn't matter how much people knock you you'll fight and get one...there's lads round here never done a days work"*. She blamed Mrs. Thatcher for putting people on the dole but said *"if you want work you'll go out and get a job"*. Asked about her own parent's experience Debora distinguished between their generation who are *"now too old for a lot of jobs"* and her own.

Barbara's husband and father are unemployed. Philip has not found it easy to get work and the jobs he has had have been short term. *"The jobs he has had have been through people he knows"*. Philip was an apprentice electrician but failed an exam and lost his job as a result. He has returned to college to resit his exam but needs practical experience to complete his apprenticeship. Barbara was very angry about the scrounger image. *"It's total rubbish. We don't want to be on the dole. I can see that there are some people who take advantage...it embarrasses Philip to say he's on the dole. It's just what people say about being unemployed...it hurts Philip"*.

Of fiddle jobs *"I don't think it's right because it's using taxpayers money - I can understand why they do it. Philip doesn't do it - but I don't know what I'd say if he got the chance...I think I'd leave it up to him but I don't approve of it."*

Barbara could not place blame for unemployment. *"I don't know - people blame Mrs. Thatcher but I don't single her out. I admire her...I just like the woman"*.

## Politics

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"*.

Debora felt that although Margaret Thatcher had caused much of the unemployment, Neil Kinnock provided *"no competition"*. She had voted Labour in the last election but said *"I don't agree with the nuclear arms policy. Margaret Thatcher's a fighter - she got the Falklands back...but the rich are getting richer, she keeps putting things up"*. Debora will remain a Labour voter but didn't follow the election campaign. *"It bored me to death - I just voted and that's it"*.

Barbara will be a Conservative voter because she believes *"Mrs. Thatcher knows what she's doing...I don't like Neil Kinnock"*. She told me that she never discusses politics

adding "our MP's are all mad - one supports the IRA and the other supports terrorists". She would never be active in politics but sees herself as a Tory.

### Trade Unions

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. We should have a trade union. The union woman is against all the temps now. One day I did the 150 that's £2.57 an hour, but some people weren't doing theirs properly and the boss wouldn't pay the full rate and that's not fair because we had to work hard... (a trade union) could stop us getting sent home in the cold - he (the boss) did this, he set a lad on and paid him off at the end of the day because he said he was no good - one day. he never give him a chance. We got a pay rise but they take it off us in other ways, they put us on fast jobs - one we're gonna make a lot of money on and then take it off us and put us on a job we cannot do...so he got the job out fast for them but they don't have to pay for it. He's cute. He knows what he is doing saving the company money - he is really brainy in that sense - you make 150 one day, you've got to do a 100 the other days to keep that money. So he puts you on a job you can't do, he gets that job out as fast as he can and the other jobs got a month to gan out, it doesn't matter how long it takes you".*

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. Brown doesn't want a union 'cos he's getting away with murder. With him if you lose a day's work you lose a month's bonus - at one time he tried to say you lost a month for each day - so if you were off 3 days, you lose bonus for the next three months - but something must have been said 'cos he dropped that - he just lets his mouth go. He's only 5 feet 4 inches. We call him the little man with big ideas - he only comes up to my shoulder and I'm terrified of him".* Ironically Debora works for the same 'family firm' as Suzanne who regarded union protection as unnecessary.

Barbara said that she didn't know much about trade unions but would join one because it would help with problems at work. *"I don't agree with all the striking. I'd want a*

*union that doesn't do all that - striking is very disruptive". She felt that the union had let Philip down when he lost his job. Barbara explained that Philip failed his exam because of the pressure of her unexpected pregnancy and the changes that wrought in his life. "He didn't tell the lecturers at college what was happening - the union hasn't done anything - they don't want to know."*

## **Leisure**

Lesley told me her leisure centres around *"reading, sewing and going to the pub. I like to watch TV and read the papers - all the scandal!"* She finds work tiring and stays in most nights she sees her fiance four nights a week. They usually stay in and watch TV together. On Friday nights she goes to the pub with the girls from work and on other evenings of the week she stays in. Lesley told me *"I sometime get sick of the routine - I used to go to dancing and aerobics classes with a friend...but she doesn't go now and I won't go on my own"*. Lesley doesn't go to night clubs *"I can't stay awake late enough to go to night clubs"*.

Debora has never had a long term relationship with a boy and says that boys *"don't want to know"* when they learn where she comes from. They think she must be rough. She goes out with the girls from work to a pub on Friday and Sunday and with a friend of her own age on Saturdays to a pub and night clubs. During the week she goes swimming, and aerobics and one evening has a driving lesson before going to the pub with her mother.

Barbara's leisure time is determined by the fact that she has a baby daughter to look after. Although she enjoys it she finds it a considerable constraint. *"Philip helps but he doesn't see how you are tied. You can't do what you want. I try to show him but he doesn't understand"*. She spends days with her sister who also has a baby and returns to *"get Philip's dinner...you're on the go all day"*.

*"We go to the club or for a meal once a week - on Friday nights - Philip's mam and dad look after her: I take her out in the pram and we go to play tennis"*. Barbara did not feel restricted by lack of money. *"We couldn't go out more often anyway with the baby"*. She was quite happy with her leisure time.

## **Family**

Lesley will be getting married to her fiance 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 fiance 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. They 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"*.

Lesley will wait several years to have children. She hopes to get married at 21 and start her family at 27 or 28. She thought that several years of marriage were needed to cement a relationship before bringing in children as *"competition"*. Lesley's husband is *"not macho...he'll go 50/50 in the house"*.

Lesley told me that if she found that she were pregnant unexpectedly she would not consider this a reason for marriage. *"I'd keep the baby but I wouldn't get married. The kids that get married at 17 are foolish - you don't know what you want at 17"*.

Debora was ambivalent about leaving her parent's home. She both said that she would not leave because she would be too lonely and that she wants to move into a flat of her own if her parents won't move house. *"I'm ashamed to tell people that I live here"*. Debora would like to get married at 23 after living with someone for a while *"to find out his faults but I want to enjoy myself first"*. Eventually she would like to start her family and have 3 or 4 children. *"I wouldn't like to leave it too late because of the health risks - just get on our feet after we're married and go straight in for them - its dangerous having them after 30"*. Debora would then remain at home until her children were at school if possible. *"Families need all the money they can get nowadays but I'd rather look after my own kids"*.

Debora does very little housework at the moment and said *"I won't wash up - my husband would have to do the washing up. I'd expect my husband to help in the house if we had kids"*.

Debora told me that when she goes out with boys *"I let him pay but I feel crap about it...I hate spending money if it's not for me...I work hard for my money. I can't keep it and I can't save but I'm tight with it"*.

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"*.

### **Future**

Lesley told me that at 30 she will be married and living in a council house. She described privately rented accommodation as *"the pits"*. *"I want my own house that I can do what I want with - with a front garden"* She will not be able to afford a car. She will have one child and will be working at Market Force. Lesley told me that she will encourage her children into further education. *"When I'm a parent I won't stand for any dollin off...it's free and you've got to learn"*.

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"*. She expects if she gets a job as a nursery nurse that she would start on approximately £5000 a year which would be *"a good wage"*.

