Gillian Callaghan

Young People and Social Change in Sunderland: de-industrialisation and cultural change

PhD. Thesis

University of Durham

1998

ABSTRACT

The research is set within the particular context of change and crisis in Sunderland. It employs understandings of wider processes of structural change in articulation with the effects of history and sedimentation within a particular place. To these processes are brought issues of youth in transition as a point of personal crisis. The main axes which structure the account are those of class, gender and place because they so clearly emerged from the research as the significant sources of division in experience.

The thesis is an exploration of the relative importance of structure and agency. In achieving this account it uses empirical research into the particular conditions experienced by young people in Sunderland to exemplify processes of structure, collective and individual action.

The research is based in semi-structured interviewing and seeks to discover the effects of fundamental processes of restructuring, changing gender composition of the workforce, the quantity and quality of work, upon the ways in which young people frame their adult lives. It compares the expectations and experience of a group of young people, interviewed at the age of eighteen as part of research for a Masters Degree, with their outcome at the age of twenty-four. This study has developed the account over time and place through the selection of a second sample of eighteen-year-olds from another part of the City.

Young People and Social Change in Sunderland:

de-industrialisation and cultural change

Gillian Callaghan

PhD. Thesis

University of Durham

1998

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the many sources of help and support I have had in developing this thesis. I want to thank Dr. David Byrne for his support and encouragement throughout. My thanks go to him, not only for introducing new ideas, but also for his help in developing the insights produced through my reading and my fieldwork. I am grateful to fellow post-graduate students, particularly Tim Strangleman, for the stimulation of hours of discussion of our respective research interests. Thanks are also due to ESRC who funded the research and to Paul Callaghan for help in presentation of the final document.

I would like to thank Councillor Bryn Sidaway for taking the time to discuss the issues in this research and all of the people who helped me by giving up their time to be interviewed. I hope they will feel I have given a fair representation of their views and ideas.

While writing a PhD. is a relatively solitary project it inevitably impinges on the lives of other people, particularly when the author is a woman with children. I would like to thank my parents, my sister and Margaret Pallas for the numerous ways in which they have supported me to complete this research. Finally I must also mention the contribution of my children, Richard and David, who have shown their interest in my work as well as, at times, their frustration with the competing claims it has made on my time.

Contents

Abbreviations

BTEC	Business and Technical Education Council
ET	Employment Training
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
HAT	Housing Action Trust
HND	Higher National Diploma
MBA	Masters in Business Administration
NNEB	Nursery Nurse Examination Board
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
TEC	Training and Enterprise Council
TWDC	Tyne and Wear Development Corporation
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
UDP	Unitary Development Plan
YT	Youth Training
YTS	Youth Training Scheme

Introduction

This thesis is an attempt to understand the life choices and decisions young people make in the context of a changing world. To achieve that understanding we need an explanation which comprehends both the action people take and the structural constraints upon that action. The aim of the theoretical and empirical work of this thesis is to consider the effects of both action and structure and to develop an account of their interaction. In terms of method the research is based in asking people, but its purpose, through employing concepts relating also to pre-conscious orientations, is to develop an explanation which can make both dimensions visible.

The main theme which runs throughout the work is the theme of change and the critical potential of change. The research is formed within the context of industrial restructuring in a city heavily dependent on two traditional industries and it seeks to learn the effects of such change on people's decisions and choices. It is also formed at a particular point of personal change and transition when the lack of established habits and practices makes room for a range of possible choices. The choices which are made however are precisely made *within a range* and this work will attempt to identify the dynamics of those limits, to recognise with Marx that:

> "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given, and transmitted from the past."

The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, 1852

The study is based in research conducted in 1987 for a Masters Degree. It has extended the previous research in method, in magnitude and in the substantive issues with which it concerns itself. In explaining the current research therefore I need first to return to my earlier project to outline its scope and its main concerns.

The earlier research involved interviewing 40 eighteen year olds to learn how their lives had been shaped by change and how they had acted in the face of that change. The current research has sought to follow up those eighteen-year-olds at the age of twenty-three and to meet a new sample of eighteen-year-olds. There are certain marked differences between the two groups which reflect upon the changing theoretical issues with which I have been concerned. An explanation of the changing structure of the project is a useful way of illustrating how these issues have evolved.

In the earlier work I chose the local authority ward of Hendon because it held within it the three cluster groups I wished to study (Callaghan 1991). In my later study I decided to move to the outer estates because I was interested to learn more about spatial variation. The separation between areas was more distinctive and locating the study in Sunderland North allowed me to draw the sample from three large cluster areas. The north of the river comprises large council housing estates as well as affluent owner occupied areas. It also afforded an opportunity to reflect on the differences in living in the outer areas. While in Hendon all of the young people had attended a single comprehensive school, in Sunderland North I was able to reflect on three quite different schools and the experience which they offered young people. Sunderland North was interesting for the

additional reason that is that it is a City Challenge area and therefore subject of a very visible programme of action. While I retained my original interest in the effects of restructuring then, I could also, through changing the physical base of the project, make some interesting comparisons.

This was the basis of the sample selection and clearly, because of my interest in spatial processes, area was an important consideration in the choice.

In developing the interests which I have outlined, I have sought to expand the research to identify the ways in which the local state in Sunderland has responded to issues of restructuring. I have attempted to learn about their views and their action in the place both through publications and through an interview with one significant actor.

In many ways however my concerns have been identical to those of my earlier research and the methods of exploring those concerns have remained essentially the same. The interest was in how young people were shaping their working and their family lives against a background of deindustrialisation. Having introduced the main themes of the research it remains for me to explain the structure of the thesis and the ways in which these ideas and themes will be explored.

The first four chapters will establish the context for understanding young people's accounts.

Chapter One will introduce the discussion of social reproduction to provide the framework for understanding the role of action and structure. It will consider the changes in the class structure which reflect restructuring and will examine the view that this has given rise to a transformed cultural hegemony and that we are witnessing the development of an American- style underclass. This chapter will recognise the ways in which class position relates to issues of locality and citizenship.

In view of the current debate about the relevance of class in people's lives the study will interrogate views about class-consciousness among both middle and working class people, feelings of solidarity or isolation, expectations and experience of work relations. Chapter One will discuss the theoretical framework for understanding these issues. These questions are structural in their desire to learn about the world young people inhabit and action based in their desire to learn what they do with that world.

There are major changes occurring in the outer areas, where there is some evidence that the post war council estates house an increasingly deprived section of the population while owner occupied dwellings on estates such as Seaburn Dene are populated by a much more affluent group. Issues of tenure have become increasingly significant as a focus of change and this study will examine people's expectations, to discover, if there is a process of polarisation, whether that is deepening and how people fall on one side of the divide.

Chapter Two will develop the theme of gender in its relation to restructuring and will centre on how gendered divisions have been affected by structural change. This will involve an examination of not only the contexts of work and family, but

also of citizenship and place. It will be concerned with how change affects this second fundamental divide.

The chapter will begin by considering the relationship between gender and class and will raise questions about how our view of this interaction shapes our understanding of the ethnographic account.

It will recognise the qualitatively different experience of citizenship which young people have in relation to their gender and the material conditions of their existence. The nature of citizenship, it seems, is changing and this concerns the changing rights and responsibilities of the individual, the family and the state. If it is true, as Roche (1992) claims, that the reorganisation of capitalism has undermined dominant paradigm notions of citizenship then in an effort to understand meaning it will be important to examine those changing social conditions.

There are questions relating to women's role, the construction of a female identity and its maintenance as well as recent challenges to the 'traditional role' in earning power. The effect of households' increasing dependence on two incomes on power relations, and expectations between partners in comparison to families where one or where neither partner works, is a focus for this study.

It is essential to question both women's and men's consciousness in order to understand how expectations are formed, those which are imposed and the negotiated understandings which men and women share in marriage and family life. The question of the relation between capitalism and patriarchy has been a source of considerable debate, particularly between feminist sociologists. This

study will seek to learn how that relationship is played out in peoples daily lives, recognising its complexity and the different levels upon which it operates.

It has become increasingly obvious in the research conducted so far that people relate differently to place and I suggested in my earlier research that this relationship differs according to social class and education. The current study will extend that interest in locality further, particularly in understanding relation to different spatial levels. It will examine how young people view the employment opportunities open to them to learn how far that affects their decisions about whether to leave or to remain in Sunderland, to learn how they regard their working life, their relation to family and community. The earlier research led to certain conclusions about how young people were approaching these issues and found me returning six years later with certain views and expectations about how I would find them. This study will outline the nature of the changes and transitions those people have made.

Moving the study to the outer estates facilitates comparison of the meaning of place with the earlier work in the inner area. It requires an understanding of the structuring of the city and its divisions of class and gender.

The advantage in the research being longitudinal is that it can develop a perspective which relates to the changes which have occurred. This refers not just to the six years over which it has been conducted, but to change over a longer period. At the same time but as a distinct project is the interest in how things change in relation to lifecycle, especially for women. It is essential to recognise the significance of both kinds of difference when comparing the experiences of today's eighteen-year-olds with accounts gained from people at

the age of twenty-three who have formed partnerships, established working lives and are more often independent of their parents.

I have identified youth as a special stage in life when the effects of crisis are likely to be more apparent. I am concerned, in this context, to understand the ways in which transitions are completed. Chapter Three, therefore, will draw together the themes of gender and class in the particular context of youth. It will concern itself with the nature of social and cultural reproduction to seek an explanation of the way in which we can understand that reproduction, through the interaction of habitus and field, within the context of structural change.

Young people were chosen as the focus of interview in the earlier study because of the recognition that in their early adulthood they are experiencing a period of transition which may be critical in determining the course of their adult lives. There has been much research into the nature of that transition and it has generally been argued that the transitions young people are making into adulthood may be extended but they are nevertheless eventually completed much in the way of their parents (Willis 1977, Jenkins 1983, Hutson and Jenkins 1989 and Wallace 1987). At the same time in a different but related issue, considerable attention has been paid by the press to the threat which they perceive arises particularly from the increasing numbers of children brought up in single parent families and higher rates of crime among predominantly young people. This study will examine the nature of the transitions young people are making, the quality of their young adult life in a society where it can no longer be assumed that, materially at the very least, there is a general and inexorable march forward.

The accounts which young people give represent a complicated interweaving of influences and I have identified here the main concerns of the research. The project will be, at all points in analysing these accounts, to disentangle the effects of these different influences. This will necessitate a careful examination of the issues discussed here by comparative study within the sample according to gender, class, age, and point in the lifecycle as well as locality.

The research work undertaken for my Masters Degree was centrally concerned with issues relating to deindustrialisation, its impact on the consciousness of young people coping with its consequences and their ways of shaping their worlds. As that research progressed I became aware of the importance of new issues through meeting them in the field as well as through insights gained from theory. This was the case with my growing interest in the significance of locality and urban structure and it has been a developing theme throughout the study.

Having established the frameworks for understanding change in the first three chapters, Chapter Four will undertake a detailed examination of Sunderland as a particular locality. It will provide the concrete setting for examining how the issues identified in the previous chapters relate. It will be concerned to understand how Sunderland's industrial structure has changed over the period of its industrialisation, growth and more recent decline. It will look in particular at change which has occurred in Sunderland in the period since the 1960's, when many of the parents of the young people I interviewed were entering the labour market.

In Chapter Four I will chart the changes in the work and working relations in Sunderland, changes in the structure of industry and their effects upon the

working population. This will require an examination of how the processes of deskilling and casualisation have changed the gender structure of the workforce and a recognition that over 50% of Sunderland's workers are women. It will set the context for understanding new working styles and relations in firms such as Nissan and the change in work culture which arises from the influx of service based industry to the area.

This chapter will also consider the dimension of the spatial. It will relate to the significance of social areas, community and citizenship. In addition to examining the city structure this chapter will look at the responses of both national and local state to the processes of deindustrialisation. This will involve discussion of local policies, plans and proposals and change, and action in City Challenge area.

The second part of the thesis will be devoted to the discussion of the accounts derived from the field through analysis of interview material and will consider how accounts of action can cohere with the structural account.

I will report my findings in terms of the four contexts about which I interviewed young people. These are the contexts of education, work and employment, family life and civil society. In accordance with my desire to integrate action and structure, each of the three chapters will be structured by the understandings of the impact of class and gender which was developed in the earlier chapters. Inevitably the Findings chapters cannot be discrete in their treatment of issues because explanations relate both to past events and anticipated futures. Nonetheless I will attempt, in this part of the thesis, to maintain a broad separation of themes.

The methodological issues for this research will be dealt with at the beginning of this section. Chapter Five will seek to demonstrate how the method was chosen with the purpose of explaining conscious human action. It will outline how I approached the young people and the method and purpose of analysis in terms of qualitative and quantitative information.

In Chapter Six I will introduce the findings from the fieldwork and will establish the context for later chapters in terms of the background and the experience of education that people have. This chapter will concentrate on the views young adults hold of the framework of constraints and the choices they make within that framework. It will relate the three samples in terms of their evaluation of what their education has equipped them with and how they will take this on into the labour market. It will examine accounts in relation to class and gender and will focus on spatial orientation as a significant source of division.

Chapter Seven will be concerned to understand how young people think about their relation to the labour market, the work they do, or will do, their unemployment or their career prospects. It will seek to learn about how those views shape their feelings and expectations in other areas of their lives.

This chapter will consider young people's work histories, whether they have been employed in central, skilled or peripheral casualised sectors. It will note the nature of their employment and security and their expectations of their employment in the future. It will examine people's spatial orientations in relation to the labour market and the kinds of future open to them in Sunderland. These concerns relate to issues which will be developed in the following chapter in

discussing family organisation. They are fundamental to the transitions people make into their adult roles.

Chapter Eight will focus on how young people view family life and partnerships against a background of change. It will report young people's views about marriage and cohabitation, domestic organisation and children. My interest, in this chapter, will be in whether young people prefer cohabitation or marriage or, as with many of my earlier sample, see one as preparation for the other. I want to know whether young people are following traditional patterns and how the changes in both men's and women's employment are affecting organisation within the family. I will aim to show how the beliefs young people hold about these issues are shaping their partnerships and their thoughts and expectations in forming their own families. I will be interested in what factors can be identified as structuring this experience.

Chapter Nine will examine young people's participation in the public sphere, the meanings of community and citizenship and their ideas about the future. It will discuss people's views on action in political parties and in local organisations to learn how they see themselves in terms of the wider social fabric. Its aim will be to provide the final dimension in establishing young people's world views.

In the final chapter of the thesis I will attempt some synthesis of these findings, with reference to both structural and action accounts. Although it cannot be reflected in its structure, the fact that research is a reflexive activity means that the theoretical chapters are inevitably informed by the fieldwork just as the fieldwork reflects upon and is shaped by those theoretical understandings. In that sense the whole document represents a set of questions and conclusions. The

concluding chapter will perform the more modest role of drawing out the major themes and issues which have structured the research. I will seek to integrate understandings gained from explanations of global processes with the actual experience of living in Sunderland today.

This study does not represent a radical break with the earlier work; rather my more recent research has confirmed and deepened my understanding of the issues outlined there. The new theoretical insights which I have been able to bring to this second study have broadened the canvas upon which the picture of young peoples lives in Sunderland can be painted. The disadvantage of breadth has been the limitations it has placed on exploring the depth of some issues and I have to acknowledge the many ways in which this research remains preliminary.

Part I

Chapter 1   Restructuring and Class

In this chapter I want to establish a framework for use in the later discussion of my empirical findings. I want to consider the nature of class and the role of the collective actor to learn whether by talking to young adults, I can draw indications of the direction of change in collective expectations and understandings through which actors shape their worlds.

In order to achieve this understanding this chapter will cover a number of important elements which contribute to this picture and will essentially be structured in two parts. The first part will develop an understanding of the relationship between agency and structure which can form the basis for drawing meaning from the accounts derived through empirical work. While it cannot be reflected in the order of writing, like any research this is a reflexive process, in which the view from each stance informs the other. I will consider some theoretical accounts of class and the relationship between class, class-consciousness and collective action in shaping history. This will provide a context for understanding the direction and the nature of identifiable structural change and the place for action. It will be the basis for subsequent discussions of the relationship of action to structure within which this research is located and which are grounded in a particular account of causality.

The chapter will begin with a discussion of the relationship between action and structure in order to arrive at an understanding of how those forces are implicated in class and collective action. It will centre on understanding both action and structural elements in class, of individuals acting from common experience and

interest. I will argue that this action becomes visible at periods of crisis because this is when established paths no longer serve people's needs. It is in these periods, when the unquestioning basis for reproduction is challenged, that we can see conscious action most clearly, founded in the reflexive nature of people's choices and decisions. It is when the basis of reproduction is disturbed that we can see forces acting in conflicting directions.

This understanding of social reproduction will be developed throughout the first three chapters. I want to start by examining the effects of change upon class processes and the identification of class action before reviewing some of the major structural changes which are occurring and their role in changing relations of class.

The second part of the chapter will attempt to identify the most significant elements of change and employ some concepts from the literature of globalisation, deindustrialisation, underclass and citizenship as a context for understanding particular conditions in Sunderland.

Class is frequently treated fairly unproblematically as a structural position which exists outside of the actor and to which the actor relates, by which he or she is confined. The discussion of class however needs to take place in the context of an understanding of how actors act as well as how they are created by their worlds. We need to develop an understanding of how action and structure interact which takes us beyond the simple recognition that they do. This seems to be fundamental to my project because in arriving at a view of the direction and force of change, I am trying to elicit signs of a collective actor through interview with individuals.

In order to achieve these questions in relation to young people in Sunderland we need first to arrive at an account which relies on neither individualistic nor overly determinist explanations. In endeavouring to provide such an explanation I will develop my understanding through discussion of the ideas of Bourdieu and Eder.

I want to use elements of Bourdieu's discussion of social reproduction. I am aware of the debates surrounding alternative interpretations of Bourdieu's work and his own sometimes apparently contradictory accounts. My purpose however is not to enter upon this debate but rather to use my particular understanding to illuminate the research material I have to present.

I have found Bourdieu's account attractive because his purpose is to, "escape from delusions of individuality and charisma by discovering the social at the heart of the individual, the impersonal beneath the intimate, the universal in the particular" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p89). This means that, "persons at their most personal, are essentially the personification of exigencies actually or potentially inscribed in the structure of the field or, more precisely, in the position occupied within the field." (Bourdieu, 1989, La Noblesse d'Etat, in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In this Bourdieu presents a structural determinist account in which we need to identify a role for action. In seeking social laws however he points out that he is not searching for Durkheim's "ineluctable necessities" but rather for regularities which have temporal and spatial dimensions and which are consequently open to change.

The work of Bourdieu is particularly useful to my project because he challenges the notion of an agency/structure divide which forms an almost inescapable dualism in sociological writing. Bourdieu has rejected the modernist construction

of concepts as oppositions arguing that both science and the scientist are products of their social universe (Bourdieu 1990). Social life is then to be seen in terms of the interaction of structures which produce enduring orientations to action, thereby constituting social structures which can be described as 'structuring structures' (Bourdieu 1990 p96).

> "The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to act as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively regulated and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules...."
>
>   Bourdieu 1990 p53

The concept of habitus provides the dynamic intersection of structure and action, between society and the individual.

"The notion of habitus enables Bourdieu to analyse the behaviour of agents as objectively co-ordinated and regular without being the product of rules, on the one hand, or conscious rationality, on the other. It is meant to capture the potential mastery that people have of their social situation, while grounding that mastery itself socially".

Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun 1993 p4

In placing and understanding the actor in social terms we can use Bourdieu's notion of the actor as a strategist maximising social, cultural and economic capital through time. This allows for the explanation of the continued dominance of relatively permanent structures but also for adaptation and change. It allows us to understand human agents shaping their world within the constraints of structures. It specifically rejects the traditional use of images of the rational man or the smooth translation of functionalism, which is in any case teleological.

Bourdieu is concerned with the ways in which actors act strategically within this system to create and recreate their social world. This also offers a model for understanding why the observer can explain the actions of local agents in a way which is not accessible to the agent. The observer can, by recognising the influence of stance, bring together an account which can make visible the undisclosed or unrecognised motivations for action.

The relationship between structure and action is encapsulated in Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field, acting in 'ontological complicity' with each other.

Bourdieu claims to relate the social agent to the world without implying the dualities of subject and object but rather seeing each as existing within the other.

"Social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a 'fish in water': it does not feel the weight of the water, and it takes the world itself for granted."

Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p127

The problem, which then arises, is in learning how people act consciously and purposefully toward a goal. Bourdieu has been criticised as reintroducing structure in to his account 'by the back door' (Mouzelis 1995 p111).

I propose to use two interpretations of aspects of habitus which seem to me to be permissible in Bourdieu's theory. I want to recognise first of all that although habitus is embodied it is essentially a social phenomenon which operates at both the individual and the collective level. Secondly, I will adopt Bourdieu's notion of habitus as dialectically constituted - that it is a reflexive notion which is produced and which reproduces itself. Jenkins (1992) tells us that Bourdieu's conception makes it difficult to understand change except in terms of externally created conditions. I want to look at the ways in which interaction can bring about a result which is not the sum of intention and structure but which is, in synthesis, something completely different.

Do people who want to emphasise action overstate the problem? It is possible to incorporate goal orientated action in accounts in which such action has both

intended and unintended consequences. Purposeful human action sometimes achieves its goal, sometimes fails and in the process often has effects in other spheres (or fields). When male workers act to defend themselves against deskilling they do not necessarily intend to attack women but they have frequently done so nonetheless.

The notion of habitus provides us with a 'durable but not eternal' (relatively permanent) structure through which to explain the continuities as well as the disruption and discontinuities in reproduction in civil society, work and the family. We are not just talking then about the social as the sum of individual parts but as constituted by *and* modifying and changing individual contributions.

Habitus disposes people to do things. 'People are pre-occupied by certain future outcomes inscribed in the present they encounter only to the extent that their habitus sensitises and mobilises them to perceive and pursue them' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p26). People may therefore be moved by stimuli sent from some fields and not from others. This would present us with a heavily determined world if we were to understand determination in the mechanistic sense. If however we use the formulation which Williams (1973) offered us of seeing determination as setting limits and boundaries we may be able to rescue action and retain a place for it in the analysis of social reproduction which will be offered here.

Bourdieu echoes Marx in arguing that there are objective relations which have force independent of individual action and that it is the state of relations between forces which defines the structure of the world. It is the fact that people hold cultural, economic and social capital in different amounts which will determine

their social trajectory. Agents and institutions constantly struggle within a field to

gain advantage.

Habitus must be understood in relation to field. Fields, defined as, 'a network, or

a configuration of objective relations between positions' (Bourdieu and

Wacquant 1992 p97), contain conflict and competition, are structures of

probabilities and spaces of uncertainty. The existence of separate fields allows

for an endless elaboration and complexification of an explanation.

We need to recognise the different social, economic and cultural capitals which

interact to produce different outcomes from similar stimuli. This must be

considered in relation to the temporal dimension so that we understand that the

fact of history means that these structures do not allow for replication. This

understanding of fields opens the possibility of alternative evaluations of social

order to that which is dominant. It makes sense of Richard Hoggart's (1957)

point that the working class do not necessarily see themselves as lower than the

middle class but rather as having a different set of orientations because of their

different levels of capital. The lack of economic capital is then only one part of

the account and even the status implied in cultural capital does not complete it.

What further needs to be understood is the social capital which makes working

class life not entirely one of domination and subjection and allows us to

understand different class cultures.

In fact different levels of cultural, social and economic capital allow us to

recognise different class boundaries and bases for evaluation. If it is true, as

some working class community studies suggest (Willis 1977, Roberts R. 1971),

that working class people have a different orientation toward education and

employment which stresses the importance of commonality against individualism, then the distinctions between capitals can make sense of those evaluations, suggesting that a struggle over economic capital can exist without necessarily implying a desire to adopt middle class lifestyles. The recognition of the interest of a class exists precisely within its communal identification. In this way we can make sense of the seeming irrationality of working class acceptance of their domination (Jenkins 1983).

