Durham E-Theses

Popular culture and public order: an empirical investigation into socio-cultural relationships in the city of Newcastle upon Tyne

Grieves, James

ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the relationship between popular cultures
and public order. Although it is located in a particular setting
for good sound empirical reasons, the analysis could just as easily
have been about any urban setting.

I chose the words <u>public order</u> since they seemed to describe best
the process by which urban public space has come to carry a vocabulary
or rules and expectations which the inhabitants are supposed to acknow-
ledge in their routine everyday encounters and interactions. What I
have tried to illustrate is that the orderliness of public life is
permeated with specific assumptions about how people should behave in
public; about what is considered to be respectable, moral, decent, profane
or depraved. I therefore take as a starting point the fact that the
assumptions which underlie public order are not the product of society
'per se' but of specific social groups such as architects, planners and
politicians.

The assumptions which lie behind public order are, of course,
ideological and quite clearly fused with political strategies designed
to elicit a "civilized" and "cultured" population. Consequently, if
urban "civilization" was founded on the belief that the good, moral, order
was shaped by the physical setting or environment then Culture came to
describe the process through which people had to pass in order to enter
the terrain of the cultivated.

From the perspective of the sociology of culture the word "culture"
is an analytical metaphor for understanding social process: for describing,
delineating, and interpreting what it is that people actually do when they
communicate to one another. Seen this way <u>popular culture</u> implies culture
"of the people" and "by the people" but definitely not "for the people".
Popular culture, then, is the process by which people themselves construct
<u>social space</u> and thereby imprint meaning, purpose, value, etc., on actions,
symbols and intentions.

POPULAR CULTURE AND PUBLIC ORDER:

AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION INTO SOCIO-CULTURAL

RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

JAMES GRIEVES

Ph.D. Thesis submitted to
The University of Durham

1985

Research Conducted in the
Department of Sociology & Social Policy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis has, on many occasions, taken me down a long and difficult road. The destination was unknown but that I arrived there in the end was due to the help of some very special and helpful people.

I am grateful to David Chaney, my supervisor and mentor, who discretely pointed out certain directions to me without which I would have been lost. He has guided me thankfully away from a predetermined route in order that I may enter and experience the territory of other people. Here I learned the art and pleasure of "doing ethnography" and thereby interpreting the world as a cultural construct.

I have always been grateful to the staff of the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at Durham for putting me on the road in the first place and I would like to think that my efforts have proved that initial decision to have been correct.

On the way I have encountered many pleasures and anxieties. That they were shared by my friend and fellow traveller Tony Garrett gave me a great deal of personal satisfaction without which I could not have endured. For his wit and tenacity I am, as always, thankful. To Diane Grieves, who has shared this burdon with me, an emotional thank you for helping me when the going got tough. Gratitude also goes to Peter Brown who read through the manuscripts and offered valuable advice.

No journey can be complete without the people who make it worthwhile. I have tried to communicate what I saw objectively and I do, of course, accept sole responsibility for the finished product. My gratitude therefore goes to all those people who, knowingly or unknowingly, allowed a stranger to slip temporarily into their lives.

C O N T E N T S

CREATING PUBLIC ORDER.

CHAPTER ONE.

THE SEARCH FOR AUTHENTICITY IN PUBLIC LIFE.

> "Today, public life has also become a matter of formal
> obligation...Manners and ritual interchanges with
> strangers are looked on as at best formal and dry, at
> worst as phony."
>
> (Richard Sennett: The Fall of Public Man)

> "I was brought up in a working-class home and should
> have followed my father to the locomotive sheds. In-
> stead I got a job smashing up out-of-date sewing machines.
> Because it was war-time, and labour was scarce, I got
> into a law office, became confidential clerk to a
> drunken solicitor. Sacked from there as scapegoat and
> got sunk in the wave of unemployment that had hit the
> Tyne. Three years on the dole which idleness was
> invaluable - without leisure there can be no culture."
>
> (Jack Common : The Ampersand...a description to his
> publisher)

Over the past two centuries social life has become highly
specific, orderly, and organised. Over the past century public
order has become the major preoccupation in British and other
western cities.

We have come to regard these facts as axiomatic. We have come
to accept them as inevitable and natural. After all, who in their
right mind would want to exchange order, manners and civility for
chaos and boorish attributes? However, as there is nothing inevit-
able about the nature of social life then we must come to appreciate
that relationships with others are the products of a developing
economic and social system called capitalism. I will go on to argue
that not only is social life shaped by capitalism but that a central
problem of that life, the search for identity and community, is
rooted in the nature and contradictions of the liberal democratic
state. However, it must be clear from the outset that I do not pro-
pose a political solution to these perceived problems, merely to
explain them.

The market exchange of goods, capital and ideas had emerged as the dominant force by the twentieth century. These things have come to dominate the city and the city in turn has come to symbolize society : city and society are today inextricably linked. It is with this in mind that I refer to the nature of things like public order and popular culture. What I seek to describe throughout this thesis, therefore, is the way in which the "orderliness" of public life is circumscribed and constrained as well as the way in which people have reacted to the institutional frameworks which surround their every-day lives. I want to begin by considering the theory of public order and then to consider what things are actually like in the lives of real people in and around Newcastle.

In attempting to trace the attenuation of public life Sennet makes a rough parallel with the decline of the Roman Empire after the death of Augustus. What he describes is not the similarity of circumstances but "the balance between public and private life" (Sennett, 1977 p.3.). There is, of course, a difference between the Roman past and the present in that "privacy" meant for the Roman, "a religious transcendence of the world" (which was situated against the increasing formality of public life) whereas today it comes to take on a psychological, narcissistic, meaning. Sennett's description of the present malaise is predicted upon the belief that what distinguishes the present from the past is that we no longer see the private realm as the search for a new principle of meaning but as a place to contemplate, obsessively, who we are. Consequently, today we are apparently preoccupied with "what is authentic in our feelings" (ibid. p.4.). To get to know oneself intimately, according to Sennett, has become an end in itself instead of a means through which one comes to know the world.

What I have sought to explain is the relationship described

by Sennett between the private and public aspects of social life. However I have attempted to explain this relationship through themes of popular culture and public order.

I wish to begin with the concept of authenticity which, I believe, is a fundamental aspect of public life. The reason for saying this is that when I began the ethnographic part of the research I was impressed by the way the people around me continually evoked rules of behaviour to the extent that they were continuously constructing a version of reality that was sustained by the attempt to make it "real", despite the fact that many of the metaphors employed by those involved were borrowed from fiction. It might be possible to describe this sort of behaviour as "staged authenticity" which has of course, only been made possible by the modernisation of social life through techniques of mechanical and electronic reproduction as well as through the expansion of consumer goods and services.

This transformation in cultural experience has meant that detachment from older types of social relationship and modes of organisation have brought about new techniques of accommodation to social life. The presentation of "staged authenticity" therefore quite literally means "turning industrial structure inside out as these workaday, "real life", "authentic" detals are woven into the fabric of our modern solidarity..." (D.MacCannell 1976 p.91).

By authenticity what I mean to imply is the search to construct a meaningful social reality. As such, the point I wish to make is that the search for an individual identity is inseparable from a collective attempt to construct a version of social order which is seen to be believable by those people involved. Identity, individuality and self-realisation are the privately meaningful aspects of public roles : personal identity is therefore compounded by public

creativity.

Contingent upon the structural, technological and psychological complexity of modern social life is the continual attempt, by various social groups, to stage meaningful categories of "reality" through what can be described as popular culture. These are statements of "truth" or "ways of seeing" which are contrasted with the unstructured nature of routine social life. The search for authenticity, then, is the modern solution to the problem of uncertainty and impersonality in social relationships : it is the attempt to create a social solidarity within a secular society.

The duality of the concepts "identity" and "collectivity" are evocative of alienation just as much as they are of authenticity. As such they formed the basis of European experience and intellectual thought in the 18th century. At that time Europe was undergoing a series of traumatic transformations created by the political impact of the French Revolution and the technological impact of the Industrial Revolution. Intellectually, the romantic revolt against a world which was seen to debase human nature argued that what had occurred was the fragmentation of individuality. As heir to this tradition Marx was to argue for the future prospect of "whole man" which would, of course, be contingent upon the reorganisation of the mode of production.

This view of a fragmenting social identity is also compatible with the transformation in collective forms of organisation. Thus, according to Abrams "Because sociology came into being as an attempt to apprehend the nature and dynamics of the transition to industrialism, it tended to identify the emergent industrial world in terms of a series of stark polarities or contrasts of 'type' between pre-industrial and industrial society." (1979 p.10). Furthermore, the single most important focus of social thought during the incipient

stages of industrialism was that of community.

The preoccupation with the idea of community represented a fundamental concern with the change from social relations based on locality, and imbued with a sense of moral cohesion which was seen to be fragmenting, to relationships based on the idea of common interest and sociability. The new urbanised social structure of the 20th century has provided for the possibility of re-establishing "Gemeinschaft" via the "collective sensibility". An example of this is provided by Kerbo et.al. (1978) in their depiction of the CB radio phenomenon as a form of meta-community. Thus, they suggest that if social interaction is becoming more restrained in public - what Sennett (1973) has called "destructive Gemeinschaft" - then some resource for the provision of sociability must be found.

For communities of interest, the object of interaction is sociability. The importance of this fact was understood by Simmel when he pointed out that sociability plays with the forms of society:

> Here, 'society', properly speaking, is that being with one another, for one another, against one another which, through the vehicle of drives or purposes, forms and develops material or individual contents and interests. The forms in which this process results gain their own life. It is freed from all ties with contents. It exists for its own sake and for the sake of the fascination which, in its own liberation from these ties, it diffuses. (Simmel, 1976, p.81).

The purpose of sociability, following Simmel, is that it records and rearranges social relationships into an ephemeral reality of fictionalised discourse. But one of the most important aspects of sociability, as a collective enterprise, is its neutralisation of status differences. As Simmel pointed out, "sociability is the game in which one 'does as if' all were equal, and at the same time, as if one honoured each of them in particular" (Simmel 1950, p.49).

The achievement of sociability in everyday life is by no means

an easy accomplishment. In order to overcome anonymity the poten-
tial alienation which the individual may face must be reduced by
adopting strategies by which "significant others" can be known
(Kerbo et. al. 1978). Consequently location, sartorial and
dramaturgic style are markers by which individuals become known
(Lofland, 1973).

If the goal of sociability is the re-establishment of gemein-
schaft then what becomes important to the individuals participating
is its interpretive, game-like, quality; what is important is the
sense of "double entendre". Clifford Geertz provides an illustra-
tion of this in his study of the Balinese Cockfight. Utilizing
Jeremy Bentham's concept of "deep play" Geertz suggests that it
means "play in which the stakes are so high that it is...irrational
for men to engage in it at all" (Geertx, 1975, p.432). But what
they do engage in is a form of "metaphorical refocusing". The cock-
fight, as a "focused gathering" transforms the stakes so that indiv-
iduals identify with the drama as a way of reworking the social
order: abstract hatred, masculinity, arrogance, honour, status
etc., are all part of this. As Geertz puts it, "we go to see
Macbeth to learn what a man feels like after he has gained a king-
dom and lost his soul", likewise, "Balinese go to cockfights to
find out what a man, usually composed, aloof, almost obsessively
self-absorbed, a kind of moral autocosm, feels like when attacked,
tormented, challenged, insulted, and driven in result to the
extremes of fury, he has totally triumphed or has been brought
totally low." (ibid. p.450).

What I have tried to suggest so far is why a search for
authenticity is relevant to people in modern society. I have also
tried to show precisely why it is constituted as a problem by illus-
trating the historical and sociological concern with identity and

Gemeinschaft.

Since I have already suggested that sociability is a technique through which what is personally meaningful (identity) can be communicated to others sharing the same world view (community of interest) then what remains for me to explain is how the reciprocal relationship is created.

The search for authenticity involves certain categorical imperitives.

As a starting point I share with Sennett the idea that there is a logical relationship between the stage and the street and that there are four components to this relationship. First, the theatre shares the problem of the city. Specifically, the "problem is one of audience...how to arouse belief in one's appearance among a milieu of strangers" (1977, p.38). To put this another way, the everyday concern of people is how to make their actions accountable statements, or actions, meaningful. Secondly, one of the predominant features of city life is the structure of rules which make behaviour "orderly" and for sustaining the believability of events as they are unquestioningly perceived. Thirdly, the problem of audience is solved through what Sennett calls a "common code of believability" (ibid). This has two components: the first is that "the world external to immediate surroundings and personal loyalties becomes consciously defined"; and the second is that "movement through diverse social circumstances and groups of strangers with the aid of this common code becomes comfortable " (ibid.). The last component is one of presentation. In other words, "social expression will be conceived of as presentation to other people of feelings which signify in and of themselves, rather than as representation to other people of feeling present and real to each self"(ibid.).

THE SEARCH FOR AUTHENTICITY.

The search for authenticity became a part of Western culture when industrialisation and urbanisation coincided to produce an irreversible historical force in which people were able, for the first time, to think about the secular. The great philosophical force of the period - the Enlightenment - extended this way of thinking by considering that social and political institutions could be altered by rational means rather than by the assumption that they were governed, like the rest of the universe, by immutable laws which only the devine could comprehend.

History from the Enlightenment onwards has been permeated with the development of the secular philosophies of liberalism, socialism and Marxism. But the most characteristic, enduring, political framework over the last century has been the liberal democratic state. What such a political philosophy has contributed to social life has been, firstly, the concept of "freedom" and secondly, the concept of "happiness". Although these concepts were developed by rival forms of political thought - natural-rights theory and utilitarianism respectively - they have become part of the liberal tradition. However, they also reflect the internal contradiction of the liberal democratic state in the impossible attempt to reconcile liberty and freedom with equality. Whilst liberty and freedom developed into a concern with the individual (his freedom from the constraints of the state) and with individualism (free expression) equality would always be inhibited by the primacy of liberty (in other words whilst equality was desirable it was not possible if it meant that it could only be achieved by the loss, by some individuals, of their property and, hence, their liberty.).

The search for authenticity in modern life can be described as "a radical rejection of things as they are. It begins with an insistance that the social and political structure men live in are keeping the self stifled, chained down, locked up". (Berman 1971,pxvii).

In order to understand this search for the authentic, individuals, as we have seen, have to discover a vocabulary constituted through the topics of popular culture and public order.

The attempt to constitute popular culture as a topic for empirical investigation is inhibited by the difficulty of finding a suitable contemporary definition. One author has talked, for example, about the apparent invisibility of popular culture in terms of social relationships whilst pointing out that the texture and forms of everyday life - from the design of domestic appliances, to films and music - "constitute a series of statements about the relationship between self and society". (Bigsby, 1976, p.4ii). From this viewpoint the analysis of the text purports to display the structure of "popularness". Or, from a historical perspective it might be argued that what had previously constituted the genuine popular culture and distinguished it from that of elite culture was the celebration of a long established tradition which was fractured by the social forces of urbanisation and industrialisation. By contrast, the characterising feature of modern (popular) culture is no longer its juxtaposition with high culture but the sale of leisure experience as a commodity. This is characterised by two kinds of argument - the corporatist and pluralist.

There have, of course, been attempts to find a third perspective. The most notable and systematic attempt has been that of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University which brought together the structuralism of Barthes and Althusser with the naturalistic paradigm and the ethnographic tradition. (I discuss the methodological difficulties of this approach in Chapter 6).

Inevitably what we appear to be faced with is a conceptual minefield created largely out of theoretical and methodological

differences. In order to avoid "a priori" judgements I believe
it is necessary to provide a definition of popular culture in
terms of constitutive social relations of production (Chaney,1979) :
Where social groups, in terms of consumption, constitute anony-
mous publics and where producers of leisure commodities communi-
cate matters of taste and style to the former. I furthermore con-
tend that any suggestion of "good" or "bad" taste is purely subjec-
tive although the problem of who decides the success of one part-
icular market for stylised commodities is left unanswered and would,
nevertheless, always be a matter of empirical investigation. But
what does emerge as a significant socio-political dimension is the
notion of <u>social space</u> which signifies the active, rather than pas-
sive dimension of social action (the naturalistic paradigm) and yet
recognises the economic and political context which acts to constrain
those actions. Thus, what emerges is a dialectical relationship
between constraint and volition which forms the basis of empirical
investigation about interpersonal politics. What emerges, therefore,
is firstly a stress on the provision of leisure commodities and
secondly, what it is that people actually do with them. But I would
also contend that an emphasis on the second part of this relation-
ship - volition - has the benefit of providing an interpretive know-
ledge about the wider social structure within which people as social
actors have to contend.

<u>PUBLIC ORDER.</u>

Ultimately the idea of the public order conveys a legalistic
connotation. Thus, it might be suggested that a society's system of
typifications is structured by the law of the land (Rock, 1973). It
also follows that the encouragement of uniformity in respect of
public order is impossible without coercive agencies of law

enforcement. In this respect Storch has illustrated how the police in the (early) industrial towns enforced the values of the urban middle class through constant surveillance. However, the example Storch provides is not simply one of overt suppression with the police acting in a coercive manner. Rather, the "good order" emerged through the control of popular leisure pursuits. As he points out, "these police functions must be viewed as a direct compliment to the attempts of the urban middle class elites - by means of the Sabbath, educational, temperence and recreation - to mould a labouring class amenable to the new disciplines of both work and leisure" (Storch, 1976).

The point I wish to make here is that although the idea of public order is compatible with the policing function carried out in modern society by the agents of law and order what has emerged as a significant aspect of social constraint is the functional division of the urban environment into discrete component areas, designed for a specific purpose and for a specific public, as well as the application of codes of behaviour which must be observed by individuals.

In relation to popular culture the public order in its wider context - the functional division of the environment - occurred through national administrative pressures designed to provide the "good order" (in a much more general sense the technological/social determinism of 20th century architects and planners is also infused with the same vocabulary). With the increasing compartmentalisation and commercialisation of cultural forms the public order became con-strained by four distinct pressures which acted "to structure the cultural politics of the emergent society" (Chaney, 1979,p.42). Accordingly, these are: commercialisation, which transformed amateur production of performances into professionalised and profitable

enterprises; alienation of work experience, which has consequences
for meaningful social and individual experience articulated through
leisure; bougeoisification, which emphasises a concern for "respect-
ability"; and finally, direct suppression of "profane" working class
activities . These themes are implicit throughout this thesis and
they subsequently link the earlier part of the work - ie., the
account of public order to the later ethnographic accounts of pop-
ular culture.

The precise application of the concept of public order to be
found in this thesis is primarily one which describes a more in-
formal ordering of the urban populace. Following Lofland (1973) this
order consists of two interpretive principles through which people
are able to categorise the process of interaction. The first is
what she calls "appearential order" which means we can know a great
deal about the stranger in an urban setting because of the cues re-
lating to physical appearance and presentation. The second aspect
is spatial ordering which conveys superficial knowledge about an
individual because of typifications within our knowledge relating
to "who" is to be found in a particular place at a particular time.
As Lofland puts it "In either instance, you know how to act toward
this stranger (acting toward of course, may involve either inter-
action or avoidance) because having defined the object, your common-
sense world provides you with a behavioural repertoire." (1973,p.27).
Accordingly, although we are likely to utilise both of these prin-
ciples of public order simultaneously there does appear to be a
degree of historical variation leading away from appearance in the
pre-industrial city to an emphasis on locational markers in the
modern city. This sense of historical perspective/change in the
use of cues for interpretation of public order is also suggested
by Sennett (1977). For both authors what characterises the

pre-industrial city is the mixed use of public space together with

an overtly heterogeneous populace. On the other hand the character-

ising features of the modern city is the specialised use of public

space together with the masked heterogeneity of the urban pupulation.

Since public order has come under the auspices of professionals

such as architects and town planners who work in conjunction with,

or on behalf of, politicians and entrepreneurs the ideology which

emerged in these professions elevated the practitioners to the

status of "value-free", "neutral", experts who planned for the new

social consensus of the 20th century. The consequence was, of

course, the development of the modern city as an intellectual

construct.

SOCIAL SPACE.

Whilst the creation of public order in Newcastle has been

deliberately constructed by architects, planners, politicians,

bureaucrats and entrepreneurs, the creation of social space is con-

structed by individuals and social groups. Whereas the former

represents an attempt to structure and determine the orderliness

of social life in the urban environment, the latter represents free

will on the part of those who wish to imprint their own identity on

that social order.

The construction of social space consists of the elements

noted earlier - identity and the search for authenticity, or mean-

ingful sociable interactions with others. It also has to be staged.

Indeed, staging "the authentic" is a way of expressing modern solid-

arity - a way of sharing a fabricated, yet meaningful idea with

others. In this way individuals are able to reframe reality by

engaging in a little metaphorical refocusing. But in doing so

this "play-ful" rescripting of paramount reality tells us something

about how things might be otherwise if they were not organised
the way they actually are.

As Cohen and Taylor have pointed out we all, as individuals,
engage in this reframing exercise. It helps us to get through the
routines of the mundane world. Thus, "Instead of playing roles,
or acting out routines, we "play at" or "act against" roles and
routines" (1976, p.32). Rather than engaging ourselves in the pas-
sivity of role-play we are in fact self-consciously reacting against
the institutional constraints of the society in which we live.

Since social space is characterised by imaginative reframing
made possible through play then identification (doing identity work)
is a key element. This idea can be understood, as Cohen and Taylor
suggest, by contrasting games such as snakes and ladders or draughts
with monopoly. The latter is more demanding of identity work and
requires the individuals involved to project their identities into
those of millionaires and property tycoons (ibid, p.102).

These new contexts, dramas, games, and rituals require a re-
writing of the scripts by rearranging the symbols. Whilst most
might be understood as a form of unreflective accommodation to the
social order by seeking temporary release this is by no means always
the case. Recent research into sub-cultures provides an example.

Whilst the sociology of youth culture abounds with examples
of the inherent conservatism, nationalism and patriotism of many
youth groups - skin-heads, football supporters etc., - such groups
are the product of, and the reaction to, the social and class rela-
tionships within which their individual members find themselves.
Consequently, by placing them in this wider socio-cultural/historic,
context we can gain a sociological interpretation of the ways in
which youth groups, as a collective solution to their predicament,
win space for the young (Hall and Jefferson, 1976, Hebdige, 1979,).

Even hanging around on street corners doing nothing, as Corrigan

has informed us, is a structured activity on the part of working

class youths. Because "The alternative activities are usually

expensive or controlled by someone else" (Corrigan, 1979). Social

space then must be seen as the area in which people attempt to

regain some control over the social order by symbolically rearranging

its content and by providing a solution to the potential problems

of meaning and identity. Needless to say the search for the authen-

tic describes just this.

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURE AND POPULAR CULTURE.

> ...a sensitivity to culture is not our only accomp-
> lishment. We have also developed our distinctive
> ailments, our crises of legitimacy and identity. It is
> part of our culture (in the anthropological sense)
> that no man of culture (evaluative sense) is free of the
> sense of the precariousness of his own identity or the
> fragility of political and social arrangements which
> surround him. To be devoid of such a sense would make
> one socially impossible in polite society.
>
> (Gellner, 1979).

> ...
> Tom Seaton was't one for going into the snug much: the
> public bar, that was more his style, with a few mates
> you could talk about football, or whippets, or pitch
> and toss, or the hell of earning your living down a
> mine.
>
> (James Mitchell:When The Boat
> Comes In).

Over a century ago Edward Tylor described the ethnographic analysis of culture and civilizations as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (1971, p.1.). Whilst this definition still provides a succinct idea of what it is the anthropologist and sociologist should be studying the methodological principles outlined by Tylor are no longer satisfactory: we no longer search for the laws of human thought and action nor for the sequence of cause and effect which he defined as appropriate to our understanding of "the civilization of the lower tribes as related to the civil-ization of the higher nations," (ibid.). More recently, Geertz has suggested that culture should not be seen simply as the con-crete behaviour pattern of customs, usages, traditions and habits etc., but as "control mechanisms" such as plans, recipes, rules and instructions etc., which govern social behaviour (Geertz, 1976, p.44). The virtue of such an approach rests on the assumption

that human thought is both social and public. Thus, human vol-
ition is not seen simplistically as "happenings in the head" but
as traffic in significant public symbols such as words, gestures,
drawings, musical sounds, and artifacts etc. Such symbols, by being
disengaged from their purely utilitarian usage, come to impose
meaning on experience (ibid., p.45). Analysis therefore shifts
from a record of what other people do, to the interpretive acts in
which people engage in order to make their world meaningful and
reciprocal.

Analysis from the perspective of the sociology of culture has
focused on the social relations of production which surround any
particular symbol, artifact, or idea, as well as on the political
structure or language which dominates social life at any particular
period in time.

Our awareness of the concept of culture, that is to say its
analysis, has been formed by the culturalist tradition on the one
hand, and the structuralist tradition on the other. What under-
lies the first is the work of Raymond Williams in which the analysis
of culture is seen in terms of its characteristic "forms of organ-
isation". What underlies the structuralist tradition is a concern
with ideology as a central concept and hence it seeks to demystify
the structures through which culture is made. Needless to say,
there are methodological differences between the two positions.
The major difference is most marked, as Hall points out, in relation
to the concept of "experience" and the role it plays in each pers-
pective (Hall, 1983, p.29.) For example, "whereas, in 'culturalism',
experience was the ground-the terrain of 'the lived'- where con-
sciousness and conditions intersected, structuralism insisted that
'experience' could not, by definition, be the ground of anything,
since one could only 'live' and experience one's conditions in and

through the categories, classifications and frameworks of the culture" (ibid). The point should be made that one perspective does not invalidate the grounds of discovery of the other. However there are obvious shortfalls.

As for the problems created by each of these methodologies the position of interrogation is important. Whilst one, it is claimed, fails to interrogate its subject the other seeks to do the opposite by exposing ideology and false consciousness. For example, whereas the culturalists had defined "the forms of consciousness and culture as collective" they had "stopped far short of the radical proposition that, in culture and in language, the subject was 'spoken by' the categories of culture in which he/she thought, rather than 'speaking them' " (ibid.). But on the other hand it might be argued (a point which Hall does not make clear) that the equally intractable problem for the structuralists is their pretence to be above ideology themselves. I am not suggesting here that there is anything wrong with taking up an ideological position deliberately, but rather, that the problem with structuralism is its methodological, "scientific", attitude.

Whilst I find both of these positions extremely interesting and valuable my own interests in the sociology of culture reflects more closely that of the culturalist tradition, I can, therefore, do no better than to paraphrase Goffman on this point when he suggested that whilst the analysis of the false consciouness of others was by no means invalid it was nevertheless riddled with contradiction and uncertainty. Likewise, "I do not intend here to provide a lullaby but merely to sneak in and watch the way the people snore," (Goffman, 1975, p.14). For this reason I will use the definition of culture created by Williams.

Williams distinguishes two ways in which culture can be under-

stood. He distinguishes between the use of the term in the arts and in the social sciences - particularly anthropology. In the arts the term has three general meanings ranging from "(I) a developed state of mind - as in a 'person of culture', a 'cultured person' to (2) the process of this development - as in 'cultural interests', 'cultural activities' to (3) the means of these processes - as in culture as 'the arts' and humane intellectual works" (Williams 1981, p.11.). In the anthropological sense the study of culture is the study of the 'whole way of life' of a distinct people or social group' (ibid.). Such a dichotomy roughly reflects the concern with minority culture and popular culture respectively. For example, as Stedmen-Jones has pointed out in his investigation into working class culture in London, "it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century ... that middle class observers began to realize that the working class was not simply without culture or morality, but in fact possessed a 'culture' of its own" (Stedmen-Jones, 1974, p.463). Thus whilst those same observers saw middle class culture as intellectual and civilized - i.e., as a unity of ideas and accomplishments - they slowly began to see the existance of working class culture (as did Booth) to be governed also by "strict rules of propriety" but which did not necessarily coincide with the legal and religious rules of the middle class (ibid). However, it was important that the working class were seen to possess a culture in this second anthropological sense discussed by williams.

The issues so far considered describe the rise of individualism on the one hand, and the "fall of public man" on the other. Both are undoubtedly central to Western culture as we now know it. However, it would be wrong to assume that the "new" cultural life of individualism was accepted without objection by all sections of

the community. The reality is that two cultural forms emerged
both of which are the product of life in metropolitan society.
If bourgeois individualism represents one side of the equation then
the development of a proletarian popular culture, with its strong
collectivist tradition, represents the other. (Williams defines
the relationship between these two cultural traditions as : 1) a
working class culture which is primarily social in character - i.e.
"in that it has created institutions"; and 2) a bourgeois culture
which by contrast is individual in character - i.e., based on lib-
eral natural rights theory which holds the view that each individ-
ual has the right, and the ability, to pursue his, or her, own
course of action independently from others. The other aspect which
Williams mentions in relation to this second point is that the
individualist tradition is characterised by "intellectual or
imaginative work" (Williams, 1973, pp.25-27.). But whilst indiv-
idualism has become the dominant force in modern western culture -
largely because of the decline of the oral tradition and its re-
placement by the mass media - it has encountered the substance of
the collectivist tradition. As Williams has pointed out, "The
traditional popular culture of England was, if not annihilated, at
least fragmented and weakened by the dislocations of the Industrial
Revolution. What is left, with what in the new conditions has been
newly made, is small in quantity and narrow in range. It exacts
respect, but it is in no sense an alternative culture" (1973,p22.).

On a national as well as a local scale changes took place in
the balance of economy and class power in the nineteenth century.
What had been considered to be appropriate in the past was no longer
considered to be either orderly conduct or respectable behaviour.
At the beginning of the nineteenth century - in 1802 - a clergyman
made a typical comment about the popular culture of Sunderland when

he said that "...we here saw a decency in persons and habitations, and a decorum and civility in manners and behaviour" (Colls, 1977 p.64). However, by 1825 the "birth pains" of the new industrial society "having been suffered" brought the "psychology and manners of working men" under closer scrutiny" (ibid). Thus, whilst in 1802 the people could be admired and industrialism despised, by 1840 "observers were admiring the industrialism and deprecating the people" (ibid. p.65). By the 1960's, when municipal planning became a crusade "to end the long blight that has descended on the city and its region, and to create a modern and thrusting economy to offset the debilitating run-down of the old basic industries", the new captains of municipal pride sought to create a new society by abolishing the Andy Capp image (Gower Davies, 1974). Nevertheless, the working class cultural tradition was not beaten into submission by new cultural values of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. For example, "At 6 a.m. on the morning of Thursday, 19 July 1821, the Castle cannons crashed out a royal salute, whereupon the Union Jack was hoisted" and "church bells 'rung a merry peal' " in celebration of the coronation of George IV. But by 3 o' clock in the afternoon the corporation's planned day of merrymaking turned into a riot (Colls, 1977, p.67.). Butchers were "pelted from the stage with the very meat they had carved and thrown to the people", mail coaches were stoned, the Yeomanry were charged and "their commander ordered retreat" etc.

The reason for the riot appeared to be the maligned dignity of the "common" people who felt they were being treated like animals when the meat was thrown at them courtesy of the city. Thus as a radical song recalled:

> Blush ye great Rulers of the town,
> Behold your nauseous loathsome boon!
> See men, with manners more discreet,

> Disgusted, spurn your beastly treat!
> And know, all you who term us swine
> That reason rules the sons of the Tyne
>
> (Colls, 1977, p.69).

In the 1970's, as one observer found to his cost, a working-class culture was still very much in evidence and as obstinate as ever : "I felt ill-at-ease in an area so assertively dominated by working-class values..." (Ardagh, 1980, p.189). Feeling compelled to write about these values he went on to say that whilst "there are many things I like and admire, even find inspiring about Newcastle... I find objectionable" the "back-street slums, amid football crowds, or in dismal pubs with their beer spilt on the tables, and workers talking a language I could not follow..." (ibid., p,190).

In the nineteenth century the structure of working class popular culture came under the influence of the moral reformers who sought to transform it by "civilizing" the public arenas of the city. At the same time the perfection of the individual through the arts and education became a major goal of the bourgeoisie. Private time was given to the cultivation of the personality. As Hobsbawm points out : "The shelves of bourgeois households" were "filled with the elaborately bound works of the national and international classics. "(Hobsbawm, 1977, p.335). Furthermore, as the excesses of industrialism were becoming contained by the demands for a more orderly environment then public places were being created for the pursuit of the artistic sensitivity. For example, "the visitors to galleries and museums multiplied : the Royal Academy exhibition in 1848 attracted perhaps 90,000 visitors, but by the end of the 1970's almost 400,000." (ibid).

In London there were two major strategems of this civilizing process. The first "was to use legislation to create a physical and institutional environment in which undesirable working class

habits and attitudes would be deterred." (Stedman Jones, 1974,p.468).

The second involved the use of private philanthropy which "could

undertake the active propagation of a new moral code" (ibid). How-

ever, as Stedman Jones points out, by the end of Victoria's reign

leisure activities had been dramatically transformed. For example

the role of the pub had changed : drinking hours had been restricted;

children were excluded etc., cockfighting, bearbaiting, ratting had

died out. Gambling had been drived off the streets; great fairs had

been abolished in some areas; craft drinking rituals had declined

and St.Monday had virtually disappeared. In their place, parks,

museums, exhibitions, public libraries and mechanics institutes

"promoted a more improving or innocuous use of leisure time." (ibid.

p.471). Imposing regularity on the environment was relatively easy

compared to the attempt to reform the attitudes, values and behaviour

of the working class so that by the Edwardian period, "it had become

inescapably clear that middle class evangelism had failed to re-

create the working class in its own image (ibid). Consequently, it

became clear that the collectivist character of working class cul-

ture was clearly distinguished from that of the middle class : "its

dominant cultural institutions were not the school, the evening class,

the library, the friendly society, the church or the chapel, but

the pub, the sporting paper, the race course and the music hall

(ibid. p.479). Finally as a response to the regulation of working

class life the leisure activities that did emerge, satisfied (as

the example of the music hall suggests)" a craving for solidarity in

facing the daily problems of poverty and family life". It cele-

brated the "pleasures of working class life" and became escapist

"yet rooted in the realities" of that life (ibid.pp.490-491).

What I have tried to suggest is that despite the disruptions

caused by industrialisation and urbanisation, and despite the fact

that modern popular culture is characterised in particular by the
sale and consumption of leisure commodities, there is some degree of
continuity between pre-industrial and contemporary popular culture.
This continuity may have little to do with the leisure activities
themselves but more to do with the idea of celebration, of collec-
tive sentiments, and resistance to the circumstances in which work-
ing class people find themselves. It was the period of 1870-1900
which represented the re-making of the working class in London, accord-
ing to Stedman Jones. However the process appears to have been sim-
ilar in the other great metropolitan areas. What emerged, reflected
in cultural forms like the music hall, was "a culture of consolid-
ation" which became "defensive" in character (ibid. pp.499,500).

It would be entirely incorrect to see popular culture of the
present to be unconnected with that of the pre-industrial past. In
order to illustrate this point I want to refer to Cunningham's def-
inition of popular culture. The word popular implies "of the people"
and this can be situated against the culture of the leisured class,
who, because of their positions of power and authority" had developed
their own high culture in isolation" as far as possible from the
former (Cunningham, 1982, p.68). From Cunningham's point of view,
whilst the popular culture of the industrial towns in the nineteenth
century was innovatory and increasingly organised around a commer-
cial entertainments industry, it is a transitional culture. It was
not a survival culture yet many of its forms were new. It was
equally "as at home in the big city as in the village". Nor was
it a passive residue of the past since it had a remarkable ability to
diffuse itself upwards". Indeed, as Cunningham points out, "not
only were individual performers rising to fame, but whole types of
performance, popular in origin, were having a marked impact on high
culture" (1982, p.67). However, the various forms of entertainment

that did exist were commercial in nature, aimed to attract spec-
tators and employed professionals. What occurred increasingly through-
out the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the extension of this
commercial entertainment.

Although modern popular culture is urban and as such is per-
meated with the metaphors of the mass media as well as being char-
acterised by the penetration of the market economy in terms of the
production and consumption of leisure time, it is styled by certain
enduring features. First, it is social rather than individual since
it has developed its own institutions. Second, it takes place in
specific settings in which the physical space itself helps to struc-
ture the events which take place within it. Public places such as
bars, youth clubs, betting offices and race tracks, bowling alleys,
football stadiums etc., etc., all provide occasions for highly
specific routines to take place. Third, we can distinguish between
interpretive codes and the messages used to convey information.
Methodologically this is important in the sense that the codes
are what Clifford Geertz has called "thick description" whereby the
ethnographer recognizes his task as one which reveals the "webs of
significance" that comprise culture. Codes, then, refer to the
interpretation of "a structured hierarchy of meaningful structures
in terms of which twitches, winks, face winks, parodies, rehearsals
of parodies are produced, perceived and interpreted and without
which they would not...in fact exist, no matter what anyone did with
his eyelids" (Geertz, 1975, p.7.). Messages of course, can only be
interpreted after a cultural code has been deciphered. And in this
sense the message is the account which evokes a particular form of
life.

Popular culture in the twentieth century can be said to be char-
acterized by commercial leisure industries on the one hand, and

relate to a social code of sentiment, emotion, meaning, entertainment etc., which are understood and shared collectively on the other. Whereas the first aspect has increased the "fictional distance" (Chaney, 1979,p.48) of entertainment by extending the relationship between the author and the narrative structures he employs, the second represents a search for the grounds of collective expression. The relationship between the two reflects what might be described as the "alienation of cultural experience" which has the effect of transforming "a performance into a commodity which articulates a narrow, highly predictable and stylized, segment of experience" (ibid p.49). As Chaney has pointed out, to treat the study of entertainment, or popular culture, as one of trivialization or even political incorporation is fruitless "because it transforms the social opportunities of audience membership into an empirical problem of the potential power of messages to shape consciouness." (ibid.p.42). Alternatively, "a more positive approach is to explore the opportunities of membership - the ways in which public experience is practically put together as involvement with cultural performances". (ibid). The important point to note about this alternative is that it provides for the analysis of public accomplishments. To put this another way is to say that the discovery of what people do with the commodities of the entertainments industry provides a discourse about what people do with social space, public roles and their social identities.