This leaves open the possibility of a more complicated relationship between class fractions and is useful in analysing young people's spatial orientation. Localism has long been recognised as a working class attribute in comparison to a middle class style which emphasised the need for mobility in professional employment as well as the underlying value of individualism in personal achievement (Willmott and Young 1960, Bell 1971 and Robson in Sunderland 1969). A class habitus which prepares you for a tradition of manual work of course must imply a more devoted localism in which evaluation of individuals and their own estimation of self, relies on a network of personal relations based on kin and friends rather than on impersonal bases of status.

Of course these aspects of habitus must be interdependent. The shortage of economic capital has implications for reliance on social capital. The public and group nature of working class life, which is much commented on in earlier studies (Jackson 1968), persists today in the economic insecurity of living on the state and the ways in which people rely on their kin to help them in 'getting by' (Pahl 1984, Morris 1987). The effects of dependence are also different. Working class young people, who are dependent, are more likely to have to have recourse

to the state and therefore the public sphere than their middle class contemporaries who can remain in the private sphere of the family. This is particularly so for young women with children.

Gender is an important dimension in this picture and in fact Bourdieu argues that it is the fundamental division predating that of class and constituting the 'paradigm of all domination' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p134). This research will consider the relation between class and gendered elements of habitus. Is class formed within gender or gender within class? It is clear that women can be oppressed on both fronts and the interrelationship between those forms of oppression will be discussed in Chapter 2. The ideas of habitus and field however do seem to offer a way of framing these understandings of oppression in different fields, the implication of action in one field for action in another, the increase in expectations, divorce for example, which arises from greater power in the domestic field because women are increasingly players in the public field of employment. These issues need to be explored further in this thesis.

Bourdieu's explanation offers a way of accounting for the creative action of the agent but it is not voluntaristic action. In the end his formulation does give priority to structure as causal (Jenkins 1992) but this is no longer an economistic structure of rational action but rather a structure of action which can comprehend change.

Class and Collective Action

If we use this basic understanding of the relationship of structure and agency as reflexive we can then proceed to develop some account of the collective actor.

Here I am seeking to identify not only overt conscious collective action, but also the action of individuals as members of a class which arises from their habitus, because traditional ways of going on, local cultures, are a reflection of such class action. I have approached this task through the discussion of some insights offered by Klaus Eder. Eder argues that, 'A sociology of collective action begins when we want to find out how collective action is constituted through interaction in micro situations and how through collective action social structures and processes are reproduced' (Eder 1993 p45).

We need to understand the individual actor as social in order to gain access to the collective actor. For the purpose of this study my interest is in explaining, in Willis' (1977) terms, not only why working class kids get working class jobs but also, as Jenkins (1983) points out, why so many working class people accept the legitimacy of their class position. One approach is to look to Eder's characterisation of class change in modernity and the moral basis of society, making explicit the ways in which structure operates at different levels and how, in the interaction between those levels, agency has creative potential.

We need then to face a double reality which includes both systemic structures and individuals, to look for processes which bring about shared 'collective feelings and orientation to action'. For Eder this account entails explanation at micro, meso and macro levels which relate economic theories to theories of moral learning processes. The place of collective action can be understood in these terms, by bringing dynamism to economic deterministic models.

"The collective actor as the emergent social reality is not to be sought outside the processes of collective action, neither in the psychology

of individual actors nor in the teleology of history. He is located

within the process of collective action."

<div align="right">Eder 1993 p45</div>

The value of a sociological analysis and its understanding of action in social

rather than psychological terms comes from its perspective beyond individual

motivations which are, of course, themselves produced. So we need to consider

action at the micro level in social not psychological terms. This chimes with the

understanding of class as experience and as process which is central to this study

Further, we are seeking an explanation which is not just a folk model but one

which can employ folk models alongside accounts arrived at by the theorist to

explain the world. In accepting this we are not proposing, noting Jenkins' (1983)

strictures, that we give priority to folk or theoretical models but rather to accept

both models as valid. In Eder's view we can arrive at such an explanation

through studying social movements because they are both collective actors and

collective actions.

The group is a social construction produced by actors distinguishing their

collective action from their environment. Collective action is interpreted by

people through collective learning processes and cognitive practices. Collective

action is therefore the combination of interpretation and collective learning

which in turn produces collective action. Structural conditions may give rise to

reflective learning processes so that both market and discourse models hold.

A class is defined as much by its *being perceived* as by its *being* - by its

consumption which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic- as much as

by its position in the relations of production (even if it is true that the latter governs the former).

We can examine the implications of this understanding for the discussion of class structures and relationships. For Eder the relationship between class and collective action is fundamentally grounded in the ways in which society explains inequality to itself. Eder's argument is that social inequality is a scheme of interpretation developed in modern society and is the basis of modern cultural representations of class divisions. If we understand class as a process however, and not as a bounded social group, we can understand this scheme of interpretation as the cultural concomitant of economic relations of class. The point is to understand how that comes about in more than simply a reflected or mechanistic way. So in explaining the divisions of class we must relate not only how classes are formed economically but how they are represented culturally and by what means one class may maintain domination over the other.

Jenkins tells us, 'One of the central issues which must be grasped in the analysis of cultural reproduction is the manner in which power may be mobilised and legitimated simultaneously in consensus and legitimation on the one hand, and resistance, coercion and grudging accommodation on the other'. (Jenkins 1983 p7).

We need to be able to explain the world in terms of its production of the lads and the ear'oles as well as the women whose lives may be subject to rather different imperatives. We need to be able to locate them in the context of their experience of crisis, deindustrialisation and globalisation, their experience of cultural and social change. My research and the nature of my self-selecting sample can only

give indications. My interest in change encompasses the effects on middle and working class lads and girls. It raises questions about underclass and the significance of locality in creating these relationships to the other.

There has been considerable debate about the usefulness of notions of class in explaining reality (Goldthorpe and Marshall 1992, Holton and Turner 1994). Eder takes issue with the argument that because we cannot identify class action, classes no longer exist and proposes that what has changed is not class itself but the ways in which class and collective action are related to each other.

Eder's point is that straightforward hierarchical models of class are no longer viable and that we now have a network of unequal class relations. In this model it is the interaction of collective learning processes, class conflicts and structural strains which produce change on different levels of reality and explain the evolution of society.

Class is a context for collective action, class structures are the environment within which collective action reproduces itself, "Classes define the macro-social space within which collective actors emerge but they do not determine it. Classes are no longer historical actors; but they function like a social opportunity structure for collective action that underlies movement politics" (Eder 1993 p61).

While in some respects this is close to Marx, Eder argues that Marx's discussion is teleological and that we need to separate the discussion of the collective actor from that of class. "Class is no longer a determinant; it is a restriction and a chance. But this is more than enough to keep the notion of class while decoupling it from the idea of a historical actor" (ibid. p61). I think this is a

crucial point in our understanding of class and collective action but if we do understand class as a process then perhaps we can keep both class and the historical actor.

I want to relate to Bourdieu's three-dimensional model of class which, "...derive from the overall volume of capital, understood as a set of actually usable resources and powers- economic capital, cultural capital and also social capital." (Bourdieu, 1986 p114). In Bourdieu's scheme, to find out how a theoretically constructed class structure is reproduced we need to clarify how various characteristics of objective class positions 'really' relate to one another.

This implies that habitus is grounded in structure, but a structure which is acted upon, adapted and changed by the particular combination of social processes, occupation, political and economic conditions in which the actor finds him or her self. People create the conditions of their conditioning across the generations.

We have then a structuralist theory of agency, which returns us to the problem of identifying the role of the actor in a meaningful way.

We may accept in the end that Bourdieu does not successfully transcend the dualism of objective and subjective dimensions. It may be that the conceptual tools for understanding the voluntaristic nature of action can only be provided through micro-sociological approaches (Mouzelis 1995). It is an understanding I am seeking to develop through asking actors and raises an important methodological issue. Here however I will concentrate on the structural side of the divide, maintaining consciousness of the ways in which structure and agency are implicated within each other.

An attempt to deconstruct the notions of structure and agency and their importance for class action must also deal with the concept of crisis as central to the relationship between class and class action.

Crisis

Eder examines the idea that modern society has produced the notion of crisis about itself in which capital creates crisis and class, through collective action, has the potential to resolve it. Now, his argument goes, society is blocking its capacity to act upon itself (Eder 1993 p192). Class and politics are separated and class is neither relevant to politics nor the social structure of modern society thus implying the classless society. This view emphasises the political significance of new social movements as well as notions of a 'risk society'. Rather than adopting a crisis discourse, Eder argues, social science needs to examine the different types of crisis discourse which accompany different kinds of collective political action and which will enable us to learn how crisis discourses construct and deconstruct forms of collective political action. In this way we can think about the social role of crisis discourses for the reproduction of class politics. Crisis is not a meaningful concept in expressing a process but rather is a way of interpreting the world. The difficulty this argument presents us with is in understanding the analyst as in, but not of, the world and this returns us to the problem, identified by Jenkins (1983), of the relative priority we accord to folk as against theoretical models.

Starting from a realist perspective we can use an alternative approach, embodied in O'Connor's discussion of crisis as a point of change and possibly of

reintegration, "the essence of crisis is not social disintegration but social struggle" (O'Connor 1981 p325). Crisis resolution is not only the abatement of struggle but also "the capitalisation of gains, the rebuilding of weakened structures of domination, the abandonment of previously strategic defensive positions and the adaptation of old ideologies" (ibid. p325).

This formulation of crisis is particularly pertinent to this study because it underlines the importance of the actor. It is at the point when structures are disrupted that action becomes most visible. My aim is to use information gained from interviews with young people to learn something of this process of struggle to define, adapt and reproduce their world.

To argue that conflicts are found in the relationship between classes does not deny that it is structural position which is its causal base. It does not deal with the argument that the divisions of taste, qualifications and excellence are related to differential access to resources. Class habitus acts as an explanation and a description of how those characteristics are grouped together. The question is whether that class habitus can also enable us to understand actor's accounts. Can one describe a rough and a respectable working class habitus as coherent styles? Can we identify the effects of change to provide a sociological explanation at the micro level?

Eder raises interesting questions in his conceptualisation of a network of unequal relations in the class system which are not based on inequality in relation to production. The conflict is between traditional class relations based on work or lack of it and what Eder says are still unequal relations located in other issues, for example the environmental and the women's movements. It could be that these

movements are based on class but finding the expression of their conflict at other sites. Perhaps we can understand changes in gender relations within class relations. This is the argument of McDowell (1986) and other Marxist feminists. Is there a working class woman's habitus which is distinct from a working class man's, middle class woman's etc.? Do they so fragment into different styles and identities so that nothing meaningful can be said generally about class or gender but in which either can only be understood as it exists in relation to the other? These issues are central to the work of this thesis.

If Eder's point is that that the women's movement is essentially expressing the interests of middle class women again this would suggest that such groups do not cut across class boundaries. Nevertheless, they clearly have effect across the boundaries of class. Class habitus must associate with collective action to account for the class consciousness and identification evident when people talk about their collective or their individualist doctrines. Yet collectivism is still a major orientation not only for the working class but also for many of the instrumental needs of the middle class for the collective provision of health and educational services (Forrest and Murie 1986).

I will argue that we can identify a complex structure, or at least complex structures, of class, gender and ethnicity which intersect in people's lives and within which actors form the world. The complexity of the structure may render it somewhat obscure to the analyst and this is where we can explicitly return to Bourdieu to insist that the only meaningful sociological analysis is one which is at once empirical and theoretical. My project in this study is to employ empirical analysis to question and to give weight to the theoretical schemes I will outline in

these early chapters. They are ideas which I am using in an exploratory way to take account of the significance of class as a structuring force in actions and expectations and it is here that the notion of habitus has been so important.

Process

This discussion has been framed in the context of class as experience and process. This is fundamental to my project because I am not studying overt purposeful class action. I am interested in the more pervasive aspects of class action outlined by E.P. Thompson.

> "If we stop history at a given point, there are no classes but simply a multitude of individuals with a multitude of experiences. But if we watch these men over an adequate period of social change, we observe patterns in their relationships, their ideas, and their institutions. Class is defined by men as they live with their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition."

> EP Thompson 1980 p10

This is what the present chapter is centrally concerned with. I am arguing that it is at the point that we are undergoing fundamental change that those processes, or action in relation to them, becomes visible. The foregoing discussion has aimed to establish an understanding of structure and action within the context of class as process. This has been framed in terms of habitus and the different levels of economic, social and cultural capitals with which people act strategically. It has been an attempt to provide a framework for understanding how people can

act purposefully but how those actions can be shaped and constrained. This framework will be developed in the following chapter.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to examining the main components of change, in which it is argued class processes are immanent. It will focus on establishing the contextual parameters of the structure of which Sunderland is a part. The actual nature of the project cannot be reflected in the writing of it, the ways in which field and theory are in constant interaction so that the discussion of structural change which follows will be complemented by the focus on action which the empirical work will bring.

The major issue for Sunderland's economy is the process of deindustrialisation which has been so rapid and so comprehensive. Here I want to identify that process in terms of the wider context of globalisation, the internationalisation of capital and the consequences of that to the local economy of Sunderland. I want also to point to the ways in which this has been a 'capital logic' account (Byrne 1984), and the small but growing body of research into the ways in which resistance and action can be identified even in archetypal 'japanised' firms (Stephenson 1993).

Deindustrialisation

These changes, wrought by the process of deindustrialisation, have brought with them a decline in industrial employment and associated skills (Martin and Rowthorn 1986). In Sunderland this decline has been extensively documented (Robson 1969, Dennis 1970) and more recently (Stone et al. 1985) and in the particular case of the shipyards by Roberts (1993). Roberts alerts us to the ways

in which, while commentaries may provide capital logic accounts, the workers saw the closure and the fragmentation of the local community directly as the fault of other workers. This is a theme which Jenkins has identified in terms of localism (1983) and which I have related to questions of control and power (Callaghan 1991).

In Sunderland we can see evidence of the large-scale deindustrialisation and partial reindustrialisation of the economy (Stone 1993). Large-scale local capital has become much less prominent in its industrial profile with Vaux (itself now operating globally) the only major locally based capital remaining. The particular changes are dealt with in detail in Chapter 4. The point here is to recognise the ways in which these processes have brought with them major changes in the nature and composition of the workforce (Rowthorn 1986, Stone et al. 1985, Stubbs and Wheelock 1990).

The process of globalisation, the loss of international dominance and the need to restructure internally has given rise to the British regional problem (Massey 1986). The story of restructuring, the movement from inner city to greenfield sites, the move away from areas of strong industrial power for workers, has been succeeded by a process of 'greening' of 'brownfield sites'. In the North East this has famously been illustrated by the arrival of Nissan in 1986 and the subsequent 'japanisation' of industrial relations in established firms (Strangleman and Roberts 1995).

These were not inevitable processes of change but as we shall see in Chapter 4 were actively encouraged by central government as well as through the action of

quangos such as the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation in their obstructive attitude over the North Sands site.

Disorganised Capitalism

The most useful theoretical tool for understanding these changes has been offered in the form of 'Disorganised Capitalism' (Lash and Urry 1987). This is not to suggest a lack of organisation but rather to indicate that a period of capitalism which could be identified within national boundaries, based on traditional skills, is at an end. The restructuring of capital and capitalist relations of production has affected the nature of class, identification and struggle. Capital, no longer requiring spatial proximity with its workforce has developed functional separation of its research and development and its low skill operations. Inevitably the process has implications for the distribution of the workforce. The effects of this process are exemplified in Sunderland where the history of regional specialisation, the consequently low level development of the service sector meets with this separation of functions in firms such as Nissan (Garrahan and Stewart 1992). In Sunderland the consequence of the closure of the two last traditional industries has been the very high levels of unemployment. The most marked change in the nature of the workforce has been the move from male full time to female casualised and part time jobs.

Lash and Urry have argued that this economic "disaggregation and destructuration" necessarily gives rise to disorganisation of civil society. Here we can see the loss of traditional class alignments, the fragmentation of interest groups in which political parties appeal across the class boundaries in a 'catch -

all' fashion. This is a useful discussion but is taken beyond its logical conclusion in reversing the relationship between a class in itself and a class for itself (Lash and Urry 1994). The relationship to the material seems to vanish as they chart the breakdown of nationally based class movements. While they have undoubtedly overstated the magnitude of the change (Cooke 1987) the change they have identified is a real one. What is open to question is how far they are correct in the implications for action which they draw from their model.

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

Beyond the level simply of aligning capital with global, attention has been paid to the outcome of the interaction of national and international capital with local social organisation and local class practices. Attempts have been made to formulate the relationship (Urry 1985, Warde 1988) and I think most comprehensively, by Cooke (1985).

Industrial Restructuring

Manufacturing industry provides the stereotype of traditional industrial society with large scale organisations gathering workers together in factories with the corresponding potential for the development of strong worker identity and worker resistance. Possession of crucial skills and the degree of success of

worker resistance appear to have been critical in determining a work identity. This area is significantly changing, both deindustrialisation and changes in the organisation of the modern factory system result in deskilling and militate against the mobilisation of collective interest and worker solidarity. Such changes in the industrial culture must be crucial to the formation of consciousness.

The centrality of work to the formation of identity varies with the individual's position in the labour market (Ashton, 1986). The divide between professional and skilled and unskilled workers is characteristic, more generally, of differences which Friedman (1977) identifies between central and peripheral workers.

We have identified broad structural changes in the type and nature of industry and the employment that is offered to young people and we have begun to make reference to how such changes affect the way in which people live. Chapter 4 will develop that account more fully in the context of Sunderland. Here however I want to give some thought to the notion that a new cultural hegemony has been established in response to these changes in the industrial base and if that is the case, what form that hegemony has taken.

The basic argument is that capitalism creates a particular set of material practices and associated processes of social reproduction. These are constantly changing in response to the dynamics of the system. The objective facts of life and accepted meanings which we take for granted, change with increasing knowledge and technological change, particularly advances in communication technology. The notion of habitus and field remind us that there are not single or unified discourses and that material change will have different effects based on history.

If changes in the nature of capital accumulation and the relations of production necessitate change in the cultural condition, then the internationalisation of capital, deindustrialisation and the tertiarization of the economy must have fundamental implications for the related culture. As I have noted earlier there is considerable debate about the nature of this relationship but it will be useful here to consider one account of cultural change which has been influential.

Post Modernity

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

Harvey (1989) discusses the transition to post modernism in terms of the transition from Fordism to flexible modes of accumulation, although, he fails to recognise the significance of other stratifying forces such as gender and race. Harvey starts from the point that capital is a process and not a thing.

> "It is a process of reproduction of social life through commodity production in which all of us in the advanced capitalist world are heavily implicated. Its internalised rules of operation are such as to ensure that it is a dynamic and revolutionary mode of social organisation, restlessly and ceaselessly transforming the society within which it is embedded."

> Harvey 1989 p343

The cultural condition which results is one in which tradition and certainty disappear, gradually and inevitably broken down by mass communication with the resulting decline in the strengths of the boundaries of the social group. Group traditions and consciousness of 'following in father's footsteps' also decline and are replaced by the immediacy of consumerism. If these traditions are lost then previously enduring institutions of marriage and family may be rendered increasingly transitory.

Harvey has been taken to task by Massey (1992) for his blindness to the fact that the crisis which postmodernism defines is a crisis of white western males. The authority and certainty which modernism offered is a certainty which men held and which throws men into disarray when it is questioned. Women have had to struggle for a standpoint and are no strangers to these themes of contested legitimacy.

I am at one with Massey (1992), in questioning Harvey's exclusive attention to capital as the place of struggle. Accounts of class have too frequently simply added in gender and this has been widely criticised from a feminist perspective (Sargent 1981, Philips 1987). For the force of both class and gender to be explained we need an analysis which recognises the complex and interacting nature of these two major axes of social division in which categories of gender and class exist within each other. It is an issue which will be developed in the following chapter.

We have recognised changes in the relations of production brought about by internationalisation and the end of organised capitalism. This argument has been taken up by some to suggest that consumption rather than production is an

increasingly prominent element in this restratification (Saunders 1981). It is clear

however that there is no simple correspondence between divisions of tenure and

of consumption or of experience of 'ontological security'. What is happening,

rather, is "...a differentiation within the welfare state providing individualised

state welfare alongside a reduced quality, residualised, collective provision."

(Forrest and Murie 1986 p.62). In this research we are interested in the effects of

such material change on consciousness.

While the actual progression of housing privatisation is open to question, clearly

consumption cleavages, based on class relationship, have consequences for the

political consciousness of individual and families. This may be increasingly

important in view of the evidence suggesting a widening gap between the two

income and the marginalised, benefit dependent family in relation to patterns of

consumption (Pahl 1985, Byrne 1995b, Morris 1987).

Nonetheless, as Pahl and Wallace (1985) found, those who fared well in the

informal economy were those who were also in formal employment. "The whole

burden of our argument rests on the reality that there is only one economy and

that a households position in that is fundamental determining its position in other

economic spheres" (p224). Attempts to restructure to create a 'share owning

democracy' have also met with limited success and the evidence leads us back to

the conclusion that the basic relationship lies in relation to production.

Those who accept that the working class no longer has a role in the battle to

define relations of production (Gorz 1984, Bauman 1987) suggest that the effects

of post industrialism are to reduce the industrial population to an insignificant

force, while the restructured society gives rise to employment 'without roots,

culture or organisation'. It is a conception of class which denies any potential for collective action and returns us to the discussion at the beginning of this chapter which dealt with the question of class as a collective actor. Byrne (1985) offers an alternative to Gorz's 'capital logic' account and brings into focus the role of the working class as initiator, pointing to crisis as struggle he points to crisis for capital and crisis for the working class.

This relation to collective action is exemplified in numerous studies of working class community which emphasise the nature of class as experience, its genesis in the experience of a relation of exploitation and of subordination which has not fundamentally altered. It is indeed if anything intensified in the new modes of production. Byrne (1995b) has suggested in a review of the rustbelt cities of the north that it seems likely that the process of restructuring is all but complete in areas like Sunderland. The crisis we are facing now, Byrne suggests, is a crisis of order.

If we are seeing a resolution in the crisis then we need to ask what form that resolution is taking. One approach to this question is to ask actors at the site of struggle. What is it like living in post-modern Sunderland? How do people respond to the new styles of employment such as Nissan? Is there a loss of certainty in young people's lives and how do they face that? Are their identities, formed through work, in any sense common identities which encourage solidarity, bearing in mind Warde's (1990) point that the construction of such identities are a complex product of a number of forces which have not necessarily been solidaristic in their history

Underclass

The notion of an underclass is a further logical outcome of the end of 'Organised capitalism' and consequent polarisation. It has been too widely debated to be ignored in this study, with the qualification with which most accounts are prefaced, of taking care to recognise the ideological construction of the concept. The notion of an underclass has become significant in recent years as an attempt to describe an experience which marks off one section of society from the rest. If there is evidence for an underclass, a study based in actors' accounts ought to be able to elicit signs of it. This study does not focus on a group of poor people who are outside and below society as a whole, but it will encounter some young unemployed people who live in circumstances which proponents of the concept describe.

In America 'Underclass' has been used to explain cultural behaviour which is at variance with the dominant middle classes. In Britain, as Robinson and Gregson (1992) have pointed out it has focused on position in relation to employment, although aspects of deviant behaviour are caught up in the concept as well. The term has been used by the Right to individualise the effects of structural change and to explain in terms of pathology. It is a concept which has some meaning however because it so clearly comprehends an account of an experience. I tend to Robinson and Gregson's view that as it is inevitably going to be used we need to be clear about how it is used.

Westergaard (1992) has pointed to its usages in sociology and the ways in which the theory falls short of accounting for patterns of employment and income

distribution. The point in this research is to relate an understanding of what underclass is to the accounts derived from young people in Sunderland. I do not intend to pay much attention to Murray's (1990) formulation because it is so uncompromisingly based in a particular ideological standpoint. His account lacks any real relation to the underlying structural factors which create unemployment in the first place and consequently provides a very partial explanation of what might create an underclass.

Wilson's (1991) characterisation of the underclass is much more helpful. In the American context he views it as the product of both racial discrimination and the migration to the large metropolises. This has resulted in a relatively young urban minority population with a weak labour force attachment which is consequently particularly vulnerable to economic change. More recently Wilson (1992) has related his discussion to the ghetto poor in an attempt to separate his ideas from the moral and behavioural perspectives of people such as Murray and from interpretations of his work such as those of Bagguley and Mann (1990).