POPULAR CULTURE AND THE MASS CULTURE CRITIQUE.

The mass culture critique developed from theorists of society as well as cultural critics. Despite their differences they were in basic agreement that the developments of modern capitalism were leading to a mass society. Such a view assumed that an emerging

mass culture was characterised by standardisation, stereotype, conservatism, mendacity and manipulation. (Swingewood, 1977).

Of the society theorists it was the Frankfurt School who argued that Marx's analysis of capitalism was no longer appropriate for modern society due to massive state intervention in the market, the new role of technology and science, and the growth of a consumption orientated working class. Consequently, modern society was seen as a mass society in which the proletariat was little more than an atomised mass. It was easily swayed, therefore, by irrational ideologies such as Fascism.

The Cultural Pluralists, on the other hand shift the emphasis from questions of domination, legitimacy, and cultural vitality "to the more prosaic problems of 'who consumes what, where, and how' " (Swingewood, 1977, p.xi). Seen from this point of view the mass media, which play a crucial role in modern society, were the result of three broad movements in recent social history : political democracy, business enterprise and, technology. Together with the development of mass literacy and an urban proletariat disengaged from its former folk-culture a new kind of leisure commodity emerged : an ersatz culture, or kitsch, produced for the diversion of people with time to spare between other allotted arrangements of work and sleep. With both theoretical positions what emerged was manipulation. This was evident to the extent that, whereas folk culture was produced for and by the people, mass culture involved a technical imposition. The "lords of kitsch", it was argued, exploited "the cultural needs of the masses in order to make a profit and/or to maintain their class rule..." (MacDonald 1963, p.60). And as for the individual, who had become a mere spectator, he was said to acquire lazy habits by passively observing a predigested product, the function of which was to provide him

"with a short-cut to the pleasures of art that detours what is necessarily difficult in genuine art (Greenbert, 1963). According to MacDonald, the mass produced commodity represented not simply a loss of aura, as Benjamin had succinctly put it, but lacked authenticity by being "fabricated by technicians" and "hired by businessmen" whilst its audience became "passive consumers" since their participation was limited to either buying or not buying (op.cit.).

The mass society theorists were, of course, contrasting the products of the popular culture with those of high culture. Whilst the former were only capable of offering "spurious gratification" the latter offered the possibility of authentic genuine experience. Thus, where culture was the province of the intellectual and the conscience of the avant-garde, mass culture occupied a social space called leisure. Its values were nothing more than hedonism and escapism. But what was at stake was nothing less than "culture" and "civilization". The very fabric of society was being undermined.

One of the problems with such a history of culture is the myth of a romantic past; a golden age which can never be precisely determined. This is because the use of the concept "culture" is loaded with moral overtones and imputed values which are not separated from the analysis.

From the viewpoint of the cultural critics such as Eliot, Leavis, Waugh, Orwell and Hoggart etc., what appeared to be emerging to a position of prominence in modern society was the moral collapse of civil society and the diminution of cultural vitality. Eliot and Leavis both looked back to a pre-industrial non-capitalist society where elite culture represented everything that was "good" cultivated and civilized. By contrast the modern bourgeoisie was incapable of creating the moral, virtuous social structure that was

typical of the aristocracy. Ultimately, as Eliot was to conclude, the necessary social conditions for the survival of "culturally creative elites" were disappearing thus depressing the "standards of art and culture". (Swingewood, 1977.p.71).

Americanised popular amusements first began to appear in Britain in the 1920's in the shape of dance crazes such as American ragtime which were influenced by Jazz rhythms. This was followed by mass produced films and popular music (especially after the development of the microphone in the mid 1920's. However, the cele- bration of a new wave of American popular cultural commodities in the 1950's, by the new young consumer oriented section of the working class, renewed the fears of social critics. This time such people were becoming fearful of the "permissiveness" and perceived "vio- lence" of the new generation.

The emergence of rock 'n' roll and Teddy boys, for example, created a social panic which went much wider than the disruptive tendencies of the Teds themselves. The British way of life was being destroyed forever and the customs and civility of the British people, it was believed, undergoing radical, negative, change.

The criticism which Evelyn Waugh engaged in implied that high culture was being infiltrated by a new "plastic" culture of low-brow taste. Some of these ingredients are listed by Hebdige. For example, picking up some of the metaphors in Waugh's last book, The Ordeal of Gilbert Penfold (1957), Hebdige points out how certain words are used to evoke derisory connotations : "'plastic' (i.e. Festival of Britain/ 'inauthentic' mass culture);'Picasso' (Continental mod- ern art/subversive high culture); 'sun-bathing' (increased leisure/ national inertia/a 'soft' obsession with cosmetics/ 'immoralism, naturism...non-conformism') and jazz (American negro/subversive 'low' culture)". (Hebdige, 1982). Such items for Waugh are indicative

of "shifts in taste and value" whereby a tradition based on priv-
ilege has been "progressively planned down until the world for Waugh
seems as 'flat as a map' " (ibid).

Orwell and Hoggart were also concerned about this American-
isation of British culture. Both these authors are concerned with
the emerging consumer culture. In Coming Up for Air (1939) Orwell
reflects on this new culture by saying : "Everything slick and stream-
lined, everything made out of something else". And in The Lion and
The Unicorn he also makes the classic mistake of harking back to
some romantic age in the past by saying : "The gentleness of the
English civilization is perhaps its most marked characteristic".
Both Orwell and Hoggart believed that what was happening was the
substitution of solid, authentic, working class values of community
by what Hoggart calls a "shiny barbarism", a "spiritual dry rot",
and a "Candy Floss World". (Hebdige, 1982,p.199). Hoggart des-
pised the new pulp culture which appeared to replace the oral trad-
ition of the working class neighbourhoods. However, the same crit-
icism of these authors can be made. As Hebdige points out, "In many
of the debates about the impact and significance of popular culture"
the social and economic transformations of culture "have been med-
iated through aesthetic concepts like 'quality' and 'taste' " (1982,
p.194).

I have tried to suggest that the concepts of Culture and Pop-
ular Culture have been imputed with spurious qualities such as moral
or immoral, civilized or vulgar, intellectual or hedonistic res-
pectively. However, the major assumption underlying such dichot-
omies was that a mass society had emerged which was characterized by
a low-brow artless conformity to the standardized products of a
new culture industry. Unfortunately, the mass society theorists
failed to consider the ways in which people interpret the messages

received from the mass media according to a variety of social factors. They also failed to understand the way in which people create a social space for themselves by reorganising the symbols of the consumer culture.

By contrast, I will argue that the analysis of consumer goods illustrates that they are more than mere commodities satisfying some restless urge by people to consume them. Instead of seeing them as a form of mystification "per se" they have to be understood in terms of what they offer to individuals by way of excitement, adventure, risk, escapism, and particularly their potential for transforming mundane social reality.

It is also true that consumer culture is persuasive and often promotes a passive, voyeuristic audience. As Barthes has pointed out, striptease is a prime example of the way in which a setting is structured for the purpose of observation : "the classic props of the music-hall, which are invariably rounded up here, constantly make the unveiled body more remote, and force it back into the all-pervading ease of a well known rite: the furs, the fans, the gloves, the feathers, the fish net stockings, in short the whole spectrum of adornment, constantly makes the living body return to the category of luxurious objects, which surround man with a magical decor" (Barthes, 1976, p.85).

Consumer culture therefore offers a symbolic structure of transient meaning : it offers the potential for "a vast synthesis of fictions and realities into which traditional reference points collapse" thus "commodities masquerade as experiences and experiences are turned into commodities," (Featherstone, 1983, p.6.) The commodity is not just an object. It is a symbolic structure that can be described as connotative in character. It is an index of intended meaning. The commodity is the deliverer of experience;

a means to an end. Ultimately, that end is an immense accumulation of reflexive experiences whereby fiction and reality become intertwined.

An example of how commodities can carry intentional meanings is illustrated by the metaphoric display of objects by youth cultures. Using the concept of "bricolage", adapted from Levy-Strauss, Hebdige (1979) points out how cultural improvisation of mundane objects provides a personal, as well as a collective identity for the group whilst at the same time providing a symbolic comment about their place in the social order. Thus the symbolic logic of various subcultures, by contrast to mainstream culture, is fabricated and embedded with highly specific interpretive codes.

The interpretation of such codes requires an ethnographic analysis which is able to reconstruct the commentaries, behaviour, attitudes, values, ritual, and world view of any social group and situate these against the relative economic, social, and political context of the individuals who compose it. The culture that I have sought to describe is predominantly working class and yet each subculture is a world unto itself where communication, identity work, emotion, escapism and risk perform the function of saying something significant about the wider social order in which they belong.

The task, then, is the interpretation of popular culture rather than the construction of a general theory of cultural life. In this sense I can do no better than to agree with Geertz when he says that, "In ethnography, the office of theory is to provide a vocabulary in which what symbolic action has to say about itself - that is, about the role of culture in human life - can be expressed" (Geertz, 1975, p.27.).

CHAPTER 3

City and Civilization : The Process of
Social Reconstruction.

Our cultures are still many, but our civilization
is one. The city is the symbol of that civilization.

(Louis Wirth)

Whilst a city may have definitive characteristics there is

no absolute qualification by which we can distinguish a town from

a city. In Britain, the legislative qualification of a city is

historically built around the notion of a town with a cathedral and

a royal charter. The literature on urban settlements is more

equivocal and one usually finds that the words 'town' or 'city'

are used interchangeably.

The solecism introduced, however, into the application of terms

like town and city is not without foundation. Thus, whilst the

city may have a specific historical pedigree the town today tends

to carry over the etymological connotations of the city in pre-

industrial times : the city "is a town which enjoys a measure of

leadership among towns" (Dickenson, 1967,p.16).

The term city however, denotes the cultural flavour of the

modern urban environment. The reasons for this are twofold.

Firstly, the city is the physical embodiment of society : the site

of political and cultural institutions such as religion, art,

science and technology. In this sense the city acts like a mag-

net possessing a force of attraction, or repulsion, of people to

institutions. This spatial field is perhaps the most pronounced

aspect of modern urban life - a fact which has led ultimately to

multifarious theories and pre-suppositions about the arrangement

of people and their institutional, or organisational setting.

Secondly, and because of this association, the city has come

to be seen as the manifestation of civilization, learning, inces-

sant progress, and modernity.

Whilst cities are the product of a long historical development dating back over 5000 years none, according to Weber, can be considered to be an urban community until the development of the occidental city (Weber, 1960,p. 80). Accordingly, an urban community was a configuration which possessed specific features :
"1. a fortification; 2. a market; 3. a court of its own and at least partially autonomous law; 4. a related form of association; and 5. at least partial autonomy and autocephally, thus also an administration by authorities in the election of whom the burghers participated" (ibid.81).

During the nineteenth century the city reflected the shock of industrialisation which lay in the "stark contrast between the black, monotonous, crowded and scarred settlements and the coloured farms and hills immediately adjoining them" (Dyos and Wolff, 1973.p.34.). By the middle of the century the urban population of England had exceeded the rural population. By the end of the nineteenth century the urban population was over 80% of the entire population. The vast numbers of people flooding into the cities created what Engels, in The Condition of the Working Class in 1844, was to call "the very turmoil of the streets" which "has something repulsive, something against which human nature rebels". Thomas Hardy's description of the crowd at the 1879 Lord Mayor of London show graphically describes what many contemporary commentators were coming to see as the "atomistic" masses : "a molluscous black creature having nothing in common with humanity" (Williams, 1975,p.260).

It was not surprising that the industrialising city was taking on the characteristics of what Rousseau had earlier called : "the final pit of the human spirit". It was not just the numbers of people living in them as Williams points out, but the fact that they

were dominated by the mills and engines of industry :"the smoke
blackening the buildings and effluents blackening the rivers;
socially in their organization of homes - 'housing' - around the
places of work, so that the dominant relation was always there "
(ibid.p.265). However, this distinction about the change in the
city, and in the civilization which it had brought about, was not
simply a distinction between the peasant community and the urban-
ised society but between the old fashioned town and the capitalist
city, as Tönnies pointed out.

As deplorable as the city might have been for many of its
poor inhabitants there is no doubt that this new metropolitan civ-
ilization brought about a distinctive change in social thought as
well as in types of social organisation. As far as social thought
was concerned the culture of the city no doubt acted as a resource:
bourgeois society was stimulated by the wide variety of social,
economic, and political activities available. As for new types of
social organisation, no doubt the stimulus came in response to the
chaos of life which had been created.

Between 1750 and 1850 there was also a transformation of
social attitudes as they related to work in the industrial towns
and cities. Not only was the ideal of an individualistic society
(i.e., a private family unit supplying material and moral needs
to its members) welcomed by entrepreneurs who no longer had any
need for the traditions of the past, but the desire to enforce
industrial discipline was of paramount concern. As Hobsbawn points
out, since men did not take spontaneously to the regularity, routine
and monotony of the new industrial life they had to be forced by
discipline and fines. Not only were they fined by Master and Ser-
vant laws which "threatened them with jail for breach of contract",
but also by "wages so low that only unremitting and uninterrupted

toil would earn them enough money to keep alive..." (Hobsbawm,1971, p.86). Furthermore, the imposition of clock-time was symptomatic of the emerging "rational" attitude to working life in the industrial city.

Rational attitudes to life in the city were becoming encouraged by other activities such as a more responsible use of leisure time and a greater emphasis on environmental control. However, it was not until the last three decades of the nineteenth century that public order, in this sense, became a priority.

Environmental control was instigated first of all by the idea of sanitary reform. The fact that it came about at all appears to be due to the initiatives of certain individuals who espoused the cause and provided some justification for the cost in terms of efficiency and sanitary economics (i.e., that it costs less to prevent disease than to encourage it). As Briggs has pointed out "The theories and the policies had to be backed by statistics and fought for by dedicated men". As late as 1869, when professional and administrative skills were greatly superior to those of 1848, the language of some of the pioneers of the sanitary commission echoed that of the pioneers of the Public Health Act of 1848" (Briggs, 1968, p.20).

The problem of the official histories of sanitary reform is that the individuals who investigated and attempted to cleanse the city of its stinks and pollution are too often treated as representatives of engineering, politics or economics. It is true that the civic economy was the expedient which finally augmented the sanitary idea with Sir John Simons, and Chadwick before him, as the exemplars of the principle. There was, however, a socio-psychological aspect to the reform movement in the sense that the reformers saw their task as one of enlightening urban society in

terms of personal hygene and social reform. This aspect has led

one commentator to claim that :

> Today the man who asserts most imperiously that his
> home is his castle can only do so by forgetting that
> his throne is plugged into a network of municipally
> maintained means of removing, forever, products of
> his own royal self.   (R.L.Schoenwald,1973,p.669)

Consequently sanitary reform procured an urban self-consciousness

as well as a technique for an ordered environment. Victorian city

dwellers thus became "conscious of having a self which needed and

repaid watching-and regulating" (ibid). This reflexive social-self-

attitude is therefore the predecessor of a concern with public order

and civic responsibility which is depicted by the phrase : "a

place for everything and everything in its place". (ibid.p.673).

Another aspect of increased control and order within the city

occurred originally with the 1835 Municipal Reform Act which granted

municipal freedom to local authorities. Ensuing competition and

rivalry encouraged municipal pride. Thus the public health act and

the provision of educational facilities led to increased demands

by middle class groups for better cultural facilities and social

order.

The competitive spirit between municipalities was partly

encouraged by a secular civic culture and consciousness forged

initially by middle class groups intent on enjoying a wider range of

cultural facilities created, not only by civic reform, but also by

technological developments and commercial entertainments. As

Mellor has pointed out, local councils began to provide new fac-

ilities for participation such as parks, libraries, museums, swim-

ming baths, and sports grounds etc., in order that the civilizing

process could begin (Mellor 1976). If the "cardinal sins of the

modern city were the total ugliness of its environment and the des-

truction of a sense of community" then it was thought that they might

be resolved by the "provision of cultural facilities devoted to the formal concept of Liberal Culture" (ibid.p.7). Such facilities, moreover, not only led to the city becoming a functional arena for public participation. They also instigated a series of separate municipal cultures.

The civic identities which permeated life in the late nineteenth century industrial cities, were, however, conspicuously paternalistic: thus, "after money had been made, 'culture' interpreted in a different sense, the favourite middle class sense of veneer and polish, was expected to follow" (Briggs,1968,p.43.).

Before I extend this theme and bring it up to date it is worth considering briefly images of the city which evoked both fear and fuelled the imaginations of notable civic dignatories, by considering why the city has become concomitant with civilisation and why the actions of people within its structural confines activated a twentieth century preoccupation with socio-spatial order and civility.

Civilization and Civility.

The popular image of the industrializing city involved a basic contradiction equating, on the one hand, the city as the seat of civilization and, on the other the city as a source of corruption and barbarity. Today we see the logical extension of these themes in terms of the corruption of the city as the embodiment of political and cultural institutions as well as the potential threat of estrangement and atomization. The implicit contradiction, however, is depicted by de Tocqueville's comments on Birmingham and Manchester. In these places, he considered, "civilization works its miracles and civilized man is turned back almost into a savage". Thus, on the one hand the city has been depicted as the height of

civilization whilst on the other it has been used to suggest a
decadent institution corrupting and consuming mankind.

The connotations of the words city and civilization are mut-
ually interwoven since both share the same Latin root. Historically,
this interconnection has suggested that outside the orbit of the
city is the uncivilized, the uncouth, the barbaric "whilst inside
flowered the great cultures of human history". (Jones, 1966,p.1.).
The Latin term 'civitas' depicting this latter connotation started
its life under Roman influence being used to describe the district
of administration. A later usage depicts a diocese in which the
christian bishopric was sited and in France this nucleus became the
cité. In French 'civitas' denotes ville, in German stadt and in
English town (Dickenson,1967,p.15). However, there is a more subtle
and far-reaching implication when we look at the development of
civilization in the West. This concerns the institutional organ-
isation of public and private life, together with the socio-psychol-
ogical transformation of these issues and the arrangements made for
them by legislators and politicians.

Whilst the foregoing remarks about civilization make refer-
ence to a form of social organisation and an administrative unit
it is also necessary to look more specifically at the issues behind
this socio-spatial process. Following Elias (1978) I want to sug-
gest that the word civilization is particularly Western in origin
and therefore displays a tendency to be rooted in the political
structures of Western society. Increasingly the concept came to
reflect the identities of particular nation states and usually
implied a degree of imputed superiority in moral and/or aesthetic
matters.

The fusion of a national consciousness with a society is by no
means a simple determinant of civilization. Indeed, as Elias points

out whilst civilization bears an approximation to both French and

English society it does not carry the same connotation in German:

> For the former, the concept sums up in a single
> term their pride in the significance of their own
> nation for the progress of the West and of mankind.
> But in German usage, civilization means something
> which is indeed useful, but nevertheless only a
> value of second rank, comprising only the outer
> appearance of human beings, the surface of human
> existence. The word through which Germans interpret
> themselves, which more than any other expresses their
> pride in their own achievement and their own being,
> is Kultur. (1978,p.4.)

Civilization in French and English is evocative of national

pride whereas the Germans tend to use Kultur to express this fact.

Nevertheless the French and English connotations tend to refer to

attitudes and behaviour whereas the German Kiltur tends to refer to

human products. However, common to all definitions is a (linguistic)

usage which displays principles of motion, or progress and appears

to imply cultural superiority.

Civility, on the other hand, acquired its particular meaning

in the sixteenth century when the age of chivalry and the Roman

Catholic church were disintegrating. The concept appeared as "the

incarnation of a society" at a "specific stage in the formation of

Western manners of 'civilization' " (ibid.p.43). Whereas civil-

ization implies national pride, civility is a reflexive attitude on

the part of the individual since it links both a self-image and

national identity. As such the concept links, analytically, the

individual to the images permeating society. Whilst the history of

the term is intriguing and dates from a treatise by Erasmus of

Rotterdam in 1530 - De civilitate morum puerilium - it is sufficient

to note that the term was taken up in Western Europe generally and

has come to reflect a series of expectations and demands in terms

of manners and gestures incivil society.

As I have already noted, the industrial revolution transformed

the economic and social bases of order and transferred economic
and political power to the bourgeoisie. The transformation evoked
a change in public order to the extent that both time and spatial
order became increasingly important components in defining the para-
meters of civilization and civility. And perhaps the most important
implication - certainly by the end of the nineteenth century - in-
volved a change from "the dominance of appearential ordering to the
dominance of spatial ordering" (Lofland,1973,p.56).

The relevance of what people do and, indeed, where they do it,
has become a persistant theme in the development of Western culture
generally. And since Western civilization is centred on its cities
"Western people have come to judge their collective progress and
well-being not only by their material and cultural accomplishments
but by the civility and security of urban life" (Gurr et.al.,1977.
p.3.). As civility depended increasingly on a sense of time,
space and security public roles come to rest proportionally on the
development of order and control in the city. Consequently, the
city became a highly discrete setting in which clearly defined
rules of public order became paramount.

Civil society thus implies a community of city-bred people.
It implies the secular and temporal as well as laws and customs
relating to social relationships among citizens. Furthermore whilst
we now tend to equate civility with the public displays of manners;
of courtesy, dignity, deference, self-respect etc., the process by
which such components of civil society were generated involved
paternalistic social crusades by members of the middle class. The
civilizing missions engendered by civic reform took place by either
outright suppression or evangelical crusades (see Storch,1977). But
it was also clear that these very reformist practices embodied
images of society which ossilated between the civility of middle-

class elites and the deprecated activities of the working-class.

One commentator on Newcastle life saw the activities of that class

as nothing short of vice:

> Working men will lie to their wives as to the
> amount of their wages: they will deliberately
> stint the food of their children so that they
> may gratify their depraved appetites for betting

(Harvey, 1890).

The attempt to deal with these issues, then, encouraged a

preoccupation with the structure, design and administration of

social space so much so that the city became an artifact of civ-

ilization and modern society. By the twentieth century the pre-

vailing view of the industrial city was embedded with the belief

that "the citizens of the 'good city' are as orderly as its muni-

cipal parks and public buildings" (Gurr et.al., 1977). The

determinism obviously exhibited by such a view, whilst recently

shaken by what Gurr et.al., have called a "renaissance of dis-

order" became a specific formula for twentieth century recon-

struction.

Constructing Public Order : The City as Artifact.

> We must create the mass production spirit.
> The spirit of constructing mass production houses.
> The spirit of living in mass production houses.
> The spirit of conceiving mass production houses.
> If we eliminate from our hearts and minds all dead
> concepts in regard to the houses and look at the question
> from a critical and objective point of view, we shall
> arrive at the "House-Machine", the mass-production house,
> healthy (and morally so too) and beautiful in the same way
> that the working tools and instruments which accompany
> our existence are beautiful.
> (Le Corbusier)

The fact that public health became an issue with both moral

and economic importance in the nineteenth century stimulated environ-

mental improvements. But because local authorities, as well as

individuals, began to think about the issues of public health and

public order in a related way the very idea of control became

embedded in the logic of environmental management.

By the end of the nineteenth century designers were already
beginning to think in terms of the controlled environment. Environ-
mental management, in the sense, implied only the construction and
regulation of technological components in a functional sense. The
scope of such organisational endeavours was, however, applicable
only in terms of the single building (Banham,1973). More curiously,
design and technology combined to eliminate a Victorian obsession
with public order and personal hygene. This point, although subtle,
should not be underestimated as Banham points out :

> The preoccupation with body odours may strike
> modern readers as a trifle obsessive and
> neurotic, but so general and emphatic was the
> apparent nasal evidence on this subject that
> the belief in an organic poison...is under-
> standable...   (1973,p.43).

Banham's point then is chiefly that a "new kit of mechanical devices"
for environmental management existed by 1900.

The changes which occurred from this time onwards have had
a much more profound effect on the lives of every urban dweller.
The history of the twentieth century, in fact, represents the most
remarkable attempt to construct an ideal civilization. The logic
behind this process was the product of, what became known as, the
International Style of Modern Architecture and their utopian dreams
for the city of the future.

More than any other writers this century, both Huxley and
Orwell have provided a negative vision - albeit fictional and sat-
irical - of the totalitarian morality implicit in schemes of scien-
tific and technological determinism. The morality of art was,
for Huxley, embedded in the rules of ethics which permeated the
scientific and unmediated technology of the new age, both of which
enslaved man. To live in the Brave New World was to live in the

hermetic environment. Man was not simply enslaved by this world, he had to "adapt", to its constraints and systemic logic.

To escape from this technological nightmare was possible but in order to maintain sanity, one would need to find spiritual awareness in religion. Thus, it is clear that Huxley juxtaposes the technopolis with the search for the truely human and individual self indicative of those who rebelled from the hermetic atmosphere.

By contrast Orwell's "1984" reflected the corrupt power of the regime to determine the social act. Human volition was limited and exemplified by the story of the man and the girl who rebel and, as with Huxley's, they stand as metaphors to reveal the power of authority, conformity and coercion. Here individuality is suppressed, thought and love are punished and privacy is impossible. On the other hand, the society presented by Orwell discards historical records and propaganda replaces information. Finally, whilst Big Brother represents Stalin it might well have been indicative of the modern bureaucrat and his "neutral" goals of technocracy.

The insights of these authors are not linked to fiction (indeed, the act of authorship was a serious pedogogic attempt to invoke their objections). They were, themselves, reflections of (or they felt they were) a social malaise and as such should be seen as symtomatic of practical attempts to restructure the social world with the single crusade of unmitigated progress of science and technology.

Environmental Management.

Control of the urban environment as a whole was being realized late in the nineteenth century. But it was particularly the influence of social Darwinism which precipitated the idea that

man was largely determined by his environment. (Sutcliffe, 1981, pp.55-56).

One of the most profound concerns of this century was that of the moral and political nature of man and his place in mass society. But nowhere was this more apparent than in architecture and town planning.

The inspiration for architecture arose both from science fiction fantasies, based on the new age of science and technology, and from the ideological desire to change the world by bringing it up to date in a rational, scientific way.

The result of the union of ideas - the International Style- was embedded with an ideology which sought to transcend stylistic aesthetics by basing its claim to interpret the world on objective truth. Three things then become apparent in the following analysis of architecture and planning all of which have had implications for the modern world : the first is objective truth; the second is an implicit historicism in method; and the third is a vision of the new man and his place in the new society.

The attainment of objective thought and rationalistic language was intended to give architecture the status of scientific truth. Hence the language of architecture had to be seen as truthful inter-pretation based upon rational scientific logic. It is however one thing to apply rational thought to a subject but quite another to deny the architect's act as a stylistic rendition. This in fact represented the charm and attractiveness of the International Style. In fact its neutrality of interpretation cannot be sustained given its status as a stylistic enterprise. In his reference to Macleod's criticism of the International Style Watkin argues the following point :

Historians and theorists have ignored that, whatever

else it may do, architecture cannot escape involvement
with image-making. Instead, they have been searching
'for an ideological base which would remove architec-
ture once and for all from the arena of style and fashion'
a base from which they could propose ruthlessly
rationalistic and collectivist solutions to 'the whole
question of the relationships of the total environment
to community need'   (Watkin, 1977, p.13).

The historicism implicit in the new architecture borders on

neo-Hegelianism (for example Viz Lethaby, Mies van der Rohe, Giedion)

and at times on a crude materialism (displayed by the writings of

Sir Herbert Read and Anthony Blunt and by the architectural ideas

of, for example, Le Corbusier and Bruno Tant). The themes of this

historicism - the collectivist notions of "Volksgiest' and the un-

folding of what Popper has called the historical plot - are the

basis of holistic theoreticism and the essence of the machine

aesthetic.

The most perverse implication of the historicist programme,

therefore, appertains to the role of the architect as the "neutral"

interpreter of the "needs" of society. It is this very fact alone

which characterises the "one dimensional" and undemocratic nature

of their programme.

Finally, given these basic tenets of architectural philosophy

the doctrine of modernity suggested by the International Style is

steeped in a vision of enforced civility typified by the new man in

society - the 'cause celibre' of the social revolution.

A new conception of civilization, then, is embedded in these

three themes - a fact which invariably meant that both the aesthetics

and planning of the Brave New World carried connotations of morality

founded upon the rationalist spirit of positive ideology.

The social engineers "par excellence" of the twentieth century

were undoubtedly the architects and planners. Driven by a pro-

nounced desire to achieve order in urban space they set about planning

the ideal city and the democratic utopia of the future. History
and tradition would end with the modern city since it would be a
clearly thought-out expression of the power and beauty of modern
technology enhancing the most enlightened ideas of social justice
(Fishman,1977,p.3).

The co-ordination of these ideas invariably meant that the
city was thought of as a total unit of social space reflecting the
spirit of the age. The city became artifact. As Robert Hughes has
argued :

> The home of the utopian impulse was architecture
> rather than painting or sculpture. Painting can make
> us happy but building is the art we live in; it is the
> social art par excellence, the carapace of political
> fantasy, the exoskeleton of one's economic dreams.
> It is the one art nobody can escape.
> (Hughes, 1980).

Both the aesthetic dimension and planning component reflect
new principles of civilizing social space by providing functional
settings not only for work and living but also for play. The city
as the art form we live in was the brain-child of the modern move-
ment in architecture whose practitioners held a lofty vision of
architecture as the embodiment of social reform; the city as arti-
fact was to represent civilization by being a process of structural
art which reflected the new dimensions of industrial society

The new dream of rational environments was, at first, nothing
but a science fiction fantasy. These idealist radicals, however,
were no mere dilettantes but were themselves provoked into a rej-
ection of the injustices of industrial capitalism and, of course,
the inchoate confusion of the nineteenth century industrial city.
Men like Sant Elia and Marinetti proclaimed their commitment
(architectural determinism) in the Futurist Manifesto of Archi-
tecture of 1914. Their concept of the Futurist city (la Citta Nnova)

was nothing short of total reconstruction. In relegating present cities to history Marinetti urged that the cities of the future would rise in towers of "concrete, glass and iron, without painting and without sculpture, enriched solely by the innate beauty of its lines and projections, extremely 'ugly' in its mechanical simplicity... on the edge of a tumultuous abyss" (Hughes,1980).

In contrast to the paper ideals of the Futurists, Ebenezer Howard also proposed an alternative to the evils of the urban environment. To Howard, his idea of the Garden City represented escape from pollution and misery. In 1903, the first Garden City scheme began at Letchworth. Although one side of the Garden City idea represented an expression against the city as a source of corruption and evil, the other side represented a clear advocacy of communality in the attempt to reduce social isolation within a potentially anonymous urban structure. Thus the very concept of the Garden City was imbued with a belief in "this joyous union" of "town and country" to produce a "rustic health and sanity and activity of urban knowledge, urban technical facility and urban political co-operation" (Howard, 1965).

A more radical approach to rationalist planning was presented by Tony Garnier in his idea of the "Cité Industrielle" 1904. Garnier questioned the uses of the city and proposed that it could be classified into four component functions : it is a place for living in; a place for working in; a place of leisure; and finally, a system of transportation servicing the first three functions. Garnier's perceptivness meant that he proposed a solution to the muddle of the nineteenth century where the various functions became entangled. He therefore advocated the clear, precise separation of these functions and their uses in the city. Cities, he argued, should therefore be planned according to their

four functions. They should be zoned in terms of residence, factory, and places of leisure or entertainment. The coincidence of Garnier's ideas with other radical approaches and new building materials proved influential in designing a new morality.

The aesthetics of the machine were to provide the most important stimulus by standing as a metaphor for democracy. As Louis Henry Sullivan said "with me architecture is not an art but a religion, and that religion but part of democracy". Moreover, Modernism came to reject decoration since it represented an overt symbol of equality. Consequently, the art of the environment became a display of "geometry" and "poetic rhythms" encompassing functional architectural systems.

The aesthetics of the machine, as an instrument of democracy and an example of Utopian idealism, is nowhere more apparent than in the first manifesto of the Bauhaus which proclaimed :

> Let us create a new guild of craftsmen, without
> the class distinctions which raise an arrogant
> barrier between craftsmen and artists. Together
> let us conceive and build a new structure of
> the future, which will embrace architecture and
> sculpture and painting in one unity and which will
> rise one day toward heaven from the hands of a
> million workers like the crystal symbol of a new
> faith
>   (Bayer et.al., (1935) 1975,p.16.).

It was, however, the conflation of the machine aesthetic and new materials such as metal, concrete, and glass which provided the symbolic language of the International Style. Moral importance was brought to design through the applications of a language of reason and objectivity. Thus, whilst metal and concrete provided the rational, geometric, shape of the environment it was sheet glass which, by representing the opposite to stone and brick and therefore carried connotations of lightness, transparency and structural daring, became "the supreme Utopian material". It became, in the

words of Hughes the essence of the skyscraper and thus the essence
of the city.

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, who is accredited with the title
of the chief architect of glass, saw in his designs a morality
and salvation echoed by the idea of the building as a 'pure prism"
(Hughes,1980). However, a more perverse side to the theoretic
morality of the Modernist architect was encapsulated in the words
of Mies :

> The individual is losing significance; his
> destiny is no longer what interests us   (ibid.)

The socially deterministic flavour of Mies' statements and the
political morality underlying them is characteristic of the Hegelian
spirit. Thus the collectivist impulse reflected somewhat myster-
iously, "the will of an epoch translated into space; living,
changing, new" (Watkin, 1977.p.37).

Whilst the moral importance of certain buildings was be-
coming apparent by the end of the nineteenth century it was the new
symbolic language of twentieth century buildings which was partly
responsible for the transformations in social space and public
roles. An example of this new public geography is provided by
Chaney in his discussion of the genesis of the department store :
"The building itself was therefore a crucial element in the
cultural impact of the department store" in the sense that they had
"the same sort of cultural resonance as railway stations and other
festival sites, such as fairs, exhibitions and sports stadia"
(Chaney,1983,p.25). As far as the transformation in social space
was concerned department stores changed the importance of the city
centre, "from being a place where population was at its densest
with necessary ancillary services, to a commercial and entertain-
ment centre surrounded by pockets of population" (ibid.)

As for public roles, "the physical demands of the department store therefore constitute a stage upon which a new dramaturgy of social and economic relationships can be developed and articulated" (ibid., p.27). It would be quite wrong, of course, to assume that there is a sort of simple physical determinism between the arrangement of social space and forms of social interaction. However, when the importance of economic consumerism is considered the deliberate arrangement of social space has the effect of changing the public roles from a process of barter to a form of interaction where the public are characterised as "rational" consumers competing in a free market. In this sense, one form of ritual interchange has been replaced by a public exchange marked by passivity on the part of the purchaser.

One of the most provocative implications for the modern city, caused by the desire to control the environment and to create order and predictability in human exchanges, was the transformation of the business and living zones from a horizontal axis to a vertical one. In order to compliment the increase in density the buildings of the city were to be offset by public spaces functionally designed to encourage social encounters. This, in retrospect, is the most paradoxical of all functionalist theory. Thus, one of the biggest philosophical and ideological aspects of Modernism was echoed in the didactic postulate that "rational design would make rational societies". In short, the architectural theorists of the International Style inbued their rationalist architecture with a pedagogic code. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the work of Le Corbusier.

The most overt expression of the new age of environmental technology was Le Corbusier's dictum that "the house is a machine for living in". Architecture was therefore characterized by an

explicit code equating environment with the moral and physical
health of its occupants. Privacy was linked to his conception
of the hermetic environment when he claimed a preference for mech-
anically produced music which enabled you "to avoid catching cold
in the concert hall" (Le Corbusier, 1970,p.115).

In this, his first book, he laid down three pedagogic rules
to architects pertaining to mass, surface and the plan. As for the
first, he argued that architects were no longer designing forms with
simplistic elegance and consequently they were becoming semiotic
contradictions since our eyes are constructed to enable us to see
primary forms in light which are, therefore perceptively beautiful.
The second was an instruction to observe the geometric "plastic
facts" of engineering. The third represented his appeal for order;
"without a plan, you have lack of order (ibid.p.8.).

The concept of the total planned, functional, environment
was the product of Le Corbusier. He was heir to the combined revol-
utions in art and science of the first twenty years of the twentieth
century. His talents represented a cross-fertilization of many
movements : he was an avant-garde post Cubist painter in the style
of Piccaso and Braque, stimulated by the visionery poetry of Ital-
ian Futurism and its machine aesthetic thus fascinated by the images
of cars, aeroplanes, and ocean liners. But, it was as an architect
that Le Corbusier manipulated the ideas of others into a grand plan
and his blue-print for society.

It seems apparent that Le Corbusier's claim was that the arch-
itect is the artistic organiser of perception whose aesthetic is
secondary only to the engineer :

> The Engineer's Aesthetic and Architecture - two
> things that march together and follow one from the
> other - the one at its full height, the other in an
> unhappy state of retrogression.
> The Engineer, inspired by the law of economy and

governed by mathematical calculation, puts us in
accord with universal law. He achieves harmony.
   The Architect, by his arrangement of forms,
realizes on order which is a pure creation of his spirit;
by forms and shapes he affects our senses to an acute
degree, and provides plastic emotions;
by the relationships which he creates he wakens in us
profound echoes, he gives us the measure of an order
which we feel to be in accordance with that of our
world, he determines the various movements of our
heart and our understanding; it is then that we
experience the sense of beauty (ibid.p.16).

To Le Corbusier, then, as the tool was an expression of pro-
gress architecture likewise, by affecting our senses and provoking
"plastic" emotions, was to become a symbol of a technological
morality in the shape of civilization.