Wilson's definition of the underclass rests on two main planks, that it characterises those with weak labour force attachment and that these people are 'socially isolated' in that they are spatially separated from other class groups. He identifies the two sources of weak labour force attachment in macrostructural processes and the individual's social environment. The environment is one in which there are few opportunities for stable and legitimate employment and many opportunities for income generating activities in the informal economy. The neighbourhood creates 'concentration effects' and it is the interaction of these two processes which produces the behaviour and beliefs that define the

underclass. As the impact of structural forces deepens the neighbourhood becomes less and less diversified and this encourages 'ghetto specific' behaviours. Massey and Denton (1993) describe the effect of feedback between individual and collective decisions which intensify decline within the neighbourhood. The mechanism which they identify is activated by racial segregation which provides the necessary spatial condition for an underclass. Wilson argues that changes in employment combine with weakening norms of legitimacy to reduce the likelihood of marriage, the increase in illegitimacy results in families growing up as dependants of the state. The ghetto is further characterised by high rates of crime, both against the person and against property. Unlike the culture of poverty theorists this understanding views structural factors as necessary for not only the creation but also the maintenance of these behaviours.

Within Sunderland as in much of the North east, the macrostructural conditions which Wilson identified as necessary to the formation of an underclass clearly exist. Sunderland has long had a relatively young age structure and a bottom heavy social structure (Robson 1969, Dennis 1970) and this trend has been compounded in recent years. There has been a polarisation into work-rich and work-poor households while the wages of the lower paid and less skilled are being driven down. We also see, as Wilson suggested, a shift from manufacturing to service jobs while work has moved spatially. The closing of the shipyards, ropeworks and other traditional manufacturers in combination with the development of out of centre sites at Nissan and its satellite companies suggest in Lash and Urry's (1994) terms the 'emptying out' of the older city areas.

The conditions for an underclass to be created are present and perhaps when looking at some of the outer estates one might discover something close to Wilson's account. Marcuse (1993) has pointed to the battles over turf allegiance in British cities.

There are indications in both directions and I tend to Roberts' view that we are not yet in a position to make a final judgement (Roberts K. 1995) Perhaps, as E.P. Thompson advised in relation to class processes, we must await the perspective of history.

The processes we are concerned with here are reflected again in the issue of citizenship because it is in the opposition between definitions of citizenship as individual and as collective which are symptomatic of dominant and subordinate class interests. The hegemony of individualism lies in its reinforcement of dominant class interests and the representation of those as acts of individual achievement and worth, the maintenance of notions of equal formal citizenship alongside private property and inheritance.

The exercise of social rights of citizenship through the welfare state cannot be understood unproblematically as enhancing rights of citizenship however because of the tension which Angus Stewart (1995) identifies at the centre of conceptions of citizenship. The reality of client status in relation to state organisations means that citizenship has a formal rather than real quality in terms of decision-making and power.

Citizenship

The status of welfare recipients as clients undermines the citizenship of the young unemployed and has perhaps its starkest effect upon young unmarried mothers.

For our purposes the importance of citizenship lies in its effects in providing a boundary of inclusion and exclusion. Clearly women cannot be said to be full citizens if the burden of family care deprives them of free time, the unemployed are not citizens if the burden of poverty denies them the opportunity to take full part and similarly young people deprived of the right to work are not simply young unemployed citizens. They are, rather, disconnected in a number of ways which may be dangerous to notions of a social fabric and cohesion and which are significantly the focus of right wing attempts at blaming the victim.

Class is a clear line of demarcation in this respect. While the legal rights to citizenship can be extended across the classes without altering the basic relationship, political and the more recently developed rights of social citizenship are the ground of class conflict.

> "Civil rights bestow on those who have them the capacity to enter the market exchanges as independent and self sufficient agents...capitalists and workers are indistinguishable from the point of view of civil rights...if such rights are the core of citizenship then citizenship will consolidate class inequalities".

> Barbalet 1993 p37

Marshall (1950) identified the war between citizenship and processes of social class arguing that in the post war period the advance of social citizenship was acting to undermine the inequalities of class. The point has been made that advances and, more recently, the erosion of social citizenship are evidence of the current state of the class struggle.

In some respects citizenship, as a concept, expresses issues of integration and fabric which are being re-evaluated more generally. Most writers have talked about citizens as recipients of structures relying on individualist notions which cannot comprehend citizens as members of groups, as part of a struggle. We need to understand the complex forces involved in the experience of citizenship as either a real or merely formal phenomenon. Citizenship cannot be understood as an individualist concept because its basis is membership and the ability to participate on equal terms with other members of the group.

It has been argued that the class basis for the fight for citizenship, which was manifest in labour movement struggles for welfare, has been eroded by the decline of a working class organised movement, either trade union or party, and that we should now seek evidence for struggle to extend citizenship rights in the new social movements. It is a focus of interest for this research to learn how far people identify along the lines of class and how far their identification can be said to inform their action as citizens.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide a framework for understanding the relationship between structure and action and to particularise that understanding in relation to class and collective action. This discussion will be developed through an exploration of gender, place and the particular lifestage of youth in the ensuing chapters. I have used to the notion of habitus as a means of understanding action as both purposeful and constrained and I will seek to develop that understanding throughout the study. I have laid down the basis for an essentially structural account although this is neither mechanical nor a predictable basis for action. I have argued that we can see the effects of class action but that these processes are complex in their interaction with class and gender and place. I have drawn attention to the effects of reflexivity both in its creating purposeful action and in its effects upon the very study we engage in because we change the world in explaining it.

I have looked at some of the macro-structural changes which are taking place and at accounts of their effects upon class formation and action. This has comprehended an examination of polarisation and one logical outcome in the form of underclass. The specific issue of citizenship in relation to class is also significant in this study. These are foundations upon which the remainder of the thesis will build. The picture gains depth through understanding gendered structures, the particular position of youth and the impact of place. We are seeking to learn how gender, class and place interact and to create the particular basis for an account which makes sense of peoples' strategies and orientation to the world. This chapter has been an attempt to begin this framework. The breadth

of the issues which need to be discussed is considerable and explains why we end

with a potentially vastly complicated and variable account of a place.

Chapter 2   Restructuring and Gender

This chapter will deal with gender as a major source of division in people's experience and will examine this divide, in the context of restructuring, to identify the direction and nature of change. It will seek to disentangle, at least analytically, the different effects of gender and class and to arrive at some account of how those forces interact in complicated ways to create their effects in the world.

The first issue for consideration will be the nature of patriarchy. This will entail discussion of the relationship between the sexes which involves the oppression and exploitation of women by men. The concept of patriarchy is disputed at all levels, its existence, its nature, generation and consequences and the discussion of these issues will be central to the analysis of men's and women's experience in Sunderland.

Having discussed patriarchy we will consider the complicated ways in which it interacts with class. Are there experiences of patriarchy which women hold in common across the classes which would lead them to identify as a group? Does women's experience of domination within the domestic sphere, common experiences of pregnancy and childbirth and the way those are socially constructed, allow for the formation of a class consciousness among women, or are the experiences of women in their class, as McDowell (1986) argues, so fundamental that they fracture all of these common elements? We can recognise that class is gendered and gender is stratified (Michael Mann 1994), but can we say anything about the relative power of each within the other?

In answering these questions we must look at the series of sites in which gender relations operate. This will be an attempt to deconstruct the picture to examine each set of conditions and relations in turn to learn how they interact and what is their impact on other sites.

The main purpose of this chapter will be to develop an understanding of the effect of industrial restructuring on gender relations and the interaction between these elements, to learn how gender role expectations may limit as well as adapt to industrial change. This will involve discussion of the gendered structuring of the labour market and, necessarily, reflections on the interactions of gender and class at the level of people's experience. It will consider whether it is possible to produce a single unified class structure. This is not simply a matter of academic classification but relates to how people form identities in relation to the labour market. We will consider the different positions men and women hold in relation to work, the nature and meaning of full and part time work, the effects of restructuring, the growth of the service class, the degendering of some occupations and the still firmly gendered nature of many more. It will require consideration of process of deskilling and feminisation and the reserve army of labour. It will examine the rather different impact of patriarchy upon professional middle class women.

The second major site is that of the domestic sphere. Men and women exercise different relations in the domestic sphere which support, confirm and sometimes are at odds with their relations at work. We will examine these relations to learn how, for women, being defined by their domestic activity acts to limit their working lives. We will seek to avoid the temptation to stereotype the roles of

men and women in the family and in the household, which inevitably arise from attempts to generalise analytically the experience of two opposing groups. The point will be rather to reflect the diversity of the forms of relationship which people arrive at in their private lives while recognising that structural forces operate in a particular direction.

The account which is achieved in relation to these two sites will, in turn, suggest ways of looking at the gender implications of the other main themes of the research, those of citizenship, locality and lifestage.

Citizenship has both formal and real aspects and women's relation to both has changed through history and is continuing to change. It is one site of struggle which can be identified, although not of a coherent and organised style. Women have emerged more and more into the public domain in this century but their occupation of this domain is still secondary to men's and relates comprehensively to their class (Lister 1990). The exercise of formal rights of legal and political citizenship is strongly dependent on being part of the public domain (O'Connor J. 1993). Social citizenship supports access to the formal legal and political citizenships and this area has been significantly undermined in the years since 1979.

The second theme to which I wish to pay particular attention is that of relation to place. There are gender differences in relation to place, which again interact with differences of class. I will examine the questions of why and how differences of gender manifest themselves in the way people feel about the place they live in as well as the wider national and international contexts. This chapter will consider

the gendered nature of places and further, how cities in their built form may affect the action of their inhabitants along gender lines.

These issues will form the body of the concerns of this chapter. It will be an attempt to achieve a separation analytically at this stage, so that the impacts of gender can be rewoven with those of class and point in the life cycle to achieve a richer understanding of the lives of young adults in Sunderland in the final account.

In this chapter I am concerned to begin to marry together the ways in which gender relations and styles of life are depicted, with some observations and questions which have arisen in my research so far and which I hope to address to accounts from my ethnographic work.

We can start with the contested issue of patriarchy as a determining force in the form of social and biological reproduction.

The Nature of Patriarchy

The nature of patriarchy has been subject of much debate among feminist sociologists (see Bradley 1989). The way in which I will use the term needs to be defined here to draw into focus the difficulties which are encountered in its use. We can begin with Weber's account of patriarchy based around male as head of household. I think it is mistaken to remove the generational element as Walby (1990) seeks to do because legitimacy claims in patriarchal organisation have been based on these roles, either in being or becoming. We are dealing with a multi-layered set of relationships which have elements of lifestage, class and

gender and the structuring of relationships of domination and subordination between head of household and the women within it are based upon particular relations of power. There are differences, for example, between the exploitation and domination of wife and that of the daughter. This is not to lose sight of the generalised nature of patriarchy but to recognise that its force is not uniform. It raises related questions of causality and effect.

In devising an explanation based in six structures of patriarchy Walby (1989, 1990, 1994a) argues she avoids biological determinism and the notion of a single causal base. It is conceivable however that common causal force or forces could be identified in all of her six structures. If the reliance of women upon men during the period of biological reproduction explains their exploitation and their domination (McDowell 1986), this would not seem to result inevitably in an ahistorical account. Recognition of a common element in all of those structures could help us to begin to understand why common themes develop.

In this account cause is not simply an initial condition but continually feeds into structure, maintaining its effect, interacting with structures and with action which both challenge and reinforce it. In addition we must recognise that relationships between women and men are essentially, but not only, ones of domination and subordination. If there is multiple causality because of complexity it would seem at least possible that there are multiple layerings of relationship between men and women both including those of domination, exploitation and oppression, and those of communality.

Patriarchy and Class

There have been many attempts to isolate the source of gendered oppression and to determine whether it is biologically or materially based (Hartmann 1981, Walby 1990, McDowell 1986). The position of women is a result of a potential conflict between immediate and long term needs (Vogel 1994). This temporal dimension is important in understanding the needs of capital as having both long and short-term effects.

We need to question whether oppression is necessary to ensure that the minimum claim is made by women of the exploited class upon the surplus which is appropriated by the ruling class (McDowell 1986). As a conceptualisation this denies the value of the notion of patriarchy as a theoretical construct. Alternatively we can see capitalism and patriarchy as contingently related structures which interlock in specific periods and places but which can be understood analytically as a separate process (Foord and Gregson 1987). I have some sympathy with the general tenor of (Pollert's 1996) rejection of the formulation of six structures of patriarchy. I think she is wrong however to talk about capital at a structural level but about patriarchy, or more precisely men and women, at an individual level (Pollert 1996).

Capitalism and patriarchy can be analysed at both levels. Herein lies the understanding, developed in the last chapter in relation to class, of the ways in which structures are emergent (Archer 1996). It is not claimed that either is unchanging but it is their very persistence and pervasiveness which are of interest as well as the processes of adaptation which enable us to identify them in history.

We can draw support for this from Banim's (1986) work with women in Newcastle in which women's work was not seen as peripheral but was central to the realisation of owner occupation, a goal which they shared with their spouse. This does not deny an element of exploitation exists but it suggests that one cannot isolate a simple process of domination. Further we must understand the meaning people derive from these structures, change in domestic organisation is interpreted in the context of dominant cultural and ideological structures. Thus when women spoke of their husbands' contributions to the domestic sphere they talked of being 'lucky' or of 'having a wonderful husband' rather than of a wider process of adaptation and change (Banim 1986, Gregson and Lowe 1994).

While it is recognised that exploitation is persistent, the point is that its form is changing. The particular resolution of that change within each household is a result of the numerous influences including those of the other elements of patriarchy which Walby (1990) has identified as structures. As Bradley points out, although there is little social or legal support for the power of the father in the family (except in Social Security regulations) "...most social institutions are shaped around male definitions, priorities, requirements, preferences; men run most of them if not all; the political and social ideas that rule our epoch come from men; in sum our society revolves round men, is literally 'androcentric'" (Bradley 1996 p157). The conflicts which can arise from this contradiction point to the potential range of resolutions of the interaction between old and new styles and definitions. These definitions as well as the formal legal position must be understood in representing people's experience, because they are the context within which consciousness is formed and action is taken.

One way of conceptualising this in history, is to recognise the interactive nature of change, the significance of citizenship resulting from the rise in Protestantism and its consequences in making individualism hegemonic (Mann 1994). Rather than a strictly defined patriarchy, or even neo patriarchy Mann argues, we have a system of male domination. Fundamental changes in gender relations have been brought about by the abstract form of labour and liberal equality before the law, not least of which is the ability to choose and to leave one's partner. Gender may cut across class or both gender and class can act to dissipate the effect of the other leading to a system beyond neo patriarchy which is more complex so that "stratification is now gendered and gender is stratified" (Mann 1994). This leads us toward Pollert's (1996) view of class and gender as 'fully intertwined' although I don't think it necessarily implies that class relations can be conceived abstractly while gender relations can only be understood as lived experience. This chapter is an attempt to recognise each within the other.

The Interaction of Patriarchy and Class in Two Sites

Patriarchal relations in paid work must also be understood as intimately implicated in patriarchal relations in the domestic sphere. If we accept as Walby (1994) tells us that this structure of patriarchy "cannot be understood outside the interrelationship with capitalist relations of production", if they can't be separated at the analytical level, then it would seem reasonable to question how they represent separate structures.

We must explain the movement toward greater equality which women have achieved in the course of this century which would seem to be in the interests of

neither capital nor the state. The commodification of domestic labour which has gathered pace since the war has changed this relation to some degree but it returns us to the possibility that it is women's role as reproducers of labour, and particularly the biological reproduction and period of lactation, which has prevented women from achieving full equality.

Patriarchy and capitalism may be contingently related and their needs may at times be in conflict. One arena for this conflict lies in the state which can then be understood as "...historically constructed as patriarchal in a political process whose outcome is open" (Connell 1994 p36). This enables us to explain why the movement is not all in one direction, why the political gains made by women are countered by community care policies which render women the main and unpaid carers (Land 1991).

We need to develop an account which considers the complexity of influences which occur in the world to achieve an explanation of causality. If we take for example, the struggle over the state's action toward single parents, it is clearly not a struggle of all women against all men or even of all female against all male interests. It is in complicated ways also a struggle between class and ethnic groups. We need to maintain an awareness of the inherent connectedness of these structures (Acker 1989).

The significant rise in divorce rates has mainly been attributed to women's increasing expectations. The conception of marriage as companionate is based on individual rights to personal well being. While Walby (1990) argues that the care of the children by divorced women continues the demands on the woman's labour created in marriage I would question the assumption that this is solely a

patriarchal demand or that many women would accept such a characterisation. Alternatively we can recognise multi-layered relationships of age and gender within the family (R. W. Connell 1994). In much the same way as we have recognised a creative potential for the class actor we can see such potential for women.

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the effects of gender as part of the base defined by Williams as, "...the specific activities of men in real social or economic relationships, containing fundamental contradictions and variations and therefore always in a state of dynamic process." (Williams 1982 p6). We need to conceptualise gender and class relations in these terms (extending our interests beyond the focus on men) and to achieve this implies a theoretically grounded empirical study.

Recent changes in the form and nature of families suggest that women are taking control in at least some settings. My research is an attempt to examine how these issues actually operate in people's lives, how women and men experience relations in these spheres differently and in what ways their experiences are common. Both gender and class undeniably have structural force but the point is to learn how they interact in the world to shape experience. The issues identified here are the framework for considering mechanisms of patriarchy which operate at work, in the domestic sphere and in civil society.

Empirical Studies of Gender and Class

Assigning social class is a complicated issue for both women and men and it is one of the reasons why quantitative data in this research can only have a

preliminary role in the analysis. For women class requires a more complicated formulation than it would if their relation to the labour market and the domestic sphere were unchanging (Charles 1990). The accepted occupational classification reflects the androcentric nature of the dominant definitions and raises the question of how we can design a classificatory scheme which can accommodate women's experience.

Stratification theory only encompasses the public realm, so that housework is ignored despite the fact that the social division of labour in which the private sphere is critical, shapes and is shaped by class divisions (Toomey 1989). Women's position and access to resources for important parts of their lives may be dependent on or mediated through men. It is however, equally unsatisfactory to classify women by husband's occupation because this assumes equal access within the household (Glendinning and Millar 1987, Brannen and Wilson 1987, Charles and Kerr 1988, Ward and Dale 1992). In Charles' (1990) study we learned that while women who were full time housewives were marginal to the occupational structure, they did not perceive themselves as marginal to the class structure. The complexity of women's social class is further compounded if one looks at the importance of traditions as well as labour market position and income.

It seems that for professionally employed, white women, (defining women's class according to their own rather than partners occupation) equality is expected to a limited degree at work in terms of conditions of employment. Even here we have to recognise the limitations imposed by the continuity of the 'masculine job model' (Crompton 1996). These women are still not gaining promotion on the

same basis as their male colleagues or, it seems, equal pay (Arber and Ginn 1995). When they begin childbearing, women's experience shifts quite fundamentally, while at the same time they are asked to reconcile conflicting ideologies about women working and motherhood. Corresponding with this we see two forms of gender discrimination in employment, both sexism and 'motherism' (Joshi 1991). Several factors combine to disadvantage women in the labour market. Increased mobility as well as generally higher levels of involvement in the labour market mean that the traditional source of reliable, cheap childcare (grandmother) is less easily available. Women returning to the labour market are frequently downwardly mobile, and jobs with the same status are more likely to be part time and temporary. At the same time their lack of earnings reduces their power in the marital relationship making it one of dependency (Lister 1990).

For women in poorer households the issue of dependency is rather different. It may give rise to the increasing incidence of single parent families in which women can manage better financially without a partner while some women prefer independent poverty because of the control they retain (Graham 1987). Jobs characterised by low pay, low status are frequently casualised and power relations in work are reflected in the household. Research has shown that only the women who were in paid employment had real power let alone dominance in the household (Goodin 1985, Pahl 1989). Unemployed women report this lack of power and feelings of guilt in spending money on themselves (Lister 1990, Cragg and Dawson 1982).

Women commonly experience more than one set of relations in their gender and their class over their lifetime. They frequently have a complicated relation to work and to the domestic sphere which is largely determined by the relation their partner holds. This is even true for women whose single parent status arises from their partner's unemployment.

My research has used conventional classification which takes no real account of this gender divide,. but it will be the purpose of this study to learn about the effect of these forces in determining women's consciousness. It will problematise the relationship between class and gender in an attempt to understand the relative importance of each within the other. While Roberts E (1995) tells us that class is the primary divide, others have related to the primacy of gender

The remainder of this chapter will deal with gendered experience of the public and the private sphere. It will examine the issues of feminisation of work and deskilling in the labour market, women's and men's roles in the domestic sphere and their experience of citizenship. It will look particularly at the impact of gender on orientation to place. The unifying purpose of studying of these separate elements of women's and men's lives is to recognise the pervasiveness of patriarchy in structuring experience. I will begin by identifying the importance of lifecycle, particularly for women, in defining the range of opportunities and choices available. The discussion of gendered experience of the labour market, the family and civil society will be dealt with in this context, that we can see the force of patriarchy in all, but that its effect is shaped by its interaction with place, class and lifestage.

Gender and Lifestage

The significance of lifestage in determining women's consciousness is a familiar notion (Beechey 1983). It may not be so easily identifiable in men's consciousness because of their uninterrupted working life, but Banim's (1996) research suggests that, for men, lifecycle events are mediated through their partners. The picture we will draw then is not of the male career, undisturbed by the responsibilities of parenthood (Connell 1994, Wheelock 1990), although it is not argued that men assume equal responsibility in the day to day care of children. It is an account based upon the traditional male role as breadwinner but we will seek to learn whether, at least in dual income families and perhaps also in families which are work poor, this traditional relationship is breaking down. My research will seek to extend this understanding by questioning men's experience to learn more about the quality and nature of this relationship.

We need to develop an understanding of how women relate to employment and the domestic sphere, to bring in the questions of deskilling, women as a reserve army of labour, the interaction between class, employment and power relations within the family. The distribution of resources within the family has to be examined to learn how women and men divide resources within the household and whether there is evidence of differential access as researchers suggest (Brannen and Wilson 1987, Morris 1985).

The interaction of processes of class and patriarchy operate to marginalise women in different ways in different sectors of the labour market and this

already complex picture, is overlaid with the effects of age and point in the lifecycle which fractures woman's consciousness (Beechey 1983).

We need to develop an analysis which can comprehend the variation in these experiences. For women, elements of work consciousness exist alongside, and often in conflict with, consciousness formed by family relations so that at different points in the lifecycle women's consciousness will change (Beechey 1987). This is not to accept the validity of Hakim's argument that the commitment of a part time must be less than the commitment of a full time worker to a full time job, the minimum differences being those of degree with arguably 'a difference of quality as well' (Hakim 1995). Hakim's account ignores the reality for many households of dependence on two incomes even if one is part time. Women working in these households are the most heavily exploited, not because they 'choose' to be but because the household relies on those earnings. Arguments which ignore this and the supporting statistic that 650,000 women in Britain work in more than one part time job (CSO 1995), are too wholeheartedly voluntaristic in their blindness to structural constraints on women's work effected in relation to point in the lifecycle.

Labour Market Participation

To gain some insight into how women's experience of work has changed over time we can begin by examining the restructuring of industry and of work in terms of the change in the gender composition of the workforce. Nationally, the employment of women has grown continuously since the Second World War and this trend will undoubtedly continue. Women's involvement in the labour market

has increased from 44% in 1971 to 53% in 1994 and a projected 57% by 2006, so that women will form 46% of the national labour force by 2006. This comprises a 19% increase in part time and 12% increase in full time work so that while twice as many men as women work full time, five times as many women as men work part time (CSO 1995). In Sunderland we can see change over time.

Sunderland - Time/Gender/Sector			
	1971	1981	1991
	('000)	('000)	('000)
male full-time industrial	48	31	23
	44%	31%	25%
male full time services	18	20	20
	16%	20%	22%
male part-time total	2	2	3
	2%	2%	3%
total male employed	67	53	46
	61%	53%	50%
female full-time industrial	11	6	7
	10%	6%	7%
female part-time industrial	2	2	2
	2%	2%	2%
female full-time services	17	20	17
	16%	20%	19%
female part-time services	12	19	21
	11%	19%	22%
total female	43	47	46
	39%	47%	50%
total employed	110	100	90

Source: Byrne 1993

We have to ask why women self select into part time jobs with 'no worries or responsibilities' (Hakim, 1996). We can accept Hakim's answer that they hold 'traditional attitudes' but are left wondering why they hold such attitudes. The approach taken in this thesis is to argue that an appreciation of the complexity of social life requires a recognition that structure feeds into action. This is not just the structure of naked force, it is also one of legitimacy. Expressions of choice and action in this context are recognisably not ones of total freedom, they are to different degrees constrained. When we examine statistics relating to women's

satisfaction in work for example, we can recognise that they are made within a context of expectations. To understand this we need the kind of explanation which does not arise from single attitude items in a survey but which can be accessed only through focused theoretically based qualitative work.

Women's experience in the labour market has been explained in terms of processes of deskilling and feminisation of work and the casualised sector which predominantly employs women. We need to consider the radically changed employment structure evident in Sunderland and the related question of whether this will endow women with control in the domestic sphere and in civil society.

Gendered Divisions in the Labour Market

I have argued that women's consciousness is determined both by their role in the family and, increasingly, their direct experience of the labour market. Within the labour market a large proportion of women work in predominantly casual, low pay and low status jobs, in occupations defined as semi- or unskilled. This necessarily constitutes a different experience of employment from that of male, full time employees. We need to recognise however, that these are two extremes of a continuum which covers increasingly varied styles and experiences in work and to relate those observations to cultural expectations and social roles (e.g. Hutson 1989, Griffin 1985). We need to address men's and women's employment separately to distinguish the similarities and the difference in their experience of work. This is basic to an understanding of how consciousness is formed at home, in the labour market and as members of a class.

It is argued that divisions between men and women and between home and work act to prevent the development of a cohesive working class-consciousness. As women are regarded as primarily home based, their place in the labour market is secondary. Nonetheless, paid work has become an increasingly significant factor in women's lives. While we can accept that full time work has not increased (Hakim 1995), it is in the sphere of part time, married women's work that the increase has come. This increase in economic activity has been replicated across the advanced industrialised countries (Rosenfeld and Birkelund 1995). The degree of voluntariness is of course questionable and it may be more useful to consider the choice of part time work in terms of, "interconnections among the family, the state, and the market which vary across societies depending on their historical, cultural and political tradition." (Rosenfeld and Birkelund 1995 p111).

We can acknowledge that it is the sexual division of labour and women's ownership of family responsibilities, which accounts for their low pay, casual work and low level of trade union involvement (Porter 1992). We must add to this the role of point in the lifecycle in women's consciousness. The effect of such identities is not always to individualise however and Stephenson (1996) has demonstrated the level of involvement of women in collective action based on both work and domestic identities. The search for such consciousness is, further, not to be found only in the explicit formal action of workers but also in desubordination (Miliband 1978) practised in work (Pollert 1971) and the home (Roberts E 1995).

This research will address the questions of how and whether women consciousness differs over the lifecycle, between full and part time workers and

between men and women doing similar work (Beechey 1987). If elements of work consciousness exist alongside, and often in conflict with, that formed by familial relations then aspects of that consciousness should be amenable to empirical research.

It is this discussion which Hakim completely misses in her argument about women's consciousness. Hakim tells us 'In effect child care is an issue primarily for women who prefer homemaking and are secondary earners' (1996 p438). This oversimplifies the issue of competing demands and expectations which women face, as well as the effect of lifecycle in the development of consciousness. The two problems in this approach are exemplified in the use of comparative information about women's lower level of job tenure. If we employ Becker's (1953) notion of career, then current responsibilities are only part of the story, the caring role does not suddenly cease when children grow to young adults. Neither are the demands families make upon women's time simply restricted to a defined period of child rearing. The second factor in relation to job tenure may be that as women are entering the labour market in a context of restructuring, the jobs they are taking on are more likely to be the casual ones. These factors may account more satisfactorily for Hakim's statistic than the simple reference to commitment.

So we begin to develop recognition of the importance of particular conditions and social relationships in understanding both men's and women's consciousness. If we are to understand the forces which produce particular gender relationships, issues of deskilling and the gendered construction of work roles must be considered central to our concern. We need to understand in

particular, the fact that while some generalisations can be made about women's 'two roles', these questions require a more intimate understanding of the nature of women's work, their age, family responsibilities, lifestage and cultural expectations in their local area.

Women as a Reserve Army of Labour

We have pointed to the ways in which women's participation in the labour force is frequently predicated upon their ability to make suitable domestic arrangements (Cragg and Dawson 1982). The point for this research is to learn whether and how the general disappearance of the traditional industries and their replacement with service employment is changing relations within work and within the family. There are two elements which need to be considered here, the structure and style of employment and the nature of cultural values in work.

I have related to the reserve army thesis because it describes a captive, immobile disposable workforce. Women's position in the reserve army is based in their role is within the family, so that 'when women enter the labour market they do so as migrants from the domestic domain (whether they have husbands and children or not)' (Porter 1982).

Labour market segregation of women's from men's jobs means that the effect of crisis is different for men and for women (Beechey 1983). While women's employment in manufacturing industry has declined, their employment in the services has increased. Initially this was insulated from take-over by men because of its low paid, casualised form. Sustained high levels of unemployment and the immiseration of work suggest this gender divide may be blurring,

particularly among young people (Table 2.24 p.32 CSO 1995). In the process of restructuring women's work has often functioned to provide cheap labour for capital in labour intensive industries. When further mechanisation has been viable, women have been replaced, in the longer term by automated processes. Stone (1985) indicated massive scope for technological development in this field in Sunderland and limited evidence for this has since appeared in the changes in employment structure in firms such as Axciom.

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

The reserve army thesis provides a partial explanation of women's employment but overall women's employment has been protected from the worst effects of crisis by the increasing size of the service sector (Bruegel, 1986). To understand the introduction of women on a permanent basis into particular industries we need to consider capital's search for forms of labour power which have a lower value and in terms of the process of deskilling.

Deskilling and Feminisation of Work

We have pointed to gender as a divide which pre-dates, but has been exploited in capitalism. A further example of this process lies in deskilling operations which

replace men with women, linked with feminisation so that a 'man's job' becomes a 'woman's job'. The process has been effected both though the action of capital and the defensive action of male trade unionists.

The example of the clothing industry, an industry subject to uneven development, is particularly pertinent to a study in Sunderland. A traditionally skilled industry, in which both men and women were primary workers in craft occupations, has been transformed into an industry which has progressively substituted 'female machine minders' for craft workers. Men, employed in the clothing industry are employed in supervisory, managerial and work which retains the definition of 'skilled'. Coyle's (1982) study showed that while automation required the development of a range of skills by women workers, because the definition of skill is socially constructed, gender was used as a basis of differentiation. This is supported by male workers in their desire to maintain their advantageous position. The question now raised, in the face of wholesale restructuring of work, is how far men of the working class have been able to maintain this advantage.

The discussion of women's experience in the labour market can only be artificially separated from the demands made upon women in the domestic sphere. For both men and women there is an idealisation of role which has a powerful effect on consciousness but which is currently being challenged by structural conditions. It is important here to recognise that construction and its effects in shaping young people's interpretations of their world.

The Family

We start from an understanding of the crucial role of women in the reproduction of the labour force and the maintenance of capitalist relations of production. Capitalism has created a separation between productive and domestic labour, and domestic labour has consequently been 'de-realised'. In this lies the instability of the bourgeois marriage. The relations of capitalism are voluntary relations, the marriage contract, no longer based on the imperatives of production is consequently more unstable. This instability is aggravated by the element of independence which women gain through working outside the home (Coulson, Magas and Wainwright 1975).

This is a partial explanation of family, however, and lacks recognition of the complexity of family life which serves the needs of men and women and which is not simply a relationship of domination and subordination, exploiter and exploited. The recognition of contradictory forces helps us to understand a system of relations, which although subject to real change, remains a dominant system.

People are facing a set of conditions and associated cultural expectations which are subject to change. This change gives rise to contradictions, challenges some accepted beliefs and traditions and confirms others. The process is not chaotic but neither is it one of simple orderly determination. It is a process in which people are attempting to reconcile expectations with experience, dealing with choices and decisions which have an impact at both a an individual and a communal level in changing the cultural frame within which they live.

The power of the family lies not only in its material relationships but also importantly in its ideology and in notions of femininity which support it. Much of the recent concern about the family has been framed in terms of crisis and decline (Dennis and Erdos 1992). While what is axiomatically taken to represent 'family values' are the values which support the dominant order, the fact that commentators on both side of the political divide are concerned about the effects of change upon the family suggests that the family cannot be seen unproblematically as serving the interests of either a particular class or gender.

The induction of women into the labour force has had fundamental implications for family structure. It has encouraged smaller family size with consequently less time spent in child rearing. Support for women to remain workers after childbirth is notoriously poor in the UK and may go further in explaining the higher absentee rate of women than 'immaturity', an explanation which Hakim (1995) seems too ready to adopt. The provision of more extensive childcare has had the effect in France of encouraging women into full time working (Rosenfeld and Birkelund 1995).

It is also clear that women's employment takes a particular shape because of the break for childbirth, which is more likely to occur now in the late twenties and early thirties than the early twenties, as women are increasingly putting off children until later in life. The average age at first birth has increased from 24.8 in 1976 to 28 in 1993 for births inside marriage. Correspondingly, the peak age for women's earnings is in their early thirties because of downward mobility after children (CSO 1995).

These are simply effects in terms of family structure. We must also be aware however that changes in structure can lead to contradictory effects upon consciousness. Despite women's increased involvement in the labour market the idealised image of the family remains powerful. The importance of ideology to the reproduction process is undeniable and is demonstrated in studies such as McRobbie (1978), Porter (1982) and in its institutionalisation, by Wilson (1977). The image of the family may be idealised, it may not approximate to real experience and there is little doubt that men and women experience it very differently. It is an area of ambivalence for women because their work is done 'for love' and because, in the power relations which exist, women consequently fare badly.

We may need to avoid the temptation of seeing all women as victims but we must also avoid Hakim's mistake of seeing acceptance of domination as choice.

"The acceptability of the sexual division of labour clearly owes something to the fact that most women choose to spend part of their life producing children and rearing them, and they *prefer* to be supported by someone else while they are doing it, either a husband or the state"

Hakim 1996 p179 (my emphasis).

Clearly the women in Hakim's world are offered a whole battery of choices and prefer dependence!

The point of this thesis is to examine both structural and action components of consciousness and this requires a rather more developed understanding of the

meaning of those forces in people's lives. To begin this analysis we can relate change in structural and economic conditions to change in family structure and organisation.

There has been a change from an almost universal state of being married or not married to a set of alternatives both in sequence and in organisation. We can see for instance that while cohabitation is a lifestyle for only 5% of all women, in the age group 16 - 24, 12% are cohabiting. This could simply be a lifecycle effect but when we look over time it becomes clear that real change is occurring. The proportion of women who never married has dropped over the century, although the wars have created a cohort effect here. The proportion of women who are cohabiting has consistently increased from 4% in the 1920's cohort to almost 50% in the 1960's cohort. Women are marrying and cohabiting earlier and cohabitation is progressively replacing marriage. This is not to deny the popularity of marriage remains high with only 8% of women in the never married category by the age 35-44. Separation and divorce and subsequent cohabitation are also increasing rapidly, indicated by the fact that the number of marriages in Britain fell by nearly 23% over the period 1971 to 1992 while the number of divorces doubled (CSO 1995).

The British Social Attitudes (1989) survey interestingly points to a relationship between women's employment and attitude to marriage and cohabitation. 60 % of women in paid employment thought that people ought to be married to have children compared with 73% of women not in employment and 72% of all men. The difference in age structure of women's employment suggests that it is

younger women who are less well disposed toward marriage so that once again we are looking at change over time as well as lifecycle effects.

Recent discussions have focused on change in the family in a post industrial era to suggest that the uncertainties which are evident in employment and industrial change are in turn manifest within the family and in images of the ideal family form (Hage and Powers 1992). Here the concern is with a constant process of role redefinition while affectual ties are increasingly based on choice rather than kinship relations in a society which is reconstructing itself. We can question empirically whether there is evidence that the emphasis in family relationships has consequently shifted from formal and authoritarian to creative and co-operative styles.

At the beginning of this discussion we recognised that it is simplistic, to discuss reproduction in terms of gender alone. If one is to explain women's and men's experience it must be accompanied by an understanding of their particular class position (McRobbie 1990). The effect of wives employment on power relations within the family varies with social class (Leonard and Speakman 1986, Rapoport 1971, Young and Wilmott 1975, Bott 1957). In all studies experience is set against a background of external social relations in which the male is dominant and, because of this, in a position to confer 'equality' on his wife. This lack of control added to lack of rights as a citizen makes women dependent on a potentially unreliable source of income (Lister 1990). It is no doubt true that as Hakim says there are, '...small minorities of women in Europe ... for whom the separation of domestic roles remains entirely satisfactory' (1996 p183) and few would not allow this to be the case. The question remains as to why women

prefer a system of domination and exploitation, what is the context in which that 'preference' is expressed? These are questions for this thesis to address.

The development of identity and the beliefs and values which are implied are the result of a complex set of processes which interact in people lives according to history, gender and class relations. The ideology surrounding the family is very powerful in distorting actual social relations and we return to the point that to learn about them we need to move away from generalisations to the particular conditions pertaining at the time. For this we need to turn to the ethnographic account to discover how far the images drawn upon here are reflected in people's lives and make sense of their experience.

Women in the City

The consequences of the sexual division of labour are wider than those which can be delineated within the family. The difficulty, in using the household as a unit of analysis is that researchers have failed to recognise the differential impact of the split between home and work on men and women (McDowell 1983, Massey and McDowell 1994).

> "Production based on waged labour in the market place is undertaken collectively in specialised locations, predominantly by men but also by women, whereas the household reproduction of labour power, based on the unpaid labour of individual women, is undertaken in isolation in countless decentralised urban locations.

This division not only influences the social relations between men

and women but is embodied in the structure of the urban system and

is given concrete expression in the built form of cities."

McDowell 1983 p145-6

Pratt and Hanson (1988) have questioned whether the geography of social class

is the same for women and for men. The salience of this point to the current

research is in its relevance to the formation of consciousness. It is based in

recognition that, 'Neighbourhood has become more than a source of security, the

base of a supportive network, as it has long been; it has become a source of

identity, a definition of who a person is and where he or she belongs in society'

(Marcuse, 1993 p.361).

These issues will be developed in Chapter 4 but here I want to relate this point in

particular to the discussion of citizenship. We have to ask how gender affects the

occupation of place and how that occupation in turn has an effect upon

citizenship. It is these issues which lead us back to consideration of the more

fundamental questions of the relationship between patriarchy and class in

defining women's and men's experience.

Gender and Citizenship

The question of rights of citizenship is important to this study because it is a site

of struggle in which there is clear evidence of how restructuring brings about

change. Men and women have different experiences of citizenship based in their

gender and their class. Here I want to identify the gendered nature of the

struggles over citizenship to offer a basis for understanding a set of social relations in action and the implications of those relations for women's experience in Sunderland.

Marshall (1950) identified the war between citizenship and social class and the ways in which in the post war period, the advance of social citizenship was undermining inequalities of class. Citizenship rights, however, are inseparable from the access to the public domain and it is here that women have been restricted (Lister 1990). We can also relate to the historical development of capital which sees the emergence of women into the public sphere under capitalism as coming through the extension of domestic roles so that both public and private spheres became suffused with neo patriarchal relations (Mann 1994). Having achieved formal citizenship the women's movement diverted into welfare issues developing its struggles around issues of social citizenship because only through social citizenship can women actually exercise their formal legal rights (Walby 1994b).

This has particular meaning now because of the recent erosion of rights of social citizenship and support to the family in providing care. Roche (1992) tells us that citizenship is at war with capitalism and class but if this is true it is also a focus of struggle with patriarchy (Walby 1994b). When we look to gender, issues concerning the meaning of citizenship, particularly the relationship between formal citizenship status and the exercise of citizenship rights become pertinent. In the welfare state, for example, women have tended to be associated with need based social assistance while men's benefit entitlements are based on their labour market participation (O'Connor 1993). This area of experience is complicated by

class as men in the secondary sector of the labour market have had that relation eroded in any but a formal sense.

Women's economic dependency creates and legitimates inequalities in and outside the home as well as encouraging male work incentives (Glendinning and Millar 1987). At the same time women's work in the home is not valued because it does not form part of the commodity relation and therefore men's dependence on women remains invisible.

Women, who are dependent, with children, are tied to the home without the right to time to participate in political activity and this denotes a further area in which women's citizenship rights are eroded. It is unemployed and economically inactive women for instance, who are least likely to be involved in voluntary work (Mackian 1995). For working women their double burden of housework and paid work means they too are often excluded from the public sphere (Marquand J 1995). For women in poor working class households it is argued the burden is greater because they have not the power to buy back their time.

So while women are formally able to exercise rights of legal and political citizenship, the deprivation of rights of social citizenship undermines their ability to act in all fields. This is a focus of struggle on the grounds of class and of patriarchy but also of place, and it is these changes we will discuss in relating to concrete experience in the public and private sphere.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research is to explore the ways in which the experience of restructuring and globalisation in the local area have resulted in both continuity and change. This chapter has examined one major structuring force within that change and identified some ways in which we might understand it. These understandings must be related to experiences of women and men in the public and private spheres, in the labour market and in family life. It will be through these more concrete experiences that we can reflect upon the nature of patriarchy and the relationship between patriarchy and class.

We have pointed to the fundamental question of whether patriarchy is just 'a language to describe, but not explain, the prevalence and reproduction of male oppression both at the ideological and material levels within the employment sphere' (Pollert 1996 p649). The conditions which are crucial in forming consciousness today, however, are as much a product of the history of struggle between the sexes as between the classes. The material gained from this research will seek to reflect upon these theoretical questions. Whatever formulation we finally arrive at we have to take account of the differences in experience of men and women in the labour market and the family and the effects of restructuring and change in both spheres.

The point is that it is dynamics and relations we are discussing not a series of things. While some feminist writers explore analytically the relations of patriarchy, the need to explore it in its history must also be recognised.

The Findings chapters will use the fieldwork material in relation to the particular the class and gender relations which pertain in Sunderland, to enter into a discussion at both levels. This will involve discussion of the ways in which young people described their experience and expectations of work and their projections of family life, not as predictions but as an indication of their orientations. The discussion will centre on how women and men anticipate, or have made, decisions about child rearing, the factors involved in those decisions and their effects upon their working lives. The research will aim to identify these decisions in the context of the interaction of structural forces and their effects in creating consciousness. This will involve understanding not only the overall relation of gender to work and employment but also how that shapes experience within the context of gendered relations in other spheres. It entails interrogating young people's accounts to discover the existence and effect of the elements outlined here and placing those understandings within the specific context of Sunderland.

Chapter 3   Youth

This chapter will focus on situating youth within the theoretical frameworks which have been introduced in the thesis. It will seek to explain youth's vulnerability in the labour market as well as the problems of identity which arise in negotiating the passage to adulthood. It is the difficulties involved in achieving this critical transition against the background of restructuring, which have been the inspiration for the study as a whole. The chapter will relate issues which have been raised thus far to the particular context of the lifestage.

As with each of the theoretical chapters I have found it impossible to divorce the research experience from the process of writing. It means that these chapters are an expression of a framework for understanding which has developed over the span of the research. It is not a preliminary set of questions in that sense and in a conventional structure elements of the discussion held here might be more appropriately placed in the Conclusion. My purpose will be to point to understandings developed here to provide a largely structural account. Later chapters will seek to bring to this understanding the action of young people in relation to these structures, so that these elements can be reunited in the concluding chapter.

I will argue that youth are disadvantaged and that the basis of this disadvantage lies not only in objective structural forces but also in the reproduction of youth as a lifestage. I am interested in youth as a group who are working their way into the adult world and the strategies they employ. I have not been particularly concerned with the deviant or dangerous images of youth but rather in the ways in which young people

become adults and in identifying how far we can use the recognised forces of class, gender and place to account for that reproduction.

This means that this chapter will contribute to an explanation which focuses on two levels. First of all I want to look at the ways in which we can account for the processes involved in reproduction and to do this we need to be able to comprehend action and structure and the context of change. Secondly we need to examine the currently existing conditions which can be identified as forming the boundaries in that framework. In other words, to the theoretical model of reproduction we need to bring actual factors and events which can make that model concrete to demonstrate its effects in the real world.

Social and Cultural Reproduction

In this thesis I am seeking to identify processes of reproduction and of change in people's lives. It is located in a particular place, age group and with reference to class and gender positions in order to allow an analysis which distinguishes the ways in which those factors operate in complex interaction. In looking at change in these terms. I have separated out several structural forces. The project here will be to look at the importance of lifestage in determining consciousness. This is based in a particular understanding of the relation of action and structure because lifestage expresses not just the culmination of the effects of different forces but also unites both individual and collective action.

This is not simply a question of marrying together the effect of structural change with individual consciousness but rather of understanding the force of action within structure and of structure within action. It relates to the "interaction of individual

biography and institutional processes that contribute to the construction of 'youth'"
(Wyn 1995). In this endeavour I will relate to the central notions of habitus and field
which I think provides some insights in the analysis of my research material.

I have related to crisis as a central concept in this research. This has been about how
crisis in structure has had effects on action and I want to examine the ways in which
this manifests itself in industrial structure, in class and in gender relations. I have been
particularly interested in the interaction of those forces and their relation to locality as
another element in the shape of change. At this point it remains for me to explain why
I have chosen youth as a particular group which further structures the picture. I am not
proposing to characterise youth as simply a culmination of the forces identified above,
but rather to delineate why youth has significance in itself. This is the basis of the
need to relate both to action and structure in a more concrete and particular way.

We can argue that, beyond the divisions of class and gender, youth identify as a group
and, with Bourdieu (1993), describe youth as a relative concept because it exists only
in opposition to age. This relates to a process of struggle for power between the
generations. In every field there is a struggle between young and old in which each
attempts to devalue the other to legitimate its claim upon the field (Bourdieu 1993). In
addition, if we see youth as a lifestage involving a process of transition from one
steady state to another, then we can see the possibilities once again for disruption and
dislocation. Were all other things entirely stable and unchanging, the fact of moving
from one set of roles and statuses to another, in itself involves the possibility of
divergence.

I do not wish to argue that youth in any sense can be regarded as a coherent group
who can be identified in terms of the unity of their aspirations or their lifestyles.

Rather I am interested in youth as a lifestage at which those opportunities for disruption and dislocation are at their greatest and in which we can therefore see evidence of action most clearly. In this thesis I want to place this set of possibilities within the context of structural change which itself raises questions about the nature of the transitions people make into adulthood. Young people, at a point of personal crisis, are equally at a point of crisis in a changing world. It is to understanding the ways in which these forces act in relation to each other and in understanding young people's action in relation to them that this chapter will be devoted.

I have used the notions of habitus and field in understanding social reproduction in Chapter 1. Here I want to draw on that understanding to illuminate the particular experience of youth. When we encounter the subject of change the importance of field in relation to habitus becomes most obviously useful in this study. Young people have different habitus in relation to fields but the issue of class habitus in the field of employment is one central concern for this thesis. We must see habitus in employment as intimately related to habitus in education in our society. The essential point to recognise about the education system, Bourdieu tells us, is that it is a system for the reproduction of privilege. Bourdieu (1986) can readily explain the habitus which prepares bourgeois students for their adult role and the similar process which occurs among the working class.

After education, and accepting that the inflation which has occurred in qualifications has led to a situation in which working class people spend longer in the system (Raffe and Williams 1989, Gray, Jesson and Sime 1992), people are reproduced in the field of employment. If the world were unchanging then that process of reproduction would continue unchallenged. Capitalism is never entirely stable however and its recurrent

crises mean that fields are constantly changing and that the relationship between habitus and field becomes open to disruption. The requirements of the field do not necessarily imply strictly the habitus with which players in the field are equipped. Fields constantly change at the margins as new conditions emerge while others decline, giving rise to dislocations and making visible the effect of action and choice. So while we have an underlying process of reproduction which remains, there are nevertheless ways in which the struggle to define the field allows for change.