Whilst "Towards a New Architecture" represented the affirm-
ation of his three basis principles - mass, surface and plan - it
was basically a treatise on symbolic determinism with the archi-
tect as pedagog. By comparison, his second book, probably the most
influential this century - "The City of Tomorrow" was even more
revolutionary. Here he claimed that all the problems of the city
reflected the fact that men had to live in out-of-date cities.
Thus, in this second book, he argued that we must stop tinkering
with the city and rebuild it according to a revolutionary, logical
plan.

Taking and synthesizing the ideas of Garnier, Perret's,
Sant Elia and Ebenezer Howard Le Corbusier unveiled his plans for
a city of three million inhabitants.

By taking Garnier's ideas of the functional plan he theoret-
ically reconstructed society by imposing a rigid and logical order
of public space. The City of Tomorrow spelled out Le Corbusier's
overwhelming concern with order and his conception of the hermetic
environment. Social rationalization was the implicit keyword.

Taking the idea of functionalism to its extreme Le Corbusier's

idea of the city specified the need to divide it up into six component parts : firstly, the centre of the city should consist of gigantic office blocks 700 feet high each with room for up to 50,000 office workers; secondly, a geometric transport grid of railways and elevated motorways with a landing strip for aircraft; thirdly, the residential zone set in open space should be rigidly separated from the other zones. This would consist of a series of municipal slab - block flats. This is probably his most radical proposal designed to eradicate the corridor street. The removal of the street, symptomatic of his technocratic philosophy, was an idea which theoretically sought the liberation of man but which, nevertheless, had authoritarian overtones. The city was therefore conceived as a functional whole and people, likewise, were to find their social practices and activities confined to specific functions. Thus as a compliment to the residential zone people were to take their leisure (the fourth function) in the public space and parks surrounding them. Fifthly, the purification of the city was to be achieved by extricating the polluted industrial site and placing it in special industrial zones on the periphery of the city. Finally, beyond the periphery there was to be a ring of new towns.

This was more than architecture. It represented Le Corbusier's vision of a new kind of society where a bureaucratic modernism stood for principles of liberty and democracy. In practice, such socially deterministic architecture sought to create a new type of civilization :

> We must create the mass production spirit, the
> spirit not just of constructing mass production
> houses but the spirit of living in mass production
> houses.   (Le Corbusier, 1970, p.210).

In practice, the environments created by the 1960's reflected a new society where architecture and planning combined and together

with profit maximization and political corruption produced the "poor man's versions of the 'anomie de luxe' (Hughes,1980).

In the work of Le Corbusier we can see how the themes of morality, aesthetics and planning merge together to create a political universe in the city of the second machine age.

It was true that a large part of his work was a synthesis of other people's ideas. But it was the way he synthesized these ideas and thereby made morally coherent statements, or pronouncements, about the future and gleaned from his own syndicalist background a political fervour which consciously planned the "Brave New World" in terms of public and private spheres.

His view of architecture, made apparent in, la Ville Raduese, designated the role of the architect as technocrat of the new order a fact which was, incidentally, borne out of his disenchantment and criticism of the old bourgeois order and its failure to control the economic sphere).

His technocracy was, therefore, predicated upon the fact that his vision of the second machine age - which contraposed harmony, liberation, and the collective conscience with that of greed, ugliness, conflict and oppression - was to be the new controlled utopia with the central plan replacing politics (i.e. pluralistic party politics). It is evident then that his own personal preoccupation with authoritarianism and his disenchantment with liberal democracy imbued his architecture with a supreme vision of technocratic splendour.

Invariably, this fact meant that he rejected the autonomy of individuals and their ability to create a stable social order. In this sense he was the very apotheosis of authoritarianism and the antithisis of more democratic architects like Frank Lloyd Wright and Ebenezer Howard who put their trust in the capacity of individuals

to make decisions and in the vitality of small scale co-operation.

Suspicious of the possibility of personal autonomy : "He shared Plato's belief that social order must depend upon truth, not the shifting will of the majority", and for Le Corbusier "This 'truth' lay in the structure and functions which the machine age imposes on all industrial societies" (Fishman,1977,p.238).

Le Corbusier's architecture was, then, architecture of the private and public. The cities of the future were to be rationally planned and ordered so that a society would possess the attribute of a collective conscience. His public places therefore supposedly represent arenas for participation and social union. As functional spaces they reflect the division of social life into compartmentally composed units of action.

Liberty, conversely, rested not in the possibility of spontaneous, negotiable social contacts but on the private sphere of life. Thus his endorsement of liberty although functional was relegated to the intimate and personal region of social life.

All the various plans for an urban utopia in the twentieth century rested on the claim to purify the old civilization of the nineteenth century. But as Le Corbusier, in particular, became a much emulated exponent of the cleansing of older industrial cities his version of rational planning was autocratic. The social engineering indicative of such a scheme made the planner the autocrat responsible for the development of society - a myth which presupposes that the planner can be a neutral agent of social order planning for the good of humanity.

FIG 1

PLANNING : The Newcastle Connection.
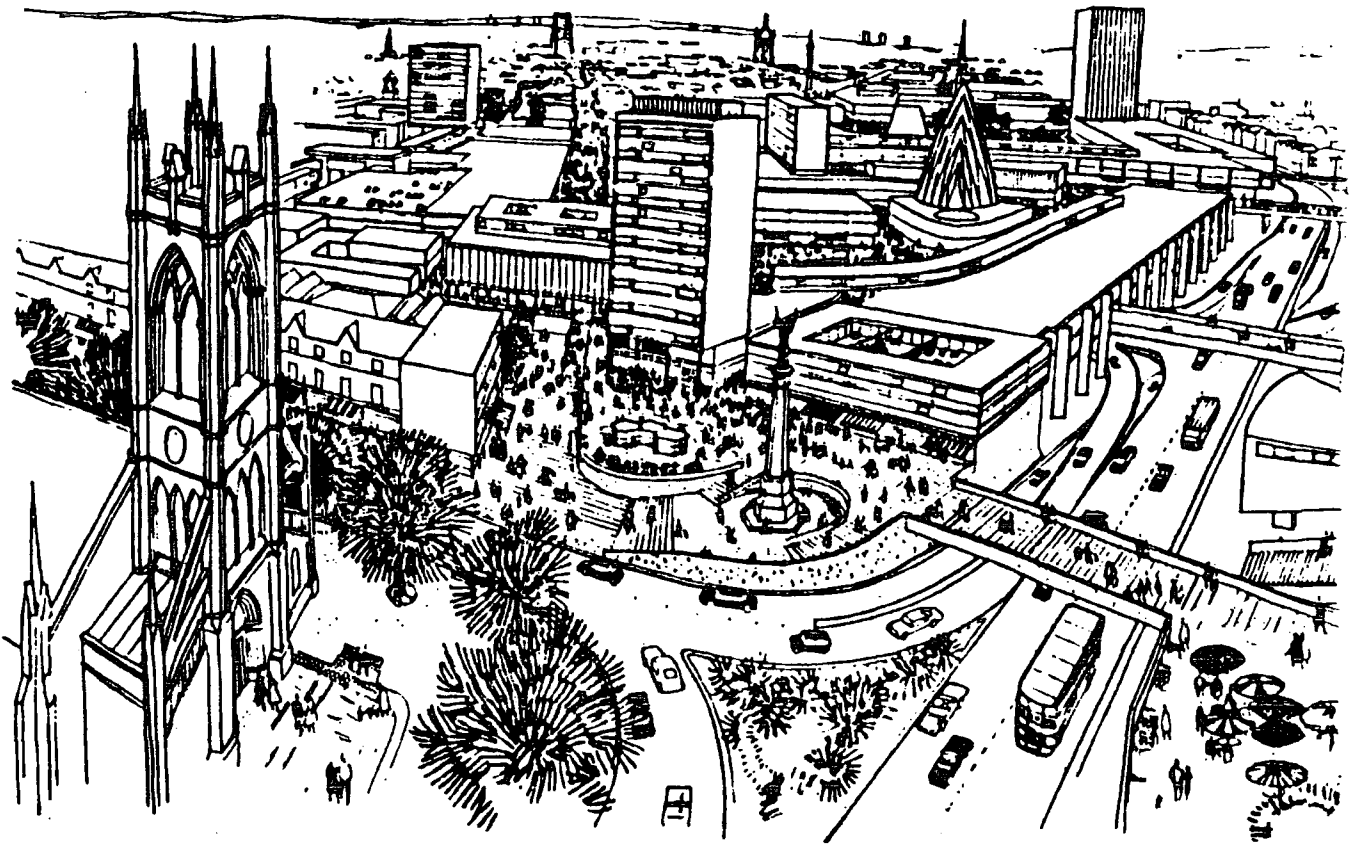
THE FUTURISTIC PLAN OF NEWCASTLE CITY CENTRE.

On the morning of Wednesday April 12th,1961, Major Yuri Gargarin became the first man to successfully complete an orbit of space : around the world in 108 minutes.

Locally the entry into the space age was co-ordinated with another important event and billed by the Evening Chronicle as "News of space age Newcastle". The reference was to a plan for the redevelopment of the city centre by Wilfred Burns the new City Planning Officer.

Source : Civic News, May, 1967.

The plan unveiled by Burns represented one of the most am-
bitious redevelopment projects in Britain and reflected political
and humanitarian ambitions to restructure local society aesthet-
ically, culturally, and morally. Whilst the chief architect was
Burns the 'dramatis persona' were the members of the Town Planning
Committee and particularly Mr. T. Dan Smith, one time leader of the
Council and chairman of the committee. Alas, as the history of
this once local dignatory, at least, has shown, somehow aspirations
pertaining to a new form of democratic civilization were over-
taken by personal avarice thus corrupting the very ideals of a new
society. Hence, the chances of the most profound change in social
terms this century were made politically unworkable.

The vision encapsulated by post-war reconstruction was that
of a people's democracy. With this spirit in mind the government
appointed W.S. Morrison as the first Minister of Town and Country
Planning with the intention of invoking the Le Corbusian influenced
vision encapsulated in the Abercrombie report. Consequently, greater
powers were given to the planners.

The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 called into being
a whole new profession of local authority planners. The new muni-
cipal powers to plan created by the Labour government was founded
on the idea that no one would ever again make money out of property
development. Later, in the 1960's, Sir Keith Joseph's "twilight
areas", which sought the political extinction of low rise buildings
and Harold Wilson's concept of housing and social purpose reflected
the Le Corbusier vision epitomised by Wilson's phrase : "the white
heat of technology".

By the late 1960's however, the vision of a people's democ-
racy became stifled by an unholy alliance of planners, property
developers and local politicians. The former whose legislative

Fig. 2:

THE FUNCTIONAL PLAN.

NOTATION

- Shopping
- Offices
- Warehousing
- Warehousing & Industry
- Civic
- Education
- University
- Government buildings
- Boundary of Central Area
- △ Car Parks
- Ⓑ Bus Stations
- Central Motorways
- Major Routes
- Pedestrian Routes
- Major Intersections
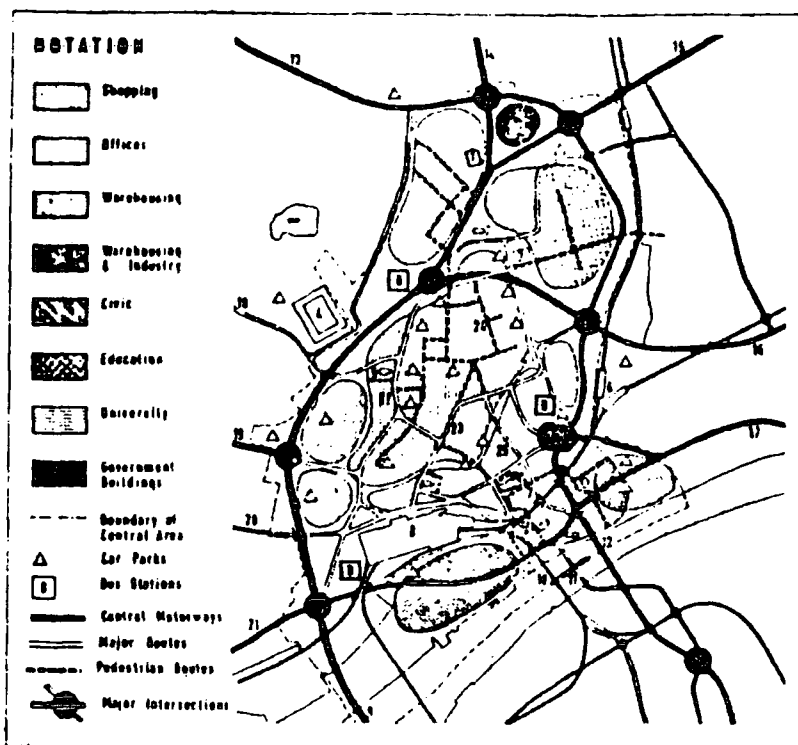
1 Hancock Museum, 2 St. Thomas' Church, 3 City Hall, 4 St. James's Park, 5 St. Andrew's Church, 6 Manors Station, 7 St. Nicholas Cathedral, 8 Central Station, 9 New Redheugh Bridge, 10 High Level Bridge, 11 Swing Bridge, 12 Tyne Bridge, 13 Claremont Road, 14 Great North Road, 15 Jesmond Road, 16 New Bridge Street, 17 City Road, 18 Barrack Road, 19 Westgate Road, 20 Westmorland Road, 21 Scotswood Road, 22 Newgate Street, 23 Grainger Street, 24 Northumberland Street, 25 Grey Street.

Newcastle's proposed composite structure of utility and pleasure. The whole area is seen as an organic unit of functional spaces : the proposed plan envisaged a redeveloped shopping centre, a system of traffic-free pedestrian routes served by underground and multi-story car parks, with the whole system enclosed by urban motorways.

Source : Civic News, May,1961

capacity was intended originally to keep a watchful eye over the property developers were coerced through rising land values to participate with the latter.

Nowhere was this more apparent than in Newcastle where T.Dan Smith's political and financial investment in the city re-development programme undermined his earlier socialist, utopian dreams. In 1963 he proclaimed that the ancient city of Newcastle was to be reborn. In his autobiography he proclaimed :

> I wanted to see the creation of a twentieth
> century equivalent of Dobson's masterpiece...
> (Smith,1970,p.46).

Elsewhere, he stated :

> we looked to Venice and Florence, to see what made
> them great .   (Ardagh, 1980,p.231).

His own personal ambitions and youthful idealism was artic-ulated in the renewed municipal competition between cities of prestige. Thus the process led Smith to compare Newcastle, not with its neighbour and traditional rival, Gateshead, but with Rome and Athens.

The equation of idealism with commercial swindles caused Newcastle to become not the "Brazillia of the Northern Hemis-phere" (Smith's most famous phrase) but a system of jerry built tower blocks and housing estates, surrounded by fantastic elevated concrete roadways. There are some impressive symbols, of course, like the shopping centre and the civic centre but the attempt to radically transform local society in terms of culture, residence, and social-communal institutions has failed.

Both figures 1 and 2 reflect the projection of Newcastle into a city of the twentieth and twentyfirst centuries. The 900 proposed major schemes celebrated by the Town Planning Committee in 1963 reflected "a change from the negative to the creative

approach to planning" (Alderman Butterfield, Development Plan

Review 1963 - see Civic News, May, 1967).

Unfortunately, the progress of the scheme was slowed down

due to, what the report called, "interminable delays" caused by the

"braking action of the time-consuming procedures involved in re-

development required under planning law, built-in to protect the

individual, but delaying improvements required for the general good"

(ibid).

More often than not, "planning" becomes the descriptive

epithet for the manipulation of political and bureaucratic power

which aims to act on behalf of local people but which, in reality,

seeks to adminster the environment in accordance with preconceptions

about communities, ghetto's, and individuals.

The ethos of urban managerialism is predicated upon the belief

that "technologically oriented research can devise cheap tech-

nological fixes which will short-cut the solution of social prob-

lems without having first to solve the infinitely more difficult

problems of strongly motivating people" (Nieberg (par Weinberg)

1969, p.211).

The tech-fixers are the pragmatic exponents of pseudo-

scientifically oriented philosophical goals. Yet paradoxically,

whilst espousing neutrality and rejecting ideology they invoke the

aura of the innocent professional servicing the good of mankind.

The most profound indictment of planners is that of their

technocratic ability to treat the city (as well as those in it)

as an abstraction. In a perceptive rendition of this point Nieberg

claims that :

> In its approach to urban problems, the tech-fix
> mentality grinds out predictable schemes, concentrating
> on physical materials, architecture, spacing, auto-
> mobiles and highways, computerized analysis and
> controls. In doing so, it ignores the troublesome
> human dimension : systematizing abstractions rather

> than living groups, individuals, and neighbourhoods;
> converting face-to-face services into hardware and
> 'black boxes' ; inventing new ways by which govern-
> ment can increase subsidies for maintaining and con-
> taining slums; offering more and more research as a
> surrogate for action research programmes; emphasizing
> manipulation by the old Establishment rather than
> participation and self-determination by emerging
> minorities.   (1969,p.221).

The very apotheosis of the technological imperative was advanced and symbolized by the adventurous Newcastle of the 1960's. Planning as professional ideology became a specialism 'par excellance' of that city which sought to create The Brave New World. Planning emerged with a capital P (Cox,1977,p.151). Accordingly, the Newcastle of 1958 had nine planners attached to the city engineers department who dealt mainly with development and control. But in 1966 there were 83 planners in a totally independent Planning Department (ibid.).

Planning as a profession, according to Cox, sought "to produce by coercive means a more human urban environment" (ibid,p.56). Invariably, as an agency of public control it rested on an ideology which related the institutionalization of experience to the regulation of social order.

Such philosophy is undoubtedly infused with ideas from the visionary architects like Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius etc., in linking views of humanity in the scientific post-machine age with the organisation of the metropolis. But on a more pragmatic level it has tended to reinterpret a more conventional concern with public order. The Tyne Recreational Study of 1968, for example, has its moral precedent set by the Victorian concern with social amelioration. Thus it is argued that the need for recreation "fills the traditional goal of health, education, and community welfare." The report bases its findings on many contentious issues and consequently recreation comes to be linked

with, "qualities of wholesomeness", "social responsibility", and

more importantly, "the role of education". As a measure of social

control or amelioration, it seeks the containment of dysfunctional

aspects of human aggression but in doing so rests its arguments on

a behavioural and zoological equivalence :

> There seems to be considerable evidence, however,
> notably put forward by Lorenz with reference to
> the animal kingdom that aggression is a spontaneous
> and necessary quality and that, 'if an animal is
> denied aggressive activities which are natural and
> normal it will find some other means of releasing
> its pent-up aggression'
>   (Tyne Recreational Study VI. p.7).

Such accounts illustrate the link between the institutional-

isation of forms of experience and the desire to regulate city

life into manageable components. Even boredom is regarded as

"social malaise". In functional terms, then, the city is regarded

as a governmental unit - a space of territory in which the admin-

istration of social processes takes place.

One detects in such reports a confusion in theory as well

goals. The aura of science and value neutral claims to rationality

in practice are based upon bureaucratic organisation and profes-

sionalism. Ultimately, the centralization of specialist techniques,

personnel, language etc. means that the planner as a professional

commands relative autonomy in defining his role. He is able to

establish his own aura despite the fact that his profession is sub-

ject to changing values and fashions (Cox,1977,p.138).

Because British planning has been unable to organise itself

around a clear set of objectives and has been unable to formulate

criteria for objectively deciding upon the priorities of these (and,

together with its institutional alliance with property developers)

it climaxed in the 1960's with a good deal of hostile criticism.

The upsurge of community action groups and tenants associations etc.

which took initiatives against the juggernaut of unrestrained

planning together with the increasing problems of the inner cities

precipitated a trend in Action research in the attempt to realise

the objectives and priorities of inner city policy.

The dramatic realization of inner-city decay occurred in

the 1960's when the desired reconstruction of society had failed

to materialize. The problem of the city was basically a problem

of poverty, urban decay, culture and community. As one commen-

tator has pointed out:

> What happened to the inner-cities in the last two
> decades is the reverse of what happened to them in
> the nineteenth century. Then they were the first
> areas in the world to experience mass urbanisation.
> Since 1960, however, few cities have had to suffer
> larger - or more sudden - exoduses

(Dean : Guardian, 1.4.81).

The tower-blocks and urban buildings that replaced the older

slums and city landscape only exacerbated the problem by increasing

alienation and segregating members of local communities. This led

to Peter Shore's proclamation that Britain at last "has pensioned

off the bulldozer".

In 1967 the seriousness of the situation was realized when

Shore stated dramatically :

> If cities fail, so to a large extent does our society.
> That is the urgency of tackling the problem- and why
> it has to be of concern to everyone in this land

(Shore,17.9.76).

A previous Labour administration, ten years earlier, had

set up a series of programmes designed to combat "urban deprivation"

and in the process spent £80 million. Urban deprivation, as a

focus for action research had to be investigated. Thus, The Urban

Programme, Educational Priority Areas, C.D.P's, Inner Area Studies

and Quality of Life projects etc., were inaugurated all over the

country, "employing scores of people as the new professionals of

deprivation" (Guilding the Ghetto,1977).

Concern over the alienating aspects of the environment
for those less privileged groups invoked the themes of "citizen
involvement" and "participation" and consequently, resources were
redirected to the big cities_

> The typical inner city area in the 1970's was not
> just short of jobs or in need of large scale housing
> renovations. Deprivation and dereliction penetrated
> into every aspect of cummunity life : empty shops,
> empty hospitals, empty townhalls as well as derelict
> sites, bad air, poor schools, poor people. The
> exodus which began in the 1960's meant the better
> off - and the better qualified - had moved out leaving
> behind disproportionate numbers of unskilled workers
>
> (Dean,Guardian, 1.4.81).

Because of the advent of the attempt to revitalize the inner
cities and because of local criticism levelled at planners and their
bureaucratic incompetence (see for example, Davies, 1974 and Dennis,
1970) an Action Research programme was initiated in Newcastle en-
titled Priority Area Programme or Stress Programme.

The preconditions surrounding the initiation of the pro-
gramme were succinctly adduced by Davies when discussing the decay-
ing twilight area of Rye Hill and the Civic Centre responsible
for its administration :

> Their confrontation in the context of a planning
> scheme to revitalize the area epitomizes the mis-
> match of perceptions and values inherent in the
> interaction of citizens and officials, for whom the
> notion of public participation carries divergent and
> irreconcilable meanings .
> (Davies, 1974.)

The Priority Area Programme had twin objectives, both of
which were pursued vigorously by the local Labour Party which
sought their implementation. The first was devolution in the
management of local affairs and the second was the attempt to
redress the problem of traditional bureaucratic planning - the
misunderstanding of goals and the sorting out of priorities.

The Distribution of Economic Stress

Newcastle - Upon - Tyne

Above average economic status

Average economic status

Below average economic status

Poorest economic status

1 SCOTSWOOD
2 WINGROVE
3 ELSWICK
4 JESMOND
5 HEATON
6 SANDYFORD
7 WALKERGATE
8 ST. LAWRENCE
9 ST. ANTHONYS

CASTLE WARD No1

GOSFORTH No2

GOSFORTH No1

DENE

WOOLSINGTON

FAWDON

KENTON

MOORSIDE

BLAKELAW

WESTERHOPE

DENTON

FENHAM

NEWBURN

BENWELL WEST CITY

EAST CITY

WALKER

RIVER TYNE

Fig.3: Source:Harrap et al.

Both of these objectives were quickly operationalized.

In 1975 restrictions in public expenditure led to the Council

to adopting the following strategy in its Budget Review :

"to give priority to the people in greatest need" .

Invariably this implied a commitment to positive discrim-

ination in favour of social priority areas. Consequently, the city

was divided into areas according to the economic status of inhab-

itants and priority was given to their needs. Fig.3.

Yet despite large amounts of cash - £500,000 paid to volun-

tary organisations in 1976/1977 and a further £132,210 in July 1977 -

and the involvement of 127 groups city-wide research carried out

by Local Authority itself indicated that :

> Despite the indications of considerable public
> involvement in the Priority Areas Programme, there
> is little evidence of mass popular participation in
> the scheme

(Harrop et.al. 1978).

The design and organisation of the city in the twentieth

century is fundamentally a matter of municipal policy. Both the

aesthetic dimension and the planning component reflect new prin-

ciples of humanising public space by providing functional set-

tings not only for work and living but also for play. The latter

is illustrated by the functionalist architecture of theatres and

cinemas which became a stylistic convention for arenas of pleasure

which were also strategically placed.

For example :

> One or two firms, which consistantly adopted modern
> styles in the inter - war years, also built in
> conspicuous places and frequently altered the
> appearance of towns by taking over important corner
> sites and clothing them with such surfaces as
> shining black marble inset with green neon tube-
> lighting .

(E.Johns,1965,p.163).

City aesthetics have been heavily influenced by the Modern

Movement in architecture since at the beginning of the century its practitioners held a vision of architecture which embodied a movement of social reform. It was a process of structural art which reflected the new dimensions of an industrial society. The aesthetic metaphors of the movement were those of the machine age which influenced all aspects of the arts by the 1930's. The paradigm of design which it set, although later diffused, contained a very clear philosophy of society and the movement drew together diverse theoretical visions epitomozed in the work of such thinkers as Darwin, Marx and Freud. However, the unifying notion of social man is evident : man is biologically, socially, even spiritually, a product of his environment. Man could be changed for the better, they argued, by changing the environment and consequently the structure of society, hence LeCorbusier's dictum that, "We must create the spirit of living in mass-produced houses".

The significance of the International Style lay in its self-conceived cabalistic importance. It developed into a priesthood of esoteric experts who knew best what the workers wanted and how they would come eventually to understand the architectural aesthetic through "re-education". Indeed, there was not much point in consulting the working class occupants at all since, as Gropius - the "Silver Prince" himself - had pointed out, they were "intellectually undeveloped" (Wolfe, 1982,p.32).

If the new architects were to be the engineers of man's soul then various projects of workers' housing had to be designed for them, and their reception in America as the Gurus of the moral aesthetic ensured that they were adequately funded. But the best known example of this planning "from above" without reference to the needs and culture of the inhabitants was the Pruitt-Igoe worker housing project designed by Minan Yamasaki, and built in 1955.

Designed with the classical Corbusier vision of high density style

the scheme failed to attract the workers - those with jobs that is.

Instead, as Wolfe pointed out, Pruitt-Igoe filled up with migrants

from the rural South who had been used to a population density of

"fifteen to twenty folks per square mile" and "where one rarely got

more than ten feet off the ground except when climbing a tree" (ibid .

p.81). Such schemes increased the process of segregation in cities

since "respectable folk" pulled out leaving those without the means

to do so stuck in their concrete boxes.

The failure of Pruitt-Igoe is well documented but Wolfe's

version is the most entertaining :

> In 1971, the final task force called a general
> meeting of everyone still living in the project.
> They asked the residents for their suggestions.
> It was a historic moment for two reasons. One,
> for the first time in the fifty year history of
> worker housing, someone had finally asked the
> client for his two cents worth. Two, the chant.
> The chant began immediately : "Blow it....up"
> "...the next day the task force thought it over.
> The poor buggers were right. It was the only
> solution. In July 1972, the city blew up the
> three central blocks of Pruitt-Igoe with
> dynamite.
>
> (ibid.pp.81-2).

The failure of the movement reflected the naivety of its

philosophy. What emerged in view of the need to control the

increasingly confused social conglomeration was the very opposite

to a unified planning of the urban environment. Thus the increas-

ing abstraction of form, "left open the question of responsibility

for the appearance of the city" (Gutheim,1970,p.116).

The natural result has become a dilettantism in style :

Fortress, New Brutalism, Systems, Heritage, Looking Glass Walls etc.,

have come to reflect a confused picture of the city as a piece of

artwork. Nevertheless, the result was that for most of the twen-

tieth century the city was seen as an abstract artwork emenable to

technological imperatives designed from above. What emerged was
a new, and complementory form of professional managerialism - cor-
porate planning.

Accordingly the city of the industrial age took its form not
from the innocent application of design linked to social need but,
"...from the market; private transactions in land, the needs of
manufacturing, the freedom of enterprises, and the raucous voices
of sellers which pursued men wherever they went." (ibid.).

The most abhorant fallacy in the name of democracy this cen-
tury was the belief that the physical environment would determine
the culture and behaviour of its inhabitants. As a result of this
thinking it was assumed that environmentally based professional
planning policies could provide the principles of a new harmonious,
past machine age, civilization which would induce the appropriate
civility from the population. The 1970's, however, witnessed the
political re-appraisal and public disenchantment of the "new society"
since old communities had been destroyed and poorly thought-out
schemes for rebuilding the cities had created feelings of anomie
and social alienantion. In Newcastle, Dan Smith's dream of the
"Brazillia of the Northern Hemisphere" transformed not only the
urban landscape but a whole series of social relationships which
became more formal, organised, and less intimate than hitherto.
Public order came to depend increasingly on rules of social inter-
action which were built into the physical space and structures of
the city.

CHAPTER FOUR.

THE ORGANISATION OF POPULAR CULTURE :
LEISURE IN NEWCASTLE SINCE 1945

> Independence of thought, autonomy, and the right
> to political opposition are being deprived of their
> basic critical function in a society which seems
> increasingly capable of satisfying the needs of
> individuals through the way in which it is organized .
>
> (Herbert Marcuse : One Diminsional Man)

The purpose of this chapter is to understand some of the ways
in which modern urban experience has been organised and developed in
Newcastle upon Tyne principally through the notions of municipal
order and civility. The way in which social experience has become
institutionalised is not only the result of municipal order, how-
ever, but also results from a tension between minority and popular
culture.

Three kinds of cultural organisation are examined : Community
Arts groups; Council-run recreations; and Commercial entertainments.
Such a typology does not, of course, cover every sort of cultural
organisation (an alternative example being the delinquent gang)
nor does it cover every sort of communicative framework (an alter-
native example being one's solitary communion with a television set
or radio receiver). What it does provide for, however, is an under-
standing of the ways in which urban experience has become reorgan-
ised in the second half of the twentieth century.

LEISURE IN NEWCASTLE SINCE 1945.

The first point to be made about organised leisure and rec-
reation in pre-war Newcastle is that there was very little of it.
The post-war period changed that by introducing Welfare capital-
ism and the affluent society into the cultural habits of the entire
population.

Before this post-war new society however, the public house

featured as the most organised form of leisure activity centred mainly around sport and cultural pastimes. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century Northumberland and Durham (with Lancashire) held pride of place at the head of the drunkenness statistics issued by the temperence movements (Manders,1973).

The idea of civilized urban life came to reflect the desires of middle class elites to order the environment into various types of areas, the consequence of which is that metropolitan life has become rationalized. One example of this process is provided by Lofland when she points out that, "In the great sprawling cities of the twentieth century, location, not appearance, becomes the major key to identification" (Lofland,1973,p.66).

Both minority and popular cultural activities in the city could only coexist providing that the latter were organised like the former. In other words, the collective activities of the working class had to take place on specific sites, and had to occur within a particular period of time. Working class leisure was therefore not only made "respectable" and "civilized" but had become democratised in the process. What I am suggesting here is that popular culture, by the twentieth century, could not be left to be autonomous but somehow had to fit into the scheme of enlightened liberal moral opinion. If the city was to be made manageable, and those within it brought into contact with the more "wholesome" aspects of culture, then the idea of social citizenship had to be provided for. Thus, in order to provide for social citizenship examples of liberal culture had to be made available and financial backing for such schemes had to be sought. The idea of the democratisation of culture, therefore, represents a vertical process in the dissemination of "appropriate" resources and facilities from those who would consider themselves "cultured" in the best liberal democratic

tradition. But it also implies a belief in the superiority, by the
moral gatekeepers, of their own version of culture. By comparison,
the opposite of this attitude would be "cultural democracy" which,
by implication, means that any sense of elitism or cultural ethno-
centrism is completely absent. However it is the process of the
"democratisation of culture" I now wish to describe.

By the late 1950's the organisation of social life was coming
to be defined by a series of recommendations outlined in the Civic
News of Newcastle upon Tyne. In 1959, for example, the Civic News
illustrates an example of the aid given to minority culture. Sur-
port was given by the Cultural Activities Committee of the city coun-
cil to tbe People's Theatre, which took over the Lyric cinema in
Heaton for £27,OOO. The cinema was transformed into a multi-
functional building for a number of middle class activities, includ-
ing the Theatre Arts Group, Tyneside Film Society, Tyneside Music
Society, a poetry reading group, as well as being the site for art
exhibitions. The building was also open for hire to local amateur
operatic and drama societies as well as for small touring professional
companies, for businessmen, and for educational conferences (Civic
News, July 1957 and Nov.1959).

Another example of the funding provided for minority culture
is, once again, illustrated by the Civic News. In September 1960
it announced that the Committee for the Encouragement of Cultural
Activities was a co-ordinating body for "cultural societies",
examples of which are : the Peoples Theatre, the Northern Symphonia
Orchestra, the Y.M.C.A., the Choral Society, the Free Church Union,
the West End Amateur Operatic Society, Newcastle and Gateshead
Choral Union, Co-operative Arts Players, Laing Art Gallery Committee,
Tyne Photographic Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Literary

and Philosophic Society and Northumberland Teachers Opera Group.
The influential middle class sections of the community success-
fully campaigned for a more formal structure in support of their
activities in order to provide finances and resources. Thus, in
January 1961 representatives of local authorities, industry, com-
cercial and cultural organisations, approved in principle the
setting-up of a regional Arts Council for the North East (Civic
Affairs, Feb.1961).

By 1959 the democratisation of culture concept was apparent
in the first Arts Festival of Newcastle. It was evident that the
idea of Culture was synonymous with "music, drama and the arts".
Literature advertising the festival therefore declared :

> Newcastle's first Arts Festival will be at 7.30 pm.
> on Tuesday, 11th April, when St.James and St.Basil
> church singers presents Mozart's Mass in C minor in
> the church of St.James and St.Basil, Fenham Hall
> Drive. The Festival will end on Saturday, 29th
> April with two events : an evening of Indian music
> and dance in Connaught Hall and the final production
> of the Magic Flute which the Northumberland Teachers'
> Opera Group are presenting for one week in the Theatre
> Hall.
>
> (Civic News Nov.1959).

By contrast popular culture is regarded as "recreational"
by the civic authorities. An idea of this sort of provision can
be gleaned, again, from the civic records. An example given is
that of Byker Community Centre which was originally granted the
site of the old parish church hall. The function of the building
was designed to cater for specific recreational pursuits : halls
for social gatherings and games. Secondary functions included a
section for old people, for exhibitions, Weekend courses, dramatic
and musical productions, and combined social functions etc. The
theme of social integration was also a key issue : thus, "when
fully operative the community centre should be able to play an
even greater part in life of the Byker area" (Civic News Sept.1960).

Given that there is a divide in the cultural life of the area it is necessary to go on and consider how the institutionalisation of experience has come to incorporate the democratisation of culture principle indicative of civic recreational planning.

COUNCIL RECREATIONS.

The policy issues which cause the council to be concerned with the leisure pursuits of the indigenous population were originally framed by the 1944 Education Act. The act "laid upon education authorities the duty to ensure that there are 'adequate facilities for recreation and social training'..." (Urban Trends 1978). Today, two aspects of policy can be discerned : "conceptual" and "geographic". Both, however, deal with "needs" of working-class people.

The conceptual notion of needs suggest a concern with recreation as well as the psychological and sociological pressures created especially by adolescence. An emphasis is therefore placed upon 1) "the need to develop satisfactory relationships with others" 2) "the need to come to terms with society", and 3) the "need to 'count for something' in society" (Urban Trends 1978).

Geographical needs on the other hand deal with the allocation of resources to deprived areas. Since the problems of "urban stress" have been well outlined in welfare policy both nationally and locally (1) it is evident that the idea of geographical needs rest upon the empirical findings of reports into urban or inner-city deprivation. Thus local authority centres were set up to correct the fact that voluntary groups are less likely to be established in Priority Areas :

> If the statutory duty laid down by the education act
> is taken as the rationale for leisure provision, then

> the main objectives must be to fill in the gaps, in
> terms both of areas served and of types of provision,
> left by other bodies (Urban Trends 1978).

The administrative controls set out in council policy have,

therefore, a precedent set in the 1944 education act but they are

nevertheless being continually redefined in the light of changing

social conditions and empirical research into inner city problems.

Given that social experience is being organised in this way

it is necessary for us to focus our attention on a specific part

of the leisure provision programme. I will therefore, look at

"the goal of the leisure provision programme for youth in the

city of Newcastle upon Tyne [2].

Two themes can be discerned in the programme for youth.

The first addresses itself to the fact that many young people pose

a threat to public order by engaging in delinquent activities.

Many of these people happen to live in the city's Priority Areas.

Secondly, and in addition to the first, the concept of youth is

seen as a significant stage in the process of socialisation.

Consequently, "good" or "bad" socialisation is seen to be crucial

in the concern with public order since the major concern is with

"adjustment" to the central norms and values of society.

Leisure is constituted as a social problem in light of re-

ports on Urban Stress. For example, a large proportion of young

people – almost half – live in the city's Priority Areas [3].

Thus, the lack of facilities together with the inability to part-

icipate in commercial leisure pursuits open to the more affluent

sections of society creates an intolerable stress on young people

with nothing but time on their side. Apart from a few vague comments

on how young people actually do spend their time the civic author-

ities are concerned about the "less desirable" habits of some of

them :

> The activities on which young people spend this time
> cover a wide spectrum, from drinking in a pub with
> friends to reading or watching television at home,
> and from playing organized sport to indulging in
> socially less acceptable active pursuits.
>
>   (Urban Trends P.41.1978).

Another problem which exacerbates the quality of life in the

inner-city regions is that of unemployment[4]. Consequently, the

council recognize that for young people to have to undergo pro-

longed periods of unemployment may cause problems of adjustment

from childhood to adulthood. However "useful" social experience

in itself is seen as crucial in the development of the adolescent

consciousness :

> Most young people, whether they are in full time
> education, at work or unemployed, have a considerable
> amount of leisure time. The ways in which a young
> person spends these leisure hours can have a major
> impact, not only in the short term but well into adult-
> hood, on his general satisfaction with life, his
> ability to make rewarding relationships with his
> peers and with adults, and the extent to which he
> will participate actively in the society to which
> he belongs.
>
>   (Urban Trends,1978,p.41).