In this chapter the focus is upon establishing an understanding of youth as a specific lifestage but not necessarily as a coherent group. Bourdieu tells us that we must reverse the common-sense tendency to give substance priority over relations and this is important in understanding the relevance of looking at youth as a category. It is in the particular conjuncture of relations which occur at this lifestage that I am seeking evidence of action, adaptation or change.

In the crisis created by both the personal transition described here and by the structural crisis in capitalism which Sunderland exemplifies, habitus may not be equipped to ensure an untrammelled path into adulthood. In these crises not only does the point in the lifecycle open up new trajectories but there is a wholesale disruption for some and some disturbance for all created in the loss of certainty and tradition. This tradition may not be particularly long-standing, Hobsbawm (1994) pointed to the creation of what are seen as traditional working class lifestyles at the end of the 19th century, nevertheless it has formed the basis of the habitus of several generations of young people. The history of Sunderland shipyards may have been one of general although punctuated, decline (Roberts 1993), but in those communities whose lives were focused on the traditional industries, the system of speaking for relatives meant

it would be their sons who would enter. This was not a place in which a labour force would be drawn from Washington Newcastle, Teesside by the A19 corridor. I am conscious that this is to some degree a stereotype of the place and yet the fact that such 'myths' develop, is indicative of the cultural resources which are held in common and which therefore significantly shape the understandings actors hold.

First of all I want to establish the parameters for understanding change in Sunderland. The disappearance of traditional industries has created a qualitative change. It may have devalued the older worker who no longer has authority or, viewed from another perspective, it may have affected power in father-son relationships, but the main point is that a working class habitus which has prepared young men for a life in the shipyards or the pits is no longer adequate. It is not possible simply to reproduce their parents' lifestyle and this raises possibilities for change and divergence from the paths their parents took.

People have to find their solutions to these problems and the double uncertainty of structural and lifestage crisis make way for a considerable range of possibilities. Some people will work hard to reproduce the styles of their parents and they may do so. Some people will do so temporarily but find the strain overwhelming resulting, for example, in divorce. Others may choose alternative or entirely oppositional solutions.

> "... the ongoing dialectic of subjective hopes and objective chances, which is at work throughout the social world, can yield a variety of outcomes ranging from perfect mutual fit (when people come to desire that to which they are objectively destined) to radical disjunction (as with the Don Quixote effect dear to Marx)".

Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 p130

The hold of habitus is such that people may be disposed in certain directions and work very hard to achieve the 'traditional' path through their changed world. For others the possibilities result in different and quite unexpected outcomes. It renders those apparent choices or routes intelligible on the level of social reproduction. It may also be that in this uncertain world the media, common culture (Willis 1992) have to be comprehended as mediating young people's world views. It is not that people choose their lives without reference to structure but that in the absence of tightly defined paths issues of choice become both visible and increasingly significant.

This is undoubtedly a deterministic account because in the end the causal forces which Bourdieu identifies in action, exist at the level of structure. My point is that in developing a social explanation we are trying to account for the development of patterned regularities which can give rise to apparently similar orientations across even temporal and spatial divides. We need also to account for action but here we are seeking the particular, the concrete situations in which actors encounter a particular intersection of structural forces. We can then identify how action reinforces or undermines structure.

Having raised the question of social reproduction, I want to identify the ways in which other empirical studies of youth can illuminate our understanding of this particular lifestage based in the terms outlined above. In carrying out this project we can usefully begin by looking at some of the major studies of transition.

I am concerned to explain the working class reproduction of a system which places them in a subordinate position, with their resistance and de-subordination of that system, as well as with the perhaps more straightforward understanding of

reproduction in middle class lifestyles. We can use insights from both Willis (1977) and Jenkins (1983) accounts to inform these issues.

Willis concentrated exclusively on the lads and provided a convincing account of the self-delivery of the lads into manual labour but he failed to explain the consciousness of ear 'oles. Jenkins (1983) analysis of labelling theory and power relations provides us with that explanation. Willis was concerned with how working class kids get working class jobs, Jenkins with the 'patterned differences, 'cultural' or otherwise, within the (young) working class and how are those distinctions produced and reproduced' (1983, p2). Both are concerned with the same question of cultural reproduction although Jenkins points to his own reservations about research in that paradigm.

Essentially while Willis documents the social group as the significant entity in producing the lads' subordination, Jenkins sees its reproduction through the individualistic views of working class youth which account for the world in terms of psychology of the individual and the legitimacy of power. Individualism is reinforced by localism which places the focus on the immediate environment and the external scapegoat. Willis relates primarily to the collusion of the working class in their subjection through the medium of the subculture while neglecting the role of institutions. Jenkins on the other hand emphasises the significance of institutions and labelling mechanisms. Jenkins is valuable in recognising the centrality of actors' accounts and in arguing for them as equally valid explanations of social reality.

I want to use insights gained from both studies in my work. My work has not given me access to the group level to which both Jenkins and Willis relate but their explanations of reproduction cast some light on the movement of young people into

the adult world which is the focus of this research. The world itself of course is different now from the world of the seventies and early eighties when those studies were conducted. It is fairly clear that Willis' lads would probably be unemployed now and part of my project here is to consider the effect of that upon the nature of young people's reproduction. The model of complex interaction which I am trying to build however, implies that the lads will not inevitably reproduce themselves onto the dole. The lack of a recognised avenue, I have argued, opens up a wider field of possibilities and here we can explain some of the diversity in young people's action and outcomes which a straightforward functionalism can not. The significance of 'fiddle jobs' (MacDonald R. 1994) needs to be taken into account and, more importantly, the effects of unemployment and extended education on the nature of the transition to adulthood, its implications for identity and the formation of the family. Within these complex processes however I will argue we can still detect the force of structure.

The ideas in these studies were developed in subsequent research (Hutson and Jenkins 1989, Wallace 1987, Coffield et al 1986, MacDonald 1991, Bates and Riseborough 1993) which recognised the fractured nature of transitions. I would argue however that the mismatch model offered by Wallace (1987), while accounting for simple reproduction in Bourdieu's sense, does not comprehend the complex effects of crisis and disruption on action.

The relevance of these elements of cultural reproduction to this research lies in the framework they provide for understanding the transition people make in their class into their adult roles. They are less useful however, in explaining effects of gender differences. I am interested not only in how young adults in this world of deindustrialisation and change are completing transitions but also in how they are

acting upon those transitional experiences. There is a growing body of research into the world of young working class women and the realm of the private from which male researchers such as Willis and Jenkins were excluded. In fact McRobbie (1991) points to the private nature of girls' public presence and the exclusivity which makes it difficult to research young women's lives. Overwhelmingly she found that working class girls were defined, and defined themselves, in terms of their domestic and caring roles and, despite the 'brief flowering' which Hoggart (1957) identified, quickly resigned themselves to the world of home. Their culture was not one of opposition but rather of resistance through 'gentle undermining' and non-co-operation. Some research has suggested that these styles are changing (Hutson 1989). These accounts of women's lives will be reviewed in terms of the research material contained in the Findings chapters.

I want to turn now to the concept of citizenship as an explanatory concept which embraces significant aspects of young people's experience of the public sphere. The period of young adulthood can be understood as particular in terms of citizenship but it is experience stratified according to class, gender and place.

I have considered the role of citizenship important in my research, recognising that young people's citizenship is stratified according to both their class and their gender. If we adopt this approach to understanding reproduction, citizenship emerges from the interaction of the various habitus and the fields in which young people are involved. I have argued that relation to the public sphere is fundamental to the exercise of full citizenship rights and that herein we can see the limitations experienced by the working class and by women.

In citizenship we can clearly identify the culmination of experiences differentiated according to class and gender. The relation to employment is also fundamentally structured by age group. Bourdieu (1993) posits two poles with the bourgeois student at one end while the young worker who has had no adolescence occupies the other, with a number of intermediate positions in between. My research will question this characterisation of poles. I want to suggest that youth is a lifestage universally recognised in our society and, despite qualitative differences in the experience of youth at these two poles, both are accorded some freedom from responsibility and a level of support which recognises a transitional state (Brannen Dodds and Oakley 1994, Griffin 1993, Jones and Wallace 1992). In terms of lifestage, parents commonly appear to offer support which does not automatically expect adoption of adult roles without a period of transition. It is young people who are dependent in unemployed families who less frequently have such support available to them. Further, for young people living in a context of high unemployment, equipped with some of class's 'hidden injuries' (Sennett and Cobb 1972), the individualistic message is disempowering. In this sense one might question the reality of Bourdieu's poles suggesting rather that we see in the polarisation of households the more extreme position of young unemployed and state dependent, denied both the freedoms of adolescence and adulthood.

It is clear that social policies which have been directed at the young have limited their rights as citizens, reducing their protection under low pay legislation, their rights as teenage mothers to set up home with their children or as young adults to move away from the parental home. Policy in some cities in America, being reviewed here, has seen this process carried further with some parts of places subject to curfew, denying young people access at certain times of day.

The importance of this issue lies in the perspective it gives us on identifying the nature of young people's problems and their integration (or lack of it) into the social fabric. Much of the emphasis on lifestyle and culture I would argue, serve only as distractions from this understanding of the main determinants of young people's lives which, like their parents, lie in their class, their gender and their race (Cross 1995).

When we speak of citizenship we are mainly talking about recipients of structures. The attempt to use it as an action concept which arises in neo liberal and communitarian ideas relies on individualist notions which cannot comprehend citizens as members of groups, as part of a struggle. This is an unsatisfactory understanding however and has real consequences, for in identifying problems or in explaining young people's involvement in crime we need to understand the complex causation of their lack of involvement as citizens.

It has been suggested that we must not expect youth transitions to occur as they once did because individualisation has served to undermine acceptance among young people of the institutions of the family, the community and the state.

"Young people today approach and experience their lives, in the present and in planning for their future, essentially as individuals responsible for and with the freedom to make their own decisions and construct their own biographies on their own account."

Chisholm and Du Bois Reynard 1994

My research seeks to question these images of youth as rejecting traditional authority to learn how far they are delaying or making those transitions into the adult world. I

want to learn whether there remain collective bases for youth identification within their class, their gender group and their area.

The changes in the nature of the labour market for young people have necessary implications for the nature of reproduction because, not only can many working class kids no longer get working class jobs, but also many of those who can are getting jobs which are poorly paid and casualised. In addition to this as Brown (1995) points out, the nature of young people's induction into work has also changed and this may compound the effects on those future transitions.

The argument that the last great depression of the 1930's did not yield the disorder which we are concerned about today is countered by evidence that in those years the structure of unemployed population was rather different. Young people formed a small proportion of that group of unemployed, while those who were out of work had already been socialised into their work identities in the earlier years of their lives (Brown 1995). Nevertheless a long history of youth unemployment has been documented (Casson 1979). Brown tells us that in 1993 and 1994 unemployment reached 20% for all 18 and 19 year olds. In September 1995 this rate stood at 17% and at 15 % for all 20-24 year olds, compared with an average rate of 8.5% From a total of 660,000 unemployed people aged 24 and under, 150,000 have been unemployed for more than a year (Employment Gazette quoted in Brown 1995). In the longer term Brown argues that the lack of socialisation into work obligations may have an effect on the ability to maintain stable employment relations in adulthood. In terms of the actual socialisation into work change is also evident, raising issues of both skill and cultural competence, (Roberts I. 1995).

This has not resulted in overt political action, questioning the legitimacy of the system, rather protest has taken an "individual or unorganised form". The interesting point is to consider why collective action does not emerge from the collective discontents of a class. We could return to the individualism of world views to seek an answer in Jenkins' (1983) terms or to Willis' model of social regions and their institutional supports which have a degree of autonomy and separateness from each other and from the rest of the social system (1977).

We have argued that industrial restructuring has materially affected young people's ability to participate. There are no longer the mainstream social bases for youth citizenship in industrial society, trade union and political organisations. Of course one could cynically point out a rather late appreciation of something which has long been a reality in the life of women. The concern relating to young males is centred on the fear that there will be no transition and that men at least will be redundant in 'Families without Fatherhood' (Dennis N. and Erdos G. 1992) threatening the social order. One could argue that poor male youth are subject to rather different imperatives than are poor female youth, the first aimed at controlling public behaviour while the second seeks to circumscribe action in the private sphere.

These are important issues for us because they point to some of the ways in which the world is changing for young adults entering the labour market today, and ways in which obvious structural change may bring about less obvious change in action. It is because we are witnessing complex processes in interaction that the possibly less predictable outcomes emerge. The labour market is particularly significant in this study because the relation to employment clearly has fundamental implications for the nature of young people's experience. As I have argued earlier in this chapter, this is

the point at which trajectories, formed in earlier experience, begin to diverge. In relating to the experience of work and unemployment we touch on many aspects of young people's experience of life, their orientation to marriage and family, to place and to future.

It is clear that the dimensions of gender and class operate in people's conception of citizenship and that place and time must be accounted for. What people like us do and have done, the collective history of our past, what our parents and grandparents tell us, 'the myths we live by' (Samuel and Thompson 1994), are important in forming the expectations young people hold today.

We can identify dangers for young people which their parents' generation did not experience. The risk of long term unemployment for a minority and insecure and poorly paid employment for more constitutes them as a group whose citizenship is severely limited by their lack of ties into wider society. These are ties which in industrial society might have been drawn by the trade union and the party, an identification along the lines of class which was positive and active and formed one route into adulthood. The impact of deindustrialisation is to sever those links and this may have a more profound impact upon young people's transitions into the adult world. One facet of this has been raised elsewhere in relation to underclass (Roberts K. 1995). They are effects moreover which exist in different form and interaction according to class and gender as well as place.

The issue of citizenship is central to young people facing crisis in both their lifestage and in the social conditions of their place. Their relation to employment and to the state, their experience of independence or dependence, their very different trajectories are formed by the social world they inhabit. Young people act in relation to that world

and I have suggested that one feature of that action is the degree to which they hold communal or individualist world views and hence the form that their citizenship takes (Callaghan 1995). This study is seeking to examine issues of collectivism and individualism as they relate to class habitus in several significant fields. In terms of localism, employment and education as well as political orientation we can see expressions of these world views. While we can see the support for individualism which is evident in a dominant ideology and the mechanisms through which that is conveyed, the sense of collectivism arises elsewhere. The concept of citizenship provides a basis for understanding both the collective and individualistic elements of action.

I have identified here the ways in which the relation to employment and the consequent experience of inclusion or exclusion will shape experience of citizenship. I have largely ignored leisure and I am aware that this is an omission of considerable proportion. My defence lies in the basic view that: "it is not a matter of differences in lifestyle or values but inequality in the material and cultural resources which groups can control to realise *any* kind of lifestyle." (Clarke, Critcher and Johnson 1979 p36). I consider that the basic relation is relation to employment and the absence, or quality, of that employment shapes leisure. This needs to be qualified by observations in relation to lifestage and gender. In these circumstances, and accepting Willis' (1992) strictures about the increasing importance of leisure in defining identity, I think that the prior relation is the relation to the labour market.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have been trying to bring together the various factors which make 'youth' a significant category in itself. I have emphasised that youth in no way form a coherent group whose experience can be theorised in any single dimension. Nonetheless youth is a socially constructed point in the lifecycle at which we can identify the direction of particular forces and in which we can achieve a more particular understanding of those tendencies.

The first part of the chapter discussed the ways in which we could use an understanding of social and cultural reproduction to recognise the significance of crisis in this lifestage, a period when opportunities for change and divergence were most pronounced. In turn, I have argued, the young people I talked to were coming into the labour market at a point of crisis in terms of restructuring which creates its own possibilities for change.

I have related to the concept of citizenship as one which embodies the particular interactions of habitus and field in young people's lives. It is a concept of inclusion and exclusion and importantly comprehends the different ways in which the possession and exercise of different levels of capital can bring about particular experiences within a stratified society.

Numerous studies have sought to understand this process and have identified individualism/collectivism as concepts which have explanatory power in the reproduction of culture. World views of individualism and collectivism are important here and the debates surrounding individual versus communal world views has been a focus of much of the writing on working class community (Jackson 1968, Hoggart

1957, Roberts R 1971). It is a central question for this research because in each world view we can identify the interrelation of structure and agency.

Here I have provided an account which places heavy emphasis on structural and contextual factors and the explanation of these factors will be developed further in the following two chapters. The purpose of these chapters is to offer a framework to which I can bring actors accounts through the presentation of my fieldwork material. My aim will be to develop, in synthesis, an understanding of the part played by both action and structure in arriving at an account of young people's experience in, and expectation of, their world.

Chapter 4   Sunderland

This chapter will establish the context of place in terms of Sunderland's industrial structure and development and the social forms which have emerged in response. The purpose of the chapter is to establish the significance of locality and its impact on people. The chapter will therefore describe industrial change and relate that to the development of civil society. It will bring together accounts from a number of sources to develop a picture of the place as the context within which young people form their adult identities.

We can identify the importance of place in action by relating, as Cohen does, to the collective actor, '... if individuals refer to their cognitive maps to orient themselves in interaction, the same is true of collectivities. The maps are part of their cultural store, accumulated over generations and thus heavily scented by the past' (Cohen 1985 p101).

This chapter will relate the ways in which local, industry-based, communities have changed throughout Sunderland's history, to young peoples' experience in the labour market and in their communities today. Here the work of Robson (1969), Dennis (1970) and more recently Roberts I. (1993) will be important in establishing the nature and pace of that development. They are, themselves, representations which reflexively contribute to our view of the place. Roberts (1993), tracing the fortunes of the shipbuilding industry in Sunderland posits the traditional occupational community of Shipyard workers. In the absence of such tight knit occupational communities we may not now be able to sustain an understanding of Sunderland

based in collective occupational identities, but they can form part of our understanding of a past which grounds the present.

This chapter then, will be composed of the following elements. It will review the development and change in Sunderland's industrial structure from its Victorian prosperity to its position when the research work was undertaken. Sunderland has been in a state of constant change and I want to establish a context for understanding my actors' accounts. These changes will be related to communities, questioning whether we can identify the effects of restructuring and the significance of locality. Finally it will examine the responses of the national and local state to the issues raised by industrial change and attempt to bring to this account one dimension of action through discussion of Sunderland's future with one of its key actors, the Leader of its City Council.

The importance of space as a complex concept is to be established in terms which Massey pointed to as, '...considering not only what might be called the geometry of space, but also its lived practices and the symbolic meaning of particular spaces and spatialisations' (Massey 1994). Massey goes on to say, 'Clearly, anyway, the issue of conceptualisation of space is more than technical interest; it is one of the axes along which we experience and conceptualise the world' (Ibid.). This is the simple but fundamental base of our concern to understand the meaning of change in Sunderland.

Tradition and Change

Sunderland's over-reliance on the two traditional industries has long been recognised and the town has had unemployment rates consistently higher than regional and national levels since 1933. Writing in 1969, BT. Robson described Sunderland as:

"A town which is living on the dwindling fat of its Victorian expansion. The legacy of the industrial revolution is apparent in its appearance, its industrial structure, its population growth and in a host of social and economic characteristics. Even attitudes are coloured by its past heritage. The Depression years, the final death spasm of the nineteenth century in a Pre-Keynesian era, are still a real memory among much of the town's working population and impinge upon the attitudes of the working population."

Robson 1969 p75

Some early attempts to encourage diversification of the economy, most notably with the Trading Estate movement in 1938, met with limited success. Most of the diversification was based on branch plants which were the first to close when recession hit (Dennis 1970). More recent attempts have failed to solve the problem because of the way in which Sunderland's restructured economy has brought mainly 'poor work' (Stone 1993). Twentieth century Sunderland has been characterised by high fertility rates, a young age structure and high levels of relative poverty (Robson 1969). In 1970 Dennis noted the high rate of outmigration of the young workforce and pointed to the changing nature of work within Sunderland from relatively highly paid and central male employment to poorly paid peripheral jobs, mainly done by women.

These changes have grown in significance under free market policies so that the process of deindustrialisation can be clearly identified in the Wearside economy. At the same time we can identify a process of reindustrialisation which, while based in Sunderland's industrial history, is taking on very different forms today (Stone 1993).

New industry which is developing in Sunderland is "significantly influenced by the nature of its industrial past; deindustrialisation and reindustrialisation are inter-linked rather than discrete processes" (Stone 1993 p7).

Despite the successes of inward investment and the growth of small business, new enterprises in no way compensate for the large-scale job losses in the traditional industries. The manufacturing economy of Wearside is now, "sectorally more diverse, with few really large employers and many small ones; locationally it is tending to favour Washington New Town rather than Sunderland, and its ownership profile has shifted sharply away from plants headquartered in other parts of the UK and towards indigenous and overseas sources of control" (Stone 1993 p6). The fall in manufacturing employment has been dramatic, 43% over the period 1973 -1990 from 43,150 to 24,580 jobs (ibid.).

These aggregate figures identify the nature and magnitude of change but to understand their meaning for people's experience of work we need to examine changes in the industrial and employment structure in greater detail.

Traditional Industries

The traditional industries formed the base of a relatively affluent workforce in 19th century Sunderland (Milburn and Miller 1988). The mining industry employed 18,000 men in the town in 1871 and remained a significant employer a century later employing 19% of the male workforce in 1981 (excluding Washington). Despite campaigns at both local and national levels the closures of both shipyards and pits came quickly, for many much more quickly than had been expected. The final pit, Wearmouth, closed in 1993 and this led to pockets of very high unemployment. The

meaning of this change for people and communities is rather more fundamental than perhaps the statistics can convey. The mining industry provided a source of employment into which son followed father and in which traditional work relationships were maintained. The stability that this continuity provided (especially in 'mining villages' like Castletown) has disappeared. What we have witnessed is a sharp break with tradition which must have consequences for the formation of the consciousness of young people entering the labour market now. The loss of traditional industries embedded in communities has resulted in more than simple loss of jobs. It has had its effects on family organisation, the fabric of community itself and people's connection to it.

Now we find where manufacturing work is available, work relations are increasingly modelled on organisations like Nissan. This, however, is also a complicated story and we can relate to research which demonstrates how previous work experience and possession of a skill has enabled women in Ikeda Hoover to resist the imposition of Nissan style relations (Stephenson 1996).

Shipbuilding

Shipbuilding showed a rapid decline between the period 1979 and 1989 when it effectively closed on Wearside. As with the coal industry political decisions were implicated in the closure. The significance of the decline in shipbuilding lay not only in job losses in the central industry, but also in the impact on other local sources of employment in satellite industries. Approximately one third of the net loss in manufacturing industry since 1971 occurred in employment centred on shipbuilding. This process was brought to a conclusion in early 1989 with the closure of the Southwick and Pallion yards and loss of a further 2,200 jobs. The fortunes of the

shipbuilding industry have been discussed in detail in Roberts (1993). The response of

the state, particularly the ways in which the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation

(TWDC) was implicated in the closure of Sunderland's shipbuilding facilities are

identified by Byrne (1993).

Employers such as Leibherr have come to Sunderland to take advantage of shipyard

skills, but the jobs they bring are numbered in the low hundreds rather than thousands.

The purpose of this chapter is also to identify the impact of these changes which

reaches beyond the creation of unemployment. The impact of the industrial structure

on consciousness is also based on traditional relations of production (Cooke 1985). In

Sunderland this has affected work relations and worker autonomy and this is brought

to its logical conclusion in the decision by Nissan to bring its production to the city.

Modernised Manufacturing

Government intervention to attract firms to Sunderland was notable in the pre and

post war period, beginning with the first Trading Estate in 1938. A wide range of

manufacturing plants in electrical, electronic and clothing industries were attracted by

subsidies, bringing the large national and multinational companies who wished to site

branch operations in favourable areas. These branch plants have undergone mixed

fortunes, with Dewhirst the only one to substantially expand since 1973. The

company now employs a total of over 1,000 people in Sunderland.

It is the largest firms which have experienced the greatest decline. In 1975, 85% of

workers in manufacturing were employed in establishments of over 200 people. By

1983 only 68% were in larger firms while firms with fewer than 50 employees had

increased their share of employment from 4.5% to over 11%. The spatial shift to

Washington is marked in this sector with a decline in share from 79% to 56% (not including Nissan) of manufacturing employment from the old industrial centre (Stone 1993).

Some branch plants have grown or remained stable over the period but in the period 1973-85, 10,000 jobs were lost due to rationalisation in the branch plant sector (Stone et al 1985). Most recently the City council have sought to attract inward investment through, in particular, the development of two large sites at Rainton Bridge and Doxford Park. Doxford Park is service rather than manufacturing based, attracting companies such as London Electricity, Mercury and Camelot.

Employment in Sunderland, based on the 1991 census, marks a dramatic change upon its traditional industrial profile. Manufacturing employs 22,473 of which 15,819 are male full time and 5,589 are female full time jobs. Distribution, hotels and restaurants employs almost as many people (21,098) but of these only 7,040 for males and 4,157 for females are full time jobs. Public administration, education and health is the largest sector employing 25,357 people of whom 6,518 males and 10,031 female are full time.

The new industries, combined with the decline in traditional industries, have been instrumental in changing the gender structure of the workforce, although a significant number of women in Sunderland work or have worked in manufacturing industry. The growth in service employment has been responsible for a high proportion of the new jobs in the city.

The Service Sector

The service sector has been the only growth sector in Sunderland's economy. In 1993 Business and Public services employed the largest proportion of full and part time workers. The spatial shift can however be seen in this sector as well. Almost two thirds of the growth has occurred in Washington and if Washington is excluded, a very different picture emerges.

Employees by industry (%)

Industry	full time	part time	men	women	total
Primary	1.7	0.2	2.3	0.3	1.3
Manufacturing	29.6	4.2	32.7	13.3	23.0
Construction	6.4	0,8	9.2	0.8	5.0
Distribution and transport	21.1	41.7	24.1	28.8	26.5
Business and Public services	41.2	53.2	31.7	56.9	38.3
Total	71600	25400	48300	48800	97000

Source: Tyne and Wear Research and Intelligence Unit 1996

The table illustrates the distribution of work by sector in terms of gender, full and part-time employment. Partly because of the branch plant nature of much of the economy, the development of local services has been poor. Distribution and

miscellaneous services and Insurance, Banking and Financial have experienced a relatively high rate of growth in this sector since 1971 but this reflects a low base point and is an area in which technological developments have permitted growth without a corresponding increase in staff (Stone 1985).

Overall the 1993 Census of Employment (1996) demonstrates the trends. In the period 1991-3 there was a 1% decline in all employment with a 1% growth in manufacturing and 4% growth in service work. The largest single sector continues to be manufacturing employing 21,200 full time and 1,100 part time workers and these are predominantly male jobs. Women's work is concentrated in the distribution and public services, sectors with high levels of part time working. One major area of growth has been the growth in call centre employment, semi-skilled work which predominantly employs women.

These changes in the employment structure are the context in which young people enter the labour market. Our concern is to see how they construct the boundaries, however permeable, which shape people's lives. We have noted the growth in female employment and this has continued, accompanied by restructuring from full to part time work. Despite an overall decline in the number of jobs in the Wearside area there was an increase in the number of part time jobs.

These changes have given rise to a growth in poor, casual work which, because of the social definitions involved, is mainly women's work. The changes which are occurring militate against the mobilisation of collective interest and worker solidarity and may be crucial to the formation of collective consciousness. At the same time, as the women of Ikeda Hoover have shown, the response that people make to the change cannot be straightforwardly 'read off' from structural change (Stephenson 1996). This

research is concerned with the effects of this kind of change upon local culture. What is the effect of the move from traditional male worker with autonomy and breadwinner status to a casualised and flexible workforce in which skills become generalised and work is intensified?

Structural changes have effects in how people organise their lives, not only in the field of employment but also family and leisure time. Women are concentrated in particular sectors of the economy and in particular types of work. In analysing this concentration I have looked at women's work in the term of the concepts of the reserve army of labour, the dual labour market theory and the feminisation of certain work.

In order to develop the account we need to identify the action of the state in response to those changes and here we will see a marked divergence of view about the future of the city.

State Intervention

The role of the state, national and local, has been significant in forming a response to change. This is embodied in the City Council, Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, Training and Enterprise Council and City Challenge, each acting with rather different visions of the future of the Wearside economy.

In the current climate it is clear that the policy makers in the City Council are seeking to re-industrialise the economy by drawing on inward investment and diversifying the new manufacturing base. The local Authority has sought to facilitate this process by investing in modern industrial estates to attract new industry to the city.

At the same time there are the associated changes in civil society. Councillor Sidaway (leader of the City Council) pointed to qualitative changes which are brought about by the nature of incoming firms and recruitment which is regionally rather than locally based,

"I think the Japanese firms try to engender loyalty to the company but you haven't got the most important factor of everybody living together as there was in the pits and the shipyards."

The Local Authority expects to diversify the manufacturing base and replace lost employment through developments on the new trading estates. In contrast to this approach the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation is placing its resources behind a property led regeneration (Byrne 1989, Healey 1994, Robinson 1994) aiming to stimulate private investment through 'trickle down'.

Criticisms of the role of the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation focus on the lack of accountability and misdirected attempts at regenerating Wearside through the property market. It is one of a number of non-elected bodies acting in the local area. It aims to promote economic revival by removing heavy industries and, '...replacing these with locales and physical structures appropriate for a post-industrial economy' (Healey 1994 p21)). Byrne has characterised the role of the TWDC as, "...a kind of slum clearance exercise directed at traditional industry" (1994 p376).

The third major figure, the Training and Enterprise Council (TEC), was set up following the 1988 White Paper, 'Employment for the 1990's' to move the control of employment training into the hands of the business leaders in the locality and away

from the more corporatist style of the Manpower Services Commission. Peck (1993) describes how:

"... the task of the TECs was to bring about increased levels of private investment in training. Second the TEC's had a role to play in the subordination of the (public) plan to the (private) market."

Peck, 1994 p29

Unfortunately the TECs were launched at a time of recession when the high levels on unemployment left them no alternative but to concentrate on 'make work' schemes.

The other major public actor has been City Challenge. City Challenge brought £37.5 million to Sunderland by winning in competitive bidding against other deprived urban areas across the country. It covers an area north of the Wear and its siting in itself offers an insight into the quixotic nature of the processes concerned with urban regeneration. Councillor Sidaway told me that the site was chosen basically because it coincided with the proposed Housing Action Trust (HAT) which the people in the area had overwhelmingly rejected. Apparently the simple familiarity with the area that the administrators had developed in the proposals for the HAT biased their choice in favour of Sunderland North while other more deprived parts of the city, including Hendon, went without assistance.

The City Challenge brochure published in 1992 makes explicit the model of personal deficit with which they operate. They tell us that North Sunderland residents:

"...are the ones who endure the agonies of unemployment, separated by an 'invisible wall' of prejudice and inadequate education and skills from

the jobs that are waiting. The dispiriting and demotivating conditions so

characteristic of an inner city existence are their daily lot."

Sunderland City Challenge 1992 p4

Even were this statement not both patronising and politically obvious, it appears in

contradiction to the results of their own Business Survey (referred to in the same

document) in which crime, quality of the environment and availability of finance and

advice were identified as more important than concerns about the 'quality of current

and future workforce'. These considerations of intellectual coherence however are of

less importance than are the implications of the City Challenge model for the future of

the area's built form and the community's action:

"The significance of City Challenge is that it extends the concept of

catalytic planning from industrial land to areas which contain redundant

industrial populations."

Byrne 1993 p410

"...they represent a kind of deformed corporatism with organised labour

written out and a dependent community written in."

Byrne 1993 p411

The direction of change, compounded in the establishment of the Single Regeneration

Budget which will replace these agencies, is to move control from locally accountable

to non-accountable processes. It is occurring both through the industrial muscle of

large employers and through the action of the state identified here.

This brief survey of the activities of public bodies points us to the significance of beliefs about the character of a place and local solutions. The representations of people with which these organisations work, beliefs about solutions in terms of dealing with local deficits, acting in competition with other regions, or even parts of the city, all have their effect upon the nature of the deindustrialisation and reindustrialisation of the place.

To complete the understanding of place we need to make the connections between industrial change and its effect at the local level of neighbourhoods and communities. We can use the proposition that if capitalism dichotomises home and work for the wage labourer (Urry 1985) then the spatial relation of the home and social reproduction must be analysed to achieve an understanding of the relation between action and structure.

Spatial processes are fundamental to this research, as Shields has argued "... the spatial has an epistemic and ontological importance- it is part and parcel of our notions of reality, truth and causality" (1991 p7). We need to identify separate spatial levels of analysis and to delineate those processes, notably the interaction of forces of class and gender within the local.

The spatiality of global /local presents a useful frame for organising and understanding the local. This entails an examination of differentiation within places and recognition of aspects of the intersection of global, local, temporal and spatial processes. It requires that we consider the question of the extent and nature of Post-Fordist change and its uneven development (Cooke 1987, Peck 1993) and consequent changes in the relation of locality, region and state (Esser and Hirsch

1994 p76-78). We need to understand the processes by which the place is changing

and the point that, 'the actual expression of the consequences of global restructuring

in advanced capitalism is expressed not among places but within them.' (Byrne

1995b) We need to understand the meaning of global processes both in terms of

Sunderland and specifically within the locality.

I want to set up the frame for questioning the impact of class and gender upon local

neighbourhoods or communities, upon our understanding of citizenship in spatial

terms and upon the experiences of young people because these are concrete

expressions of the ways in which those processes interact. In the end we need to be

able to offer an answer to the question of how far one can elicit the effects of

globalisation and associated processes in the local civil society. To do that we must

also relate the cultural condition of modernity or post modernity to the experience of

people in local cultures.

It is acknowledged that people live their lives in relatively small social spaces, both

working and domestic. We need to relate this to the global, to the action of capital

according to the perceived characteristics of national economies and the local action

of employers based on similar imperatives in Sunderland. In order to avoid

rendering a capital logic account (Byrne 1984) this perspective will be considered

along with the social action of individuals and groups in the city and will be

centrally concerned with the issue of reflexivity. It will consider social relations in

Sunderland and the degree of integration of civil society into capitalist economy

(Urry 1981) most apparent in terms of housing tenure. It will consider the

proclaimed localism of its workforce in the past and the relevance of localism as a

strategy. It will recognise that while the force of global processes may be in one direction, their interaction with the local means that the outcome is particular.

In understanding the significance of the spatial we need to deal with the contested construction of the identities of place both at the level of the city and of neighbourhoods within the city as they affect people's images of themselves and of others. This involves the contribution of image-makers such as the City Council and City Challenge as well as the meaning of place constructed through the lived experience of residents within it.

We can relate to the debate about a modern/post-modern city and the ways in which this raises questions of identity. It is claimed that place identity is fragmented in post-modern society and we can examine this question in relation to Sunderland. This has particular value for the consideration of change in relation to youth. Can we discern the effects of post-modern industrial and economic change in the social identities of young people? Is the situation one in which all certainties have gone, not only economic but moral certainties replaced by relativism, or are young people still choosing the traditional moral values which some claim have been abandoned?

Global and Local

The starting point will be to consider the ways in which global changes have effect. This has begun with the discussion of the globalisation of economies and the recognition that this is not only an economic process. It is necessary to consider the effect globalisation may have in shaping civil society in the urban space.

Growth and Development

Sunderland's development arose by linking together many small villages in a process of industrialisation in the 19th century. This considerable growth in the population was drawn mainly from the surrounding areas but also substantially from Irish born immigrants. In Southwick for instance the 1851 census shows that 2/3 of the population were immigrants and 1 in 12 were Irish (Gibson 1996).

The population as a whole increased dramatically in the 19th century, a process which has not continued in this century when, despite the relatively young age structure, there have been actual periods of decline. Population growth has centred on Washington which has experienced a 21% increase while the area north of the river has shown the greatest decline, 10% in the period 1981 -1991. So the outmigration which has been marked throughout the century appears to have become more localised. At the same time other demographic changes which have been more generally experienced have had their effect upon the structure of residential areas. Age at first marriage appears close now to that of the 1921 census in which most people married in the 25-29 age group. Increases in cohabitation and divorce and reduced family size have all had an impact. The Unitary Development Plan 1992 reports that the greatest increase in households in the period 1981-1991 has been in single person households while lone parents are now heads of over 10% of households in the borough.

The high levels of migration away from the city throughout the century provide a context within which we can view change. If we refer back to Robson's (1969) description of Sunderland it would not be overstating the case to say that 'the

dwindling fat of its Victorian expansion' has been exhausted. While it is still evident in Sunderland's built form it is to the new service based developments such as those on the north of the river that our attention is now being directed to elicit signs of its future. Robson and Dennis writing about Sunderland in the 1960's documented how the city's shape and particular character was created in large measure by the importance of the river. We have recognised that this relationship no longer has such force but we must also understand how it has created the conditions under which current developments are occurring.

Today we can see, at the level of the city, the TEC reported unemployment at a rate of 14.1%, 19.2% male unemployment in August 1993. Coombes et al. (1993-4) show that in 1991 almost half of all Wearside men age 45-64 were unemployed. The labour market has been flexibilised with serious implications for people's living standards. The TEC (1993) reported that in 1991 over 28% of children in Sunderland lived in households where there was no full time worker. These are wider processes of change which have had their impact on Sunderland and my interest lies in the differential impact of change upon places within the city.

Representation and Reflexivity

In the interests of securing inward investment, the national and local state is concerned to 'talk up' Sunderland as a place. At the same time, that representation has been a source of conflict between them over the nature of regeneration. The well-documented movement of power away from democratic control (Robinson 1994), was evidenced recently in the conflict over land use of the Wearmouth

colliery site, itself a second choice for the football ground because of Nissan's objection to plans for a ground near Washington.

Major change is undeniably underway but the question remains as to whether this entails a shift from a modern to a post-modern condition. We can recognise processes of individuation and detraditionalisation (Lash and Urry 1995) but question whether, as they claim, through this process agency is set free from structure: "...it is structural change itself in modernisation that so to speak forces agency to take on powers that heretofore lay in social structure themselves" (Lash and Urry 1995 p5). I want to question through my empirical research whether agency and structure are separating or are rather changing in relation to each other. Lash and Urry argue that it is the structure of communications and no longer the social structure which provides the base for reflexive individuals and upon this they base their use of the terminology of flows. It is not however the need or desire to be reflexive which is new but rather the immediacy of the return of those representations upon the self. People have always been reflexive and we could argue that agency enters into structure as in the past. We can accept that this reflexivity is now being actively exploited by capital. The ability to communicate or provide information at a pace may change the ways in which that reflexivity operates but not its actual being. The reality of material conditions cannot be overwhelmed by the reality of representation.

Along with the material basis of change is a well-recognised struggle over representations of the place. Shields relates this in his consideration of marginal

places in which "... the stigma of their marginality becomes indistinguishable from any basic empirical identity they might once have had" (Shields 1991 p3).

I would argue that material conditions continually feed in to such representations and while the return may not be immediate, they will become part of the understanding of place. People are aware that they are marginalised and official attempts to pretend otherwise can not succeed. On the other hand, as we have seen, the ways in which City Challenge has represented the population of Sunderland North are remarkably patronising and pathological in their content. They rely on individualised explanations of unemployment which lay the responsibility squarely upon the shoulders of the unemployed.

This continues to be a tension in most accounts. The attempt to make sense of the action people take in the context of structural change frequently results in individualisation into explanation of personal deficits and cultural values.

> "It's important that all the kids in Sunderland recognise how vital it is for them to take advantage of this area, but its very difficult to get across to kids who've never had any ambition within their family to progress."

> Councillor Sidaway

If we accept the argument that, "the development of cultural marginality occurs only through a complex process of social activity and cultural work" (Shields 1991 p4), then the strategy adopted by the image makers not only seems likely to fail but, in its incarnation in City challenge, actually contributes to the representation of places and the people in them as marginal.

Global Change - Local Response

The process of globalisation acts in tandem with a process of localisation which, because the nation state can no longer comprehend the boundaries of action, becomes increasingly significant in determining meaning. This arises from capital's ability to separate its functions spatially (Lash and Urry 1989). The local however has little choice but to be reactive to central decisions having, 'responsibility without power' (Peck and Tickell 1995).

We can see the dangers inherent in the ways in which localities become 'hostile brothers', 'flinging themselves into the competitive process of attracting jobs and investment by bargaining away living standards and regulatory controls' (p280 - 281 Peck and Tickell 1995).

This process can be understood at different spatial levels (Bagguley 1990). One feature of this 'glocalisation' process is evidenced in class terms and the undermining of collective action, to which Fainstein, Gordon and Harloe refer:

> "The new much more fragmented working class, divided by ethnicity, gender and its location in smaller and /or non-unionised workplaces, has not been able to replace the organisation which previously existed. It has largely failed to gain entry to the institutionalised political structure, thus increasing the hegemonic role of business and the better paid sections of the population in policy-making."

> Fainstein, Gordon and Harloe 1992 p249

At the same time the struggle of local social movements to increase the attractiveness to capital in competition with other urban areas results in undermining their class basis (Lash and Urry 1989). They are designed not to abolish but to increase the capitalisation of the economy while the attempts to prevent deindustrialisation result in the area becoming a repository for secondary labour. This has been embraced by TEC, TWDC and in some cases by the City Council, most obviously in the inducements to Nissan.

The relevance of this lies in the link between modes of accumulation and cultural condition particularly, the contested condition of post-modernity or the crisis of modernity (Harvey 1989).

Culture

The relation which is being proposed between global and local, action and structure is founded in an understanding of the local 'sedimentation' (Massey 1984 p26) of action and practices in the past which have an impact on the ways in which people act in the present. This is a useful perspective, with the reservation that it is too concrete as a metaphor, failing to account for the ways in which we reconstruct the past in present representations (Bagguley 1990).

In a conception that echoes the pre-conscious in habitus Cohen tells us:

> "... people know their way of doing things; they know a customary mode of thought and performance. They do not necessarily value it because it is traditional, but because it suits them. It developed, after all, to meet their own requirements and conditions, and, if those

requirements and conditions remain, theirs is the most practical means of doing whatever is required...."

Cohen 1985 p5

In Sunderland those requirements and conditions are changing and it is the central task of this research to discern the effects of those changes in people's lives, in their families, their communities and in their work. This reflects not only on their households but also the dominant expectations of their culture.

I have used the notion of culture to gain access to,

"...an account of how people experience and express their differences from others, and of how their sense of difference becomes incorporated into and informs the nature of their social organisation and process."

Cohen 1982 p2

This is important in that while cultures may arise from and change in response to material conditions, it is also clear that cultural expectations are implicated in the form which that response takes. The logic of this is well recognised in industry and was at least partly responsible for Nissan's choice of Sunderland as an ideal place for its European car industry precisely because there was no tradition of car assembly in the place (Garrahan 1986).

Here we are concerned with the reflexivity of neighbourhood or community because, "neighbourhood characteristics may be (both) an index to the self image of the individual", and "the neighbourhood itself might be a factor in the kinds of

pressures which are brought to bear..." (Robson 1969 p220). Robson related this to the effects of neighbourhood on attitudes to education, while more recently the significance of neighbourhood in labour market orientation has been noted (Furlong, Biggart and Cartmel 1996). I will be attempting to identify the process in terms of gender and class relations across a number of spheres. It is clear from my research that apparently similar groups in terms of class and housing tenure nevertheless exhibit differences which relate to previous ways of doing things in work and the domestic sphere.

In that case we must consider, if a process of polarisation is occurring, whether we may also see a process of cultural polarisation in the future. This is not to argue that there is an underclass but rather is an attempt to look at the process of marginalisation, to recognise the different behaviours appertaining according to class and to gender, and to learn how far they are changing. It is not however a unidirectional change in which cultural condition mirrors material condition because complexity means that outcomes may be quite different. While the process of polarisation leads, for instance, to changes in the material conditions of households, the relative position of women within households may be becoming more equal. Identities, which are most fundamentally created by collective material experience, are also acted upon by images and representations from the media and the world beyond.

Community

Community is a notion which embodies both action and structure. I have suggested that globalisation and the consequent deindustrialisation of Sunderland is bringing

polarisation in neighbourhoods. If that is the case then we need to learn what is the

cultural change which results. Here we see the significance of differences *within* a

place (Byrne 1995c) in understanding how change has an impact on a community or

a neighbourhood. In my earlier research I found that while one can describe a

locality and proffer some real spatial boundaries, people do not necessarily

experience those boundaries in the same way.

Gender and class stratify experience but this does not deny its reality. This may

seem an obvious point but it is an important one and I think is the basis of my

disagreement with Day and Murdoch (1993) whose research into a rural locality in

Wales led them to conclude that no meaningful spatial boundary could be identified.

"We prefer to see the local situation as one in which actors operate

within a variety of particular social, political and economic networks

across a variety of spatial scales. It is where they meet - in particular

social practices and institutional sites - that the processes of interaction

give rise to specific notions of community and locality." (p109)

While I accept that it would be wrong to reify the concept I think that Day and

Murdoch have gone too far and dispensed with any real notion of locality at all. It is

because people experience it in their gender, their class and their race that locality

has meaning but that it has different meanings for the actors involved.

I have used the notion of localism, relating to two opposing philosophies of

individualism and communalism, to refer to the particular form which this interaction

takes and specifically as a response to the structural factors outlined in this chapter.

The idea originates with Jenkins (1983) but I found in my earlier study that it was

necessary to qualify it to use it in relation to my actors. Individualism is hegemonic but, because some people's experience tells them that life is not entirely what you make it, its application in practice must be qualified. It is a positive and supportive perspective for those who do well and can claim their achievements as a reward for merit and hard work. For young people who don't 'make it' however, it confirms their personal failings (Roberts and Parsell 1992).

If we are to understand both the meaning of locality and to talk about community as a significant actor's concept, we need to understand how people define the boundaries of their communities. We need to understand how people "use what they know or believe they know about other areas to judge the quality of their social relationships" (Day and Murdoch 1993). It is an important referent in people's lives and is the experiential base of their judgements about the wider world because, "As they come to terms with the broader structural change, people judge what is occurring in terms of its impact on 'their' community." (ibid. p108)

Social Areas

The choice of a cluster analysis as the basis for the sample was useful in several ways in supporting the research aims. It identified 'natural areas' (1969) or at least areas which have some meaning in real terms and not just an existence as part of a research design.

My cluster analysis provided study areas which conformed to Shevky and Bell's observation that,

"... the social area generally contains persons having the same level of living, the same way of life and the same ethnic background."

They go on to venture,

"... we hypothesise that persons living in a particular type of social area would systematically differ with respect to characteristic attitudes and behaviour from persons living in another type of social area."

quoted in Robson 1969 p48

These are areas of middle class occupation as well as of past working class respectable/rough divide. In these latter areas the economic conditions of the rough are being generalised into places which have always been 'respectable'. At present we could argue, with Firey, that symbolic attachments and associations of sentiment could outweigh ecological forces to make areas retain their higher status (Firey, in Robson 1969 p18). The question is how long can that situation hold if the divide continues to deepen?

We can identify relatively homogenous social areas based on the household level but these cannot be automatically termed communities. Community is a difficult concept to pin down and is at least equally elusive at the empirical level. It is a contested concept and needs to be considered over time as well as place, but it is a powerful idea in people's minds and therefore has to be dealt with here.

We can find a level of consensus about what community is in people's accounts and we will examine these in the final part of the Thesis. I want to use information gained from ward profiles and local and oral histories to characterise the meaning of

places and communities. This provides a context for examining the images people

hold of their own and of other areas and their understandings of change. It is

important because of our understanding of reflexivity and its impact in peoples lives

in terms, for instance, of their experience of citizenship.

It is founded in the notion that identity is importantly formed in relation to the self,

the local and the characterisation of 'otherness', that we know ourselves by

identifying both who we are and who we are not. The objective validity of such a

characterisation is far less important than the beliefs we hold as reference points

about our culture, the 'myths we live by' (Samuel and Thompson, 1994). While it

could be argued that a discussion of change must depend upon a thoroughgoing

knowledge of conditions and life experience in the 'stable world' of the past which I

have referred to, it is also clear that people's subjective understanding of that change

affects their orientation in the present. I intend to gain access to some of those

meanings by outlining representations of communities in Sunderland as a basis for

the discussion of the fieldwork material.