The second theme in the leisure provision programme, then,

introduces an emphasis on socialisation as a period of adjustment

to the values of adult society. Its theoretical stance is there-

fore couched in functionalist terms and seems to reflect a good deal

of Eisenstadt's thinking. The report in Urban Trends thus recog-

nizes that adolescence is a "distinct stage of development,a time

of transition between childhood and adulthood, a period during which

values and ways of behaviour are developed which will equip the

individual to take his place as an adult within society." Policy

in the inner-city is therefore seen as a means to engineer this

transition. However, the report in Urban Trends also recognizes

that people may also be entitled to demands from society :

> Young people have many immediate needs which society
> should seek to satisfy. (Urban Trends,1978,p.41).

In stressing the Quality of Life argument the objective of leisure provision "should therefore never simply be 'to keep them off the streets'; it must be to help young people satisfy their present needs and offer them whatever support they may require in adjusting to the many demands of society".

Both reasons for the provision of leisure in Newcastle reflect an emphasis on the democratisation of culture concept. However, despite the attempt to control the direction of some leisure activities there is also consideration of the underprivilaged. Since there is a genuine recognition of large-scale structural problems, as well as a more implicit theme of inadequate social-isation within the family, there is a desire to construct qualit-ative social relationships by way of compensation and with trained personnel providing this function. For example:

> The emphasis must consequently always be on the quality of relationships built up by those engaged in providing leisure opportunities and not simply on the range and variety of activities offered.
>
> (Urban Trends,1978,p.41).

Finally, it must be said that despite the wider concerns with the Quality of Life and with the adjustment of the adolescent to adult status in society a major reason for an organised approach to leisure provision is to seek some form of amelioration in the treatment of delinquency and vandalism. The reasons for this are obvious. In 1976/7 about 2,400 young people appeared before the Juvenile Court, and it is estimated that vandalism cost the City Council about £0.25m in 1975/6. In the same period 700 children were received into care. We have already noted that a typology of leisure activities cannot cover every sort of cultural organisa-tion. Indeed the authors of Urban Trends also recognize that whilst, "no comprehensive list of provision is available in the city" their own policy provides for officially organised recreations

vis-a-vis other sorts of provision such as quasi-official and com-

mercial entertainments. They therefore provide their own typology

by working out where exactly council policy fits into the scheme

of urban experience :

> Most commercial leisure provision is planned to cater
> for young active adults, and it is left to the City
> Council to provide facilities designed to meet the
> particular needs of younger people.
>
> (Urban Trends,1978,p.42).

TABLE 1.1: Range of leisure provision for young people.

Type of provision.	Examples of activities offered	Approximate age range.
Adventure play-grounds	Opportunities for imaginative play.	7-16
Junior leisure centres.	Indoor games : outdoor sport.	7-13
Local authority youth centres.	Social activities; disco;coffee bar; indoor games;outdoor pursuits; competitive sports; community service.	13-20
Voluntary youth clubs. full time. professional staff part-time voluntary staff.	Social activities; disco; games; outdoor pursuits; competitive sports; community service.	13-20
School youth associations.	Social activities: specialist interest groups,with instruction.	13-18
School clubs and societies.	Competitive sports; drama; outdoor pursuits.	7-18
Uniformed organisations.	Social activities; camping; sailing; other outdoor pursuits.	7-18
Voluntary community service.	Hospital visiting; gardening and decorating for old people; first aid.	13-20

Source: Urban Trends, 1978.

TABLE 1.2: Council Expenditure on leisure facilities for
Young People, 1977/78.

Provision	Details	Estimated cost 1977/78
1. Junior Leisure Centres.	21 centres, open 3 evenings per week for 2 hours, on school premises. Average weekly attendance in Autumn 1976 : 3,900.	£48,500
2 Adventure Playgrounds and Playleaders.	7 full-time adventure playgrounds with 16 full-time staff plus 3 summer holiday schemes, run by Arts and Recreation Committee.	£100,000
3 Play Schemes during Summer Holidays.	17 schemes run by Education Department for 3 to 4 weeks during school holidays, and 7 voluntary schemes supported by Education Committee. 25 leaders and 99 assistants employed. Average attendance in Summer 1976 : 12,000.	£22,000
4 LEA Young Centres and Youth Associations.	3 LEA Youth Centres, at Walker, Mill Lane and Slatyford. 3 Youth Associations, with 2 "satellite" associations, based at former County High Schools. 3 School based youth clubs. These provide 39 sessions per week. Average attendance in Autumn 1976 : 3,000 per week* Running Costs: Debt charges :	 £107,000 £ 18,000
5 Unattached Project.	Kestral Project in Cowgate area with 2 detached youth workers.	£ 3,150**
6 Assistance to Voluntary Organisations: i Full-time organisations	 9 organisations assisted by the Council, providing 49 sessions per week. Average attendance per week in Autumn 1976 : 10,241.	 £ 70,900
ii Part-time organisations.	47 affiliated groups, of which 28 are being grant-aided(cf.24 in 1976/ 77). The grant-aided groups provide 78 sessions per week. Average attendance per week in Autumn 1976: 4,446.	 £ 20,700

Table 1.2. (Contd/...)

iii Central organisations.	8 'headquarters' organisations assisted, covering over 300 separate groups/units. ***These groups had total membership in Autumn 1975 of 14,500.	£ 23,700
iv Debt charge assistance		£ 13,100
v Church youth officers.	2 regional youth officers assisted (Methodist and U.R.C.)	£ 1,000
7 Courses for Youth Workers and members of affiliated organisations.	3 levels of training course offered for youth workers : coaching courses: support of "Adventure Unlimited" courses and expeditions.	£ 10,500
Total estimated cost.		£438,550

* These are 13+ sessions and attendances only. An additional
  5 junior under 13) sessions are run.
** 25% of total cost. The balance is covered by an Urban
  Aid grant.
*** Some of these individual groups are assisted separately under
6(i) and 6(ii) above.

Source : Urban Trends.

Table 1. illustrates how the construction of social experience is

made possible from the Council planners' point of view. There is,

for example, an inbuilt social programme : a process of secondary

socialisation from the age of 7 to 20. Such characteristics as

"imaginitive play", "games", "social activities", "competitive

sports", "community service" etc., reflect the character of institu-

tionalized leisure. Here they are all planned, structured, and

made official policy in the pursuit of an organised urban exper-

ience.

The municipal appraisal of the "needs" of the population is

founded on the belief that the human needs of the citizen can be

reduced to technical expedients built into a programme designed by

the administrative technocrat. Seeking to alleviate the excesses

of structural inequality. The objective "truth" of their persuasive

accounts is built upon a moral commitment to leisure as a form of character building. Table 1.2. on the other hand reveals the expenditure on leisure facilities for young people for the period 1977/78.

The civic authorities, like any other organisation dealing with popular culture, hold a specific attitude toward leisure and recreation. Since they view their task as one of social amelioration in the inner-city their attitude is one of a moral commitment towards leisure. The principal means of organising leisure provision is through the professional (eg., youth worker) and the administrator (Leisure Services co-ordinator). This typifies the process as democratising culture from above. By contrast, an alternative approach is claimed by the adherents of Community Arts groups.

COMMUNITY ARTS AND ANIMATION.

Community Arts aims to involve the community in some way. However, one of the difficulties is that a modern urban community is not easy to define and this in itself causes problems in defining the aims of a community arts form. It is for this very reason that supporters seek a definition in terms of social interaction, and for this it is argued that a historical precedent is set in certain cultural forms. The earliest of these is the miracle play. Thus according to one author :

> These plays were very clearly about the local
> people and their times, but perhaps more importantly,
> they were generally devised and performed by the
> people for one another...the miracle play provides
> a very clear example of community arts.
>
> (Arts North, April,1979).

Moreover, it is claimed that the genealogy of community arts, although having its roots in the miracle play, can be traced up

through other cultural forms and events like the Methodist Factory
Theatre of the 1930's and Joan Littlewood's pioneering drama work
with the London Theatre Workshop as well as with arts labs and arts
centres of the 1960's.

There is however a more recent and largely political reason
for the community arts movement.   For this, one has to look at
the objectives of those people engaged in community arts projects
rather than to the historical development of cultural forms.

IN the 1960's many artists became disenchanted with older
arts forms and at the same time became politisized. Such people
came into contact with new types of expression in art, drama and
video - ingredients which, no doubt, influenced a desire to cross
cultural barriers. However, it was the Council of Europe's
'Animation project' together with Britain's entry into the E.E.C.
which really defined the political and cultural objectives of the
community arts idea.

Central to the idea of community arts in Britain is a covert
administrative belief, which originated in the Council of Europe's
"Socio-Cultural Animation Project", around the notion of cultural
integration and social control in terms of pluralist politics.
Thus:

> For some years now, governments have considered that
> socio-cultural community development is a necessary
> corollory to permanent education, and that it is one way
> of helping to resolve certain socio-cultural problems
> which are becoming more and more keenly felt through-
> out Europe.
>
> (Education and Culture,1979).

The resolution of socio-cultural problems, it was thought,
could only follow once a definition of cultural provision had been
established. Thus the Lyons Symposium of 1978 came to discriminate
between "cultural democracy" and the "democratisation of culture"
indicative of most social planning. The report of the symposium

argued vigorously for cultural democracy which it claimed :

> ...signifies the difference between supporting a
> policy whose objective is to popularize the arts
> and whose objective is to support popular art forms.
> In other words, it is designed to provoke a change
> from restricting one's interpretation of culture to
> the heritage of the arts and increasing its absorbsion
> by the consumer society, to a much wider definition
> which, while including the artistic heritage, also
> conceives culture as a continuous creative process
> going on inevitably not only amongst artists but
> all social groups.
>
> (Education and Culture,1979).

In terms of a pluralist ideology integration becomes a key theme:

> ...without wishing to paint too dark, or certainly
> too arbitrarily black and white a picture, it has
> to be admitted that in the industrializing countries -
> to say nothing of the third world - social life is
> unhappily far from corresponding to the rosy view some
> would like to make of it. For many people, the pain-
> full reality still consists of economic difficulties,
> social segregation, cultural handicaps, coupled with
> lack of any power to order their lives whether as
> individuals or as members of a community. Nor have
> we any grounds for optimism as regards the ending of
> such social evils as, for example, unemployment, racism,
> and proletarization.
>
> (Education and Culture, 1979).

However, the social ethic of "animation" is extremely clear.

It is a therapeutic contribution suggesting political stasis

rather than real community development since it is a palliative

for other negative elements in society. Consequently it seeks to

re-constitute a mythic vision of social order and participation

which includes "the values of Athenian democracy", and of "non-

sacredotal Christianity" (Education and Culture, 1979).

The British counterpart to the Council of Europe's 'socio-

cultural animation project' was originally formulated by the four

Experiments in Leisure. The experiments conducted in four British

towns were part of a wider government programme of Action Research

projects designed "to improve the quality of urban life". Thus

although the projects were influenced by the Plowden Report of 1967,

which "set out to assess how social needs of deprived areas might

be met through a closer and comprehensive co-ordination of central
and local government (H.M.S.O., 1978)., they were also heavily
influenced by the concept of animation since they were committed
to the conceptualization of culture in terms of "involvement" and
"participation". They did not, however, fully appreciate the
style of animation which later came to typify the community arts
paradigm of creative participation and which consciously set out to
transform cultural boundaries through innovatory artistic practices.

The importance of community arts lies in the principle of
animation. Its value lies in the fact that, despite pluralist
policies designed to aid the process of integration in modern
society, there is a clear recognition that a popular culture
exists. Such a policy may in the end prove to be impractical but
it does come to reject an elitist conception of culture as a
recipe for the whole population. Thus, if " 'democratization of
culture represents a policy of popularization, 'cultural democracy'
in its shriller forms borders on populism...' " (Mennell,1979,p.23C).
Another point worth stressing is that the personnel engaged in com-
munity arts are themselves often hostile to traditional and high
culture so much so that they often find themselves in a precarious
financial situation with their funding agencies. From the reverse
point of view "the often embattled public authorities charged with
maintaining traditional life in a frequently precarious existence
sometimes reciprocate this hostility, expressing disdain for the
idea of 'cultural democracy'" (ibid.).

However, as Mennel has forcefully pointed out the problem
with policy orientations are not necessarily compatible with the
cultural 'needs', or 'wants' of the conceptually organised public.
And nor can they be satisfactorily ascertained by research methods.
It is, nevertheless, worth stressing that 'cultural needs' are the

product of a power relationship between different groups in society. Their determination should therefore be seen in terms of "balances of power between social groups, including cultural producers, distributers, and consumers" (ibid. p.254).

Following Steven Lukes' conceptualisation of power into one, two and three-dimensional categories Mennell claims that the aims of animation policy are clearly two dimensional. British society has been traditionally one-dimensional in its definition and pro- vision of culture : the aim being to democratise elitist culture both locally, nationally and internationally," to spread to wider sections of the population knowledge and enjoyment of the good things which constitute 'culture' " (ibid. p.235).

The alternative is a three dimensional view of culture. This can be seen principally in the critical theories of the Frankfurt School. The point here is that cultural needs are unexpressed - potentially realizable only through a fundamental change in social order, "to integrate the base and superstructure of society which capitalism bad sundered" (ibid. p.252).

The two-dimensional modal fits in-between the first and the third. Consequently, Mennell's theoretical considerations suggest the reasons for its adoption in Newcastle are not untypical of wider policy objectives which relate to European consensus politics. Despite the difference in approach, the logic of animation is reform- ist, piecemeal, social engineering. However, more attention needs to be paid to the role of 'creativity' and to the conscious endea- vours of the 'animateurs' themselves to restructure social exper- ience. For example, one organiser of Kids Mobile Workshop told me that, "we see our role partly as demystification." Such a state- ment is not untypical since most community arts workers see their central task as breaking down cultural barriers between audience

and performer. Their role is primarily to engage in social inter-
action rather than in some form of cultural elitism. Most see this
role as a mural artist would who chooses to paint a scene on the
gable end of a building : what is important is not so much the pic-
ture but the way in which it alters the role of art and participa-
tion in the production of the artwork.

From the point of view of the artists themselves it can be
said that they seek to rearrange the symbols of art so that a
renewed cultural interface is made between art and life.

Part of the reason for the existence of the community arts
paradigm in Newcastle is the desire, from the point of view of the
policy makers, to create competent citizenship among those people
who are confined "by barriers of inherited attitude and contemporary
circumstances to a pitifully narrow spectrum of experiences, com-
munication and expression..." (Simpson,1976,p.9). Alternatively
the workers themselves seek the creation of a peoples' art form
suited to working-class communities. However the idea of community
is treated unproblematically. It is a theoretical construct
employed to sanction certain socio-cultural practices by both policy
makers and arts workers alike. Thus it is claimed that "it is a
general feature of working-class communities that wide cultural
provision has been strangled as entertainments for profit have grown
to become the dominant factor governing the use of leisure time"
(Madge and Thompson, 1978).

COMMERCIAL ENTERTAINMENTS.

By contrast, modern leisure (the type which community arts
oppose) is a quality of "mass society" since it involves an industry
and a communications network which generates social images. Thus,

in Newcastle, as elsewhere, what distinguishes modern leisure from pre-war leisure activities is a dramatic transformation in the production of culture. Whereas previously people produced their own leisure activities it is now produced for them. By contrast, in the post-war period leisure became institutionalised and the leisure industry in particular, created new products of entertainment. Thus, commercial entertainments have been responsible for a marked degree of professionalism which has transformed leisure in the urban environment into a series of multiple arenas and experience into highly selective communicative categories.

Since 1945, the dance hall has been the predominant form of commercial entertainment for people under 35 years of age. According to one report, six million people go dancing each week to some 3000-4000 dance halls in Great Britain. The early post-war years saw dancing and cinema attending as the most obvious forms of popular cultural entertainment. But it is the dance hall which has become the most overt organizer of leisure experience in the modern city.

Some theorists view leisure "negatively" (Dumazadier,1967), as free time since it is removed from the constraints of work. Although there is some truth in this such a view only becomes relevant when it is contrasted with a recognition of the constraints imposed by social class and of the various barriers imposed upon opportunity and cultural participation. Leisure is, furtherfore, a social institution (Parker,1977) since its structure is shaped by material interests. And commercial leisure in particular, can be seen as a market-place art form. Given the fact that social experience is constrained by a number of factors, for our purposes it is possible to see leisure from two viewpoints: a) leisure as an organising feature of modern society and, b) as a source for a satisfying

identity (I will, however, concentrate on this second aspect in later chapters). It is sufficient to note at this point that the development of leisure industries has implications for social relationships (Burns,1973) and for cultural capital (Frith,1978).

It is not only the entrepreneur but the rise of an affluent society which has led some authors to claim that leisure has become anti-leisure (Marcuse,1974, Godbey,1975). Consequently modern leisure can be viewed as a time conscious activity undertaken compulsively as a means to an end. Thus as an example of a commercial entertainment dancing means that "young people generally favour the kind of dancing which can be picked up quickly : they have psychologically, if not literally, no time to learn the intricate steps and routines of dances popular among the older generation" (Parker, 1977,p.35). This supports the argument that interaction and social identity are influenced by cultural form and that form itself is in turn influenced by the social and economic organisation of human relationships.

Commercial leisure exists for the pursuit of profit. The major implication for social participation is that experiences becomes reduced to a level of consumption and that leisure itself becomes a commodity to be bought and sold. Such experience then, becomes standardized into formal routines and into regular patterns of acting. By the 1960's the entertainment world had become big business and selling experience became a lucrative enterprise with Mecca (part of Grand Metropolitan Hotels group) taking the lions share and monopolizing the commercial market. Mecca Ltd., is the largest organisation of its type in the leisure and entertainment field in Britain and its activities are mainly in catering, dancing, ice-skating, gaming, bowling, and bingo. By monopolizing commercial leisure entertainment in most major cities the Mecca social clubs

become the means of centralising leisure experience and controlling
the direction of it both in time and structure. Names like Locarno,
Mayfare, Tifany's symbolize such professionally organized enter-
tainment whilst at the same time signifying a sort of public intimacy
and sense of belonging.

During the 1960's Tyneside became a "frenzy of hedonism and
para-sophistication" unequalled anywhere in Britain with the exception
of London. Geordies became the "best hedonists" in the middle of a
"gastronomic desert" (Ardagh,1980,p.255). Mecca made their mark on
the city since they owned the two largest dance halls. Whilst they
found their traditional market in entertainment declining due to
the huge increase in unorganized, unstructured, venues for young
people (e.g., the Club-a-Go-Go, Downbeat, Quay Club, New Orleans etc.,
etc.) they quickly began to incorporate the hedonistic sub-cultures
and anti-traditional secular morality of a new generation by staging
"stand up" concerts and providing mediocre versions of 'alternative'
music for "middle of the roaders". By the 1970's their monopoly was
safe.

Today the dance hall typifies a sort of organised leisure
which celebrates the weekend world of the working-class by uncorking
the work-a-day ryhthms and providing a venue for the melodramatic
moods of young, often emotional, pleasure seeking adults. The
dance hall and particularly the new cult of disco-mania has replaced
the cinema in importance since it is an arena specializing in a
specific form of sociability.

Whilst it is my intention in later chapters to draw upon other
examples of commercial popular entertainments it is worth considering
here the singular example of the dance hall in order to exemplify
the way in which leisure as a commodity has come to order social
relationships in the city.

The key feature in producing leisure as a commodity has been the transformation of society in the twentieth century in terms of spatial, cognitive and social mobility. Thus, since the leisure industries became a significant feature of modern society the idea of a production (i.e., a marketable cultural product) had to be made compatible with the hypothetical conceptualisation of a hetero-geneous society.

Producing entertainment as a commodity meant that it had to be packaged and sold to different taste publics. This involved a high degree of selectivity and discrimination, not only in the quality and style of the product (the leisure experience) itself, but also in terms of publics (audiences). In other words, a social role (embodying both the appearance and the performance) came to be seen as legitimate only when it corresponded with a specific act-ivity. In this way people became characterised by the things they did, by the clothes they wore, by their demeanour and other appro-priate conduct. Social roles were established on the basis of categories, the corollary of which has meant that social experience has become increasingly organised. Such tacit social codes have come to embody an implicit sense of order in public (and the police are only in the last resort the enforcers of these boundaries).

THE DANCE HALL AND COMMERCIAL LEISURE.

By the nineteenth century in Western Europe the social dance (as distinct from the folk dance) was becoming an urban cultural form suited to the secular social milieu of the Nouveau Riche bourgeoisie. It was, in fact the end of the Ancient Regime which signified the end of French court dancing and the rise of "polite society" which enhanced the cultivation of an individual sensibility to the arts and social life generally. As a style the waltz

characterises the new social life both psychologically and materially since it transformed the role of both partners from one of polite indifference (since they danced side by side) to one which carried overt social and sexual connotations (expressed by the psychological aspect of the closed position).

By the Twentieth century the waltz was becoming overtaken by the popularity of the new "walking" dances based on ragtime. It was not only the rhythm that was different : the whole technique once again extended the overt implication which began with the waltz. Whilst the man walked forward the woman walked backwards as if glued to the man's hips. The intimacy of the waltz was extended even further whilst the rhythms were faster. What became more apparent as the century wore on was the faster, more energetic, styles of the jiggerbug, rock'n'role, twist and acid rock etc., most of which reflected the rhythms of black American music (or at least a fusion of black American with white Anglo-American music) and the styles of the new, post-war, rebellious youth culture. With individual dancing styles the social dance became less of a partnership and more concerned with individual self-expression.

Entrepreneurs were not slow to enter the field of social dancing by providing facilities. But it was not until the 1920's when, in London, many of the old great houses were pulled down and fewer private balls were given that the dance-conscious sections of the middle class were forced to find public places, such as rest-aurants and hotels, in which to dance. As this was emulated around the country business men with an eye for entertainment and, of course, lucrative financial returns on their capital, invested in dance halls in the suburbs. But it was not until the post-war period, and generally the 1960's, that the dance halls were grad-ually taken over by big business. According to Parker (1977), by

1977 dancing was provided for by over 3000 dance halls through-
out Britain. Today it is the big leisure industries who control
the dance halls in the larger cities. But what is particularly
interesting about this development is that throughout the twentieth
century the social dance has tended to rely less on the dance hall
and as such has become less confined to a specific setting. Para-
doxically, as rock'n'roll transformed music and dance into a more
rebellious style typical of its working class social base, and as
such did not rely exclusively on dance halls (since coffee bars,
cinemas, the street etc., were just as appropriate), the entrepren-
eurs of leisure moved in to provide safe, non-controversial, places
of music and dance geared specifically to young people. For example,
since the twist was a "safe" dance by comparison to rock'n'roll it
was deliberately promoted by Mecca and other chains in the attempt
to compete with youth culture. Precisely because the sale of lei-
sure is financially rewarding the dance hall has to successfully
compete with other forms of entertainment but in order to do so it
has to provide for the tastes of very different groups of consumers.
And in order to do so it has to operate with different versions of
acceptability on different nights of the week. It does so by
utilising various rules which it considers are appropriate for
different occasions and for different taste publics.

RULES OPERATED WITHIN THE DANCE HALL.

The rules of the dance hall reflect those of the city - the
priority of public order. Transgressing the rules either delib-
erately or accidentally involves the transgressor in a process in
which he or she becomes stigmatized and labelled a deviant. Most
people coming to the dance hall however, do not deliberately break
the rules and those that do become, unwittingly, social deviants.

The social image of these people, from the management's point of view, are drawn from stereotypes of the criminological deviant. But unlike the latter, the social deviant is not so much distinguished by his act but by his style - his clothes and demeanour.

A large organisation, such as the Mayfair, in order to compete effectively in the sale of experience will usually run a number of functions from bingo to beauty contests. However, three nights of the week are usually regular nights. Tuesday night is a formal night characterized by ballroom dancing (it is alternatively known by the habitues as "grab-a-granny" night or "reps night"). Friday night is categorized as "stand-up-concert" night and provides entertainment for the young progressive adults such as heavy metal, punk, or mod. Saturday night is "middle-of-the-road" night and celebrates a disco form of fun.

Each night, as the various titles suggest, the Mayfair organises leisure to meet the tastes of various publics. But it is precisely because of this specialization that contradictions are caused for those people who accidentally transgress the boundaries. Each of the three nights carries it own set of rules which are invoked by the door staff.

Although the staff do not see themselves as agents of public order it is evident that this task is one of their primary functions so that even when it was possible for the manager to say that "order is never a problem that we are faced with", it is obvious that this statement depends upon the effectiveness of the selection procedures in the supervision of order.

Entry in to the hall is usually a straightforward act. However, it is an act which contains potential elements of order and disorder. According to Lofland (1973), "the task is to move from one kind of public space (for example a sidewalk) to another kind of

public space (for example, an enclosed setting). But the trick is to do it without making an ass of oneself..." . From the viewpoint of the hall management the selection procedure at the door is a formal type of social control. From the viewpoint of the customer, it is a procedure which he has to negotiate in order to enter the special universe centred on pleasure. To do it correctly he has to display a "normal" attitude. This causes him to wear the "correct" clothes and to adopt the "right" demeanour. To do it badly is to display disorderly conduct by failing to conduct oneself according to the rules.

The management of the hall then, seeks to accomplish a consensual public gathering by manipulating a set of formal and informal rules on the art of participation. An informal rule of the establishment therefore, makes a committment to selecting a public and it does so by ordering the activity of diverse groups into conventional, routine, performances. Style of dress and demeanour therefore serve as semiotic clues in the selection process. The setting is organised so as to create a conservative drama where nothing outrageous happens. And one important aspect of such an arrangement is that sub-cultural styles which start out as provocative and anti-establishment become incorporated into mainstream culture (examples are centred mainly around issues of sexuality, aggressiveness, and destruction. The rise of successive sub-cultures in the post-war period have tended to use such issues as vehicles for expressing their dissatisfaction with the conventionalized worlds of work and play (see for example, Hall and Jefferson(1976), also Patterson (1966)). Consequently, organisations like Mecca are known to have deliberately promoted safe styles (Quirey et.al,1976).

Friday night at the Mayfair is potentially the most disorderly night from the management's viewpoint. The following conversation

illustrates the re-application of rules :

> Jim :I guess Friday night is the most difficult for you to keep order?
> Doorman :Well, it's not too bad. Occasionally we might find a couple of kids trying to have it off in some dark corner, you know what I mean? Well, when that happens we have to go in and separate them. We usually just give them a kick up the backside.

Although the rules are the most relaxed on Fridays there is still

room for complaint :

> It has been brought to my attention by certain younger members of the community that many places which have facilities for large Heavy Metal, Punk, Reggae, or Disco, South or Mod, will not allow any leniency for the younger generation. Take, for example, the Mayfair nightclub. It occasionally has groups like Stiff Little Fingers, AC/DC and others playing to mostly over-Eighteen year olds... but the bouncers were only letting in sixteen year olds and me being fifteen, I slid past the bouncers and police dogs outside, by a narrow margin. (5)

The invocation of such rules, however, is never a straight-

forward affair. Three things are important : first, appearance,

second, demeanour, third the time of night. The last category

means that someone's dress or demeanour, whilst allowing entry

earlier on a night forbids entry later. Judging appearance does

not necessarily mean that the management disapprove of a style of

dress. The reason for the existence for such a rule is that it

is only the most overt clue to a person's reason for wanting to

participate : incorrect dress signifies an un-serious attitude to-

wards the event -- a factor which could undermine the collective

experience, and the reason for the hall's existence.

Demeanour is also an important feature of the policing function.

On a Saturday night the supervisors look for and reject men

wearing corded trousers or unconventional jackets but particular

attention is paid to the way a person "handles himself". The fol-

lowing example illustrates this :

> Jim : Why did you stop him from coming in?
> Doorman : Well, I saw him trip on the step outside and I wondered if he had had one too many before he came here.

        Jim : But how do you know that ?
    Doorman : I try and get them to talk and if I smell drink
              or if they sound intoxicated I tell them No.

One consequence of the institutionalisation of leisure is that one's

social identity becomes circumscribed by the way one can fit into

the roles demanded by the leisure industries and their invocation

of the rules of conduct. Social deviance is not 'ipso facto' a

quality of a person or his act but the application of rules relating

to appearance and demeanour. It is possible then, that such people,

can on occasion, construct their own socio-cultural groups in reac-

tion to the categories they themselves are placed in. One example

may illustrate this possibility. During a conversation with a Punk

in Newcastle I was told that :

            I'm not allowed into dance halls or night clubs
            dressed like this so I hang around with my mates
            or take my bird down town..

Such images reinforce the identities of those involved and the

result is that in the modern city we come to find highly specialized

forms of interaction taking place.

CHAPTER FOUR ; NOTES.

1) An example of a definition applied to the local situation can be found in Urban Trends 1978. Defined here stress refers to the way social consciousness is determined by economic, social and environmental hardships faced by the 'worst off' individuals in the community.

2) Interms of time we have to limit our observations to one section of council-run recreations. However youth can be seen as a very significant part of the leisure provision in Social Trends, 1978.

3) The figure is 29,000 in Priority Areas compared to 34,200 living in other areas.

4) It seems to be increasingly recognized that long term unemployment has to be planned for, no longer in terms of revitalizing the traditional industrial base but, with the provision of recreational opportunities. In 1976 the unemployment rates among the 16 and 19 and 20 to 24 age groups were 19 per cent and 16 per cent respectively.

5) Comment from a local paper for teenagers : 'Worsitat?' No. 1 The writer raises the question : "Is the Mayfair realy Fair"? By doing so he reacts against the organised category of pop music.

PART TWO.

CREATING SOCIAL SPACE : PRIVATE AND PUBLIC.

CHAPTER 5.

OVERCOMING ANONYMITY IN THE CITY.

Local Culture and the Propagation of the Conscience Collective.

> The complexity of the city calls for symbolic management.
> Its complicated spatial features require representation
> in the form of devices for simplifying and for evoking
> images and sentiment. Verbal representation of cities
> has a formal nature. The available devices are popularity,
> frequently, and flexibly used. They are collective,
>
> (Wohl and Strauss, 1958).

The foregoing discussion suggested that the modern environment displays a style (which is politically placed through planning) as an abstraction. That is to say, that whereas primitive society displays a congruence between conceptual and physical space (i.e. it is functional) modern society displays a marked lack of congruence. The abstraction, has to become communicable, however, by providing cues for behaviour. It follows then that such environments clearly need to indicate the occasions of their use : "who should do what, when, with whom and in what context" (Rapoport 1981,p.286).

In this section I want to explore the possibllity that the construction of the city as the seat of civilization has consequences for the inhabitants in terms of civility.

Two elements emerge as prominent features of this process. Firstly, the creation of a legible environment and secondly defining what counts as objective civic culture. However, the elements all mesh together in the analysis and hopefully provide a key for the question of civility. In order to make this relationship apparent it is worth noting, at least tentatively, a comment made by Rapaport

> ...it can also be suggested that the environment can
> be seen as a series of relationships between things
> and things, things and people, and people and people.
> These relationships are orderly, having a pattern and
> a structure: the environment is no more a random
> assemblance of things and people any more than a culture
> is a random assemblance of behaviours and beliefs .
>
> (ibid p.292).

The organisation of the environment, following Rapoport,
means that four elements in turn are being organised: communi-
cation, time, space and meaning.

Legibility.

The city as a whole can never be grasped nor can its people
be classified as a generic cultural entity. Yet paradoxically,
every known city tends to be personified and its inhabitants known.

The most apparent modern technique for personifying the city
(as I have already suggested) is the process of architecture or
"structural art". This in itself, however, is not enough. It has
to be given a language, with semiotic markers standing as cues
for the purpose of ordering perception. Rapoport helps us to under-
stand this process:

> Architecture can provide settings for certain activities,
> remind people of what these activities are, signify
> power, status or privacy, express and support beliefs,
> communicate information, help establish individual or
> group identity and encode value systems. It also
> separates domains. While all these things can happen
> conceptually, and while subtle cues can often communi-
> cate, the tangible expression of all these things helps.
> It produces concrete images, memories for important things .
>
> (ibid.p.299)

In reality one's perception of a city is never total or sus-
tained but partial and fragmentary. Nearly every perceptual
faculty is in operation and the image is therefore the composite of
them all. To see "the city" at all necessitates the ability to
read stylistically contrived conventions or symbolic metaphors.
The methods for "portraying" the city and personifying it "are
expressive declarations of its literal incomprehensibility"(Strauss,
1961,ch.1.).

Consequently, various methods for imposing new conceptual
schemes about urban culture are possible:

> Thus, the ways of raising prestige are quite multi-
> farious. They include : (i) the erection in cities of
> buildings and monuments of high prestige value, the
> establishment of factories or institutions which bring
> in their wake celebrity and fame, and patronage of the
> arts: (ii) the promotion, with the help of publications,
> celebrations, the popularization of the city's history,
> the creation of its legend and the dissemination of its
> name in the world, of attractive city symbols and
> images : and (iii) the organisation in the city of con-
> gresses, gatherings and events of a scientific, sports,
> political and artistic character.

> (Wallis, 1967,p.10).

Legibility therefore suggests that in order for the city to

be given an identity, or personality, certain landmarks have to be

endorsed and cultivated as representative of civic identity. This

will of necessity mean that others will be suppressed. Consider the

following:

> As Toulouse and Balonga are pink, so Newcastle is grey-
> black: its older stone buildings, such as the medieval
> castle and the fine churches, are most of them darkened
> and grimed by two centuries of industrial smoke and
> coaldust. Some have recently been given a clean. But
> the blackness is considered so much of the city's male
> Nordic persona that facades of new offices are required
> by planners to include black or grey parts.

> (Ardagh, 1980,p.189).

What then is the public image of Newcastle as a product of

its architectural symbolism?

Whereas areas such as Scotswood, Benwell, Elswick, Byker etc.,

are representative of Newcastle, the official language generates

other significant imagery. In contrast to these areas certain struc-

tures are embedded with meaning in terms of time. This occurs in

two ways : as history presenting some cultural aura identified by

the site of the building, or as the future contrasting some new,

exciting "space age" dimension to the present.

As for the former,Wilfred Burns, Newcastle's most noted post-

war architect, wrote :

> Wherever possible the interesting old buildings (near
> the river's historic heart of the city) need to be
> preserved for future generations, so that the Tyne Valley

> is a living history book, recalling its Roman beginnings,
> its great coal days, its pageantry and gaiety, its
> commerce and vitality and its humanity and inhumanity .
>
> (Bean,1971.p.212).

As a piece of architecture Newcastle represents the super-imposition of different stylistic facades : Victorian, Georgian, Neo-modern. The image of the whole is partly conveyed by these con-ventions.

The latter "space age" dimension (which in the early 1960's heralded Newcastle's progressive administrative bureaucracy) is suggested by the civic centre which was one of the first of the new generation of buildings.

> The civic centre epitomizes more than anything else
> T.Dan Smith's "international style". Built with Nor-wegian Otta Slate, marble from Italy and Sweden, Cornish
> granite, Cedar of Lebanon, Clipsham stone, Aubusson
> tapestry, granite from the Alps, Walnut from France,
> Missanda hardwood, Abura timber, Otile mahogany, Rio
> rosewood, Macassar ebony, stone from Broughton Moor,
> exotic timber such as Avodine and Agba and Portland
> stone initiated by Sir Christopher Wren. (ibid,p.123).

The metaphors of legibility and civic identity adorn this building which is symbolic of the new Newcastle. On top of the building are the Sea Horses heads and lantern, a large bronze sculpture of five swans which are redolent of Seedorf Pedersen's poem the "Swans of the North". And perhaps most symbolic of all is the statue of the Tyne God on the wall outside the Council Chamber.

Inside the civic centre, in the planning department, "the corridors are full of models of the New Jerusalem upon Tyne. They look so tidy, clinical. No troublesome youngsters come rampaging, kicking dustbins and frightening old ladies, down these cardboard streets. No windows get smashed, no faces either; there are neither rats nor meths drinkers. Somehow it doesn't seem quite like home (ibid,p.124).

Objective Civic Culture.

Defining what counts as civic culture is a simililar pro-
cess employing specific rhetorical devices to personify "the" image
of the city. Official vocabularies manipulate impressions again
involving the process of expressing and supressing significant de-
tails. Consequently the civic personality is given its identity.

Despite the fact that every citizen has his or her own individ-
ual biographical associations with some part of the city and whilst
each has his own image soaked in significant memories and meanings,
it is still a feature of a documentry on every urban population that
its culture will be treated ethnocentrically:

> Arriving here from London, with my Oxford and public-
> school background, my "posh" accent and class prejudices,
> I felt ill-at-ease in an area so assertively dominated
> by working class values, effusively friendly in its way
> yet resentful of anyone coming to judge it by outside
> standards...I even felt some of the Angst in the presence
> of an alien, vaguely menacing culture that I have felt
> in Moslam lands such as Iran or Algeria. (After all,
> Geordies treat their women in an almost Moslem manner!)

(Ardagh,1980,pp.189-90).

Such statements, because of the nature of their topic (a uni-
versal, definitive account) invariably involve a quest for essence.
Just as cities are personified as actors so too is the "conscience
collective" through the use of personal pronouns and appropriate
verbs.

By confusing the qualities of essence and uniqueness (Strauss
1961,p.14), it is possible to arrive at the authoritative, ethno-
centric, abstraction so that Geordies can be seen "to treat their
woman in an almost Moslem manner" or Geordies are "Happy sing-song
hedonists in the middle of a gastronomic desert" (Ardagh,1980,p.244).

Civic culture is ideological. It is ideological because it is
a conceptual identity conferred upon a city by planners and polit-
icians who seek to make sense of the seemingly incongruous mass of

people in space and time. Both planners and politicians seek to naturalise the unfortunate fact of inequality in terms of public space by creating the civic identity.

The modern city, as Raban has so rightly said, is the "Soft City" of metaphor by contrast to the hard city of description. The city exists metaphorically as it is imagined and used as a place of illusion, myth, aspiration and nightmare and "is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps, in statistics, in monographs on urban sociology and demography and architecture" (Raban,1974,p.2.).

Social Space : Problems of Anomie and Alienation.

The city from the subjective point of view is quite another thing. Far from being an institutional setting it is perceived by its inhabitants as a socio-psychological milieu of moral order or disorder. To be precise the moral order is accomplished through a social perspective which enables the construction of a seemingly factual universe.

Since the city is a place where the individual chooses his, or her, society through communal grounds of participation it is not surprising to discover people who have either lost contact with the grammar of communicability or find the grounds of communication problematical. Because of the potential anonymity of city life existence is characterised by the problems of interpersonal alienation.

An example of people who have lost contact with the grammar of communicability is illustrated by the older residents of Scotswood who today find identity a problem.

Scotswood remained a self-contained village of the new Newcastle until well after the 1930's. Those who lived there were able

to invoke the phrase "community" by their distinct rules relating
to communality and the physical environment. The environment it-
self was simple, uncomplicated, and heavily dependent on the
munitions factory of Armstrong Whitworth. Surrounded by fields,
farms, allotments and built on the side of the river and rail-
way embankment was an area known as Munition Cottages. The streets
were ordered in lines and each house in turn was ordered by the
letter of the alphabet : "I lived in 22W until the council shifted
me up to 'L' before the war".

By the twentieth century the working class urban culture
was all the more cohesive with implications of solidarity, unique-
ness and social caring together with a whole series of reciprocal
arrangements which reflected the sharing of happiness as well as
despair, suffering and tragedy. Such reciprocal arrangements are
exemplified by the following remark :

Charlie Stringer : I lived in Munition Cottages. It's not there
now. In those days Scotswood was only a very
small village, it went from Deleval Road to
Scotswood Dene. Where I lived in the Munition
Cottages you knew everybody, and there was
about 300 families. I could tell you the name
of everybody in the street.
People spoke in their own distinct way and
each little place had its own twang.

Jim : Was there any sense in which you had an
identity of "us" as being distinct from
"them"? Take Jesmond for example.

Charlie Stringer: Why, you rarely spoke to people from Jesmond -
you knew they were the elite - sort of above
us.

If identity was one strand of the pre-war communal relation-
ship then the brutality of the life lived was another factor which
influenced this kind of social solidarity :

Mrs.McKeswick : He came home in 1918. He was only home two
months and we got married - in the January.
We were both twenty-two. Oh, he was a lovely
fella.
He was killed on the railway in 1941. He used
to be a guard. He used to come past here,
back and forth, to Hexham. Anyway, he went
out on Saturday morning at six'o'clock to start

work for eight. I went out to get some
groceries and while I was standing waiting
for them my sister's lad came up to me in the
shop and said "you'll have to come to the hos-
pital with me". So I said, "what's the matter?"
and he said "Tommy's had an accident".
All the way to the hospital in the bus I just
kept saying to myself "he's dead you know"
and I knew he was when I heard my mother say
"does she know?'. Anyway, he'd been hanging
his lamp on the back of his train at Manors
station and the other chap on the other train
bumped him. He broke his spine and there was
many injuries. I did'nt cry at all until they
brought his clothes home from the hospital and
I saw his glasses - they were just like powder,
you know, and all the buttons on his coat were
flattened.
I did'nt get no money from any insurance and
for compensation I got £50.

Jim : Did the railway say anything to you about the
accident?

Mrs.McKeswick : They did'nt have the decency to write me a
proper letter. It's written in pencil on the
back of a sheet they used to fill in the hours
they worked. It said, "sorry about the acci-
dent".

In the event of disaster reciprocity was always a reason for

communal understanding:

Charlie Stringer : When the Monty disaster happened I was at
school. At dinner time we all went to the
pit to see what had happened for the simple
reason that everybody who sat beside you had
some relation working in the pit - everybody
knew each other.

Reciprocal arrangements and understanding were also reinforced

by suspicion and coercion which acted as moral control:

Harry Tweddle : When I started at Vickers in 1937 at least
thirty people came and asked me who had got
me into the factory. Do you know why every-
body asked me that? They wanted to know if
I was one of the boss' men. That was the
suspicion. Once they knew who got me in I
was alright but if I'd got in through one of
the higher-ups then I would have been watched.

Since those hard days there is now a general belief held by the

older residents of Scotswood, as in other parts of Newcastle, which

claims that despite the relative affluence of today, "people are poorer

in other ways". This feeling of "anomie" is characteristic of the

disintegration of commonly held beliefs, values and codes of con-
duct.

In that modern life is individualistic it can be said to
lack, following Durkheim, the solidarity and moral integration of
traditional occupation and kinship based social organisation.
Thus, todays residents of Scotswood can rightly claim that "there
is no community spirit anymore".

The sense of anomie is also recognised by outside authors:

> The old hard years forged a wonderful spirit of caring
> that suffuses all local life. But, the intensity of
> this tribal feeling - Tyneside's strength - is also its
> enemy...An inward looking, self pitying nostalgia? A
> parochialism that seeks to exclude the world?   A
> fear of cosmopolitan values? .

> (John Ardagh,Tyne Tees T.V. 1980).

Anomie gives rise to despair echoed in statements like:
"why did they have to split us all up and destroy our community
when they rehoused everybody". According to Harry Tweddle it is
a predicament of the socially immobile working class who have been
rehoused 'en bloc' on socially destructive housing estates:

Harry Tweddle : Well, you can see the difference. Where I
live now is a council estate. Now the people
in our house don't know the people three doors
up the road. In Munition Cottages you knew
everybody.

The malaise appears to have occurred in the post-war period
when the slum clearance of the 1950's and 60's, and the property
speculation of the early 1970's, conspired to disorientate the
indigenous population. Tenants were confronted with separation
and segregation. In consequence the quality of life suffered :

Mrs.McKeswick : Now I'm the only one in the street who lived
here when the houses were built. Today you've
got some terrible people here. Most of them
are problem families from Noble Street.

Similarly apparent :

Harry Ashworth: You've got to be careful now. If anybody
comes up to you in the street and asks for a
light you've got to scarpa quick 'cause you

> never know what they're gonna do. You can't
> trust anybody now.

In the 1970's new problems of public order emerged. Whilst

vandalism and delinquency were always key issues for the popular

press to focus attention on, the civic authorities and the municip-

ality's "professionals" recognised a more fundamental problem per-

taining to anomie when they recognised that traditional forms of

solidarity and communality had broken down. Consequently, the

buzz words became "animation projects" and "community integration".

Today, the problem of ethnicity is labelled "environmental stress" -

a euphemism for the mis-handling of the indiginous population.

Interpersonal Alienation.

Generally speaking, there is another problem encountered by

people in the urban environment. This is the problem of inter-

personal alienation where residents find the grounds for communi-

cation difficult to establish. Unlike the former problem people

faced with this difficulty find that they have no coherent identity

since they have no roots and consequently find social relation-

ships problematical. For these people, not only has the separ-

ation of "person from person and group from group, in the city"

caused hatred to be "a dreadfully easy emotion" (Raban,1974,p.4.),

but the grounds for making claims upon others becomes increasingly

bound up with narcissism and dramaturgic display.

Unless we can transform the plasticity of social space into

a consistent, fact-like unity of experience with other people

social life has a particular incomprehensible quality to it. As

urban dwellers "we live in a world marked by people at the next

table... So much takes place in the head, so little is known and

fixed" (ibid.pp.7-8).

The person faced with this type of experience is a stranger -

a phenomenon noted by Simmel :

> The stranger is... not in the sense often touched upon
> in the past, as the wanderer who comes today and goes
> tomorrow, but rather as the person who comes today and
> stays tomorrow. He is, so to speak, the potential
> wanderer: although he has not moved on, he has not quite
> overcome the freedom of coming and going. He is fixed
> with a particular spatial group, or within a group whose
> boundaries are similar to spatial boundaries. But his
> position in this group is determined, essentially, by
> the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning,
> that he imports qualities into it, which do not and can-
> not stem from the group itself.
>
> <div align="right">(Simmel,1950,p.402).</div>

Simmel's conception of the urban stranger invokes social

distance - itself a very specific form of social interaction. This,

according to Simmel, is a unity of nearness and remoteness which is,

in itself, grounded in the modern capitalistic state.

Since the social relationships within contemporary society are

generally instrumental and contractual interpersonal alienation is

the result of social distance. The amorphous city means that "we

can live in a world of strangers only because we have ordered our

cities such that it is possible to identify these personally-known

others with some degree of accuracy" (Lofland,1973,p.175). How-

ever, alienation results from failure to identify with these per-

sonally-known others. In existentialist terms such people feel a

lack of contingency between their ideas and actions and those of

others particularly when the richness and intensity of existence of

those actions is unobtainable.

One Newcastle youth demonstrates his search for community and

identity by the following remarks:

> Steve : There's two Christians at work who believe in the book
> of Revelations and they think that the end of the world
> is near. Well, the thing is, they don't drink and they
> don't smoke and they don't swear. They say they've
> given it all up for God. When I look at this its like
> giving you're whole life up to God and if you are put
> here to do something well, I think, you should just do
> what you believe and then you should find out what you're
> good at and do it. They tried to convert me. I was
> nearly into it as well then I thought : "Hey, that's

not for me". I think Christianity is a last resort.

Steve since became part of the punk youth-culture because this provided him with his "cause celebre". In keeping with his age-group and the punk phenomenon he attempted to make sense of the world through the emotive symbolic constructs of this politico-musical form.

> Steve : The way I see it is - I don't think punks are cleverer than anybody else ' its a cause. Its like, I've been waiting for this kind of music for years and when it came along I thought 'this is for me'. I think happiness is what it's all about. You could have a house in the country and a Rolls-Royce and millions of pounds and not be happy. If you've got that much money I don't think you would be happy. I've thought about it a lot. What I want to do is be on the bottom andplay around the clubs and youth clubs trying to make people happy. And what I really want to do is - when the concert's over, when everybody is going home - to make them think. When they're sitting on the bus to think, "hey, that last song was good it really meant something". With this band I'm in now I'm really happy-go-lucky. We're not trying to be famous, we're going to do what we want to do and what we want to do is to take a message around to the kids.

A sense of the despair and frustration of people within the city is often indicated by the personal adverts carried by local newspapers, referring to singles clubs, marriage bureau's, Samaritans, Alcoholics Anonymous etc.

> Weekends, as every single person knows, are Hell. And it doesn't matter what manner of single you are...weedy and widowy, merry and widowed, divorced and glad of it, or simply never married at all...if you're a certain age (45 to 60 say) and unattached then weekends are miserable.
>
> (Evening Chronicle, 13.2.81).

Following Simmel, the secular stranger is not a person but a condition of modern existance. By implication this means that distance is not a statistical fact but a conceptual one. Since the city has become the site for the "global village" the stranger becomes a necessary quality of urban life allowing a person to maintain a balance between conceptual proximity and social identity. This fact should not be underestimated since it links the problems

associated with interpersonal alienation to issues of contemporary public order.

Our concern with issues of public order results from the fact that any form of social interaction in a public place contains specific rules for the observance of anonymity or sociability. In other words, the threshold between these two areas is marked by positive or negative sanctions which contribute to public anxieties.

Public order is crucial in the sense that it involves unaquainted persons - strangers - in mutual situations where order may be a central issue (Goffman, 1972a, p.18).

As Goffman himself has observed : "There is the political doctrine that order is 'natural', that any order is good, and that a bad social order is better than no order at all. There is also the belief that the rules of an order are such as to make mutual dealings possible. And, in truth, the rules of an order are necessarily such as to preclude the kind of activity that would have disrupted the mutual dealings, making it impractical to continue with them" (ibid.p.15).

An example of public order and the rules pertaining to anonymity or sociability is illustrated by the public house. By definition the public house is an "open region" where "those who are present have the right to engage others, acquainted or not, in conversational interaction and the duty to accept the overtures of sociability proffered to them" (Cavan,1973,p.143). Consequently, "Although the bar is typically populated primarily by strangers, interaction is available to all those who choose to enter" (ibid). Alternatively, the desire to remain anonymous in a public place requires rules of civil inattention (Goffman,1963,pp.84-95). Thus, in a public bar "The solitary individual who desires to remain alone for the duration of his stay will ordinarily seat himself at

the bar, like those who are more open for interaction, but he

will sit in a particular posture" and "unlike those who are open

for interaction, the solitary drinker typically minimizes the amount

of physical space he takes up at the bar" (Cavan,1973,p.144).

Public order, to be rule grounded, has to be surrounded

by potential rule infractions, a point in fact which links the

supervision of social structure to the social relationships,

and the interactions, that are deemed permissible by the moral

guardians of the environment. Inevitably the supervision of the

public order involves ambiguous prejudicial decisions made about

other people, an overt example of which can be gleaned from the

following encounter :

Paul :   I was going downtown for a drink with my mate Dave Story.
         We went to the City Tavern first then we were going to
         the Burgoines to meet a couple of mates. We set off down
         there - me, Dave the "Hulk", and Allan and his girlfriend.
         Allan and his girlfriend had an argument and she set off
         in the other direction. Well, he says "do you think I
         should run after her" and we said "aye, go on, run after
         her" so off he went. In the meantime me and Dave stood
         beside the fire station across the road from the toilets
         and Dave says "hey I'm dying for a slash. Are those
         toilets over there open". So he walked towards the kerb
         to have a look and he says "no, I don't think they are".
         So, then we stepped back against the wall just waiting
         for Allan and Tracy. I was standing out on the pave-
         ment, a bit, and Dave was standing behind me. Then,
         this man brushed passed me and grabbed hold of Dave's
         coat. Well he had a leather jacket on and he started
         pulling him down - so I thought "here's trouble". I
         thought he knew him or something but he didn't. Then,
         this other man came across and grabbed hold of my arm and
         says "Vice Squad, get in the doorway". So by this
         time we were bundled up the steps in this doorway. One
         was questioning Dave the other was questioning me. He
         says : "What were you doing?" so I says : "Waiting for
         me mates". Then, he says : "What you doing looking at
         them toilets?"
         So I says: "We just wanted to go to the toilet".
         So he says:"Do you know what them toilets are for?"
         I says:"No"
         So he says:"Puffs go down there - queers. Are you a
         puff and a queer?".
         I says: "No"
         So he says: "What you looking across there for - looking
         suspicious.
         I said: "I'm not"

```
He says : "What's you're name?"
I says   : "Paul"
So then he said: "I want your full fuckin' name"
So then I told him my name and address and then he says:
"How old are you"
So I said : "eighteen"
He said : "Are you sure about that?"
Then he asked me again : "Are you a puff?"
So I says "No"
So he said again : "Are you a 'homo'? a queer?"
So I said again : "No" and he said again : "Well what
were you looking at them toilets for?"
He just kept questioning us over and over again.  So
we were sweating and panicing by this time, and Dave
my mate, he's got a twitch that looks like a smile and
I could see him out of the corner of my eye.  So the
copper says to him:
"What's you name?"
and he kind of twitched so the copper says to him:
"What you smiling at son?"
Dave says: "No, no, I wasn't smiling"
So then he said to him: "How old are you?"
And Dave says : "Eighteen" then his twitch came on again
So the copper says : "If you're fuckin' smiling at me
I'll knock the smile off your bloody face"
So Dave's  saying "No, no, no, I'm not"
Anyway, he asked for identification and when he found
out that it was O,K. he said:
"Right, piss off, if I catch you 'round here again I'll
do you".
```

Public order in the city depends upon the ritual maintainence

of "normal appearances" which are themselves built from rules per-

taining to a threshold of anonymity and sociability. The public

arenas of the city are only made possible through a regard for civil-

ity based on the mutual desire to fulfill minimal public deference

(Manning,1976). This means that social relationships conducted in

public are circumscribed by formal arrangements of ritual inter-

change whereby civility becomes a positive echo of the public order

and consequently necessitates forms of strategic interaction hover-

ing between fulfilling public deference whilst attempting to main-

tain self respect.

Whilst there are various degrees of anonymity and sociability

it is possible to delineate two types of infringement. For example,

one type which may take place in a public setting is characterised

by one person imposing an undue amount of personal biographical

detail upon another so than an encounter becomes over-burdoned with self-personification leading to a deterioration in remedial or supportive interchange.

The second type is typified by the fact that the territory surrounding an individual is made to denote a private space free from intrusion. This private space, for example, may be physical - denoted by the arrangement of objects (Goffman,1972a, p.52) or it may be conceptual such as the ceremonial space created by a court-ing couple (Weitman,1973). Thus private space can also suffer the burdon of intrusion caused by public impropriety.

In the first example the public space is saturated with the burdons of intimacy and the rule of sociability among strangers (more specifically, one should say remedial and supportive inter-change (see Goffman,1972a).) is placed at risk. In the second example, the act of intimacy is potentially rendered open to public scrutiny. Consequently, because of the threshold between the pri-vate space of intimacy and the public space of civility the crea-tion of meaningful relationships is a source of concern generating, at the very least, "loss of face" and at the words alienation from interaction (Goffman,1972b).

The following dialogue with members of an 18 Plus group in Newcastle illustrates the problem of interpersonal alienation where community, identity, intimacy and norms of reciprocity are sought-after qualities of a social relationship. Because these ingred-ients of social intercourse were generally precipitated by a con-cern over personal estrangement from society the aims of the group sought to facilitate friendship and alleviate loneliness by be-coming a conceptual community for anonymous, lonely people.

The origins of 18 Plus groups can be traced back to a survey by the Carnegie United Trust conducted in 1939 entitled: "Disinherited

Youth". However, the organisation today tends to have a very different clientelle from that envisaged by the Carnegie survey into unemployed men. The group, by becoming a community, is able to augment a formal type of sociability under controlled conditions. As such, this offers a degree of protection from the vagaries of chance encounters and the social insecurity clearly felt by many people.

The group held its meetings in a private room of a local public house. The structure of the group was formalised through a weekly agenda of activities; a committee to organise the activities; and a record of minutes. Most people were encouraged to take on some form of responsibility for the ongoing workings of the group.

Events presided over by members of the group included word-games, quizzes, talkes on popular subjects etc. Outside events were also arranged such as parachute jumping, a trip in a lifeboat, hiking, camping, beach parties etc.

After one or two visits I discovered that a subtle form of socialization was taking place and which, although deliberately engineered by the organising committee, eased the transition from the comparative anonymity of the outsider to the structured sociability of the 18 Plus group. The techniques used, for example, consisted of the deployment of a "host" and "hostess" to greet the new visitor; after a chat either the host or hostess will tacitly assign a person to a particular group of habitues who are thought to be best suited to the personality of the newcomer. The whole process discreetly allows the group to manoeuvre various personalities so that checks and balances can be made to the social structure. By attempting to create a sociable environment through the deployment of certain techniques of social interaction the group

is able to partly overcome differences in socio-economic status.

Since the aim is the achievement of sociability, "Wealth, social

position, erudition, fame, exceptional capabilities and merits,

may not play any part"; nor should "the purely and deeply per-

sonal traits of one's life, character, mood and fate" since they

militate against the goal of mutual interaction (Simmel,1976,p.83).

The world of strangers is brought into sharp focus by the fol-

lowing remarks on loneliness :

> Lynn : I was bored, nothing to do. I think its more difficult
> for a woman in the city if she does'nt know anyone. I
> mean, if you were to go into a bar by yourself you'd get
> all sorts of labels attached to you. But at least with
> the 18 Plus you'd get to know people with similar inter-
> ests who you can go out with.

> Cath : All sorts of people come here but mainly they are people
> who are lonely or find they don't know anyone in the
> city. Or maybe people who are nervous about going out
> by themselves.

> Brian : I moved up here with my job and didn't know anyone. I
> was living in this bedsit with another guy I didn't
> really get on with. And, I didn't want to go out
> socially with people I worked with. I came along here
> because I was lonely and saw an "ad" in the local paper
> about 18 Plus. At the time I thought : "Christ, does
> it have to come down to this? Do I really have to meet
> people this way?" And then I thought : "Well you've
> got nothing to loose, if you don't like it then you
> just don't go back".

The realization that formal friendships are a way forward

for the individual is tempered, quite often, by acute embarrassment

about having to reveal the true reason for being there. Yet is is

the desire for communication with others, the need for commitment

toward social availability, that generates a search for the soc-

iable community :

> Dave : When you think about it there's nothing wrong with
> formal friendships. I mean, I know that there are
> other chance ways of meeting people - say, on a bus and
> its raining and you get on talking to somebody - but I
> don't think that they're too successful. Or you go to
> a disco to meet people, and you don't get to know any-
> one else really. It's not a good way to meet people.
> So, I don't think there's anything wrong with formal
> friendships.

However, the need to contact others in this way itself imposes a strain, at least initially, on the relationship:

> Cath : One girl came here, and she sat down for a while just listening to what was going on - she seemed very nervous - and then she just broke down and cried. Most of us were playing cards or silly games or something and she took one look and said "Oh my God" and ran out. We never saw her again.

Those newcomers who do manage to step from their paramount reality into the carefully orchestrated world of the 18 Plus group are eased into the latter by the host and hostess. On one occasion, for example, two young ladies who had just entered were placed beside two new male members. This was done, it was explained to me, "to make the girls feel at ease" and "to boost the lads'egos a bit". The ensuing activities - the evenings events - which may take the form of a quiz about famous battles, authors, animals and reptiles etc., serve the function of focusing friendship through a "scripted" occasion. Put another way, the communication itself "makes reference to a community in which friendship is possible because the motive for competition is absent" (Mullen,1979,p.31).

Because conflict is eliminated and social relationships are temporarily rendered egalitarian the formal sociability experienced by the group creates a purified community (Sennett,1973, 1977) where action and meaning are intrinsic to the group itself. Consequently, the insider/outsider paranoia becomes intensified :

> Jim : ...if you were not lonely why did you come here?

> Ivan : Oh, just to meet people...I'm a chemical engineer, you know, and most of the people under me have got an I.Q. of six - no brains at all. Well, after coming here and feeling awkward I met this guy and he struck me as being really nice and I thought, "I've got a good mate here".

In the modern secular city civility, as an instance of public order, has become a reflection of the organised environment. One might say that public space has been uniquely transformed into

discreet social arrangements which are dependent upon norms per-
taining to appropriate degrees of sociability or anonymity.

Such loners in the city have to find ways of transforming
social space in order to fit their needs. In the examples cited
above people have consciously sought to overcome problems of inter-
personal alienation by belonging to a group - by becoming members -
which, to some extent, provides sanctuary and insulation from the
amorphous cold and unfriendly urban landscape.

The city unlike the urban village is plastic. The city is
an artifact, a conceptual scheme designed for the preservation of
public order and the creation of civility. However, because of its
very plasticity the urban environment, in superseding the urban
villages of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, has created
conditions of anomie and interpersonal alienation. Those who,
therefore, belonged to the older occupational communities of Tyne-
side are unable to achieve commitment to a moral order as they
knew it in the past. On the other hand, the plasticity of the
modern city has created a potential world of strangers who, with-
out the correct acquisition of locational, symbolic and trans-
formational skills (Lofland,1973), are unable to cummunicate with
each other successfully. This marked lack of sociability is a
source of interpersonal alienation when people fail to obtain
any sense of meaning and commitment in their interactions. Taken
to its extreme this results in purified communities where people
become over-selective in their social arrangements.

In the following chapters I want to distinguish other types
of arrangements generated through forms of popular culture which
allows participants to obtain a degree of existential freedom
through the imposition of identity and communality in social life.

CHAPTER SIX.

STYLE AS METAPHOR FOR SYMBOLIC ACTION:
TODDY BOYS, AUTHENTICITY AND IDENTITY.

My intention in this chapter is to articulate the process

of popular culture by looking at the way in which the idea of style

is used by members themselves to structure an authentic existance

with others, as well as to create a personal identity by which life

becomes meaningful. My contention is that such leisure identities

involve "playing" with the structures of everyday life. That is,

they involve rearranging the mundane in order to make life inter-

esting, purposeful and intelligible. But by transforming the mun-

dane they also restructure the rules of that world temporarily and

thereby create a social space of alternative values where those

involved not only control that space but redefine their social

statuses and identities also. Since the resource for creating such

a world is stylistic it is, by implication, metaphorical. The

commodities of style offer the potential for playing with the rules

but the construction of authenticity and identity is a celebration

of "being" in the world by those who belong to the group .

The Interpretation of Style.

> In this sense...living in cities is an art, and we need
> the vocabulary of art, of style, to describe the peculiar
> relationship between man and material that exists in the
> continual creative play of urban living.
>
> (Raban,1974)

As the process of urbanisation has become more intense in the

course of the 20th century then, correspondingly, human inter-

action has become increasingly heterogeneous. The corollary of this

is that making sense of any course of action in an urban environment

depends upon prior knowledge of highly specific interpretive codes

which explain the activities of diverse groups of people. This means

that the activities in which people become engaged and the strate-
gies upon which such activities depend revolve around a basic human
need - sociability - and the desire for a coherent identity.

People in the modern city, then, do not get involved in
activities to fritter away time. They become involved in activities
in strategic ways, the purpose of which is to reduce the complexity
of urban life and the anxiety of interpersonal alienation. It is no
coincidence, therefore, that social life in the 20th century has
been seen to be potentially organisable via artistic forms in
machine technology and in architecture. Thus social life is today
imbued with theoretical prognoses and practical prescription. And
on the other hand, as leisure time has become relatively free from
the constraints of labour then working class groups have become
increasingly visible. Style has become the commodity most suited
to modern urban living. This is why, as Raban hints in the opening
remark, official as well as unofficial responses to urban life
have taken on a vocabulary of art, of style.

The discussion of style that has taken place so far in British
sociology emphasizes the cultural resistance of working-class youth
groups to post-war capitalist society. Much of the work on style
has been developed at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
in Birmingham and is concerned with the symbolic protest generated
by such groups. The work of this sociological school has been
influential in the last decade and whilst it has been invaluable
it has a methodological bias which becomes a scientific problem
worthy of consideration.

Whilst their method has been to locate styles of youth cul-
ture as oppositional in form, the methodological tools for creating
an account were not simply available 'ipso facto' but have them-
selves been developed over the past decade. The arrangement of

content, then, is itself stylistic. We are therefore faced with the immediate paradox that the investigation of sub-cultural style is subject to its own mode of stylized discourse. Style, then, from any methodological position (whether that be an ordinary member of society or someone with a privileged analytical status) represents a choice. It represents a strategic decision about living a particular way (lifestyle) in a particular context (political-economic). To the sub-cultural member style becomes a mode of signification and connotation in a known subjective universe. To borrow Husserl's term, he attaches a "natural attitude" to every-day life. To the sub-cultural theorist style involves a strategic decision taken as a method for selecting and organising information. The problem here then is how to do the selecting and ordering given : a) a claim to objectivity and b) the attempt to ensure that objec-tivity faithfully explains members experiences in some way. This process is not, and has never been, satisfactorily explained.

The major problem in the discussion of style within British sociology is this : the consciousness of the subjects, as meaning-ful choices of action, is exchanged for a second order explanation of signification and connotation by the observer. The C.C.C.S., as the major exponents of sub-cultural style, have throughout their history been searching for a better vocabulary - a style - with which to explore their subject matter. In particular, their cri-tique of older cultural studies from 1956 to 1971 argues that since these studies deal with changes thrust upon the working-class the "passivity of the class is a key feature : the sociologies present people to whom things happen" (Clarke et.al., 1979, p.14). The inherent problem of these earlier accounts, it was argued, was that the working-class were viewed as a residual category : an account of cultural process was lacking.

Consequently, the establishment of a cultural studies programme
came to be defined chiefly by two authors - Hoggart and Williams.
However, such work despite its value "displayed a strong bias to-
wards literature and literacy and an equally strong moral tone"
(Hebdige, 1979, p.8). Hoggart deplored the displacement of working-
class values by rampant commercialism whilst Williams "was concerned
to establish aesthetic and moral criteria for distinguishing the
worthwhile products from the trash" (1979,p.8). Consequently, early
cultural studies were imbued with a role of moral gate-keeping.

The combination of political and moral criticism led to the
desire to find a more vigorous set of analytical tools in order
to replace the mistakes of the former analyses. For this pur-
pose structuralism provided the answer although the style incor-
porated into the work of the C.C.C.S. was mainly of literary and
theoretical descent. As a more vigorous methodology structuralism
appeared to "provide answers to some of the questions that academic
sociology did not even raise. It promised vigorous and systematic
theory which we found lacking in modern sociology, and offered an
inter-disciplinary outlook which did not carve up the social world
into preconceived areas and corresponding academic disciplines or
hypostatise the social as an autonomous and rarified level of reality.
More important it was anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist, chal-
lenged bourgeois justification of capitalism and imperialism, and
seemed to provide a potential link between theory and practice..."
(Glucksmann, 1974, p.230.).

The literary style is best exemplified by the style of Roland
Barthes who, through semiotics, sought to demistify the products of
bourgeois society by illustrating a possible vocabulary of ideological
significance. Barthes systematically challenged the naturalness of
social phenomena and artifacts by showing that they belonged to a

historical-political-economic order. Such products became, in
Barthes' terms, mythologies or hidden speech which contained a set
of social rules for understanding the order of the social world.

The importance of displaying the ideologies of everyday life
implicit in the work of Barthes, was appropriately married with
the theoretical structuralism of Althusser. The solution for cul-
tural studies was then to uncover the connotative codes which "cover
the face of social life and render it classifiable, intelligible,
and meaningful" (Hall, 1977). The style, then, is important in the
sense that it reveals some of the ideological constraints upon
social life. However, its objectivity does not lie in its ability
to transcend interpretation: because "there is an aura of objec-
tivity, a 'science' of possible readings rather than the subjec-
tivity of evaluation, (Structuralism-semiotics)... seems to justify
an analysis of ideologies which transcends ideology" (Chaney, 1979,
p.28). One book in particular which is largely defined by this
tradition is Dick Hebdige's Subculture: The Meaning of Style (1979).
Hebdige admirably sets up the notion of style as refusal by illus-
trating how objects of adornment represent the paraphernalia of sub-
culture - the expressive form and ritual of intentionality. Thus
the object of study is the "expressive forms and rituals of those
subordinate groups - the teddy boy and mods and rockers, the skin-
heads and the punks - who are alternatively dismissed, denounced
and cannonized; treated at different times as threats to public
order and as harmless buffoons" (1979). But Hebdige's interpre-
tation of style - as intriguing and interesting as it is suffers
from the methodological problem of not being able to separate and
illustrate modes of subjective and objective interpretation. The
misleading fallacy is that the objects themselves present a para-
mount reality which is accessible via the semiotic code.

Although his style is of literary descent Hebdige employs the notion of "sign community" which allows him to read meaning from the appearance : "Unlike the defiantly obtrusive teddy boys, the mods were more subtle and subdued in appearance...The mods invented a style which enabled them to negotiate smoothly between school, work and leisure, and which concealed as much as it stated" (1979, p.52). Instead of social space and its significance to subcultural members Hebdige gives us the ideological space of confrontation between hegemonic and subordinate cultural systems, or more precisely, between conventional commonsense straight society and the subversive "bricolage" of sub-cultures. The critique of modern society created by Hebdige, whilst successful in drawing our attention to the expressive forms and ritual accomplishments of subordinate groups, fails to support its claims to objectivity. Indeed, the logical corollary of this is that the punk's safety-pin through the nose; the teddy-boy's "theft and transformation of the Edwardian style"; the mods ultra-respectable appearance and cultivated cool etc., cannot be seen as a genuine conscious reaction to the hegemony of social structure, as Hebdige implies, but rather as a confused rhetoric of semiotic style.

Analysis in such terms leaves Hebdige open to the charge of symbolic determinism since reading the sign community suggests a hypothetical view of man where there is a notable absence of the human condition. The main problem of this mode of analysis is its failure to achieve its central aim; to discover the cultural process and eliminate the passivity of social actors. It is not that it does not attempt this possibility but its route is unfortunately circumjacent. Because ethnography is either missing altogether it provides a subordinate role to the textual analysis the strategic reasons for members actions tends to diminish. Whilst

ideology is adequately treated consciousness is not.

At times the C.C.C.S. approach confuses textual analysis with ethnography. Articles by Hebdige, Jefferson, and Clarke in the Resistance through Rituals volume (Hall and Jefferson, 1976) whilst given the heading of ethnography in fact present a documentary approach to their subjects since these authors utilise material that is from secondary sources - ie., either newspapers or other authors. However, there are some notable exceptions namely Corrigan and Willis.

Willis in particular despite the methodological introduction by the editors (who claim that the adoption of the "transactionalist" perspective, however important, was relegated to a "marginal position in favour of a concern with the structural and cultural origins of British youth subcultures" (Hall and Jefferson,1976) "stands squarely in the interactionist and ethnographic traditions associated with Howard Becker, David Matza" etc. (Pearson and Twohig, 1976). Indeed his devotion to the interpretive paradigm leaves little place for procrustean dictates of traditional sociological theory with methods modelled on the procedures of the natural sciences (Willis, 1980.). And although he admonishes the potential for passivity in participant observation he by no means dissolves his subjects' consciousness into issues of ideology and hegemony. His methodological relationship with the conflict paradigm of sociology is relatively unobtrusive whilst his radical ethnographic style is nevertheless evident.

Willis clearly situates himself within the action paradigm. His thesis on Popular Music and Youth Culture Groups in Birmingham asserts that "This study will take both the interactions and the cultural artifacts as the material for study" (1972).

Elsewhere he suggests that style is a metaphor for symbolic action

by saying that the "absolute security of identity was characteristically expressed in a distinctive style" (Willis, 1978, p.18). However, one problem remains. The attempt to illustrate the volition of the motor bike boys, by analysing the symbolic "indexicality" of the motor bike, succeeded in illustrating how social space is created and negotiated whilst characteristically oppositional in nature. But the account fails to display the ways in which the subjects' own philosophy of existence celebrates the profane as a positive affirmation of "being" in the world.

It is possible, I believe, to go beyond the interactionist notion of negotiable social space and enter the realm of existential meaning. In their examination of The Existential Self in the Gay World, Warren and Ponse alert us to the fact that "Since the emergence of modern individualism in the renaissance western women and men have shared some general ideas about themselves, about what they are, about their very beings" (1977,p.273). Thus, the authors point out that whilst people generally express ideas about situated selves - ie., for example, being British or American, defining a person by the job he or she does etc - "they have also assumed that... there is a substantial self, the real me, the thing I still always am when I am all those different and varying situated selves..."(1977).

In the following analysis I have chosen the concepts authenticity and identity after careful consideration of the subject matter and since both words appear to suggest a facet of life which concerns us all : first, the need to structure existence with meaning and second, the need to know who we are . (I)

A final note on my research strategy is important. The method is that of ethnographic semantics which seeks to describe culture in its own terms by paying attention to the characteristic ways in which people categorise and define their own experience. Thus the objective

was to describe what the informants knew, rather than did, and in
this their language itself displayed what Searle, following Austin,
calls speech acts which perform the function of objectification.
One type of speech act - illocutionary - is exhibited in the ethno-
graphic material. Illocutionary acts then involve "making state-
ments, asking questions, giving orders, making promises, apologising,
thanking and so on" (Searle, 1974). They are, in fact, methods for
organising meaning so that a social world becomes orderly and unprob-
lematic. As rules they are the instruments of culture by which we
construct both an authentic attitude to the world as well as an
identity.

Teddy Boys, Authenticity and Identity.

Rock'n'roll is perhaps the medium 'par excellence' of the 20th
century which celebrates the mundane. Not only was it the first to
become a market place art form but encouraged a social-self reflexive-
ness typifying a modern need to overcome interpersonal alienation
in the urban environment. Originally both musicians and audience
lacked both tradition and training in the genre and the attitude to
musical performances appeared intuitive. Furthermore, rock'n'roll
can be seen as a ritual for raising energy. Thus, if it celebrated
unemployment, poverty, sex, violence etc., then it provided an arena
for ritually dispensing with energy by "duffing somebody on the nose,
getting drunk or exchanging energy with a suitable partner" (Fripp,
1980).

The '50's saw the birth of this new medium of expression - pop
music as distinct from popular - which contrasted with the previously
street based, informal, traditional activities. The attraction of
rock'n'roll lay undoubtedly in the contrast this medium offered as
a form of expression and solidarity from the relative poverty of young

working-class adolescents and the small range of leisure-time

activities open to them. However, rock'n'roll in Britain today

differs from the '50's. It is now a self-conscious morality play -

a tale which is enacted through the construction of myths and

legends brought about by a revived, reflexive interest in its own

history.

Whilst we begin with the idea that style is, by its very nature,

a form of refusal and revolt (Hebdige, 1979, Melly, 1979, Raban, 1974)

its ability to project personality originated with romanticism.

Our topic then, is popular culture as social process. But it is

also about the power of communication to achieve a reciprocity of

perspectives and the positive ability of the individual to structure

his or her identity in public.

Authenticity.

Authenticity is an act which personalizes and humanizes the

individual. The paradox of authenticity is that the discovery of

an identity presupposes an organised existence with others. It is

essentially a tenet of existentialist philosophy which suggests

that being-with-others is fundamentally the characterizing experi-

ence 'par excellence' : "True community allows for true diver-

sity" (Macquarrie, 1973, p.91). However, we may ask just what the

criterion is by which we can distinguish the authentic from the

inauthentic? Following Macquarrie we may say that "Authentic

being-with-others is precisely that mode of relation to the other

that promotes existence in the full sense : that is to say, it

lets the human stand out as human, in freedom and responsibility.

On the other hand, inauthentic being-with-others suppresses the gen-

uinely human and personal" (ibid).