The historical development of land use has divided the place into natural areas

which Robson identified in 1969 and which remain recognisable today. My research

is based in several areas within the city which represent particular types of historical

development and possibly also of community. These centre on the two main study

areas.

- Hendon: an older inner city ward which contains the three cluster
  levels.

- Sunderland North: outer urban areas in which old and new are found, all types of housing stock and all cluster levels are represented but in larger geographical form than in Hendon. These are the areas of Fulwell, Roker, Marley Potts, Southwick, Carley Hill and Redhouse.

I am interested in both the objective economic conditions pertaining to these areas and the ways in which they are subjectively experienced. I want to look at whether we can identify differences, as Robson does in relation to attitudes to education, by area. Robson argued that neighbourhood characteristics are both an indicator for the self-image of residents and reflexively create that image, particularly for working class communities with their geographical base.

Here I want to draw together the themes I have identified as impinging on civil society as a way of understanding changes in a place. I will use local histories relating to these urban areas to try to establish something about the nature and representation of the place. This may be an over ambitious project given the fact that beyond available statistical documentation I am trying to gain access to a sense of the place and its meaning for its inhabitants. It is a project which will be developed in the reflection on the contributions of my respondents, but here I want to point to representations of the place which I think are important in creating as well as reflecting attitudes. I am not seeking to offer 'accurate' portraits but I think it is useful to relate to some of the ways in which places are understood through oral histories, newspaper articles as well as through the official Local Authority accounts.

First I want to deal with the way in which Sunderland has traditionally been seen as divided and the question of whether we can identify communities and wherein they arise. This notion has currency today and its erosion through the closure of traditional industry has been identified with the erosion of collective consciousness (Roberts 1993). One aspect of the division into communities was that Sunderland has been lived in as a series of villages rather than as a single entity, here reflected in oral history,

> "In a way Sunderland is still a series of small villages, and people are moving away to find work. Castletown was a village, Southwick was a village. A lot of old people still remember before it came into the borough in 1928."

> Ward and Napthine (eds) 1993 p15

This view has an impact on the way in which policy is formed,

> "What we've got to do now is to ensure that those local identities are kept... and the values that they had are kept, but we've also got to get them to recognise that they're part of the City of Sunderland - it's very difficult. After twenty years I think we're beginning to see an identity of Sunderland emerge."

> Councillor Sidaway

The localism of Sunderland people is an image which contributes to the notion of an occupational community but is a strategy which exists beyond those communities. It exists in odd relief against the acknowledged outmigration referred to earlier.

Localism does not arise out of nothing, it comes from people's adaptation to conditions and expectations in work. It has to be examined in this research not only as an attitude embedded in a population and therefore having structural force, but also as a strategy or an understanding upon which strategy is based.

Planning in Sunderland has adhered to this understanding with housing built on "the neighbourhood unit principle", emphasising the 'good neighbourliness' which characterises the place, "Sunderland claims to have more (community) associations in proportion to its population than any other town or city" (1960 Official Guide and Industrial Review). The council made a sustained effort to reduce the problems of overcrowding by building large housing estates on the periphery. This movement was accompanied in the post war period by a similar movement in private housing although Robson noted in the early 60's a counter movement and redevelopment of the inner city with some high rise building in Hendon (Robson 1969 p97). As with industry there has been considerable private development of the places on the periphery. The Unitary Development Plan (UDP) 1992 showed 60% of new housing was being built in Washington.

I have discussed the extent to which Sunderland continued to be a two-industry town for the first half of the 20th century. The main industry and settlements necessarily were river based and subsequently spread out to the west as the town grew. Some of the dense inner urban communities have been cleared out to the outer estates (see Roberts 1993) but others remain and this is recognised by people in the town.

This brings us to Urry's (1981) classification of places, the extent to which relations in civil society mirror wider capitalist relations and the action of the state since 1979

to achieve that integration. In Sunderland the structure of the city has been determined in opposition or at least as an amelioration to relations in capitalist society. Older housing stock was frequently built by employers for their workforce. The subsequent council house-building programme was a proud achievement whose purpose was not just to provide residual housing for the poor but rather a good standard of accommodation for all who required it. This situation has changed markedly in ten years as we can see from ward-level census information. Councillor Sidaway told me that while the council no longer builds housing it has sold 13000 houses with another 8000 in the pipeline under the Right to Buy legislation.

The outer estates, established in the inter- and post war period, have their own distinctive social mix and character and therefore representation within the town. They were an attempt to counteract the very poor and overcrowded housing which was common to the inner areas but they had their effects on communities (Roberts 1993). Length of residence may be significant in the re-establishment of communities on the new estates (Robson, 1969) and this has been borne out in community studies conducted elsewhere (Willmott 1963, Roberts I. 1996).

Some of this can be ascertained through city council information and knowledge of the hard to let estates. Much of it is the stuff of my research findings. I am interested however not only in looking at the poor but also in looking at the ways in which people are orienting themselves to change across the social classes. For that reason I am looking at areas with widely differing social and economic conditions. The purpose, following Robson, is to move away from an emphasis on the city as a whole in understanding place.

The Study Areas

The occupational composition of areas can be illustrated by reference to occupational class profile.

Economically Active residents x social class

Social class	1		2		3 non manual		3 manual		4		5	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
Fulwell	3	3.8	24.7	27	32.2	27.4	24.9	22.3	9.7	11.3	3.4	3.8
Castletown	0.7	1.8	5.7	10.2	13.3	18.6	40.5	24.9	22.4	23.1	12.9	8.9
Colliery	1.6	2.0	11.8	14.0	20.0	24.3	30.0	19.0	21.6	17.0	8.0	11.0
St. Peters	2.4	2.4	22.6	22.9	23.9	21.4	29.5	23.6	12.2	17.1	5.6	5.0
Southwick	0.8	1.9	7.2	8.5	16.2	18.1	32.7	25.4	22.1	21.9	12.8	9.2
Hendon	1.8	4.2	16.2	21.8	21.6	21	28.1	20.8	14.4	13.2	9.2	6.7
City	1.9	2.5	14.0	18.8	20.5	22.1	30.4	23.1	18.8	16.9	8.4	7.3
Tyne and Wear	2.6	3.6	16.2	20.9	22.5	22.4	28.8	22.0	18.9	16.1	9.2	7.6
Great Britain *	3.7	4.5	20.8	26.3	22.0	22.0	24.5	20.5	18.1	15.3	6.4	5.9

Source: *extract from % sample of economically active residents by social class. City of Sunderland Crown Copyright*

This table shows both the social class composition of the study areas over time and in comparison with the city, with Tyne and Wear and the country as a whole. If we look at Fulwell, the most affluent ward, we can see that it has higher membership of

occupational classes one and particularly two than the city and Tyne and Wear. Although occupational class 1 membership does not quite reach the levels of Britain as a whole, membership of class two exceeds it. Here however we can see a gap narrowing over the ten year period. Hendon on the other hand has seen a growth in its class 1 and 2 membership which might suggest a process of gentrification over the last ten years.

Within the city we can see clear differences between the wards Fulwell with a profile strongly centred on classes 2,3 non manual and 3 manual, Castletown's involvement in skilled manual work shows a marked decline from 40.5 to 24.9% over the period compared with Fulwell where the skilled manual proportion has declined by only 2%. Increases are generally in social class 3 non manual in Castletown, Colliery and Southwick while the trend has been in the other direction in Fulwell, St. Peters and to a lesser degree Hendon. These changes are all consistent with the picture we have drawn of the change in the employment structure of the city but here we see its differential impact upon different localities and some evidence of polarisation occurring.

We can turn to census information and to some oral histories to gain access to the meaning of places. Clearly the latter can only offer only a very partial account but I think they provide some insight into meaning which I have not found accessible from any other recorded source.

Castletown

In Castletown, originally mining village, the population of the ward has shown a decline from 12,850 to 10,039 over the period 1971-1991. This is a decline which is general throughout the areas I have studied and occurs against the background of an increase in population for the city as a whole, reflecting the spatial shift to Washington referred to earlier. This ward comprises three very distinct parts, the old village, Hylton Castle estate and the southern part of Town End Farm estate. The age structure in Castletown ward is older than other parts of the borough and the elderly are mainly centred in the old village with young families predominating in Town End Farm. A major shift in housing tenure has also taken place over the period 1981-1991. Local Authority housing reduced from 89.5% in 1981 to 58% in 1991 with by far the greatest proportion of the increase in owner-occupation being accounted for in council house sales. The working population of the ward was mainly manual skilled and semi-skilled, largely in manufacturing, but with a high proportion of mining families in the old village. Rates of unemployment in 1991 were 23.6% of economically active males and 13.4% of economically active females. The staying on rate of 17% was the lowest in all of the areas under study. Castletown has high proportions of single parents, single pensioners and large families and in this respect is like Southwick where the elderly population is lower but single parents and large families are the highest in the study area.

Colliery

Colliery ward borders on Castletown and shows a similar decline in population in the period 1971-1991. This is a more varied ward in terms of tenure and social

conditions. It has an even mix of public and private housing and areas of professional and managerial workers as well as some of the poorest parts of the city. In 1983 the male unemployment rate varied from very low in the affluent Newcastle road area to over 50% in 'The Squares' identified as an area with 'multiple problems' (1983 Ward Profile). 1991 census information collated for City Challenge shows that in the Southwick/Colliery part of the ward 30.6% of all children age 0-15 are being brought up in lone parent households. 10.5% of households comprises a lone adult with children

Male unemployment for the ward as a whole in 1991 stood at 22.4% while smaller area statistics gathered for City Challenge show male unemployment in the Southwick/Colliery area at 30.9% with a further 5.3% on government schemes. Although there is no recent information available for the Squares alone it seems reasonable to assume that they have followed this rising trend.

Here we find evidence of the process of polarisation and pockets of severe deprivation, which have been characterised in terms of underclass. As we shall see from the fieldwork accounts, outsiders regard this in behavioural as well as material terms. The representation of the area as one of multiple problems gives us some indication of the basis for identity formed reflexively within the city.

Southwick

Southwick ward is one of the poorest parts of the borough and like the others it has shown a decline in population. Again it contains a number of distinct areas. Old Southwick lies at the south of the ward and contains mixed housing tenures, types

and living conditions. The northern part of the ward comprises council housing estates, Marley Potts, The Squares, Witherwack and part of Redhouse. These estates are characterised very differently by the people who live there based on the rough/respectable divide. Overall it continues to have a relatively young age structure partly because the largest part of the Squares with its housing for larger families is sited here. The average size of household was three times that of the borough as a whole while the proportion of single parents is twice the Borough average. The 1983 profile reported that employment was mainly manual with the proportion with no skills standing at twice the average for the city. The divide is clear when we examine the City Challenge census figures for unemployment which show male unemployment at 34.6% in Marley Potts, 30.1% in Carley Hill and 21.5% in Redhouse. An interesting feature of these statistics is that of female unemployment which has rather a different shape, standing at 19.9%, 24.9% and 11.1% respectively. Carley Hill stands out as an area of particularly high female unemployment proportional to the male rate. This raises questions about the nature of women's work strategies in different areas and whether unemployment levels reflect higher rates of economic activity among women of the area and therefore less hidden unemployment. A further indicator of difference is evident in the lone parent figures. In Marley Potts 30.6% of households with children below the age of 15 are lone parents. The figure for Carley Hill is 29.4% compared with 15.5% in Redhouse, (City Challenge area-1991 census indicators).

The ward as a whole has a high level of Social Services intervention, predominantly work with children and families. In 1983 the ward is described as having a high

level of vandalism and juvenile crime, gas and electricity supply cut-offs and environmentally, of derelict, neglected and vacant sites.

Historically Southwick has been regarded as 'rough' as oral histories and official reports testify;

> "I'm sorry to say I was born in Southwick. I'm a Suddick lad, I speak a Suddick language which is altogether different...Shops in Southwick were very cheap, second grade fruit and everything."

<div align="right">Ward and Napthine (eds) 1993 p16</div>

St. Peters

St. Peters ward is a relatively affluent ward as a whole but is again divided with high unemployment in the council area to the south, accompanied by problems of vandalism, juvenile crime and some difficult to let areas, particularly Barclay Court with chronic problems of dampness and condensation.

Over half of the housing in St. Peters is pre 1914 and a further 20% was built in the inter-war years. Housing is predominantly privately owned accounting for 80.3% in 1991. The division of areas within the ward was illustrated in the 1983 profile by the fact that while 5% of children have free school meals at Redby school this rises to 41% at Dame Dorothy school.

Fulwell

In contrast to the above the final area of interest tin the north of Sunderland is the Fulwell ward which is a residential suburb almost entirely owner occupied housing. Family size tends to be small and the age population is characteristically middle aged or elderly.

Like the other wards in this study its population is in decline. Unemployment is low at 9% for males and 4.4% for females and there are high levels of academic and vocational qualifications. Almost 33% of housing is pre 1914 but this is owner occupied and in good condition. It has the lowest take up of school meals in the Borough and only 1% of children receive free school meals compared with 33% in Southwick. It has not surprisingly the second largest suburban shopping centre in the borough.

Fulwell has always been a relatively affluent ward and the effect of this can be seen again in accounts of its history, here from a resident who moved into Fulwell between the wars;

> "When we moved in to our new house there was a bit of opposition. In
> those days, the new houses in Fulwell area were mainly for white collar
> workers...At least two people had the (shall we say) decency to come
> and tell us what they thought... 'This place was intended for professional
> people not for workers'."

Ward and Napthine (eds) 1993 p35

This account suggests that the period of continuity between places was peculiar to the post war years and the divide we now recognise is a reassertion of an older style.

Hendon

To the South of the river lies the inner city ward of Hendon which contains 'some of the best and some of the worst housing conditions in the borough' (1983 Ward Profile). The 1983 profile described the distinct areas within the ward. Ashbrooke had the lowest unemployment rate in the borough while in areas such as Hastings Terrace over 40% of men were out of work.

The profile tells us that 'while people in Ashbrooke, Stratford Avenue and St. Aidans areas are well qualified with a very high proportion of professional and managerial posts the older 'stable areas of Hendon have a skilled manual or junior/intermediate non- manual occupations. To a large extent the occupational structure reflects the type of industry available on the adjoining industrial estates.'

Those areas having high unemployment rates, i.e. North Hendon, Hastings Terrace, also have, 'concentrations of workers with little in the way of skills or qualifications' 1983 Ward Profile.

The image Hendon retains is grounded in its history as a densely populated, poor urban area:

"Families were generally composed of six to eight people, but there were instances of twelves and fourteens. We all shared one outdoor

communal tap, toilet and wash-house. And contrary to what people say

these days, back doors were always secured to stop people using them as

thorough-fares. Your coal had a good chance of disappearing if the back

door and the coal house was left open!"

Bell C.T. 1985 p4

This brief account has sought to provide a picture of the areas under study. It is an

attempt to establish an understanding of the internal differentiation within

Sunderland. Here the picture is drawn from official local state accounts and

necessarily informs both the public perception and the policy context. So it is related

to and enters into, but remains a partial account of a place. I have tried, in addition,

to develop that account by reporting some of the representations of places which are

drawn from published local and oral histories because I think that casts some light

on image and identity creation. The picture will be completed in relating those

perceptions to young people's experience of place today.

Polarisation

We have argued that cultural work goes into marginal status (Shields 1991) and this

leads to Cohen's use of peripherality to recognise the discreteness of local

experience and a local identity which becomes increasingly important when under

attack. Areas such as Upper and Lower Redhouse, as we shall see, are similarly

peripheral in economic terms but for the moment at least they retain cultural

distinctiveness.

Roberts (1993) argues that the post war dispersal of shipyard workers to the large outer council housing estates, "made the maintenance of occupational identity as the master status, and the specific moral density of the locale problematic" (1993 p83). This account is productionist in its origin, but offers an insight through which we can approach the question of community from the direction of the actor. It was a process which occurred in Sunderland against a background of stable male employment at a time when, on the whole, gender relations were constructed on the basis of the reliance on the 'family wage'. Today the loss of experience of stable, central employment in some areas contrasts vividly with the security and relative affluence in others. It implies there has been a break in an experience of difference which had been constructed as a continuum (Byrne 1995a), and the appearance of a new system based upon widely divergent experience and lifestyle. One consequence of this is ghettoisation of the poor and the disorganised working class (Byrne 1995a). What we are seeing for young people today is a return to the employment experience of their grandparents generation in which the Fordism of the mid 20th century appears rather as an interruption in the general process of capitalist exploitation.

I have argued that a changing employment relationship which has impoverished men's work and all but removed the family wage may, on the other hand, have some effect in making power relations in the domestic division more equal. The ways in which these changes work out within households will inevitably affect and be affected by the ways in which they turn out in neighbourhoods.

The significance of this is articulated in Marcuse's view of neighbourhood, quoted in Chapter 2. If neighbourhoods are changing and a process of polarisation is underway

then this will clearly have implications for identity both held within and conferred from outside.

It would seem reasonable to argue for example that, in areas where unemployment is very high, work relations may become less significant in forming consciousness and neighbourhood correspondingly more so. Sunderland's employment profile has changed radically in a very short time. This has created a process of polarisation into work rich and work poor areas which will continue to have important consequences for changes in class and gender relations. We can see clear divisions along the lines of gender and of class and these are given particular shape in their combination in particular areas. The implications of this combination for people's identity, their experience of citizenship and their relation to the city are areas for this thesis to address. Again we can relate this to the importance of citizenship as a spatial concept because it enters into every facet of people's social being.

Citizenship

In order to understand the role of place in citizenship we must explore the ways in which the city's built form affects the nature of social interaction. The quality of citizenship is limited by the inability to occupy public places as women know well. It is also limited or enhanced by the characterisation of the places people identify with and belong to (Kearns 1995).

We need to look at the ways in which citizenship is spatially constructed through local actors as well as through the operations of the state and the economy (Marston,

1995). In addition, people are not one-dimensional beings operating in a single space but rather have several significant horizons to their action.

Citizenship exists at different levels. The process of globalisation means that we can no longer identify its provenance solely within the boundaries of the national state. It involves ideas of both rights and obligations which are perceived as legitimate, exist at formal and informal levels and define the relationship between individuals, families, civil society and the state. This is the basis of our claim to the importance of action and of the spatial to concepts of citizenship.

Citizenship implicitly involves notions of participation. We can examine this in the political sphere, membership of political parties, trade unions or other collective organisations. There is further the participation in the community, which we are encouraged to believe will be enhanced through the moves toward local governance, although it is interesting to consider how far removed from young people's involvement such notions of active citizenship are (Callaghan 1995).

Long term unemployment severely limits the citizenship rights of a substantial minority for whom the traditional ties of industrial society are gone. The disconnection of those ties in a deindustrialised city like Sunderland may have more profound consequences for young people's transitions into an adult world. These are complex relationships and the interaction of various facets of disadvantage is responsible for the disconnections that occur.

The significance of area in forming consciousness then, needs to be recognised, the expression of processes of class and gender in historical interaction. Differences are expressed between areas within the city and identification with area is very important.

"The history of places, the quality of the socio- spatial environment, the configuration of neighbourhoods and the sense of place attachment all influence the citizens ability and willingness to contribute to local collective endeavours."

Kearns 1995 pp156-157

The significance of the impact of locality is in the ways in which young people's different experiences of their local area, their class and their gender lead to different identifications. This is crucial to understanding the processes of change which have had different effects in people's lives across Sunderland. I have used the concept of localism to focus on the action of young people in relation to their place, their decisions about their future, their working and their family lives. This is not a concept which relates to limited local horizons in the sense that young people failed to appreciate the processes of globalisation which brought Japanese style manufacturing to their town. Its usefulness in this research lies in the ways in which it can inform the very varied decisions they made in response to these changes.

The focus on citizenship in relation to place has led to a concentration on divisions around the margins of citizenship. It relates to Robson's argument (1969) that middle class people do not form identities based in area.

I want to examine whether a process of polarisation within the city is deepening divisions and the effects that this might have on people's experience and their reflexive understanding of their place. This is important because it is crosscut by the resistance at a cultural level which relates to the rough/respectable divide.

This is most clearly relevant to a discussion of social citizenship which focuses upon the problems of 'labelling' and is concretely obvious in the interview material with people from Hendon and Southwick. It is a form of reification in which people are commonly involved and provides the basis for their understanding of places and communities.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to develop an explanation of a place. It aims to provide a basis for the analysis of actors' views of their world in relation to their work or unemployment, their family and their community and to examine the ways in which each enters into the other in constituting that world. It is an attempt to set the perspectives on community within the wider framework of industrial, social and cultural change. The chapter has sought to identify the ways in which restructuring can reach into experience at the local level, changing people's expectations and therefore, potentially, their action in creating and recreating their world. I have tried, in addition, to show how images and understandings of place affect action at the level of the local state.

The organising concept for this account is spatial. It is not simply, as Cooke points out, that the city is the stage upon which actors play out their lives, but rather that it is one element in the interaction of numerous forces. I have seen locality as a valuable concept because it links, "uniqueness of place, uneven development, local social movements, regional classes and local civil society"(Cooke 1989a p3). It has the further advantage of offering a concrete setting in terms of which we can begin to understand how the processes described above actually operate.

Most accounts of locality have come from the perspective of structure and have therefore been unable to adequately explain action (Cochrane 1987). Bagguley et. al. (1990) have rendered an account of locality which, although valuable in suggesting the 'generating mechanisms' which produce a particular locality effect, have nevertheless concentrated on actors chosen because of their relation to structure, their 'key informant' status.

My starting point is rather different. It is based on the understanding that the project of sociological explanation is to show, " ...how the actions of the people involved were the actions of conscious human beings reacting to an environment, trying to make sense of it and pursuing goals with more or less success" (Marsh 1982 p98). In that case we need to understand both environment and how people relate to it and hence the concern with issues of locality and of localism as an actors orientation to their world.

In this chapter I have been seeking to establish an understanding based on a number of issues which I have identified as significant in developing an account of a place. I have related the changing industrial structure and its effects both materially and in reflexively in creating social areas, neighbourhoods and communities. I have argued that we can see processes of class affected by the action of the state, the sometimes-contradictory effects of class and gender in particular settings. I have related to citizenship as an arena for conceptualising the operation of these forces. I have sought to develop an account which implies not only the disintegrating capacities of crisis but also the possibilities for reorientation and reintegration (O'Connor 1983). The young people I talked to live in this world and they have their own views about

its meanings. The remainder of the thesis will be devoted to exploring those accounts to reflect upon the discussions which have been held in these early chapters.

Part II

Chapter 5   The Findings: an Introduction

The main purpose of the following chapters will be to present the evidence I have gathered. The processes I have identified are complex and interactive and require the consideration of people's lives as a whole rather than as discrete sets of events. In the following chapters I will assemble a picture of young people's lives in their work, their family and in civil society. I am seeking to recognise that there are structures which create the patterns of people's lives in aggregate, but that there are also actions which individuals take in relation to those structures which make overly deterministic accounts unhelpful.

The nature and timing of the research has allowed me to compare aspects of lifecycle and of structural change within and between the samples in Hendon and in Sunderland North.

In the Hendon sample I met people who were eighteen at a time when the shipyards were closing and, while the fate of the pits was not then known, the general sense that the traditional industrial base was disappearing was widespread. I met these people again five years later. They had entered the labour market at a particular time and I learned about both the 'outcomes' of their transition into adulthood and of making those transitions during that time of crisis. This allows me to draw some conclusions about both point in the lifecycle and the effect of development and change.

At the same time as I was interviewing these young people for the second time I was meeting a second group of eighteen year olds who were entering the labour market when the connection with the industrial past was gone. While they still held those models as alternative futures there was no sense in which such futures would be open

to them. Here I consequently had access to comparative information about point in the lifecycle and, again, a point in time.