By establishing an authentic attitude towards others a person

establishes his humanity and dignity. Adopting an authentic atti-
tude is the first step both in personal construction and communal
reconstruction of a social world. And it is then, the construc-
tions which people place upon existence that may be considered to
be the art of humanizing the world.

Establishing Conceptual Boundaries.

In authenticating the world we humanize it by imposing our
logic through conceptual schemes. In this process language becomes
the most powerful tool of personal involvement and commitment. How-
ever, before we consider this aspect it is worth noting that authors
as varied as Riesman, Sennett, Lofland, Lasch, etc., seem to equate
modern western urban culture with a social problematic : the exis-
tence of interpersonal alienation, or loneliness, whilst parad-
oxically being in the midst of a crowd. Riesman (1950, in particular,
has designated the term "other directedness" in contrast with "tradi-
tion directedness". The import of such a conception is that modern
everyday encounters offer only a suferficial intimacy. Furthermore,
much of Goffman's work is designed to expose a similar public super-
structure. And both Sennett (1977) and Lofland (1973) suggest that
it is only through a public geography that the problem of audience
and order are solved: "through a common code of believability"
(Sennett, 1977).

Following this line of thought I would suggest that everyday
encounters are characteristically inauthentic in that they do not
compound a sense of community since they do not really involve a
commitment to an organising structure: "you're a balloonist adrift
and you need anchors to tether you down" (Raban,1974).

By contrast it is precisely the act of consolidating a formal
relationship with others which allows an authentic attitude to occur.

It is through communication then that a social group will be able

to promote a version of what being human actually means and in

various ways seek to dignify its own existence despite, and because

of, impinging social structures which maintain class and inegali-

tarian relationships. Thus the following exchanges illustrate how

Teds establish conceptual boundaries around their social reality of

rock'n'roll. But also, the exchanges permit the observer to under-

stand a little of the peculiar dignity and humanity in the social

world of the rocker.

Being a Ted.

In order to construct a form of social experience meaningful

actions must be consolidated in terms of distinct categories.

People draw around these categories conceptual boundaries such as,

being a rocker or a Ted. There is, consequently, always the

danger that the boundaries of experience and folk-knowledge can

become ambiguous or blurred. Experience in a social world then is

continuously redefined and social space continuously re-negotiated.

The teds have learned to consolidate their latter-day image

by establishing boundaries between themselves and others. But

these boundaries themselves are partly defined by others. For

example, the teds have been caricatured and made to appear abnormal:

> Something left over from a previous era can look
> grotesque, as though its growth has been stunted.
> That is the impression gained from the 'Teds' exhibition
> at the Side Gallery, Newcastle which shows modern day
> Teddy boys still operating in the eighties...
>   The new Teddy boys look as though history's wave has
> left them high and dry. The pictures at the Side could
> be seen as a cruel distorting glass. But they also
> reflect something about our urban culture which doesn't
> offer much of a future to some of its citizens .
>
> (Evening Chronicle,1979)

The highly moralistic and ethnocentric tone of this statement

not only suggests that a natural attitude towards cultural experience

exists against which distortions can be measured but also eschews the fact that teds find in rock'n'roll a medium of expression: a vehicle for exercising their own volition in a class-ridden society. By contrast, such styles are working class solutions to the complexity of modern social life. They are collective solutions designed to make life intelligible for the individual. Much of the uncertainty and misunderstanding that occurs between different groups of people in modern society is born out of the fact that people have increasingly lost their grasp of the collective grammars of everyday life.

Almost all of the teds that I spoke to found rock'n'roll difficult to define. Most comments suggested that "you can't define it, it just there". Or conversley, those who attempt a definition usually give up :

> Well its about music, a sort of cross between country and blues. I'd call it country music with a beat. It's a bit complicated though .
>
> (Anonymous ted)

Whilst definitive statements are difficult to come by it was by no means the case that those who participated in the rock'n'roll scene did not know what it was about. On the contrary, a very definite picture is built up by their actions and particularly by the statements which circumscribe this action.

Establishing an authentic attitude towards the subject is of paramount importance, and indeed, a feature of what Simmel has called segmental friendships. An authentic attitude is never simply given but developed over time. It is, therefore, in the act of authentication that a community is formed: it is through methods for structuring a possible social reality that a unified form of experience can emerge. For example:

> Allan: Rock'n'roll, I don't know how to explain it. It's sort of in your blood. I mean the rhythm, it just gets you and you've got to move to it. It gets the

adrenalin going: it gets the aggression out of you.

Adopting a ritualized posture towards the subject a nineteen
year old ted remarked:

> Oh, well, I just like it. I think the gear's great,
> really smart, not like punk .

Such superficial pronouncements, whilst serving a ritual function,
only tend to mask the way truth is composed in the social world of
the ted. (truth here is not meant to imply a scientific method of
falsifiability and deductive logic but a method for organising some
form of consensus about social values). The question then, is how
do such people achieve a consensus? An obvious answer lies in the
following dialogue:

> Barry is a Jerry Lee Lewis fan, he thinks he's the
> greatest. Tony is an Elvis fanatic, he reckons that
> Elvis is the king. In fact there's no king of rock'n'
> roll cause they're all good - Elvis, Cochran, Vincent,
> Lewis, Buddy Holly .
>
>   (Anonymous ted)

The important point here is that the truth lies not in the des-
cription as such but in the type of statement made. The dis-
cussion about a single king of rock'n'roll is arbitrary (there will
be endless dispute over this issue). Instead the statement forces
the listener to consider what rock'n'roll is about. And the answer
is style. Elvis, Cochran, Vincent, etc., are all styles which
form an opposition with those that are not authentic rock'n'roll -
("Cliff? He's either a puff or a religious idiot. He was only
Britain's poor carbon copy of Elvis") and definitely not generic
rock'n'roll (jazz, blues, country, pop etc.). The issue here is
that whilst "the individual is liberated to assemble and destroy
realities by manipulating socio-cultural elements according to the
free play of his imagination" (MacCannall,1976,p.141) he necessarily
constructs a consensus about an authentic attitude towards rock'n'
roll.

Todays teds are nostalgic adherents to rock'n'roll. They are people of all ages who tend to romanticise the past. Many often associate the disappearance of original rock'n'roll with the disappearance of other social values of honour, masculinity, femininity etc., found in older working-class communities. Most teds, male and female, tend to select and emphasize certain values related to being a rocker. It is no surprise therefore to find, what is perhaps, the most extreme version of what being a ted means. The following verbal exchange at a Newcastle dance hall was recorded:

Screwy Dave: Huh, a fuckin' ted without his drape. '
Bill: Piss off you drunken sod.

A ted without his drape is like a western gunfighter without his gun. Bill is seen to hold an inauthentic attitude to the occasion and Dave is coercing him to recognise this as a feature of his performance. Dave's attitude is typical of those who consider themselves to be the 'real teds" - the authentics as opposed to the "plastics". The encounter symbolizes a division between those who embrace a total seriousness towards their dress and demeanour and those who wear the "right" clothes only for a night out. The latter are classed as chameleons who use masks to alter their appearance by day and night.

The need to continually authenticate the experience is emphasized and is for this reason that the word "plastic" takes on derisory connotations invoking others to recognize, if not adopt, the correct attitude. For example:

Screwy Dave: They're not real, you've got to live it all the time. Take Tony Coats, for example, he's a real posh ted. You've seen him haven't you? Comes along in all this posh gear but he doesn't dress that way through the day.
       Me, I dress the same all the time. You've got to otherwise your plastic.

The importance of being an authentic ted also extends to the non-mundane:

Keith: "Rock'n'roll is both our lives. We will never give it
        up. I am going to be buried in a black velvet drape".

Handling Yourself.

Another aspect of adopting an appropriate posture to the

socially constructed world of the latter-day ted is that of being

able to handle yourself. Being a "hard lad" for example, is a way

of formulating an appearance commensurate with the disappearing

values enshrined in the world of the manual labourer. Here, young

men especially had to prove themselves capable of physical endur-

ance in "hard" manual jobs. Jack Common brilliantly assessed this

fact in his book "The Freedom of the Streets". Here he writes

that "In the factories, mines and shipyards there is the same oppor-

tunity for physical hardihood, the same rough equality and moderned

respect for one's essential manhood, the same sense of outlawry

and alien oppression formerly represented by the teacher and the

constable, now symbolised by the bosses and the managerial staff"

(Common,1935,p.75). Proving yourself belongs to the cultural heri-

tage of endurance which existed in older working-class communities.

And whilst many teds today tend to emphasize that they are skilled

workers being tough remains a component of the yesteryear teddy

boy image:

    Allan: In the '50's teds were territorial. Each area had its
           own codes. It usually depended on the way clothes were
           worn. But you had to be very careful when you entered
           another territory. If they duffed you up you got them
           when they came through yours. Today that doesn't happen
           but some of the younger lads, for some reason, think
           that they've got to look tough and aggressive. And
           its all to do with what they think the teddy boy was in
           the '50's.

Today, young teds use the popular stereotypes of the older

generation of teddy boys to create positive images of what Cohen has

called folk devils. But the positive side of this self-typifying

process lies in the value laden metaphors selected by the younger

generation:

> Rocking Jim: The young lads operate with this image of the
> old teds: hard and tough, don't talk to nobody,
> smoke Capstan full strength and spit out of the
> corner of the mouth. Now the young ones hear of
> this. There was one lad who came to the club with
> a cut throat razor in his pocket and we had to
> throw him out. Some of the younger lads think
> all the old teds did was to go around kicking
> people in and slashing cinema seats .

Such people often seek to be prominent figures in the community

by projecting an image of masculinity in its extreme:

> Linda: Two of the worst offenders are Screwy Dave and Big
> Tommy. They're not so bad now but there was a time when
> they absolutely hated each other. Mind they still don't
> like each other - they'll buy each other a drink but
> they'll sit all night and growl at each other across the
> table. Tommy's the worst though. I mean he's vicious,
> he looks for trouble. There's a lot here that's
> frightened of him .

Threats.

Broadly speaking, there are three types of rock'n'roller :

teds, rockabilly rebels and hep-cats. Since the ted style is seen

to be the most authentic the popularity of the other two causes

some concern by acting as a threat to the ted style. Since style

is a coherent attitude towards the world a threat to style is re-

garded as an attempt to destroy "The" authentic reality. When

this occurs from the inside of a community many participants will

feel extremely bitter as the following exchange indicates:

> Screwy Dave: There's only one rock'n'roll and the teds are
> real rock'n'rollers, the originals. The rest,
> why, they make me sick. The rockabillies aren't
> so bad, its these bloody 'hub-caps'(derisory
> term for hep-cat) jumping all over the place and
> knocking beer off the tables".
>
> Jim : Well that's rock'n'roll as well isn't it?
>
> Screwy Dave: They dance to some rock'n'roll but they're not
> interested in it".
>
> Jim : They're entitled to their view though, aren't
> they?"
>
> Screwy Dave: No, they're fuckin' not. We don't want them here .

This statement not only draws a picture of what being a true rock'n'roller means but is also a response to my own line of questioning which was itself threatening since it potentially sanctioned the very attitude which Dave thought was undermining the authenticity of the style.

Identity.

IN the Metropolis and Mental Life Georg Simmel noted that "The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life" (Simmel,1950,p.409). Simmel had in mind here the development of bourgeois institutions which freed man from the oppression of historical bonds in the state, in religion, in morals and in economics. But man was not free in the absolute sense, that is, among equals. It was a formal freedom based on the principle of rational economic exchange.

Thus, although the metropolis had "always been the seat of the money economy" the rise of "laissez faire" capitalism created a "functional specialisation of man and his work" which correspondingly made "one individual incomparable to another" and "more directly dependent upon the supplementary activities of all others" (1950). Furthermore, because exchange value is at the heart of the money economy social relationships are reduced to instrumental considerations. For Simmel, then, it is not the city which circumscribes the social conditions of modern man but the market economy which comes to dominate the metropolis. There is a basic similarity here with the works of both Durkheim and Marx but Simmel's point of departure is with the sociological concern over modern man's metropolitan identity.

Two themes stand out in Simmel's analysis of metropolitan
society. The first is his insistence that exchange value creates
instrumental friendships and thereby leads to the demise of affec-
tive relationships. The second is his premise that the metropolitan
environment creates a rush of ephemeral impressions which cause a
psychic overload for the individual. The result is that social
relationships within the city cannot be experienced in any depth :
they are impersonal on the one hand whilst on the other become
highly subjective.

Given that formal exchanges in the urban environment are charac-
terised by what Simmel called, an intellectual attitude to social
life, relationships tend to become "blasé" (or inauthentic). Be-
cause of the predominance of ritual sociability in modern social
life interaction with others rests upon uncertainty and ambiguity.
However, the positive side of modern social organisation is that
since choice in association has replaced tradition then individ-
uality becomes circumscribed by self-reflection and symbolic iden-
tification (the potential for "being" in existentialist philosophy).
The individual therefore, in facing the existentialist dilemma of
chaos and disorder constructs security and clarity in his or her
life by creating a world-view and an authentic attitude towards it,
in which social roles appear unambiguous. Consequently, human
beings will "periodically become social equals, albeit in reality
remaining unequal in talent, social status, power, subjective
feeling and other contents of life" (Smith,1980,p.96).

Choice in association, then, necessarily involves a selective
and stylized presentation of the self. This is the closest Simmel
comes to discussing the use of personal style as a metaphor for
symbolic action yet his comments are highly informative: "Far
from being deceptive, however, selective projection of our inner life

is the only way that people in a highly differentiated world can intersubjectively communicate with one another" (ibid.p.114). And elsewhere, Simmel has argued that "feeling trivial and impotent in the face of 'objective culture'...the individual rebels by flamboyantly displaying the subjective self" (ibid). However, although Simmel raises some interesting theoretical issues the inherently narcissistic characterisation of interpersonal relationships precludes the idea that in a secular society people can structure their lives with meaning. It is this condition of existence I now want to address.

Before we define identity let us say initially that it has the quality of being "a key element of subjective reality and, like all subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society" "Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p.194). Subjective reality operates in a world of objective institutional frameworks. The latter, whilst standing as a frame of reference are by no means a simple deterministic fact for the individual. To assume that this might be the case would be a negation of the truism that activities and relationships belong to actual historical people and, moreover, from the observer's point of view would simply be to assume rather than to investigate choices meanings and aspirations of these same people. Symbolic interactionists, in developing their concern with issues of an action approach, however, have tended to trade a view of process for that of structural determinism. From this perspective the self has tended to be viewed as situationally determined. And labelling theory in particular fails dramatically to display a view of volition in subjective experience. It is, after all, as Warren puts it, "the self who actually answers the questions who am I? and where do I belong? (Warren, 1974, p.154).

George Melly, characteristically, has captured this subtle

problem of identity in modern secular experience. Accordingly, he

argues that "Both popular and pop culture are of working class

origin, and both arose out of a given situation both social and

economic. The principle difference is that popular culture was un-

conscious, or perhaps unselfconscious would be more exact, whereas

pop culture came about as a result of a deliberate search for ob-

jects, clothes, music, heroes and attitudes which could help define

a stance" (Melly, 1970,p.3). Institutional frameworks - social class,

the breakdown of extended family networks, broken homes etc. - then,

provided a framework for participating in the "screw and smash music"

(1970,p.36) of the period. But it is the individual who develops

his skills and adopts an authentic attitude to life. More import-

antly, it is he, or she, who seeks to answer the existential ques-

tions "who am I?" and "where do I belong?"

The following record of identities constructed around the

medium of rock'n'roll seem to me to display a rich source of per-

sonal innovation, humour and wit, and are in some cases extremely

sad. But the accounts however, do tell us something about the

individual's volition in overcoming the fate (or perhaps in accom-

modating to) of social and historical circumstances.

Rockin'Jim.

Rockin' Jim was always a ted and always will be. He is thirth-

seven years old and lived most of his life in relative poverty. He

is presently unemployed but training at the skills centre in Felling

to be a hairdresser. He would really like to do business management

"and might some day". He makes spare cash selling records "on the

quiet" for a friend and he himself has an extensive record collec-

tion of priceless oldies. Jim is the definitive rock'n'roller, "the

ted who knows the most", and lives in what might be considered by

others to be a claustrophobic social world. But, from Rockin' Jim's

point of view, his world is self-defined. Rockin' Jim's most avowed

aim is to make his world respectable. He therefore seeks to exorcise

the demons and challenge those who offer only ridicule or oppro-

brium.

Attempting respectability Rockin' Jim says:

> The newspapers connected drapes with knives and chains
> mainly because the barrow-boys dressed this way and
> carried knives and chains for their own safety. Any
> fights at all was something new for newspapers. They
> built it up.

Like most teds Rockin' Jim's identity was influenced by his

teenage years:

Rockin' Jim : I always tell people that I was born into rock'n'
roll. I bought my first suit when I was fourteen.

Jim : Can you remember why it was important to you in
those days?

Rockin' Jim : Well it was just like an image. If you liked the
music then you had to appreciate the music by
buying everything for it. It was, more or less
the breaking out to be a teenager. It was like
smoking, you wanted to seem different so you put
these flash suits on to pull the birds.

Jim : Why is rock'n'roll important to you?

Rockin' Jim : Its like a disease. Take Rock Around the Clock,
I must have heard it a million times but every-
time I hear it, its still very exciting. Rock'n'
roll is probably a cause for trouble because its
like a drug. But when you walked into a cafe and
you had a drape on you felt good.

Jim : How do you feel good when everybody's dressed the
same?

Rockin' Jim : Because you're part of the scene then, you don't
want to be left out.

Identity emerges out of a dialectic between the subjective

reality and society. Since modern society is characterised by the

fictions of the mass media as myths, they successfully communicate

a conceptual order. Such images operate by producing metaphors

for identification and, as such, produce a system of identity types

which, following Berger and Luckmann, are social products 'tout court'.

And media metaphors then, "are the topic of some form of (mundane) theorizing in any society" (1967,p.195). Consequently man identifies his own experiences with symbolic structures when the latter provide an explanation and a solution to his dilemma - the questions: "who am I?" and "where do I belong?".

Since symbols, as in language, are not just things but kinds of things (ie., words are not just objects but display properties of objects) then social interaction is never simply interaction 'per se' but always involves social principles of some sort. Thus, "a fight in a narrative would not simply be a conflict of men but a conflict of principles - good versus evil, rich versus poor, black versus white" (Wright,1975,p.19).

The following exchange with Rockin' Jim, then, suggests the power of mundane theorizing. Talking about music and meaning in life he says:

Rockin' Jim : It all depends on yourself, take Don't Step on My Blue Suade Shoes, you feel that you want to smash somebody.

Jim : Do people take these meanings seriously?

Rockin' Jim : At the start, all the kids used to read all these things in the paper and think "that's me." Like James Dean they'd try and act the part.

Jim : So the image became workable?

Rockin'Jim : Yeh, there's very few kids can create their own image. Most of them would stand in front of a mirror for about an hour and a half to try and get their hair like Elvis or Billy Fury. You might have Tony Curtis's hair and you might want to snarl like Billy Fury.

Jim : But why would you want to do things like that?"

Rockin' Jim : Well to pull the birds. And you thought that if you can act like them 'I can probably pull more birds'.

The power of metaphorical suggestion is evident enough in these statements but when it comes down to it it is how the individual feels that is important for deciding who he is:

Jim : What's the difference between being a ted now and being a ted then?

Rockin' Jim :   Why, I go to rock'n'roll shows and there's old teds there. There's two in particular, one's about sixty and the other is about seventy, I believe. Its amazing, they come in with walking sticks and no hair, no teeth. Its fantastic, cause teds go a long way back you know. Me and my mates wear the drape all the time. It's not smart to everybody but it is to us and its how you feel that's important.

The contrast between public and private life has intensified a concern with intimacy. Concern over the rules of formal sociability and the choice of affiliation or association with like-minded others forces the modern person to verify the compatibility of other's actions. The concern with authenticity affirms the fact that "the reigning belief today is that closeness between persons is a moral good" whilst "the reigning aspiration today is to develop individual personality through experiences of closeness and warmth with others" (Sennett,1977,p.259). Such relationships become a resource for identity.

The fact that rock'n'roll structured its meaning and, indeed, its intimacy around a subtle form of interpersonal rebellion meant that its style became a metaphor for opposition: "a banner to be waved in the face of 'Them' by a group who felt themselves ignored or victimized" (Melly,1970,p.36). Its metaphor for action, following Melly, was a "revolt into style". The style of rock'n'roll serves to preserve the intimacy with others yet individually it promotes a rebellion which began originally with romanticism.

Whereas the romantic rebelled against the formality in art and ideas the ted rebelled against the oppressive formality of social class and a claustrophobic social environment. This surely explains its volume, vigour and sexual subtlety. The dandy as rebel, wrote Albert Camus, began with the romantic whose aim "was to equal God and remain on his level" (Camus,1971,p.47). Following Camus, the dandy is "in opposition" by creating his own meaning in a secular

world and putting his own imprint upon it if only through an act

of defiance: "The dandy rallies his forces and creates a unity for

himself by the very violence of his refusal. Disoriented, like

all people without a rule of life, he is coherent as a character.

But a character implies a public; the dandy can only play a part by

setting himself up in opposition. He can only be sure of his own

existence by finding it in the expression of other's faces" (Camus,

1971,p.48).

Tony and Dot.

The following discussion with two rock'n'rollers, Tony and Dot,

exemplifies how the individual uses style to assert himself, or her-

self, and in the process become a model offering himself as an

example. Style becomes his ethic.

Discussing a book about teds (Steel-Perkins and Smith) Tony

and Dot felt that their social world of meanings and values had been

misunderstood and their identities ridiculed:

Dot : I thought it was absolutely disgusting. Vulgar.

Tony : Its not the right context. They're trying to put over an
aggressive side to the teddy boy. When we talked to them
they said they were just trying to put the music over.
They never mentioned the other people who followed the
music, people who weren't teddy boys. They never men-
tioned just people who call themselves rock'n'rollers
you know, such as those who didn't wear the drapes but
wore the true styles of the fifties.

Jim : So what's a rock'n'roller rather than a ted?

Tony : Well think about it. When somebody says teddy boy what
does that conjure up to you? A young lad dressed in a
drape, brothel creepers, tight pants, and his hair
heavily greased and pulled forward? To me that's a picture
which sums up the fifties and sixties and even now. But
when you look at somebody who's got, what they call, the
Italian zoot suits - either the large jacket, full back
normally, tapered trousers, flat shoes (Lotus style);
or Oxford style - the sort of thing that Elvis and Cliff
wore on stage, it looks smart.

In this way, an obsession with style becomes a way of gaining

approving glances from others and in this sense becomes a moral and

aesthetic standard:

>   Tony : My attitude's changed now with looking at books and pic-
>   tures, talking to people, seeing photographs of them.
>   That's the styles I look at and that's what I want to be .

Tony epitomizes the dandy in trying to recreate the original

fifties style he pays particular attention to fine detail. He reads

books of the period and looks at old photographs as well as study -

ing films for authentic props. He also talks to older people who,

he feels, are able to "put him right" on managing his appearance.

This almost obsessive concern for detail suggests what Simmel has

called the "automization of contents" in modern social life. Accor-

dingly, contents become stylized modes of expression - that is, they

become ends in themselves - when they are celebrated independently

of their origin in practical needs.

Tony's concern for detail then, is commensurate with his de-

sire for recognition and respect:

>   Tony   : That's where I met her (Dot), at the Sandwich Centre. I
>   was just starting to get accepted then. In those days I
>   used to be a real trouble maker. If anybody said 'out'
>   to me about the way my hair was I would just belt them
>   and ask questions afterwards. Now I have quietened down
>   a little.

Tony stopped wearing a drape and changed to the 'real', original,

fifties style zoot suits. He feels that this has transformed his

immage from a "troublemaker" to a respectable, authentic, rock'n'

roller. But he has managed to do this in such a way that he has

not compromised his image of masculinity:

>   Tony   : I got sick of getting myself into trouble. I used to
>   come in with a bruised face and knuckles. I think it
>   was wearing a drape that did it. But now when I go
>   out wearing a suit you can hear people talking about
>   you. One thing they say is 'look at the way he's dressed,
>   he's bound to be able to handle himself'. Isn't it,
>   just like that? They've got more respect for you.

However, it is through identification with the stars of the genre

that provides the resource for popular approval :

Jim   : You also mentioned that you could identify with British stars.

Tony   : Yeh, sort of patriotic in a way. Like I don't want to go abroad or anything-except, maybe America, just for records. My idea of a good holiday would be to stay in this country and just tour the rock'n'roll clubs up and down the country. But it mightn't be much fun for her when we are married. But that's the life I want to follow you see.

Jim   : What do you get out of rock'n'roll?

Tony   : Well personal satisfaction. I'm different, I've got my own style of dress. I feel that I would belong better in the fifties. Yeh, sometimes I regret that I was not born then. I would have loved to have seen the stars then you know. The other reason I do it is for the sense of individuality. That's really what it is.

These statements about the use of style as a metaphor for identity are the outward signs of a much deeper and emotional biography; they reflect what Sennet and Cobb have called the hidden injuries of class (1977). Like the conclusions of these authors the teds appear to display a detached, rebellious, style which is nevertheless, accountable in terms of modern society's arbitrary scale of achievement. The teds, also, are part of this injurious game of self-justification which begins with the assembly of an authentic attitude to the world and the desire, through their inability to achieve status in other ways for respect and dignity. The following discussion reflects some of these hidden class injuries:

Jim   : Why do you think that you have got to adopt this style?

Tony   : Well, the way it is with me, like I say, at school I was a loner and it was the only way I could get the attention. I was the lad who everybody took the mickey out of. But I didn't care what people thought. I got to the stage where I started greasing my hair and trying to imitate people. But I didn't want to imitate the people that they were imitating. Individuality is all you can put into it. I think with most teddy boys its that. That way people can accept me on the grounds of my music and my style.

Dot   : 'Like you say, we were both loners at school, but in different ways. I mean, I was getting put out because with me being blonde you can hardly see my eye-brows. If I don't wear make-up I'm really pale and look as if I've got no eye-brows. So people, just naturally, used to say that I was ugly and pushed me out and mocked me. Another thing is that I'm deaf so I couln't hear them

so they used to laugh at me all the time."

Jim   : What you're saying is that you felt like an individual
          in the same way?

Dot   : Yeh.

Tony   : Different things just set you aside. With me my dad
          wasn't working so people used to say that he was a dole
          walla. So I didn't have the best of clothes. I mean
          I didn't get hand-me-downs because I was the oldest. But
          the stuff I got had to last.

In later years Tony and Dot found compensation in their
attempts to earn dignity and respect in their own ways. Talking
about their fascination with the fifties style they say:

Dot   : The fifties, with me, it makes me feel like a lady. Now
          I make all my own clothes - it makes you feel better.
          People used to mock me because I couldn't have the
          things they had. Now they can't have the things that
          I've got. And I can do things, like dancing, that they
          can't do.
             Another thing, you know this womans lib thing - that
          women can do what men can - well I don't like that I
          like the idea of a woman being a woman. So that's what
          I like about the fifties - you feel like a woman.

Tony   : The original teddy boys and hell's angels had no regard
          for a woman you know. They would pass her around, sort
          of thing, and claim her as their own. But most teddy
          boys in the fifties, to pick up a lass, you had to be a
          gentleman, cool and smooth talking you know.

Dot   : That's what I like, because they were like gentlemen.
          They'd open doors for you and buy you drinks and be good
          to you. Like if you're out with a group of teds and
          somebody swears somebody else will say 'hey, watch it,
          there's a lady here'.

I have suggested that style has become a visible commodity in
the organisation of modern social life primarily because it is a
way of organising a world view by a group of people who share
various core meanings in common. In this sense, it becomes a meta-
phor for social action.

The importance of style as a resource for interpretation has
been recognised by a number of authors, previously from the C.C.C.S.
at Birmingham, who have generally attempted to formulate a conflict
theory of society with the aid of qualitative methodologies. Whilst
their work offers valuable insights into genuine social issues there

is an inherent danger in their lack of reflexivity to methodo-
logical issues, in particular, the status of interpretation.

I have also suggested that analysis of, what Hebdige calls, the
"sign community" although penetrating in many ways is not con-
comitant with what members say and do. Nor is it a substitute
for ethnography which aims to discover insights into the social
world. Furthermore, once we recognise that ethnography involves
the penetration of a negotiated order we come to terms with a defini-
tion of social action as free-will. Perhaps more accurately it
would be true to say that within an area of social space which is
undoubtedly both constrained and negotiated (the area considered
by the C.C.C.S. authors) there is also an area of freedom. Behind
the situated self, I have argued, is the existential self which,
although organised through group affiliation, is separate from it.
This duality I have called authenticity and identity. There is a
need, therefore, to recognise the importance which people them-
selves place upon their own constructions.

The ethnographic material attempted to display these con-
structions whilst at the same time seeking a dialectic with broader
theoretical issues of public order. In particular, the relation-
ship of theory to the experience of the teddy boys illustrates that
despite Simmel's contention that metropolitan people are becoming
more instrumental in their social relationships it is possible to
construct a meaningful, albeit segmented, social reality with others.

The area of authenticity which the teds construct is a social
space demanding total role involvement and a serious attitude to the
subject. Playing with the conventional rules of social order offers
the potential for transforming it into another realm of discourse
and activity, where the teds themselves are able to exercise con-
trol and express themselves in their own terms.

Theoretically the existential subject desires communion with others which in turn generates an identity and self-realization, where meaning in life becomes personally authentic. The actions of the teds and their own personal statements are living testimony to the search for authenticity. In this respect I have suggested that the social world of the teds is circumscribed from the outside by certain derogatory definitions and is reinforced on the inside by a continual desire to reaffirm faith and truth in the order. I have also argued that identification with symbolic structures provides a metaphorical solution to questions of identity and context.

(I) Methodological Footnote.

The method proposed in this chapter attempts to discover how

the teds construct their own social world and situate it against

the institutions of society which impinge upon their daily lives.

However, whilst I propose a technique for recovering that process

through grammars of interaction - and in particular the ways in

which language invokes social order - the words I have chosen to

use to evoke this social world - Authenticity and Identity - are

not used by the teds themselves. But they are, I believe, funda-

mental to the analysis since they display the meeting point of theory

and method. It is this dialectical interchange between the two

which is crucial in supplanting the dominance of theory over method.

The end result, then, is a working out of the two and this is particu-

larly true for anyone who believes that theory is informed primarily

by the substantive material rather than the reverse.

The concepts of authenticity and identity came about

after the ethnographic detail had been collected. The attempt to

describe what I had seen and to re-present the data as an account

of a social world in a way that an observer could recognise sen-

sitized me to the importance of what was actually occuring over and

above the invariant procedures being accomplished in the field.

And it was only at this point that I discovered a wealth of theoreti-

cal material in existentialist philosophy and in sociology which

suggested the importance of macro-societal issues. The work then

can be considered as an ethnographic account of social process

but it also raises questions and theoretical issues about social

order in advanced capitalist societies.

The procedures adopted in the fieldwork were participant

observation and in-depth interviewing. During the former I hung

around two clubs on a regular basis and attended other "extra

curricula" activities such as open air concerts and nights out on
special occasions. I therefore kept a written record of utter-
ances and conversational topics which were rendered relevant by
their constant usage. And I was particularly sensitised to answers
to my own statements and questions if they were somehow hostile or
awkward. Furthermore, I paid attention to the ways in which modes
of interaction were used to invoke a particular kind of order.

The interviews were generally the result of selecting indivi-
duals who were core members of the clubs and who tended to be more
familiar and accessible given the frequency of my visits. But
there were other individuals again who I became very friendly with
and were able to discuss with me the significance of the music, arti-
facts, and the people. I therefore became acquainted with inside
knowledge of the social structure of the teds' world.

CHAPTER 7

CREATING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS:
THE COMMODITY SYSTEM AND SOCIAL SPACE.

"When I hear the word culture I reach for my gun".

(Heinz Johst)

In the foregoing remarks about style as metaphor for identity I suggested that a search for authentic meaning creates a "world-view" for those participating and at the same time is situated against a fragmented cultural life which is potentially alienating for the individual. In this chapter I wish to examine the character of contemporary popular culture, both through the way in which it is structured by devices of staging as well as the creative element necessary for its production. In the following example of urban cowboys I want to qualify the previous analysis by looking at commodities as a system of communication and their ability to reframe cultural contexts but I also wish to go further and provide an analysis of the creative interpretive element by considering popular culture as a social framework. It will be the main contention of this chapter that The Gunfighters are symptomatic of the decline in public life since their activities are highly specific and the quality of the relationship they achieve is one of intimacy.

The club that I frequented was called The Gunfighters and it is situated in Hedworth, Jarrow. Although many members lived in this area a substantial number lived outside. Because of this The Gunfighters was the major club of its kind in the Tynside area and, consequently, it became "the" venue for Country and Western music and particularly for those people who wished to identify themselves with the cowboy/girl image.

In order to transform the everyday, mundane, world into an

ephemeral world of creativity The Gunfighters find a resource in
commodity images. Following Marx, we can define the relationship
between the sale and consumption of the commodity as "fetishism"
since the expression of human creativity not only appears as a
natural object but, in the process, becomes depersonalised (Avineri,
1968,p.118).

The use of the word commodity is not intended to imply any
particular item. Rather, it is intended to imply an aura, or sym-
bolic logic, generated by the particular commodities such as films,
books , magazines, songs etc. in which the communication of the
commodity depends upon "naturalisation" and "depersonalization" (in
the following analysis such words are used interchangeably: the
implication is the cultural use of the commodty as a system of com-
unication rather than its consideration as an economic or utili-
tarian category).

The aura generated by the commodity is communicative in the
sense that it articulates, symbolically, social constructions and as
such it can be considered to be not simply denotive but connotative.
That is to say, whereas denotation is literal in essence con-
notation provides innovation in language (Hawkes,1977,p.133).   It
is this aspect of the commodity which is often ignored altogether.
Therefore, "instead of supposing that goods are primarily needed
for subsistence plus competitive display, let us assume that they
are needed for making visible and stable the categories of culture"
(Mead,1980,p.59).

As connotation the communication generated by the commodity
bridges the gap between the social space and private self-identi-
fication. Moreover, the mass reproducibility of the commodity is,
in itself, a relatively modern form for the occurrence of communi-
cation. For example, as the spoken word represented an extension

of man's ability to communicate through metaphor and symbol "In this electronic age we see ourselves being translated more and more into the form of information, moving towards the technological extension of consciousness" (McLuhan,1974,p.68).

The relationship between the public, ceremonial, domain and self-identification is mediated by the connotations generated by the commodity leading ultimately to a mystification of experience since, as with The Gunfighters, the commodity itself replaces historical fact. For The Gunfighters,techniques of mass reproduction - icons, images, formula stories etc. - have replaced the aura of the actual wild west. Consequently, the fictional replaces the factual order: the distance between the two becomes uncertain and imprecise. Talking about The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction Benjamin argued much the same point when he said that "the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition" (Benjamin,1977,p.233).

The ability to transcend this gap between public and private by resorting to fiction as a resource for defining reality can be seen in the following remarks made between Hank Wangford and a radio interviewer. Hank, the leader of an English band that had achieved some success in the USA claimed that they "went to the States searching for reality" a crucial component of which was Country Music:

    Hank : It's the crucial part of Country Music, cowboy music
            has the wonderful habit of being real and not real,
            of fooling itself, of singing lines like "walk out
            backwards so I'll know you're coming in .

    Interviewer:
            You have an outfit called the Wangford Hall of Pain
            don't you?

    Hank : Yes, that's where the songs come from for me - the
            depths of sorrows...
               One of the fantasies we have is to have a huge Hall
            of Pain meeting at the Wembley stadium and have a
            hundred-thousand people all crying at the same time -
            to have a cosmic gush, tears flowing, to set Britain
            back on its feet .
                              (Start The Week Radio 4, 4.5.1981)

The connotations established by the commodity are ambiguous "because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour" (Marx,1974,p.77).

Since Marx saw the underlying reality of the commodity to be its use-value and the social relations involved in its production he concerned himself with the socio-economic aspects of this relationship. Unfortunately, nothing has been said about the commodity system as a form of communication. The importance of the latter lies in the fact that the commodity system "has become an integral part of everyday life in modern society because its original form is a symbolic representation (advertisement) of itself which both promises and guides experience in advance of actual consumption" (MacCannel,1976,p.22). The difference between the utilitarian use-value and the communicative value lies in the fact that "the value of such things as programmes, trips, courses, reports, articles, shows, conferences, parades, opinions, events, sights, spectacles, scenes and situations of modernity is not determined by the amount of labour required for their production" but in their value as "a function of the quality and quantity of experience they promise" (ibid.,p.23). This cultural aspect of value can be gleaned from the following advertisement for the British Westerners Association:

> The BWA is an association for all Western enthusiasts in Britain. Whether you are a club or an individual The BWA can help you widen your outlook and interest in the American West. We offer you a warm welcome and the hand of friendship, and in return you can help the BWA become the representative for all Westerners in Britain.
> (Western Magazine No.1., 1980)

In this description the consumption of experience is equated

with an "enthusiast's" search for the authentic Wild West. Similarly an advert is just as much a symbol of cultural experience:

> All over the West they wear Levi Strauss & Co's copper riveted overalls. Still the strongest brand on the range.
>
> (ibid.)

The Commodity and Staged Authenticity.

The aura of the commodity - its symbolic structure - becomes a frame of reference for the engagement of interpretive activity. In other words, the action of any cultural experience has its structure imbued with metaphorical referents form another context.

In utilizing the notion of frame, which I shall draw upon later, my intention is to suggest how cultural experience, in becoming a frame, is staged. The importance of the concept of staging is important for the purpose of discussing social interaction. The reason for this is that it alters our thinking about the self from being an inherent biological property of the individual to one which is, to some extent determined by, and organised within, the parameters of the social setting. In this sense Goffman has suggested that "a correctly staged and performed scene leads the audience to impute a self to a performed character, but this imputation - this self - is a product of a scene that comes off, and is not a cause of it" (Goffman,1976,p.245). Consequently, the self is "a performed character...not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited" (ibid).

Staged authenticity can be seen as the structural components of a social reality. As such these components consist of: the manipulation of appearances; and the adoption of nomenclature.

The social world of the urban cowboy is an ephemeral activity. In order for those involved to construct it in a way that will be seen as genuine and worthwhile all other activities outside of this social universe must be suspended or bracketed. Consequently, failure to adopt the role, or persona, completely would destroy the fabric of the staged events.

The Setting.

The setting is, in fact, a club within a club. Externally it is a working man's club whilst internally it is The Gunfighters. The setting represents a manipulation of reality by symbolically reordering space and time. In so doing it transforms the significance attached to the mundane. The initial controversial nature of the setting can be gleaned from the following example:

> The club is an incongruous setting - a modern brick-built social club with graffiti strewn walls, set in the middle of a housing estate.
>
> (Sunday Sun, 21.5.1981).

Whilst recognising the incongruity of the setting the next sentence of the same article proceeds to naturalise its own declaration of amazement with the use of the word "devotees" as if this, in itself, is uncontroversial:

> Its devotees have travelled miles, from all over the region, to amble through those authentic swing doors and into the world of the Wild West.
>
> (ibid.)

The setting is of symbolic importance inasmuch as it is responsible for the temporal rearrangement of meaning. In fact, the setting can be seen as a series of boundaries which change as the situation, as well as those people present, changes in shape. But to the uninitiated - and especially on first appearance - there is the impression of a singular setting. For the

purpose of managing this authentic impression the arrangement of

the symbolic structure is important. For example:

> A spot called Outlaws, formally a mud-wrestling disco outside
> Chicago, provides roisterers (for $ a pair) with
> Harrington and Richardson .22-cal. Western-style
> revolvers and nine blank rounds for mock shootouts.
> At some places, mostly for atmosphere, there are
> signs announcing NO GUNS, NO KNIVES, NO TIES.
>
> > (C & W Nightclubs: Riding High;
> > Time 2.2.1981).

The extent to which a person finds the setting uncontroversial

depends on it being treated as a natural boundary and to this

extent it is bound up with a feeling of intimacy. As Goffman has

suggested "a region may be defined as any place that is bounded

to some degree by barriers to perception...In our Anglo-American

society - a relative indoor one - when a performance is given it

is usually given in a highly bounded region, to which boundaries

with respect to time are often added" (1976,p.109.).

In terms of the spatio-temporal reordering of time The Gun-

fighters exists in the minds of all its members as a "laid back",

convivial, romantic, macho-world with a frontiersman atmosphere.

In fact, it only comes into existence on a Saturday night when it

is legitimated by a symbolic gesture of reiteration - into the

"here we are again pardners" buddydom spirit of the drama - between

the hours of 7pm. to 11pm.

Here in Hedworth, a small depressed area of Jarrow, one room

of the working men's club is transmogrified by a series of struc-

tural arrangements - the purpose of which is to mystify the actual

historical Wild West and stage an "authentic" version based on

fictionalised and quasi-truthful accounts.

The boundary contains embedded rules for perception. The

Gunfighters, as a psychological boundary, is entered by way of a

symbolic threshold typified by the paraphernalia of the American

Dream. On entry the saloon doors emblazoned with the words "The Gunfighters" exists to reorientate perception. Beyond this, the outer lounge exists mainly for the benefit of spectators or casual visitors, and, inside this again is the "inner sanctum" - the centre of the ephemeral world where the real action gets done.

The inner sanctum - although not strictly speaking a back region - is psychologically separated enough from the outer lounge to warrant a status as a special area for the production of team-work. In other words, action within this space is circumscribed by a tacit co-operation of participants who are in general agreement as to the correct staging of the performance.

In front of this area is the actual stage which is decorated with icons of the Wild West: ranch-style fencing logs, pictures of cowboys and indians and folk heroes etc., all designed to "stand for" the perceived social order of the Wild West.

Events.

The staging of authentic reality permits the possibility of a shared attitude and, as such, provides the focus for the events. Staging allows the events to become representative ceremonies which are intended to reiterate a faith in the logic of, and to provide a sentimental education for, the Wild West. For example, the contemporary craze in the USA for riding mechanical bulls, although developed by the entertainments industry, only makes sense when understood in a wider context of simulated rodeos, macho cowboys, and an element of fantasy:

> The mechanical bulls that tempt and toss the urban
> cowboy sell for $7,500 each, about $5,000 more than
> they cost Gilley's Bronco Shop Inc. in Huston to manu-
> facture. The bionic beast is mounted on a pedestal and
> powered by a 5 h.p. electric motor that is operated by
> remote control. El Toro has graded levels of difficulty,
> working up from a bovine shimmy designated One to a
> shake-and-break Ten. The headless, vinyl-and-steel

> contraption was originally delivered for a teaching aid
> for rodeo cowboys.
>   As a spectator sport, according to Brian Wallace,
> owner of Boston's Celebration, watching a member of the
> opposite sex jounce and jiggle "has a very subtle erotic
> appeal." Bucking the bull is a macho experience for most
> males, whereas city cowgirls often compare it to dancing -
> or sex.
>
> > (Don't Shoot the Bull - Ride It;
> > Time 2.2.1981).

To The Gunfighters, the importance of the events themselves

lie in their ability to focus the gathering. By doing so they

fabricate meaning, blurring the distinction between fact and fic-

tion and turning the sub-world into a collusive communication.

On the subject of fabrications Goffman has suggested that they

"require the use of a model, the use of something already meaning-

ful in terms of primary frameworks" (1975,p.84). Although it is

quite clear that Goffman's implication here is intended to suggest

deliberate collusion and deception by one group against others it

is by no means apparent that people cannot collude and deceive them-

selves. Elsewhere, for example, Goffman has referred precisely to

this possibility when he pointed out that a performer may be taken

in by his own act when "In such cases the performer comes to be

his own audience" (1976,p.88).

The tenuous nature of this is extremely apparent and as such

the following example illustrates that although the performer can

be taken in by his own role convincing an audience is often very

difficult. At a local carnival at Hedworth The Gunfighters presented

a cameo sketch of the Gunfight at the OK Coral. The Earps and the

Clantons were lined up and fought it out with all the relevent props:

horses, dress, demeanor, gunsmoke etc. But the drama enacted,

although enthralling to The Gunfighters was not shared with equal

enthusiasm by all the spectators. Two comments were overheard:

> Frightened Child: What's happening Mummy?
>   Mother: It's alright, it just grown men playing
>   at being little boys.

A group of men exclaimed:

First Man : Have you ever seen anything like it?
Second Man: I feel embarrassed for them.
Third Man : They're reliving their childhood.

The ability to focus the gathering and to create an ephemeral role is extremely important since both the cultural experience and the role evoke a form of meaning which is contrasted with the mundane requirements of everyday life. Both become a source of value and commitment which offer the possibility of social transformation, usually through identification, without threat to the safety of the self.

The events constructed by The Gunfighters vary from musical entertainment, to staging make-believe gunfights, or hangings. The hanging ceremony, for example, is in fact an occasion for creating social realism which authenticates their coming together for the purpose of collective fabrication:

> Rio : Now these lads here (looks at a magazine picture) at the Lazy C in Newton Aycliffe do a hanging but they've got the real gear.

> Little Joe : They've got a harness but if you didn't know it was a harness you would walk up, sit and watch them - and they'd grab somebody, sling a rope around him; drag him up to the gallows, knock the board away and he'd just hang there. He's kicking, blood comes out of his mouth, and it all looks realistic. Its fantastic.

Events become part of the drama of the ephemeral world and as such they act as signposts for the purpose of perception. The use to which this realism is put as a way of invoking the perceptual order is illustrated, ironically enough, through a breakdown of the narrative thus forcing the incumbents of the drama to revise their technique of staging:

> Spectators at a Wild West show watched in horror yesterday as a mock hanging went terrifyingly wrong. The play-acting became grim reality as the safety harness supporting "Cowboy" Paul Heatherington (ie., Little Joe) snapped and the noose around his neck tightened....

"I was playing the part of a card shark and a lynchmob
were going to hang me...I had the noose around my neck
but the shoulder strap became undone and the noose
choked me unconscious".

As soon as Paul was rescued from the hangman's plat-
form, the "Cowboys" showed the harness to the audience
and explained what went wrong, appealing to children not
to try any similar trick.

(Sunday Sun, 16.8.1981.)

Nomenclature

Another feature of staged authenticity is nomenclature, because
the ephemeral reality of The Gunfighters is bounded by space and
time the risk of contamination to this reality from more instru-
mental concerns is great. It therefore has to be objectified by the
use of names as referents so that fictional social space can be
treated seriously. Making a point about language, in general,
Berger and Luckman argue that it "constructs immense edifices of
symbolic representations that appear to tower over the reality of
everyday life like gigantic presences from another world" (Berger and
Luckman,1975,p.55).

Names create semantic fields which articulate a perceived
identity:

Jim :   I think I met your uncle at the club Paul, didn't I?
Little Joe: Yeh, Jessie James.

Many people give themselves names such as : Rio, Little-Joe;
Hoss, The General, The Banker etc. Furthermore, each person adopts
an identity commensurate with his name: Rio, the "fast gun", who
dresses in black and puts notches on his gun after a successful
gunfight; the flamboyant General Robert E. Lee resplendent with
home-made Confederate uniform and sabre; The Banker who wears arm-
bands and carries a derringer.

Scripting oneself into the part is extremely important but
this sort of identification creates the possibility of drawing on

the imputed character of the fiction. Alex, for example, was
Alex through the week but when not at work he was The General.
Each period was as real as the other, but as General Robert E.
Lee the part was played with emotion and sincerity. However, it
was the name which anchored the role played by the general and
thereby concretized his performance. Talking about how the iden-
tification originally occurred The General commented:

```
  Jim   :  How did you become The General?
The General :  It happened a long time ago when I first saw
               Gone With the Wind.  I  got a feeling for the
               South .
```

By taking on the persona of the rebel general Alex identified
himself with a particular semantic field - a romantic version of
what he perceives to be the truth. By endowing Robert E. Lee with
specific qualities he could covertly impute these to himself:

```
        Jim :   Why did you back the loser?
The General :   What! they didn't loose.  That's just Union
                propaganda.  They were under-equipped, under-
                manned, but they were the best army.
        Jim :   Well, what's so special about Robert E. Lee?
The General :   Why, he was the greatest of them all.  He was
                brilliant, a clever man.  And,  he was highly
                regarded in the North.
```

Appearances.

Appearance is an act of personal, dramatic, staging. It is
the "sign vehicle" "par excellence" of a person's own competence
to carry off an impression as well as his own willingness to
accept this as part of a convincing performance. According to
Goffman, "when an individual plays a part he implicitly requests
his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered
before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see
actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the
task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly

claimed for it, and that, in general, matters are what they appear to be" (Goffman,1976,p.28).

The following interchange reveals this characteristic of stylistic presentation. One evening, at the club, I saw George - the man responsible for entertainments - wearing a brand-new cow punching outfit : leather waistcoat, leather trousers, chaps and spurs etc. This was instead of his usual Hollywood cowboy style. He explained his change of style thus:

Jim :	I see you've got new gear on tonight George.
George :	No! its not new.
Jim :	Oh, I thought it was new because I hadn't seen it before.
George :	Well, I haven't worn it before here but I've had it a while. Its just that some people were complaining that I was drifting away from the cowboy image by dressing too smart.

The authentic image is part of the commodity's appeal, and its ability to be evocative:

> The tailored cream and fawn suit with its perfect
> fitting and intricate styling was made to measure
> in Gateshead for £120. The matching cowboy shirt
> was around £25. With his ten-gallon hat, Dillon
> moustache and brass-buckled belt, George looks
> every inch the part.
>
> (Sunday Sun 25.1.81)

Appearance is absolutely important for providing a resource for total role involvement:

Terry :	George likes to act like Clint Eastwood, have you noticed? He likes to act cool .
Susan :	The quiet, tough type.
Terry :	There are some occasions when you can't get a word out of him because he's concentrating on Clint Eastwood. Even the way he smokes his cigar - he smokes these thin ones and holds them a special way. He even has a way of stubbing it out. There was one night we did a show at the City Hotel and George didn't say anything to anyone all night - he was too busy being cool and tough. He's really into the part sometimes.

Semantic Grounds of Meta-Communication.

Leisure creates a social space of relative freedom because its

indulgence is meaningful when contrasted with work and the characteristic boredom, drudgery and meaninglessness which accompanies it. Entertainment, on the other hand can be considered as a commodity inasmuch as it is provided by an entertainments industry for the purpose of providing profit.

Entertainment differs from play since the latter is not vicarious but derives its form from the restaging of social experience as a drama. Whereas entertainment may depend on, for example, realism and may require an audience to suspend disbelief, play on the other hand is real since it deliberately seeks, collectively, to rework the rules and structure of everyday reality. Entertainment consumes reality, play circumscribes it.

The sort of cultural experience which The Gunfighters typify lies somewhere in-between entertainment and play. It becomes articulated through the consumption of entertainment but, at the same time, is tied to a cultural context of beliefs customs and sentiments.

Analytically it is worth noting this division and its relationship to popular culture. As in the actions of The Gunfighters the symbolic staging of the ephemeral reality depends upon entertainment as a resource but, at the same time, involves relationships of friendship and sociability. It is, therefore, worth considering the communicative aspects of the sort of social space created by the individuals who compose The Gunfighters.

The notion of Social Relationship is important. Superficially it shares basic similarities with the Encounter - namely a focus and boundary rules. Socially it is a very different kind of activity. Whereas the purpose of an encounter is the "doing" of a mutual activity the purpose of a social relationship is to focus upon identity- both individually and collectively (McCall,1970). An encounter

is therefore an occasion for doing talk, the purpose of which is
sociable interchange, but a social relationship is an occasion for
doing identity work and establishing a cohesive social universe.

The following examples illustrate the importance of the social
relationship and its place within contemporary popular culture.

Any new recruit to The Gunfighters has to establish the
symbolic significance of the activity. He/she does this by dis-
covering the boundary rules which support and sanction the action.
For example:

Jim : What do you put all this down to?

Rio : I put it down to Country and Western music, that's
how I started. There was one club - I'd heard about
it and I liked the music - so I went across and when I
went in I got the shock of my life. I couldn't stop
laughing at these crazy devils you know. They looked
mad. They were walking in with Texas saddles over their
shoulders, and Winchesters, throwing the saddle at the
side of the table and having a pint. That was the Alamo
club. At first I felt stupid but when I learnt why
they did it - wearing the gear and all - because they
liked the old West and also because they did a lot of
work for Charity. They tried to recreate the old West
and make it as real as possible .

Rio's acute embarrassment and justification is symptomatic of the
cowboy attitude. This attitude is caused by the ambivalence felt
between the entertainment and its puerile connotations and a gen-
uine desire to share a belief in ideas and sentiments with others.
Whereas the entertainment provides the action the desire to share
beliefs provides the motivation. This is suggested by the following
remarks made by Bill, a sixty year old cowboy,who saw The Gun-
fighters as the most meaningful aspect of his life:

Bill : When I first came here I thought it was marvellous,
the characters, the people, it was great fun and I
just kept on coming. I remember thinking on the first
night: "this is for me .

The ambivalent attitude mentioned above only occurs, it is
fair to say, when the context is being interrogated from the out-
side. That is, by those outsiders who do not share the cowboy

attitude - a fact made plainly obvious, for example, when members

of The Gunfighters surreptitiously hide their appearance when

returning home. Ultimately, then, when confronted with a logical

question such as: "why do you do it?" the answer always revolves

around methods of justification. For example:

Interviewer:
    Can you explain to me the fascination of the Wild West?

Cowboy : Well I think most of us have played with guns, or acted
    as cowboys, when we were children. I think it sticks
    through life. It is a way of getting away from every-
    thing - with the stress and strain of work and every-
    thing we have nowaderdays, financial troubles that I
    think everybody has. It's a way of breaking away from
    it all.

Interviewer:
    And the Wild West is attractive?

Cowboy : I think its attractive and romantic.

        (Nationwide,Sept.28,1980)

Despite this explanation members of The Gunfighters con-

stantly recognise the threat to themselves if their actions are

considered purile:

 Jim : Did you see Nationwide the other night Terry?

 Terry : Don't mention that! I don't want to talk about it.
    I can't stand these television interviews with people
    who say "sorry, well, we haven't grown up yet".

The contradiction between the puerile attitude and the genu-

ine desire to seek something beyond this is resolved by The Gun-

fighters only by making reference to their activities as legiti-

mate, serious and worthwhile. In order to do this they construct

a symbolic edifice around their action by calling themselves

Western Enthusiasts. Thus, bracketing their attitude and actions

in this way simultaneously identifies and explains the particular

event as an authentic - even if misunderstood- attempt to interpret

and re-present the social world. In a similar example Wieder has

suggested how this bracketing through the invocation of, authentic,

linguistic rule-use gives rise to a meaningful and shared social

world. In particular, he suggests that "In using the code as an explanation, parties to the setting interactionally identify the sense of a particular event as an intersubjectively recognised occurence by effectively asserting that the event stems from the adherence to the convict code" (Wieder,1975,p.170). The contradiction, and its solution, is presented by remarks such as the following:

Little Joe: Some people just think we like dressing up but that's not the reason we do it. We call ourselves Western enthusiasts because we're interested in the West.

As mentioned earlier the Social Relationship is created by means of boundary rules the essential function of which is not only to cope with threats to the social order but also help to define that reality. However, the fundamental reason for the existence of the Social Relationship is the desire to focus the gathering upon individual and collective identity work.

In the case of The Gunfighters collective identity is only created by the construction of fiction posing as fact:

Rio :   I've got a book at work with the true story of Sitting Bull in it. It's got pictures .

Little Joe: In every fiction there's a certain amount of fact - about guns or everyday life - there's always something that's important.

The ephemeral social world thus constructed becomes Truth incarnate. Symbolically reordering the boundaries of space and time in this way is only made possible by metaphorically changing the rules of mundane social reality. This is only made possible through the use of play.

Play as Meta-Communication.

Following Huizinga I want to define play by asserting that "Since the reality of play extends beyond the sphere of human life it cannot have its foundations in any rational nexus, because this

would limit it to mankind... Play only becomes possible, think-
able and understandable when an influx of mind breaks down the
absolute determinism of the cosmos" (Huizinga,1980,p.3.). Accor-
dingly, play is "based on the manipulation of certain images, on a
certain 'imagination' of reality (ie., its conversion into images)"
(Huizinga,1980,p.4). It is a voluntary activity" 'played out'
within certain limits of time and place" which consequently "con-
tains its own course and meaning" (ibid p.9.).

Essentially, I want to illustrate the use of play as a nar-
rative (see Chaney,1979). It can be described, therefore, as the
"essence of freedom" and the "bracketing of reality" presented in a
structured way. For Chaney play is not only exploratory learning
but the expression of "norms of elegance" for a society, com-
munity or group. But essentially, "the activity of playing is a
way of organizing experience" (ibid,pp.94-96). We can regard it
therefore as a re-presentation of something significant to those
people who organise it and define its parameters. Play, I will
suggest, has to be seen as the focus of the Social Relationshp.

When we consider play in this context we necessarily seek to
analyse the motivational structure of social interaction and human
volition. The collective grounds for play necessitates those in-
volved to be cognizant of the "definition of the situation". In
other words, those members who become deeply involved in the action
of The Gunfighters do so in such a way as to attach meaning to it.
Within this frame of play there is a moral code with a set of
rules about the correct method for conducting play itself. But
at the same time such rules obliquely make reference to the moral
order of society itself. Another way of saying this is to suggest
that there exists a morality within society generally but the way
in which we frame this in play creates another morality of self-

contained action telescoped and represented as a set of themes,
values, sentiments etc., about life. In this metaphorical sense
we can say that everything is imbued with potential meaning.

In suggesting that play is the focus of the Social Relation-
ship I am suggesting that play is a social framework. This concept,
although borrowed from Bateson, is illustrated by Goffman as an
interpretation of some act or event already known to exist. A
social framework can therefore be considered as a "guided doing"
(Goffman,1975,p.22). In this sense the action of The Gunfighters
is a guided doing for the purpose of organising experience "per se".
In doing this sort of activity a self-contained morality is created
through the invocation of rules of conduct. In reference to the
family, W.I. Thomas has articulated this fact by saying that "as
soon as the child has free motion and begins to pull, tear, pry,
meddle and prowl, the parents begin to define the situation through
speech and other signs and pressures "like" 'be quiet' ' sit up
straight', 'blow your nose,' ' wash your face,' ' mind your mother,'
'be kind to your sister', etc (Thomas,1972,p.247).

However, a social framework presupposes a second order inter-
pretation involving a reworking of the rules already known. Bateson's
theory of play is extremely important since he illustrates precisely
this kind of redoing by paying attention to the form of communication.
To say that play is a social framework, following Bateson's usage,
is to consider it as a meta-communication. Such a frame is there-
fore highly interpretive presupposing knowledge of an original con-
text as well as the ability to manipulate this knowledge: "There
is a statement and simultaneously a statement about that statement
which is implicit in the statement itself" (Haley,1955,p.52). The
very idea of play is consequently rule bound since it involves meta-
communication - ie "exchange signals which would carry the message

'this is play' " (Bateson,1955,p.41).

Such a framework is, therefore, a playing with rules of convention. Consequently, the structure of the message "this is play" involves a reframing of the following nature:

> These actions in which we now engage do not denote what those actions 'for which they stand' would denote. We now ask about the italicized words, 'for which they stand'. We say that the word 'cat' stands for any member of a certain class. That is, the phrase 'stands for' is a near synonym of 'denotes'. If we now substitute "which they denote" for the words, "for which they stand in the expanded definition of play, the result is: 'These actions, in which we now engage, do not denote what would be denoted by those actions which these actions denote.' The playful nip denotes the bite, but it does not denote what would be denoted by the bite.
>
> (ibid.)

This type of "thick description" suggests that "play is a phenomenon in which the actions of 'play' are related to, or denote, other actions of 'not play' " (ibid.). Framing, then, organises perception to such an extent that certain features are brought sharply into focus. The question remains: What are these features about?

The meta-communicative message created by the frame 'play' defines the action as an "as if" category of what may be seen to occur. We may therefore say that the perceived truth of reality may be re-framed, or interpreted, in such a way as to make the new context meaningfully recreate, yet stand apart from, this truth.

In The Gunfighters this is done by metaphorically refocusing the metaphors of entertainment in such a way that they become "truthful" re-presentations of life. The actions of The Gunfighters, as play, carry with them messages of social order - courage, tenacity, resourcefulness etc. The choices of metaphorical representation are significant to the extent that they are loaded with social valuations. The Gunfighters, then, represents the attempt to rework values of social order and they do this by creating a public

space of sociability and intimacy.

The focus of the social relationship involves play. Play-
ful social interaction is fundamental because it focuses on the
identities of members. Each not only has a role but provides
a role-support for others. If the Social Relationship and play
are mutually dependent categories of action then their purpose is
to provide intimacy a quality,for example, which is lacking in
social encounters. Thus, paraphrasing Simmel, McCall says inti-
macy involves the "giving and showing" of certain important parts
of the self "only to the other person and to nobody else" (McCall,
1970,p.44).

Public and Private Space.

Popular culture is circumscribed by the sort of public space
in which it takes place. It is therefore both "made" by profe-
ssionals and "created" by people themselves. But public space also
has its rules of communicability. On this subject Cavan, for
example, has noted that "While many and perhaps the majority, of
conventional settings customarily limit the extent of contact among
strangers, sociability is the most general rule in the public
drinking place" (Cavan,1973,p.143). It is in such public places
that popular culture is made and manipulated; but inasmuch as they
have structural dimensions and concomitant rules of communicability
such places also exercise constraint over the individuals involved.

Such spaces exist for the operation of different types of
activity. We need only stop for a minute and consider some of
these places in the modern city to realise the way in which social
life is organised. Pubs, clubs and bars have rules relating to the
kind of sociability that can occur; public space can be divided by
sexual markers such as public lavatories, changing rooms etc.; such

space may also be socially stratified by, for example, occupational prerequisites pertaining to staff areas or working areas; public space is also stratified by age. It may have profane connotations, such as, lavatories, tunnels, back streets or sacred area like churches. All such spaces are highly specific in their codes of communicability and therefore prescribe and proscribe the ritual accomplishments of members. But although these are structural configurations for the people engaging in the activities they are places where members obtain and create a sense of freedom by being able to celebrate their existence as an authentic accomplishment.

This personal volition, as we have already noticed, is genuine freedom articulated through style. But this achievement is only made possible through the opening up of the private space of emotion and intimacy.

When considering The Gunfighters all analysis of this process stops dead if their actions are construed as rationalistic attempts to reinterpret the structure of the world. Their actions do not serve only rational purposes but represent a framing of something significant about themselves. Playing with social structure reframes it in a way that action assumes an "as if" quality whilst at the same time it safely distances itself from the reality of the original context. This is how the inner space of freedom is denoted.

On the subject of public and private space Arendt has traced the historical character of these two themes. Transformations in the definitions of these words are revealing to the extent that we now know that public life, prior to capitalism, referred to the political realm and private referred to the household. But in the modern world the public sphere became the arena for sociability and the private sphere became bound up with the intimate which in

turn presupposes a developing awareness of a reflexive self. Thus Arendt is able to say that "the decisive historical fact is that modern privacy in its most relevant function, to shelter the intimate, was discovered as the opposite not of the political sphere but of the social, to which it is more closely and authentically related" (Arendt,1959,p.38).

This theme is also taken up by Sennett (1977) but his particular purpose is to describe the psychological dimensions of public and private by analysing the sociological conditions surrounding them. Inevitably he is drawn to the conclusion that transformations in public space, inasmuch as they affect public roles and social relationships, have precipitated a concern with the intimate reflects cultural narcissssism. Although this typification by Sennett is nothing short of a value judgement the argument is substantial. As we already know from Arendt the move towards inimacy is bound up with the rise of individualism. And, according to Sennett, the "intimate society" emerged because of a new belief system - the scientific/secular - which challenged the "Order of Nature". Paradoxically this condition meant that "as the Gods are demystified, man mystifies his own condition; his own life is fraught with meaning yet it remains to be played out" (1977,p.151). Elsewhere, he has argued that "the entrance of personality into the public realm of the nineteenth century prepared the ground for this intimate society. It did so by inducing people to believe that interchanges in society were disclosures of personality. It did so by framing the perception of personality in such a way that the contents of personality never crystalised thus engaging men in an obsessive search for clues as to what others, and themselves were really like" (ibid,p.219).

Sennett's thesis linking The Fall of Public Man to the

preoccupation of intimacy is also supported by Trilling's analysis of literature. According to Trilling "sincerity revealed through literature became the avoidance of being false to another by being true to oneself . Hence Polonius' words in Hamlet : 'To thine own self be true' " (Trilling, 1974,p.4-5). Accordingly, there has been a diminution in the authority of sincerity and, consequently, its present meaning is no longer taken as an end in itself but rather as a means to fulfilling a public role. In other words we attempt to present sincerity through our actions. Followed to its logical conclusion such arguments suggest that anxiety in affective relationships is perpetuated by the desire to structure a meaningful universe through an "obsessive search" for identity. Suffice it to say that such desires have social accomplishments like the construction of fronts , rational accounting etc, which tend to gloss the existential social space.

By engaging in play The Gunfighters become involved in the private space which is, in itself, a metaphorical projection of "being" in the world. However, what they say and do relates to play as a distancing activity yet at the same time brings into play the existential self of emotions, anxieties and desires. Such techniques as projection, fantasy and identification permit the possibility of freedom within a private space.

For Rouseau urban society created interpersonal alienation since it represented an "intrusion upon an innermost region of man" which previously "required no special protection". Furthermore, "the intimacy of the heart, unlike the private household," had "no objective tangible place in the world" and nor could "the society against which it protests and asserts itself be localised with the same certainty as the public space" (Arendt,1959,p.38).

In Emile, with reference to private space, Rousseau went on to

suggest that the imagination - its capacity for playing with order - freed the 'head' from the subjection of external things' :

> My poor head can never submit itself to things as they
> are. It cannot merely decorate; it must create....
> If I want to paint the spring, it must be winter; if
> I want to describe a lovely landscape, I must enclose
> it by walls; and, as I've said a hundred times, if ever
> I were confined to the Bastile, its there that I would
> draw the picture of liberty" (Roussean,1955,p.171-2
>   Book IV of Emile translated by Barbara Foxley, London,
>   Everyman).

The retreat from objectivity into subjectivity represents an infinite capacity for redefining the parameters of the social world.

Groups such as The Gunfighters are able to bridge the gap between individuality and community by staging a drama. The cowboy/girl utilizes an ephemoral role in a highly dramatic way to symbolize a portentious social order. For example, the majority of comments made by members of The Gunfighters make reference to their actions and attitudes by linking them to a romantic version of cowboy life. However, they do so in such a way that they metaphorically reverse the structure of fact and thereby build a myth out of man and nature.

Whereas in the actual historical West nature was the element which stood in the path of progress and civilization, for The Gunfighters nature is seen as man's friend and the environment consequently becomes a resource for personal inspiration, purpose and values:

    Bill : Because life was so simple then it was rough and hard.
             All a man had was his wagon and his horse. They were
             his only material possessions - not like it is now.
               Then, it was between man and nature. There was no
             inflation to worry about. The only worry was finding
             the next waterhole.
               In those days, a man made his own life .

Seen this way the incumbents construct a potential society of fiction but at the same time express something dramatically about

their everyday instrumental routines. The narrative that The Gun-fighters celebrate is dramaturgic since, like social interaction, generally it "recognises that men often are aware of their inner and outer audiences and that they appeal to those audiences for posi-tive evaluation" (Brittan,1973,p.123).

The action of The Gunfighters comprises social principles of risk, death, good, evil, justice, love, hate and romance. Consequently, the roles they enact are designed to accomplish these emotive ends.

The romantic myth, for example, is quite evident:

Terry : I've bought a horse now and I leave it at the Rancho Del Rio (a cowboy restaurant in Weardale). I know the manager and at weekends we go riding together with all our gear on. Sometimes I take some of the lads from the club with me - especially in the summer - and we camp out there eating beans and drinking coffee, sitting under the stars. We built a wooden cabin for that pur-pose.

Similarly:

George : My dream is, someday, to get some cash together - maybe from a few other interested people - and buy some land where we could build a ranch and make it as authentic as possible. And, we could spend our weekends up there and spare holidays.

Generally speaking the myth perpetuated by The Gunfighters is a world of machismo where men are tough and shrewd and women just happen to be there. But those few occasions where women adopt a prominant role it is characteristically masculine:

Rio : "Most of the women wear gingham dresses but, occasionally, some will dress like Belle Starr, Belle Boyd - the rebel spy, Calamity Jane - you get a lot doin' her.

The whole quality of inner space is suggested by the following remark about The General:

He mentally swaps his maissonette in the Hendon area of Sunderland for a white pillared southern mansion.

(Sunday Sun,25.1.81.)

The truth of this statement is confirmed by my own data:

Jim   :   What's so special about this image that makes you want
          to take it up?

The General:
          Well, he was smart and clever but most of all, its to
          get away from livin' here, in a block of flats. I just
          imagine what it must have been like in those days livin'
          in a big house on a plantation.

Jim   :   Do you reckon its escapist for everybody then?

The General:
          Of course it is or why else would they do it? You'd
          have to be mad if you just liked dressing up and nothin'
          else.

Together with Little Joe and Rio, The General believes that
his identification reflects the true character of the West. Until
Monday morning they retain that spirit in acute defiance of their
environment.

The separation of realities should not be under-estimated
each is as real and as important as the other. This can be seem
from the following exchange:

General: Hey, this is pure fantasy with me you know. I'm not one
           of these National Front or anything like that you know   .

   Jim: How do you mean?

General: Well, these blokes from the National Front got to hear
           of me. Well, I got a letter the other day asking me to
           go and see this fella. When I got there he said:"I see
           you're Robert E. Lee and you supported the South in the
           Civil War against freein' of the niggers." So then he
           says: "What do you think about immigration and these
           blacks coming into the country?"
             So then I says: "Hey, wait a minute, from Friday to
           Sunday I'm Robert E. Lee and from Monday to Friday I'm
           a working man, I'm not a bloody fascist."
             Then I got up and walked out. They think that just
           because you support the South you've got to hate the
           blacks. But, Robert E. Lee was a plantation owner and
           one of the first to free the slaves .

The idea that one's self has an identity is only concretised
through action. Although this is articulated through labels
"Beyond the assumption of the reflexive self, the contemporary
emphasis is on the self as exchange" (Brittan,1973,p.147). Con-
sequently, "Identities are bargained for, and once established are
put on the market again at a higher price" (ibid.). Identity is,

therefore, usually considered to be a transactional accomplishment
requiring the use of masks, fronts and other aspects of impression
management. However, the acknowledgement of an authentic self -
the anxious, searching self constantly attempting to reaffirm his/
her identity - depends upon the recognition given to the affec-
tual, rather than the rational, character and the goals he or she
seeks in order to give it credibility.

We can recognise this desire for authenticity in play proba-
bly more than in any other aspect of social life since play itself
seeks to redefine, through abstraction, mundane levels of struc-
ture and communication.

If we can recognise what is being accomplished in play,
whilst at the same time separate this from the trappings, we
become sensitised to the fact that it is a statement in itself and
at the same time is "simultaneously, a statement about that state-
ment which is implicit in the statement itself" (Haley,1955,p.52).
The following remarks reflect upon this paradox of play and reality.

The ritual fast-draw competition involves members of clubs
all over the United Kingdom. Its purpose is to discover who is the
fastest gun around. Upon this person is conferred considerable
status, as well as prizes. The winner is ceremoniously given a
trophy by which to remember his success. The whole year involves a
build up to the annual event at Ladbrokes holiday camp in Great Yar-
mouth.

The event itself can be considered to be a form of, what
Geerts calls, "deep play" (1975). Instead of real guns and bul-
lets, and instead of anger or malice the participants symbolically
collaborate in a gunfight which, although play, involves all the
elements of a real fight: risk, courage, nerve and experience.
Thus, although the participants are able to discriminate between the

two levels of communication contained within the true statement
and the second order statement (play), they symbolically trans-
form the reality of fact by imbuing their actions with sincerity
and authenticity "as if" they were doing it for real:

Terry : People really take the gunfight seriously. When I
used to take part I used to get really tense and
desperate to win.

Susan : When he used to take part I used to get so worried
and tense. I often had to leave the room. It was as
if he really was taking part in a real gunfight.

Paradoxically, these two frames must appear to be real and
yet not real at the same time. So "From the point of view of com-
munication, the unreal, or metaphorical is differentiated from the
real or literal when a statement is accompanied by a signal that
it is not to be interpreted literally" (Haley,1955,p.55).

The major rule of reframing in this sort of activity, it
would seem, is the suspension of disbelief:

Terry : I spent all my time at the West Cornforth show trying
to stop Rio from going around talking to everybody before
the fast-draw.

Jim : Why was that?

Terry : Because he's very excitable and I didn't want him to
show his hand too soon .

Jim : Show his hand?

Susan : Yes, some of them look really cool and collected and
you think to yourself : "he looks good". But, in
fact, he's probably no faster than anyone else. But,
because he looks as if he can handle the situation he
will give the impression, deliberately, of being good
at it.

Terry : You see, if you go around talking to people before the
fast-draw, they'll start sizing you up. I mean, if
they see your hand shaking they'll try and put one over
on you.

Implicitly, in the sort of framing that occurs with play,
the participant is not only invoking rules of interpretation with
others. He is establishing himself within those rules. In play-
ing an ephemeral role the participant is establishing an authentic
identity by placing himself in a metaphorical frame and thereby
temporarily transforming reality.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

GENDER AND SOCIAL SPACE.

Social life is mapped out by a series of boundaries. Such boundaries a re not only physical but conceptual as well. Both types of boundary are evident in the consideration of gender relationships. Indeed, no consideration of culture would be complete without the analysis of what it is to be a man or a woman; to do "masculinity" or "femininity". And, in this sense, it is the very opacity of the categories male and female which we need to interrogate since they are generally taken-for-granted - ie., are seen to be unproblematic in everyday encounters. However, such boundaries are continually recreated in social life to ensure the non-controversial, unambiguous, character of orderly relationships.

JUVENILE JAZZ BANDS AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER.

The views of radical feminists are important particularly in relation to the concept of "reproduction". This, of course not only implies the possibility of biological reproduction but more importantly underlines the perpetuation of gender stereotypes and statuses. From this point of view the cultural roles of sexuality, maternity and domesticity are not inevitable but are defined by men.

The practical everyday reality of working class girls is described by McRobbie (1978). She argues that despite the fact that females are not simply recitients of culture but actively produce it in their responses to others, girls nevertheless are "propelled towards domesticity" and "getting a man".

This is important since McRobbie makes the link

between the whole ideology of femininity and domesticity, on the one hand and the "idealised loss of self", characterised by eventual marriage and the uncritical acceptance of menial, mundane part-time labour, on the other. Social identity is inevitably bound up with domestic subordination. In this sense it has also been suggested that men define womanhood by organising the social and occupational boundaries of the male/female role (Bristol Womans' Study Group, 1979). Similarly, Delamont (1980) has pointed out how there are clearly defined "genderlects" (or language styles) between men and women which are dominated by the masculine point of view.

I want to go on to define a similar set of boundary relationships which are created for women in a male dominated working-class environment. Whilst this is the topic I set out to address the resource for making this intelligible is the study of a juvenile jazz band. Ultimately the study expresses a concern with the process of socialisation and with the type of social identity outlined above.

Juvenile Jazz Bands are concentrated in three major regions of the country - the North East, Wales and Nottingham. They are, however, the product of the post-war period and are very different from the adult jazz bands of the 1920's.

Although the modern juvenile bands allude to the idea of "community spirit" it is probably correct to say that such a characteristic was more attributable to the adult bands. What is true, of course, is that for both types of band colour, excitement, travel and adventure were brought into the lives of many people. What has disappeared from most urban environments is community spirit : "This was what made life them days, y'know. People was knit together, there wasn't this apartness like there is now...

they were hard times, but it did, y'know, it kept people together"
(Bird,1976).

Between the years 1935 and 1938 more than three hundred bands
had disappeared in the North East alone; by the 1950's they had all
vanished. What seems to be certain is the effects that employ-
ment had on the disappearance of the bands.

As far as social order was concerned, the adult bands of the
1920's were genuine attempts to organise a popular culture - a
people's culture created from within : "The study of working class
leisure is thus of considerable importance, to understand both its
positive contribution to community spirit, and also why that spirit
less often led to a direct political challenge to the depression
conditions" (ibid). By comparison, the modern juvenile bands seek
to impose leisure time of a particular type and a particular quality
upon a very specific section of the community - working class girls.
The differences between the two types of band are worth noting be-
cause they suggest different uses in leisure time.

The adult bands were primitive, spontaneous and imaginative in
character. They did not depend on an audience for appreciation and
their attempts at music making together with the carnavalesque atmos-
phere they provided suggested a sense of free-time devoid of any
hierarchical structure.

The instruments of the bands were all hand-made adaptations
of functional objects such as combs, knackers and bones, as well as
genuine musical instruments like bugles and horns.

Dressing up underlined a sense of the carnivalesque. Further-
more, as Bird reminds us, "the jazz bands were only one component
in a wider community effort on carnival days" (ibid.). Nor were the
bands led in a formal fashion by a drum major. Rather, "While
parading, these adult bands were...led...by a front man or leader,

often in some particularly outlandish costume"...The Jazzelites,

for instance, had 'a wild man, with a big bone between his teeth

and a big knife, and he used to run among the lasses! "(ibid.).

Invariably then, such bands were simply part of the local carnival

atmosphere.

By comparison, the modern juvenile bands date from the 1960's .

In 1964 there were about fifty bands in Northumberland and Durham.

By 1969 there were over four hundred.

The organisers of the modern juvenile bands like to see them-

selves as heirs to the older jazz band tradition:

> A jazz band is a marching carnival display band - that
> uses only voice reproduction instruments, kazzoos, and
> percussion instruments, such as drums...
>
> (Children in Harmony,1979, VI.Sept.)

Whilst such commentators claim connections with a tradition that

once existed in Britain in the late 1800's as well as to the music

of the negro slave plantations the connections are completely tenu-

ous and unsubstantiated.

The modern juvenile bands are in fact very different to the

earlier bands. Far from being spontaneous and creative accom-

plishments for the people involved they are hierarchical and mili-

taristic in structure. Musically they tend to inhibit talent rely-

ing only on kazoos supported by a base drum and side drums. The

leader is a majorette - an older child who has risen through the

ranks to such a prominent position. The bands meet regularly -

usually three to four times a week to practice, drill, marching

and music. All the bands have special personnel such as a trainer

(usually an ex-serviceman) a treasurer, organiser etc. Finally,

of great symbolic importance (apart from the name of the band) is the

uniform which reflects the military preoccupation with drill and dis-

cipline. Such concern is articulated in the statements of the Jazz

Band Federation:

>The average membership of a band is 50 children, ranging
>in age from 6 - 18 years, with most of the children
>being girls...It is only when it is realized that Jazz
>Bands supply about 20 hours per week of <u>organised</u>, <u>super-
>vised</u> leisure activity for over 25,000 children (often it
>is their only social life) that the true value of jazz
>bands to the community can be understood and appreciated.
>In these days of vandalism and hooliganism, <u>we supply the
>stabilizing influence</u> of a supervised leisure activity
>for 25,000 for 20 hours per week, ie., ½ a million child
>hours per week (800 hours per band)... (ibid).

Such statements are no doubt banal to many people whilst to

others they are profoundly meaningful. What is certain, however,

is the degree to which those in power view youth as a potential

social problem. In 1980 for example, the New Years Honours list

included Mr. Garfield Bishop - the President of the United King-

doms Federation of Jazz Bands - who was awarded the British Empire

Medal for his services to youth because of his involvement with

the jazz bands. As the federation's newspaper explained:

>It is a milestone in the history of the Jazz Band move-
>ment because it not only honours Garfield, but recognises
>the importance of Jazz bands as a youth movement.
>
>(Children in Harmony,V3,March,1980).

Such views are however not in total accordance with the resi-

dents of the areas which they claim to represent. The Embassy

Heralds, for example, claim to represent the Community of Denton.

As I suggested in chapter five such an area sense of community

is no longer appropriate to modern social life. The attempt to

recreate this sense of belonging is typical of only the jazz bands

and perhaps local gardening clubs. The claim to represent the

area is not accepted by other residents. The following attitudes

are typical:

Local Boy: Only puffs join those bands .

Local resident:

>These bloody bands get on my nerves. I work nights
>and there I am trying to get some sleep and they start
>up. There's no music there's just bang,bang,bang.

> They don't teach the kids anything, they just march them
> round the street making a noise.

Even within the Jazz band movement itself unhealthy attitudes arise:

> When we hear of all the quarrels and disruptions, petty
> feuds and downright bad sportsmanship that are,
> unfortunately, part and parcel of the jazz band world,
> there doesn't seem to be any value in starting up yet
> another group of people to become part of the 'rat-race'
> of competitions
>
> (Children in Harmony V12.Dec.1979).

Given that not everyone is in total agreement about the worth
of the bands why do young girls want to join? The major reason is
that the bands provide one of the few areas of public space avail-
able to young girls in an urban environment. It is however necess-
ary to understand, first of all, why public space is so limited for
girls. There are two basic reasons for this restriction. The first
is one of safety. It is not uncommon to hear the comment that "the
streets are not safe for young girls out alone at night". The
second reason is far more subtle and is concerned with the emerging
social identity that a young adolescent girl begins to acquire.
Robins and Cohen in "Knuck Sandwich" hint at something similar:

> The boys had, of course, classified all the girls into
> the familiar two categories: the slags who'd go with
> anyone and everybody (they were alright for a quick
> screw, but you'd never get serious about it) and the
> drags who didn't but whom you might one day think
> about going steady with .
>
> (Robins and Cohen,1978,p.58)

Paraphrasing Powell and Clarke (1975) Delamont points out that
"the 'problem' of adolescent girls can be formulated as 'how to
manage the "dangerous passage" of young girls, from parental care -
out from one family - and into a maternal role - back into a new
family" (Delamont,1480,p.50). As Powel and Clarke argue, adoles-
cent boys and girls pass through major institutions on different
tracks (ibid.p.51).

As far as leisure time is concerned boys are allowed more

physical freedom. They either "escape or are sent to play in the
street, in the park, on the dump, on the bomb site, while girls
are kept closer at home..." (Delamont,1980,p.54). The opposite
of such open space for girls is generally a retreat into the "Cul-
ture of the bedroom" (McRobbie and Garber,1975).

The desire to join a jazz band revolves around a number of core
issues which are central to the public space allotted to girls, and
which is unquestionably the right for boys.

The exclusion of women from most public zones represents one
of the most enduring tacit rules of social life. Just as there are
activities that are considered proper and appropriate at a given or
expected time in a specific setting, then, there are rules of con-
duct which are determined by gender. Thus, if women are seen to
be out of place in public settings then they are often castigated
and defined as deviants in some way. An investigation of the
Wolfenden Report of the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Pros-
titution provides an obvious illustration of the rules of propriety
in relation to gender role and public space use. In the report the
female prostitute is defined as "badly behaved" by contrast to the
"well behaved" woman. As Bland et. al., have commented: "The
contrast of 'well behaved' women/prostitute contains the impli-
cation that the former is located within the private sphere (namely
the family), with her sexuality sanctioned ultimately only within
the family, while the latter is located in the public sphere, out
on the streets, openly selling her sexuality"(1979,p.103).

Since the public moral order is usually male dominated women
tend to find expression in the private sphere (usually the home)
or the imaginative context of fantasy escape and romantic love.

The activities carried out in public are usually symbolised
by masculine and feminine objects. And, as McRobbie informs us,

"although girls are more visible (both in numbers and popular representation) in punk than earlier subcultures, I have yet to come across the sight of a girl 'gobbing" (1980,p.46). As she points out, since most subcultural activity takes place on the street "it both proclaims the publicisation of the group and at the same time ensures its male dominance" (ibid. p.47). This is, of course, the major problem for working class girls. The younger one's either tend to stay indoors or congregate in youth clubs, whilst for the older ones(who have left school) "going out means either a date - an escort and a place to go - or else a disco, dance hall or pub." (ibid.).

McRobbie suggests that a girl's self-evaluation "is assumed to depend on the degree to which her body and sexuality are pub- licly assessed as valuable." (ibid.). This being so then the mana- gement of adolescent sexuality is probably governed by a heightened awareness of the rules of propriety.

The Jazz Bands are almost entirely made up of pre-puberty girls. Consequently the point of departure for most occurs proba- bly when sexuality rears its head : at that point the bands lose their appeal and are seen as "juvenile". At this stage in a girl's life public visibility is likely to become reinforced by defini- tions of sexuality.

The jazz bands, then, represent a controlled area of public space for the "correct" socialisation of young girls. Before we begin to investigate this ideology it is important to turn our attention to the reasons why young girls want to join the bands.

There appears to be five reasons why a girl would join a aband: something to do; to make friends; because there is nothing else available; for the excitement and the "razz-matazz"; and to travel. I will expand on this in the following dialogue.

Given that there is a considerable lack of freedom in the streets of Denton for young girls and that the only other option is a retreat into the home it is not surprising that many girls claim that they originally joined the band "for something to do". This is expanded on by a typical comment:

Denise: I joined to stop being bored, there's nothing to do around here and the band's good because it gives us something to do .

Sharen: It's good fun and you get to know lots of people. You get to make a lot of friends.

Such comments do reveal just how little the girls know about others with whom they have lived close to for some time:

Angie: I thought she was a snob before I joined the band and got to know her properly .

Joanne: I used to hate her. We used to be the worst of enemies but now we're good friends .

If communication can be understood as "the coming together of persons who share the same attitude" (Mullin,1967)., then we can say that the band, as a vehicle of communication, provides for the mundane accomplishment of friendship. This is important because as Mullin points out, "communication makes reference to a community in which a friendship is possible because the motive for competition is absent" (ibid.p.31). Whilst the band is competitive with other bands (perhaps too competitive) internally it gives the impression of friendship and a sense of community:

Bernadette:
    It's like one big family. We all know each other and go away together...

Once a member a sense of pride and identity take on an extra meaning:

Denise: You pass people in the street and you hear them say 'she's in the Heralds'. It makes you feel good.

A mother of one of the girls echo's similar sentiments:

Mother: I just took one look at her and cried. To see her all dressed up like that - I was so proud .

However the competitive spirit is fiercely encouraged by band
organisers even though the Jazz Band Federation officially criti-
cise this attitude:

Denise: They hate us taking the medals away every time .

Lynn: It's good being the best 'cause the other bands respect
            you even though they get jealous about it .

Denise: Most of the other bands are envious of us because we
            are better than them. Belonging to a good band is
            important because it makes you feel good - you get
            respect .

Apart from the competition it is the spectacle - the "razz-
matazz" - which is a cause for excitement. Although musically the
bands inhibit any real musical appreciation by limiting the instru-
ments to kazoos and drums and relying on simple formulas - Colonel
Bogie march, the Dam Busters march etc., - the trainers genuinely
believe in their own musical skill and sensitivity. As Nelly, the
music trainer, pointed out:

Nelly: We got this special mouthpiece fitted to the kazoos .
           Other bands have tried to copy our sound but they just
           can't. It's one of the things which makes us better.

To those girls who have never been outside of Newcastle, or
whose knowledge of geography does not extend to outside of the city,
the idea of travel suggests excitement and adventure:

Jim: What do you get out of the band Angie?

Angie: Travel, meeting new friends. It's great, you go all
            over the place .

Michelle: Going down for the competition at Yarmouth, that's
           the best .

Sharon: It's nice going out on the bus to meetings and com-
            petitions because we sing and have a good time.

What I have tried to suggest so far is that juvenile jazz
bands offer a safe area of public space to young girls in an urban
environment. They provide a non-controversial area of social life
in which a working class girl can be seen in the streets. More
importantly, despite the lack of creativity which the bands foster
and the talent they inhibit they do, nevertheless, provide an

opportunity for the girls to enjoy the company of each other.

What I want to go on to describe is the way in which the social life of the girls is controlled and highly organised in order that a "healthy" moral attitude may be encouraged.

Although I have tried to suggest that the juvenile bands have little in common with the older adult bands what does seem apparent is a nineteenth century concern with a) youth as a social problem and b) the need to provide a healthy moral education by making leisure time more agreeable and "wholesome". Inevitably the rise in popularity of youth movements towards the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century involved a concern with organised leisure time in the attempt to eradicate the more disorderly elements of working class spare time. Moral discipline was substituted for incivility and disorderly conduct. The "characteristic vehicles of this enterprise" in transforming the category of youth were imperialism and nationalism (Blanch,1979,p.104).

In Imperialism, Nationalism and Organised Youth Blanch points out how youth organisations emerged in three characteristic forms: para-military, semi-military and civilian. Despite their differences the ultimate goal of all three organisations was the eradication of indiscipline. However, the first two types of organisation modelled their activities on the army so that "Loyalty and patriotism were essential" and the individual was taught his duties "within the national fabric which the youth organisations existed both to preserve and to strengthen" (ibid.p.113).

What is apparent is the remarkable similarity of the juvenile jazz bands to the semi-military organisations described by Blanch. Unlike the para-military organisations the semi-military organisations attempted to avoid overt military identification. However they still wore uniforms, practiced drill and also drew their

organisers from the army. Such examples would therefore include the Boy Scouts movement, the Boys Life Brigade, and the Girls Life Brigade. To this list we can add the juvenile jazz bands.

One of the underlying tenets of the semi-military organisation was the attempt to "inculcate principles of discipline, self-reliance and humanity" (ibid.Blanch par.Ref.Patton,p.110). In seeking to impart similar featur es the jazz bands construct a whole moral universe of "healthy" leisure time for the benefit of young girls. We can therefore note the following features.

Unlike the adult bands, which celebrated spontaneity, the juvenile bands are seen as an instrument of safe, controlled, moral discipline/education for girls (and for boys, it must be said, if only they would turn up). Control is therefore in the hands of adults - trainers who are invariably ex-servicemen. Such control takes the form of a standardized routine performance. The following specifies how such control is exercised.

The development of rules, codified and written up into a rule-book, took place as the bands increased in number and popularlity. These tend to underlie the standardized performance of each occasion by defining which instruments are to be used, and the style of dress etc. The uniforms in particular are "girlish" (short dresses) but evoke, at the same time, military connotations (bear-skin headgear etc.). A paradoxical sense of the outlandish is furthermore evoked by the names given to the bands by their trainers. For example, the Bilsthorpe Legionnaires; the Gateshead Royal British Legionnaires; the Winlaton Grenadiers; the Tredegar Squadronnairs; the Fochriw Mini Paraders; the Grangefield Royals; and the Seghill Sovereigns etc. etc.

For any organisation intent on providing discipline regular training is essential. For the Embassy Heralds training takes

place twice a week and the children take it seriously enough to practice in most of their spare time. The training routine is extremely strict. The trainer, George, having served in the army is seen by all adults concerned with the band as the natural person to fulfil that role. The typical training session is divided into various components. This is precisely because the examiners (officials at carnivals) take various aspects of the band's presentation into consideration. These are: marching performance; musical style; and appearance. Marching performance is seen as the most important followed by musical style. For George, orderliness, comportment and precision were considered to be the major part of the training routine: ranks had to be evenly spaced, timing was critical and the music had to reinforce the marching style. At the end of each training session the children were urged to be patriotic when George would use the phrase: "And now the Queen" when the national anthem was played on kazoos whilst standing to attention.

Discipline in the bands is also strict. As Tony Summers of the Abergavenny Tornadoes pointed out that it is the responsibility of every adult within the band movement to teach the children to be better citizens:

> If I see or hear any of the children in our band making nasty remarks, or calling another band, even if they are justified in doing so, they get a severe warning from me and if it happens a second time they can hand their uniforms in...
>
> (Children in Harmony,March,1980).

The importance of discipline should not be underestimated as the following account makes clear:

> ...there is the aspect of personal effort, discipline and pride, developing in even the most timid child.... It is possible for even the youngest child to become involved and develop commitment to a vital youth organisation (ibid.).

The pedagogic training of the bands is the technique for

ensuring time is spend wisely as the following makes clear:

> Young people will always congregate together for
> good (and for evil for that matter) so how can we use
> this factor to their advantage? (ibid).

The strict discipline required by the training routine and

particularly because of the never-ending competitiveness demanded

by the competitions has led to some internal concern about the

over-zealous attitudes of trainers and officials:

> Lets face up to the problem. The band is formed for
> the kids, so they can get out, enjoy themselves and
> have a bit of fun. But committees, trainers, secretaries
> and sometimes even associations, are making it a crime
> for some kids almost to breath . (ibid).

As for the trainer:

> If all he ever does is shout and bawl at the kids, they
> must get sick and tired and they will eventually leave,
> and once word gets round what the trainer and officials
> are like, then potential new recruits just won't want to
> join that band (ibid.).

What is suggested by these comments is the importance of

training, discipline, authority and patriotism in the views of

those in charge of the jazz band associations. Such ideas represent

the ideology of control over a section of society - youth - which

has been perceived to have been a threat in the past and is still

perceived to be a threat in the future.

What I have attempted to say about the jazz bands in relation

to the place of women in society is that they have created a "safe"

tangible, arena for social interaction to take place in public

given that there are considerable constraints placed upon how and

where, women can be seen.

What is particularly significant is the way in which the social

space of gender is organised and controlled through the manipulation

of visual symbols, such as uniforms, as well as by the semi-military

emphasis upon discipline and obedience. But what perhaps seems to

be most striking about the bands is not simply the passivity which

which they encourage but the lack of imagination and ambition which they appear to make a virtue of.

The music itself has very little to do with Jazz. Whereas true jazz implies the rhetoric of authentic musical accomplishment, blackness, decadence, late night clubs, immorality etc., the juvenile jazz bands place emphasis on "Jazzy". The latter signifies inauthentic, imitation and plastic which replace the meaningful elements of authentic style and identification of the music with a specific form of social life. Because "Jazzy" implies the superficial and the amateurish the bands themselves are limited by the lack of musical knowledge of those in charge.

It is through the bands, however, that pre-pubescent girls are able to take part in the public life of the area. As they become more mature they discover the rules which regulate gender relationships in a modern city. The role of future women is thus prescribed and reinforced. The "domestic virtues" of womanhood as well as the designated future occupational roles, are supported by a network of rituals, attitudes, and male oriented constraints upon the social life of young working class girls.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of popular culture and public order in this thesis was interpretive. That is to say, that the underlying methodological assumption is that the consciousness of the subject is the starting point for investigation. The focus has not therefore been on the social system. Indeed, there has been a consistent desire not to fall into the deterministic form of explanation which characterises both functionalist and Marxist – conflict theories. I have, throughout, attempted to examine the assumptions, actions and motives of people in a negotiable social order.

The analysis has sought to demonstrate the logical relationships between people and the construction and negotiation of meanings. The empirical plausibility of the analysis does not depend, however, on mere description but on demonstrating regularities of social action as well as articulating the social rules which underpin social life. The ethnographic accounts in particular seek to provide a rigorous framework of analysis by focusing on language. It is at this level that I have paid particular attention to ideas of symbolic interactionists and ethnomethodologists.

In examining what I have called "social space" the focus was concentrated on small social worlds which revealed a number of things. Firstly, that the reorganisation of public order had caused subjective feelings of social disorganisation and that meaningful social interaction for many people had become difficult to sustain. Furthermore, the potential anonymity generated by the social environment meant that some individuals had to seek out other people in a similar situation so that they could collectively find a solution to their common predicament.

Secondly, I have attempted to demonstrate how members, having established a social group, structure an authentic collective identity by transforming the mundane world thereby temporarily reorganising its rules. In doing this I have illustrated how style, dramaturgic staging and the concept of play are important elements in the way in which people use their leisure time by metaphorically communicating to each other something about the world they inhabit.

Thirdly, I have tried to show that the commodity system of goods is used by people and that, consequently, the use of leisure time cannot be seen as passive consumption or escape from oblivion (Gorz, 1965). Nor can leisure be seen to involve simply modes of relaxation designed to soothe and prolong stupefaction (Marcuse, 1974).

Finally, it would have been difficult to talk about popular culture and social space without saying something about gender relationships. Although it has been implicit throughout the second half of the work it is Chapter 8 which touches on the political dimension in respect of the control of social space. In Chapter 6, for example, the themes of "doing masculinity" and "doing femininity" were indicative of the routine performances and speech acts displayed by members in order to specify the benchmarks of the moral order. As such members could rely on a code which was articulated by their utterances and which sought to resurrect the disappearing world of hard physical labour and where the boundaries of male/female were strictly circumscribed. Chapter 8 however illustrates how the categories of gender and age combine to produce a form of social control in which young girls living in a working class environment are encouraged to participate in "safe" and "morally healthy" leisure pursuits.

I began this thesis sensitized to the idea that social life had become highly organised during the course of the last two centuries. But, what I have discovered and found surprising in the course of the research was the pace of the change in social relationships in the post-war period. Clearly, a number of things had combined to stimulate this: ideas about physical space and the moral order and the development of a technocratic society where experts had supreme confidence in their ideas; the destruction of geographic/occupational communities and the insensitivity of the bureaucrats, planners and local politicians to the real needs of the indigenous population; the emergence of a consumer culture and the use of commodities as stylistic communication as well as, of course, the importance of the mass media as a resource with which people choose, manipulate and utilize the symbols of the new secular society.

The major theme running throughout the work was the development of a highly specific public order during the twentieth century, the corollary of which was a new type of social order requiring the acquisition of new skills by the urban population. Stated simply, as the urban environment has become ordered and organised in terms of the use of space and time so public life, seen as a diversity of unorganised social exchanges, has diminished rapidly. What has emerged, therefore, is a search for authenticity - an attempt to construct a meaningful social reality around a highly specific form of collective experience. What I have described are precisely these meta-communities which have formed around secular ideas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABRAMS, P., (ed.), 1978, Work, Urbanism and Inequality, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London.

ALTICK, R.D., 1978, The Shows of London, The Belknap Press, London.

ARDAGH, J., 1980, A Tale of Five Cities: Life in Provincial Europe Today, Secker, London.

ARENDT, H., 1958, The Human Condition, Chicago University Press.

ARTS NORTH, For details consult Northern Arts or Newcastle City Library.

AVINERI, S., 1968, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx, Cambridge University Press.

BANHAM, R., 1973, The Architecture of the Well Tempered Environment, The Architectural Press, London.

BARTHES, R., 1976, Mythologies, Paladin, St. Albans.

BATESON, G., 1955, A Theory of Play and Fantasy, Psychiatric Research Reports, Vol. 2.

BENJAMIN, W., 1977, The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, In Illuminations, Cape, London.

BERGER, P.L., and Luckman, T., 1975, The Social Construction of Reality, Penguin, London.

BERMAN, M., 1971, The Politics of Authenticity, Allen & Unwin, London.

BEYER, H., GROPIUS, W., GROPIUS, I., 1975, Bauhaus 1919-1928, Secker & Warburg, London.

BIGSBY, C.W.E., (ed.), 1976, Approaches to Popular Culture, Arnold, London.

BIRD, E., 1976, Jazz Bands of North East England: The Evolution of a Working Class Cultural Activity, Oral History, Vol. 4, No. 2.

BLANCH, M., 1979, Imperialism Nationalism and Organised Youth, in
     Clarke, J., et.al., Working Class Culture, Hutchinson, London.

BRIGGS, A., 1968, Victorian Cities, Pelican, London.

BRISTOL WOMENS' STUDIES GROUP, 1979, Half the Sky, Virago.

BRITTAN, A., 1973, Meanings and Situations, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

BURNS, T., 1973, Leisure in Industrial Society, in M. Smith et.al., Leisure
     and Society in Britain, Allen Lane, London.

CAMUS, A., 1971, The Rebel, Penguin, London.

CAVAN, S., 1973, Bar Sociability, in Birenbaum, A. and Sagarin, E.,
     People and Places, Nelson, London.

CHANEY, D., 1979, Fictions and Ceremonies, Representations of Popular
     Experience, Arnold, London.

CHILDREN IN HARMONY, The Magazine of the Jazz Band Federation.

CIVIC AFFAIRS, For details consult Tyne and Wear Archives Department,
     Corporation Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle upon Tyne City
     Corporation.

CIVIC NEWS, For Details consult Tyne & Wear Archives Department,
     Corporation Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle upon Tyne City
     Corporation.

CLARKE, J., CRITCHER, C., JOHNSON, R., (eds.), 1979, Working Class Culture,
     Hutchinson, London.

COHEN, S. and TAYLOR, L., 1976, Escape Attempts, Allen Lane/Penguin, London.

COLLS, R., 1977, The Colliers Rant, Croom Helm, London.

COMMON, J., 1935, The Freedom of the Streets, Secker and Warbug, London.

CORRIGAN, P., 1979, The Dialectics of Doing Nothing, New Society, 5/7/79.

COX, W.H., 1977, Cities: The Public Deminsion, Penguin, London.

CUNNINGHAM, H., 1982, Class and Leisure in Mid-Victorian England, in
      Waites, B., et.al, (eds.), Popular Culture Past and Present,
      Croom Helm and the O.U. Press, Milton Keynes.

DAMER, S., 1974, Wine Alley: The Sociology of Dreadful Enclosure, The
      Sociological Review XXII.

DAVIES, J.G., 1974, The Evangelistic Bureaucrat, Tavistock, London.

DEAN, M., 1981, Guardian, 1/4/81.

DELAMONT, S., 1980, The Sociology of Women, G. Allen & Unwin, London.

DENNIS, N., 1970, People and Planning, Faber, London.

DICKENSON, R.E., 1967, The City Region in Western Europe, Routledge &
      Kegan Paul, London.

DUMAZADIER, J., 1967, Towards a Society of Leisure, Collier MacMillan,
      London.

DYOS, H.J. and WOLFF, M., 1973, The Victorian City, Routledge & Kegan
      Paul, London.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE, 1979, From: Socio-Cultural Practices to an
      Animation Policy, (Report of the Lyons Symposium 19-22 September 1978)
      published by Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Cooperation and
      Cultural Affairs, Strasbourg.

ELIAS, N., 1978, The Civilizing Process, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

FEATHERSTONE, M., 1983, Consumer Culture: An Introduction, in Theory
      Culture and Society.

FISHMAN, R., 1977, Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century, Basic Books,
      New York.

FRITH, S., 1978, The Sociology of Rock, Constable, London.

FRIPP, R., 1980, The Guardian, 8/4/80.

GEERTZ, C., 1975, The Interpretation of Cultures, Hutchinson, London.

GLUCKSMANN, M., 1974, The Structuralism of Levi-Strauss and Althusser, in Approaches to Sociology, Rex, J., 1974, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

GODAY, G., 1975, Anti-Leisure and Public Recreation Policy, in Parker S.R., et.al., (eds.), Sport and Leisure in Contemporary Society, Polytechnic of Central London.

GOFFMAN, E., 1963, Behaviour in Public Places, Free Press, New York.

GOFFMAN, E., 1972(a), Relations in Public: Micro Studies of the Public Order, Penguin, London.

GOFFMAN, E., 1972(b), Interaction Ritual, Penguin, London.

GOFFMAN, E., 1974, Asylums, Penguin, London.

GOFFMAN, E., 1975, Frame Analysis, Penguin, London.

GOFFMAN, E., 1976, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Penguin, London.

GORZ, A., 1965, Work and Consumption, in Towards Socialism by P. Anderson and R. Blackburn, Collins, London.

GOWER DAVIES, J., 1974, The Evangelistic Bureaucrat, Tavistock, London.

GREENBURG, C., 1963, Avant Garde and Kitch, in Rosenberg, B., White, D.M., (eds.), Mass Culture, Free Press, New York.

GUILDING THE GHETTO, 1977, Community Development Project, 5 Tavistock Place, London.

GURR, T.R., 1977, The Politics of Crime and Conflict, Sage, California.

GUTHEIM, F., 1970, Urban Space and Urban Design, in Wingo, L., The Future Use of Urban Land, J.B. Hopkins Press, New York.

HALEY, J., 1955, Paradoxes in Play Fantasy and Psychology, Psychiatric Research Reports, Vol. 2.

HALL, S. and JEFFERSON, T.Y., (eds.), 1976, Resistance Through Rituals, Hutchinson, London.

HALL, S., 1977, Culture, the Media and the Ideological Effect, in Curran, J., et.al., (eds.), Mass Communication and Society, Arnold, London.

HALL, S., 1983, Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms, in Culture, Ideology and Social Process, Bennett, T., et.al. (eds.), Batsford, London.

HARROP, J., MASON, T., VIELBA, C.A., WEBSTER, B.A., 1978, The Implementation And Development of Area Management, Area Management Monitoring Project Second Interim Report, Inlogov, University of Birmingham.

HARVEY, J., 1890, Weekly Chronicle, 11th October, Source: Newcastle City Library.

HAWKES, T., 1977, Structuralism and Semiotics, Methuen, London.

HEBDIGE, D., 1979, Subculture: The Meaning of Style, Methuen, London.

HEBDIGE, D., 1982, Towards A Cartography of Taste 1935-1962, in Waites, B., et.al. (eds.), Popular Culture Past and Present, Croom Helm & O.U. Press, Milton Keynes.

HOBSBAWM, E.J., 1971, Industry and Empire, Penguin, London.

HOBSBAWM, E.J., 1977, The Age of Capital 1848-1975, Abacus, London.

HOWARD, E., 1965, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, Faber & Faber, London.

HUGHES, R., 1980, The Listener, (16th October).

HUIZINGA, T., 1977, Homo Ludens, A Study of the Play Element in Culture, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

JOHNS, E., 1965, British Townscapes, Arnold, London.

JONES, E., 1966, Towns and Cities, O.U. Press, Milton Keynes.

KERBO, H.R., MARSHAL, M., HOLLEY, P., 1978, Re-establishing "Gemeinschaft"? Urban Life, Vol. 7, No. 3, October.

LAING, R.D., 1969, The Divided Self, Tavistock, London.

LE CORBUSIER,   1970, Towards a New Architecture, The Architectural Press.

H.M.S.O., 1978, Leisure and the Quality of Life.

LOFLAND, L.H., 1973, A World of Strangers, Basic Books, New York.

MacCANNELL, D., 1976, The Tourist, Macmillan Press.

MacDONALD, D., 1963, A Theory of Mass Culture, in Rosenberg, B., and White, D.M. (eds.), Mass Culture, Free Press, New York.

MAC QUARRIE, J., 1973, Existentialism, Pelican, London.

MADGE, J., and THOMSON, M., 1978, A Report From Byker Art Workers, Byker Community Development Project.

MANDERS, F.W.D., 1973, A History of Gateshead, Gateshead Corporation.

MANNING, P.K., 1976, The Decline of Civility: A Comment on Erving Goffman's Sociology, Canadian Review of Social Anthropology, Vol. 13, pt. 1, (Feb.).

MARCUSE, H., 1974, One Dimensional Man, Abacus, London.

MARX, K., 1974, Capital, Vol. 1, Lawrence and Wishart, London.

McCOLL, G.J., 1970, Social Relationships, Aldine Publishing Co., New York.

McLUHAN, M., 1974, Understanding Media, Abacus, London.

McRobbie, A., 1980, Settling Accounts with Subcultures: A Feminist Critique, Screen Education, No. 34.

McROBBIE, A., 1978, "Jackie": An Ideal of Adolescent Femininity, CCCS Monograph, Birmingham.

McROBBIE, A. and GARBNER, J., 1975, Girls and Subcultures, in Hall, S., and Jefferson, T. (eds.), Resistances Through Rituals, Hutchinson, London.

MEAD, M., 1980, The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption, Penguin, London.

MELLOR, H.E., 1976, Leisure and the Changing City, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

MELLY, G., 1970, Revolt into Style, Penguin, London.

MENNELL, S., 1979, Theoretical Considerations on the Study of Cultural 'Needs', in Sociology, Vol. 13, No. 2.

MULLIN, J., 1979, Phenomenology and Friendship, in Blum, A.F. and McHugh, P., Friends, Enemies, and Strangers, Ablex, New Jersey.

NIEBERG, H.L., 1969, The Tech-Fix and the City, in Schmandt, H.J., and Bloomberg, W., The Quality of Urban Life and Urban Affairs, Vol. 3, Sage Publications, California.

PARK, R.E., BURGESS, E.W., and McKENZIE, R.D. 1925, The City, University of Chicago Press.

PARKER, S., 1977, The Sociology of Leisure, Allen & Unwin, London.

PATTERSON, O., 1966, The Dance Invasion, New Society, 15th September.

PEARSON, G., and TWOHIG, J., 1976, Ethnography Through the Looking Glass etc., in Hall, S., and Jefferson, T., (eds.), Resistance Through Rituals, Hutchinson, London.

QUINCY, B., et.al., 1976, <u>May I Have the Pleasure?</u> The Story of Popular Dancing, B.B.C. Publications.

RABAN, J., 1974, <u>Soft City</u>, Hamish Hamilton, London.

RIESMAN, D., 1950, <u>The Lonely Crowd</u>, Yale University Press, New Haven.

ROBINS, D., and COHEN, P., 1978, <u>Knuckle Sandwich</u>, Penguin, London.

SCHOENWALD, R.D., 1973, <u>Public Order and Sanitary Reform</u>, in Dyos, J.H. and Wolff, M., The Victorian City, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

SEARLE, J.R., 1974, <u>The Logical Status of Fictional Discourse</u>, in French, P.A., et.al. (eds.), Contemporary Perspectives in the Philosophy of Language, University of Minnesota Press, 1979.

SENNETT, R., (ed.), 1969, <u>Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities</u>, Appleton Century Crafts, Meredith Corporation, New York.

SENNETT, R., 1973, 'The Uses of Disorder', Personal Identity and City Life, Penguin, London.

SENNETT, R., 1977, (a), <u>The Fall of Public Man</u>, Cambridge University Press.

SENNETT, R., and COBB, J., 1977 (b), <u>The Hidden Injuries of Class</u>, Cambridge University Press.

SHORE, P., 1976, in <u>Guilding the Ghetto</u>, Community Development Project.

SIMMEL, G., 1950, <u>The Metropolis and Mental Life</u>, in Wolff, K.H. (ed.), The Sociology of Georg Simmel (1980), Free Press, New York.

SIMMEL, G., 1976, <u>Georg Simmel</u> (edited by Lawrence, P.), Nelson, London.

SIMPSON, J., 1976, <u>Final Report of Project on Socio-Cultural Animation:</u> <u>Audit and Legacy</u>, Council of Europe, DOC, CCC/DC.

SMITH, M.P., 1980, <u>The City and Social Theory</u>, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

SMITH, T.D., 1970, <u>Dan Smith: An Autobiography</u>, Oriel Press, Newcastle.

STEADMAN JONES, G., 1974, Working Class Culture and Working Class Politics in London 1870-1900, Journal of Social History, Vol. 7, Summer.

STORCH, R.D., 1976, The Policeman as Domestic Missionary, Journal of Social History, Vol. 9, No. 4.

SUTCLIFFE, A., 1981, Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, United States, France 1780-1914, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

SWINGWOOD, A., 1977, The Myth of Mass Culture, Macmillan, London.

TOFFLER, A., 1971, Future Shock, Pan, London.

TRILLING, L., 1974, Sincerity and Authenticity, Oxford University Press.

TYNE RECREATIONAL STUDY, 1968, Vol. 1, and Vol. 2, Manchester University, Department of Town and Country Planning, Source: Newcastle Central Library.

URBAN TRENDS, 1978, For Details Consult Newcastle University Library, Newcastle City Corporation.

WALTER, E.V., 1977, Dreadful Enclosures: Detoxifying an Urban Myth, Archives of European Sociology, Vol. 18.

WARREN, C.A., 1974, Identity and Community in a Gay World, John Wiley & Sons, New York.

WARREN, C.A. and PONSE, B., 1977, The Existential Self in the Gay World, in Douglass, J.D. and Johnson, J.M., (eds.), Existential Sociology, Oxford University Press.

WATKIN, D., 1977, Morality and Architecture, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

WEBER, M., 1960, The City, Heineman, London.

WIEDER, D.L., 1975, Telling the Code, in Turner, R., Ethnomethodology, Penguin.

WILLIAMS, R., 1973, Minority and Popular Culture, in Leisure and Society in Britain, ed. by Smith, M., et.al, Allen Lane, London.

WILLIAMS, R., 1981, Culture, Fontana, London.

WILLIS, P., 1972, Ph.D. Thesis; Popular Music and Youth Culture Groups in Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University.

WILLIS, P., 1978, Profane Culture, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

WILLIS, P., 1980, Notes on Methods in Hall, S., et.al. (eds.), Culture, Media, Language, Hutchinson, London.

WILSON, C., 1978, The Outsider, Pan, London.

WOLFE, T., 1982, From Bauhaus to Our House, The Pitman Press.

WRIGHT, W., 1975, Sixguns and Society, University of California Press.

ZURCHER, J.R., 1973, The Friendly Poker Game: A Study of an Ephemeral Role, in Birenbaum A., and Sagarim, E., (eds.), People and Places, Nelson, London.