This is the context for understanding the interviews held with both groups. I will analyse the material in terms of comparing the Hendon samples over time and the first Hendon sample with the group from Sunderland North. This will enable me to distinguish between consciousness created by factors of individual lifecycle and that which is created by social change. Before presenting these findings however I want to identify some of the ways in which I have approached gathering this information. This is important in interpreting the following chapters.

The Samples

The interview samples were drawn on the basis of a three level cluster analysis of Sunderland Census data performed by Dr. David Byrne. This analysis sorts enumeration districts into areas of similar social and economic standing based on a set of indicators drawn from the census. Characteristic features of locality were based on 32 indicators from the census data and divided areas according to factors such as occupational class distribution, size of household, housing tenure, car ownership, economically active, employed and unemployed populations.

I chose the three-cluster level because there was a sense in which this fitted existing models of the social world and corresponded to real divisions which people commonly draw. This analysis, in 1987, yielded one local authority ward containing all three clusters in the centre of the city and this was the base for the first research sample. These areas are described in the thesis as affluent, intermediate and poor localities and people were selected, in their eighteenth year, from the electoral

register for the local authority ward. I interviewed forty young adults from Hendon in 1987 for my Masters Degree, dividing the groups evenly by gender and as sub-samples of 14, 14 and 12 from each of the three localities. This followed the general divisions within the area, with the poor locality containing the smallest group of eighteen-year-olds. In 1992 I attempted to follow up all of these people with a second interview. The purpose was to relate the experiences and expectations described in the earlier interviews to outcomes at the age of twenty-three and twenty-four and to learn what new expectations subsequent experience had given rise.

I have attempted to model the experiences of young people in their class, point in the lifecycle, gender and their place, but the nature of my sample (and of Sunderland itself) means that an understanding of ethnicity has to be left out. As I have argued elsewhere, the fact that these effects are not additive means that the simple insertion of theories about race and ethnicity will not suffice. The purpose of this thesis is to understand the *interaction* of forces and to achieve that through the reflexivity of theory and empirical research.

In the second piece of research I contacted young people in the North Sunderland area and following a similar procedure to the one described above, I drew 14 people from each locality, divided equally in terms of gender. The process was the same although the cluster levels were geographically more spread as one might expect in a peripheral area.

In this way the sample was structured to reflect upon lifestage, social class and gender. It was not designed to provide a representative sample of young people in

Sunderland but rather to gain access to lifestyles, to learn how far experiences and choices were structured and how far those structures were accessible to the active choices people make.

The Interview

The theoretical and practical knowledge I had of these divisions was based, in some ways, in Bourdieu's 'participants knowledge', although as Jerkins points out such knowledge is subject to the divides of ethnicity, class and gender (Jenkins 1992 p52).

The purpose of my research has been to look at those divisions and to draw upon difference to identify their effects. The research is based upon interviewing and I want first to relate to the argument that this is not a valid way of knowing.

Bourdieu has argued that we cannot rely on asking people because people present justifications for their behaviour so that actual action and motivation are obscured (Bourdieu 1977). While undoubtedly people do justify their action, I would contend that this presentation is the subject matter of the enquiry quite as much as the content of justification. It is akin to Eder's (1993) point that the sociologist must seek to examine the ways in which society explains phenomena and processes to itself. People give different kinds of justification which rely on different sets of beliefs about the 'proper' way to behave and they relate to a set of dominant views, local culture and the particular dictates of the situation in which they find themselves. This is not rule following behaviour, it is clearly strategic, but it recognises the dominant view and action with reference to it is affected by the

circumstances of the time. The argument that people justify their behaviour is also based on the view that there is only one justification available. That which goes unsaid, the assumptions which are part of the habitus are the subject of enquiry and it is these elements which are laid bare through understanding people's accounts. The point is that as Catherine Marsh (1982) points out, people do know a lot about why they do things, they are reflexive about their world, they subject their own experiences and motivations to examination. It is also through the comparison of different styles and experiences that we can gain access both to the ways in which people articulate things for themselves, and to those elements which are pre-conscious and tacit.

This research is an attempt to maintain conscious reference to social and economic conditions as well as similarities and difference in world views, because it is in learning both about what the world is like and the ways in which people experience it, that we can unite structure and agency. It is through interrogating accounts that we can learn about the ways in which each has shaped people's lives.

The criticisms Bourdieu makes may be more powerful in reflecting on understanding of subcultural styles and behaviour but this is not the project upon which I am engaged. In looking within and across the groups I can gain access to both conscious and tacit components of people's world views. Some people had experience beyond their own culture and reflected upon that as participants and outsiders. I am arguing, not only that people do this routinely, but also that the social scientist has the privilege of a wider perspective in performing this basic human activity of trying to understand the world. People can tell us a lot consciously

and we can garner much from making the second epistemological break. In this endeavour the interview, although not formally bounded and explicitly recognised, is widely used by ethnographers and seems to me to be a valid form of enquiry.

The final point I want to make in developing an understanding is that I am not seeking an account of rule following behaviour. I want to recognise that, 'what on paper is a set of dictated exchanges is lived on the ground in suspense and uncertainty' (Calhoun, LiPuma and Postone 1993 p57). We have to appreciate that, 'the "rule" lies essentially within the practice'. I prefer an approach which engages with the complexity of the model we are seeking to build:

> "Appreciation of the conscious, deliberative aspects of human agency does not require the strict assumptions of the individualistic, rational actor model. Individuals may have some needs and wants that are separate and autonomous and some that are independent and enmeshed. They may have some preferences that are consistent and rankable, and some that are not. We can still ask what their actions may reveal about their purpose, and explore the ways in which calculations of economic consequences may influence their decisions."

> Folbre 1994 p27

Folbre's discussion, developed mainly in an attempt to refute theory based upon rational economic man, has wider relevance to this research. In terms of method this implies recognition of multiple ways of knowing rather than assigning primacy to one.

The Interviews

Having argued the case for interviewing it remains for me to account for the particular nature of the interviews I held and the practical aspects of the method. I wrote to the people I had selected from the electoral register to explain the purpose of my research and to say I would like to interview them. I then called at their homes to arrange an appointment. Although time consuming, I found this approach was quite positive as well as ethically valid in providing opportunities for informed consent or refusal.

The interviews were held mainly in the respondent's homes, frequently in the presence and with the participation of partners or parents. In this sense, although unplanned, I conducted a number of joint interviews. These situations were particularly interesting for the access they gave me to discussions between family members. I am conscious of the criticism of joint interviewing that one party, usually the male, can be dominant (Pahl and Pahl 1971) and this did occur within two interviews in particular. I was also conscious at times that I was entering on contested ground, particularly between couples (Huby and Dix 1992). These were situations in which it was particularly important to maintain a non-judgmental approach when support for a particular view was being enlisted by either party. I felt however the value of these encounters far outweighed their disadvantages because they enriched the accounts I gained. The element of reflexivity was enhanced because people argued with each other, on grounds of equal authority, about their situation and their place. These encounters gave clear access to understanding strategies rather than forming explanations in rule bound behaviour.

Within the interviews the style was semi-structured because I wanted to create an interview which was 'flexible but controlled' (Burgess 1982 p107). People need to understand what we are about to be able to respond (Whyte 1982) and I have considered this fundamental in all elements of my research. I told people what I was interested in, emphasising that this centred on learning about their major concerns and that because of this I did not have a defined set of questions. I found that having agreed to be interviewed people accepted the nature and validity of the enquiry with a fairly brief explanation and I think that this was the case because the research was engaging with their experience.

The information in the thesis is based on single interviews which lasted generally for between one and a half and two hours. The follow up interviews in the Hendon study involved reviewing of the earlier tapes to discuss continuities and changes, both anticipated and unanticipated, in the directions the lives of young people had taken.

In the Hendon study I sought limited information from young people who had left Sunderland because they were so clearly from a particular group based on educational qualifications and to a lesser degree on gender. My main focus was on those who had stayed because it was in understanding the effects of place in interaction with class and gender that I developed my account.

Social Class

One major difficulty within the research has been in defining the boundaries between groups based on class. The experience of class cannot be accessed by

reference to a single indicator and the attempt to understand the sample based on occupational class gave rise to some real inconsistencies. On the other hand the issue of occupational class in itself alerted me to the important change of young people remaining in education and therefore having no clear class trajectory until rather later in their lives.

We can argue, with Eder (1993), that micro sociological research on stratification which derives an objective class position from individual characteristics is the wrong way round. Rather it is that the aggregation of individual characteristics is an outcome of social processes of distributing status characteristics and the important point is to determine the structure of that process. I considered alternative sources of classification, recognising that an important element in the divisions of class lies in seeing people as the 'bearers of social relations' (Nichols 1996 p57) rather than simply their role in the performance of labour. Had I employed Poulantzas view, many of my band 3 sample would be more properly identified as a fraction of the bourgeoisie with a 'proletarian polarisation' (p76). The distinction lies in prioritising place over condition.

The classification I chose was Registrar General's scale which, Nichols points out, operates on the basis of condition. This distinction is an important one in understanding the formation of consciousness and the nature of class struggle and in choosing it I am aware that elements of class consciousness may be neglected. The first and most fundamental problem in using official occupational class is that we are not reflecting on relation to the means of production or the position of the 'dispossessed' (see Nichols in Levitas and Guy 1996). The Registrar General's scale

cannot provide a reliable guide to economic position which is important in my sample's experience. Additionally the use of respondent's last employment or that of their fathers also means that the social class allocation may not reflect current position.

Occupational class does on the other hand provide a useful basis for understanding divisions in condition which are immanent in the formation of consciousness and which therefore approximate to recognisable divisions in people's accounts. I have used it alongside locality to gain an understanding of elements both of status and of individual and household economic position.

The people I have interviewed in the upper social class group in Sunderland North are the children of small businessmen rather than professionals and we will see that the sample takes on a rather different profile as a result. Also, while designating women by father's occupational class (if they have no class of their own) tells us about background, it cannot be relied upon to suggest outcome because women's and men's occupations typically occupy different positions on the class scale.

In my earlier research I found a three band classification most useful and I have used this for the purposes of comparison in the follow-up study in Hendon. The significant divisions I have found remain those of professional; white collar and skilled manual; the semi skilled and unskilled manual and I have maintained this classification for the Sunderland North sample. The Sunderland North sample is rather different however, and were it not for the importance of comparability, a different classification might have been more meaningful for them. This would centre on the divide between those in central and peripheral economic positions.

This classification has the virtue of focusing on the more fundamental schism in experience between those who have security, a claim upon skill or knowledge which gives them some power in the labour market, and those who occupy a much more uncertain place in relation to work.

This difference in my two samples may well be a function of its size. I have also noted in the thesis that there is a difference between the 1987 and the 1993 samples of eighteen-year-olds in that young people from the poor area in 1993 were not straightforwardly unemployed. This is probably the result of a change in benefit regulations in the intervening period which made it virtually impossible for young unemployed people to claim benefit.

It is, however, equally possible that in the poor locality in Sunderland North those who were unemployed and not involved in education or schemes refused to see me. These differences affect the nature of the samples and, while I will continue to use the three band classification, we should note that the second sample of eighteen year olds does not extend across its full range.

There are, as there were with the Hendon group, anomalies focusing around the way in which children's trajectory seems to be toward another class band but who are assigned according to father because, as yet, they have no labour market experience. I considered the alternative of placing children in terms of their own aspirations but this raised problems because people don't always achieve what they hope for. For many in the sample the lack of security or certainty which results from industrial change, opens up possibilities for radically different future states.

What does seem different for the Hendon group is the fairly high degree of consistency between the involvement in further and higher education and subsequent careers. In the Sunderland North group involvement in higher education was so much more widespread, that the mechanisms which would select some for the career jobs were not evident at eighteen. The differences of class and education, which could still be identified at an intuitive level, did not therefore lend themselves to the codification of the objective classification system at this point in time. The three-band classification offers the opportunity to use knowledge of a fundamental factor in shaping experience to identify continuity and change.

In fact these changes and decisions are what the research is about and although I have used categories of class assignment to perform the limited purpose, at the beginning of the analysis, of indicating something about current position and background.

These introductory points aim to provide the ground for the reporting and analysis which follows. They illustrate the difficulty in arriving at any measure of the social world which can fit all of our definitions and explanatory categories. They reinforce the point, however, that research is a practical activity of engagement with the world and that in order to gain access to real divisions in experience we must be prepared to use such measures with caution. In the following four chapters I hope to offer the reader an account of young people's experience of the lifestage events in interaction with social change which can make use of these understandings.

Chapter 6   From Education to Work

The first two chapters will focus on aspects of young people's relation to work, unemployment and subemployment in Sunderland. The first will deal with the experience of education and transition into the labour market while the second will concentrate on the experience of work and expectations from it.

This chapter will concentrate on people's home background, comparing the samples from Hendon in 1988 and Sunderland North in 1993. The age of eighteen was chosen as a point when trajectories were visible but when there was not an established history of involvement and identity with work. By this age there was a complete range of experience from full time higher education, through work and government schemes of varying quality to unemployment. Elements of structure and action are identifiable in people's accounts and the degree to which one reinforces or runs counter to the other is already visible. In keeping with the earlier research and the theoretical issues I have identified, this account will be structured in terms of lifestage and history through factors of gender, locality and class.

I am using occupational class and locality as indicators of social class because together they tell us about both individual parents and household position. I have identified a number of structuring factors in young people's lives and I will use them to summarise people's experience before going on to develop the accounts young people gave. At times the responses will be described in quantitative terms. The purpose of this approach is not to make any claims as to representativeness but rather to be indicative of divisions and regularities *within* the sample in seeking to establish the shape of that response, and the ways in which it divided as well as those in which

it cohered. The quantitative description also facilitates comparison between the three samples. I am trying to use different approaches to describe the sample and to say something meaningful about the life choices and the constraints upon young people in Sunderland today. It is in understanding the *ways* in which this works that I hope to reflect upon the wider processes of deindustrialisation and change affecting young people.

The point of this and the reason for providing individual detail is that I think it must be possible to relate both to individual histories and membership of groups, to recognise that the combination of action and structure means that we cannot simply add up characteristics to create the whole.

This chapter will seek both to establish an understanding of the relation between education and the labour market and will provide contextual information for the sample as a whole. The discussion of home background will be important in providing a base line for the findings, for drawing out the nature of the samples and their characteristics. In relating education to class, gender and to spatial orientation (see Callaghan 1991) we can achieve a context for viewing the influence of education on expectations of the future.

The second part of the chapter concerns experience in education. I was interested in this because I wanted people to reflect back on their experience of school and its impact on their future. Actor's theories on their own progress through education and into the labour market include recognition of both structure and action as having effect. I found in my earlier research that individualism and action based accounts were all-pervading and were particularly supportive for the kids in the upper class band who were doing well, but that the recognition of structure was also widespread

across the social classes. The findings of this research do not contradict that view, indeed they develop the understanding of the process further. In Hendon I had a sample who attended a single comprehensive school but reported very different experiences of it, according to social class. In Sunderland North the class differences were also evident *between* schools and I gained information about locality and school and the interaction between class, locality and education. I learned about young people's views about the dominant expectations of area and of school and of the ways in which they were sometimes in conflict.

The relationship between education and the labour market provided some particularly interesting findings. Here, the effect of industrial change was most apparent, drawn in the accounts of young people at eighteen who were entering adulthood in the dying phases of traditional industry in Sunderland, and young adults five years later for whom that change was very clearly set.

I will relate to young people's routes into the labour market. The most notable change being the way in which return to education became a dominant option in sheltering from unemployment. Here I want to look at the very different trajectories upon which people are embarked and to identify how experiences of education reinforce or alter them, the processes of continuity and change of which they are part.

This will provide the basis for discussion of young people's experience in the labour market. There is of course no neat divide between education and the labour market and the degree to which they overlap as I have just indicated, is significantly increasing. The virtue of making the distinction between them here lies in the ability to place differential emphasis on the structures of work and of education and to begin to see the detailed effect of their interaction. We must also see that while experiences

of education are creative in terms of expectations of work, young people's knowledge

and expectations of the labour market affect their educational choices.

Home Background

Hendon 1988 and 1993

My second visit to the Hendon sample yielded thirty people from whom I achieved a

significant response, seven people about whom I learned a little from parents and

three people of whom I learned nothing except that their families had moved

somewhere within the city. In my earlier research I presented the findings in relation

to three social class groupings and here I will relate the outcomes of those groups.

It is important before doing so to relate the original base of the sample in terms of

locality. The tables below provide information about the localities which people lived

in in 1987 and their outcomes in 1992-3. It is a first indication of movement and

continuity in early adulthood. It provides prima facie support for the earlier research

finding that it would be the young people from the more affluent locality who would

be leaving the city.

Hendon sample - Male

LOCALITY ONE	1988	1993
STEWART	1	LEFT SUNDERLAND
CHARLES	1	LEFT SUNDERLAND
ROGER	1	LEFT SUNDERLAND
CRAIG	1	LEFT SUNDERLAND
DOMINIC	1	1
TOM	1	1
ANDREW	1	1
LOCALITY TWO		
MARTIN	2	2
HENRY	2	2
BARRY	2	2
NORMAN	2	ARMY
WILLIAM	2	LOST CONTACT
GRAHAM	2	LOST CONTACT
GARY	2	3
LOCALITY THREE		
KEITH	3	2
GEORGE	3	2
PAUL	3	3
THOMAS	3	LOST CONTACT
KEVIN	3	3
PETER	3	3

Those who have changed locality have done so by moving out of their parent's home. Everyone from Locality One is either still with parents or has left Sunderland altogether. Two people from Locality Two have established their own homes, Barry has been able to buy a house in Sunderland North (in a Locality Two area), while Gary through sustained unemployment has moved into council property in Locality Three in Hendon. For those who have stayed in Sunderland, wherever possible they have remained in their original Hendon area.

From the 1988 Locality Three group, both Keith and George have moved into Locality Two areas. George is renting privately in Hendon. Keith, after buying initially in Hendon, found he had to sell because the mortgage was too high and bought a cheaper house north of the river. Despite periods of unemployment they

have been in work for most of their young adult lives. Paul lives with his wife and children on one of the outer council estates. Peter although employed full time in a permanent job and engaged to be married will not be able to contemplate independence until he is able to improve his income or his partner is in a secure job.

Hendon Sample - Female

LOCALITY ONE	1988	1992
LISA	1	1
GEORGETTE	1	1
NICOLA	1	LEFT SUNDERLAND
HELEN	1	LEFT SUNDERLAND
BEVERLEY	1	1
WENDY	1	1
CHRISTINE	1	3
LOCALITY TWO		
MARGARET	2	2
ZENA	2	2
SUZANNE	2	LOST CONTACT
ANGELA	2	NEW HERRINGTON
EVE	2	2
BARBARA	2	3
SUSAN	2	3
LOCALITY THREE		
LESLEY	3	3
DEBORAH	3	LOST CONTACT
PAMELA	3	3
TRACEY	3	2
SANDRA	3	3
ELIZABETH	3	3

Again those in Locality One were predominantly with parents or had left Sunderland. In keeping with the earlier research it was clear that the women were more locally orientated than the men.

Christine, from Locality One, was a mother when I met her at eighteen. She had now moved into her own council property in Hendon and therefore into a Locality Three area. Of the second group some had set up their own homes, all in Sunderland and the movement between localities also meant movement into different tenure from parents.

Social Class

In my earlier research social class was a useful indicator and I used a three-band classification. This was not based simply on occupation but also, to some degree, on their subjective estimation of their trajectories. The table below identifies social class band these young men held when I met them in 1987 and their outcome in 1992-3.

GROUPING	1987-1988	1992-1993
Band One		
STEWART	1	1
CHARLES	1	1
DOMINIC	1	1
MARTIN	1	1
ROGER	1	3
CRAIG	1	none
Band Two		
HENRY	2	2
BARRY	2	2
NORMAN	2	2
PETER	2	2
Band Three		
TOM	3	3
KEITH	3	3
ANDREW	3	1
GARY	3	3
GRAHAM	3	3
WILLIAM	3	NOT KNOWN
GEORGE	3	3
PAUL	3	3
THOMAS	3	NOT KNOWN
KEVIN	3	3

The table provides a snapshot view of the sample which can be developed by outlining the changes for each group in turn.

Males Social Class Band One

This was the most nationally orientated group when I met them in 1988, an orientation which has been borne out subsequently. The only member of this group

who had few educational qualifications and had been resolutely Sunderland bound at our first meeting, had in fact left to work as a postman in the Midlands.

I was able to interview two members of the group both of whom are still in higher education in the area. Dominic was studying at Sunderland University while Martin was completing his degree course at Newcastle University before going on, he hoped, to take up a place at the Royal College in London. The remaining three members of this group responded to letters requesting information. Two were engaged in post-graduate study while the third had 'dropped out' to become a new age traveller.

Male Social Class Band Two

I interviewed three members of this group, the fourth being in the army in Bosnia at the time of my visit. Henry, Barry and Peter were in skilled employment or secure careers in Sunderland. They remain Sunderland-orientated although only Henry envisaged remaining with the same firm until retirement.

Male Social Class Band Three

I interviewed six of the ten people in this group. Two of the lads had moved house leaving no forwarding address. A further two were simply never at home despite numerous attempts to contact them and I concluded that they chose not to be interviewed again.

Of the six I interviewed Andrew, from the affluent locality, had recently inherited a sufficient sum of money from his grandmother to set him up as the joint owner of a restaurant. George, after several short-term jobs, had become a self-employed describing himself as, a '*scum bag*' taxi driver.

Keith was working as a labourer for a large local engineering firm and had been employed by them for four years, punctuated by two periods of unemployment. He thought his job was secure for the next year.

Tom, Paul and Gary were all unemployed and felt they had no realistic prospect of work. All of the members of this group saw themselves staying in the town.

A comparison can be drawn with social class assignments for women across the period of the research.

Hendon, social class band - female

	1987-1988	1992-1993
Band One		
LISA	1	1
NICOLA	1	1
HELEN	1	1
GEORGETTE	1	2
CHRISTINE	1	3
Band Two		
EVE	2	2
MARGARET	2	2
ZENA	2	2
ANGELA	2	1
BEVERLEY	2	2
PAMELA	2	3
WENDY	2	2
ELIZABETH	2	2
SANDRA	2	3
TRACEY	2	2
SUZANNE	2	NOT KNOWN
SUSAN	2	3
Band Three		
BARBARA	3	2
LESLEY	3	3
DEBORAH	3	NOT KNOWN

Female Social Class Band One

Of five women in this group I was able to contact four directly and learned that the fifth (Helen) was working in a bank in Hong Kong.

Lisa and Nicola were still completing their higher education. Georgette, after some difficult experiences at a London University, had given up her course and returned to Sunderland to live. Following a period of unemployment, casual employment and adult training she found work in an Estate Agents office. Christine had been a member of this group in 1988 based on her father's occupation as a small businessman. She was already a mother when I met her in 1987 and by 1992 had two children and was living in a poorer part of Hendon with her unemployed partner. Nicola and Helen are the only two members of the group to have left Sunderland altogether.

Female Social Class Band Two

This is the largest group for females and reflects their employment in the service sector. It comprises twelve women of whom I interviewed ten. I learned that of the other two, one had moved 'somewhere' in Washington, while the other was in clerical work at a local hospital and was living close to her mother's home.

Of the group interviewed one woman, Eve, had completed a degree course and was on the point of leaving Sunderland to take up work in London. Angela had left hairdressing and through a circuitous route, which included unemployment, commission-only work and finally casual work at a local hospital, had commenced nursing training which would take three years to complete.

Two women had continued in their employment in the bank where they had been when I met them at 18. One woman was a shopworker and two had recently started their first 'proper' (although temporary) jobs since leaving school, both were in clerical occupations. The remaining three women were full time mothers.

Only Eve was actually leaving Sunderland.

Female Social Class Band Three

This was the smallest group of women, all of whom were mothers living locally. I interviewed two of the three. Barbara's husband had been able to secure an apprenticeship through a friend and Barbara had had their second child. Lesley was living unofficially with her partner but was dependent on state benefit. Deborah, I learned, was married and about to have a baby. All were still in Sunderland.

Summary of Change

In 1987 many of these young people were designated by occupational class of fathers. By 1992 all but the upper group had their own class assignment. Women are assigned by partners' class if they have no class of their own.

In terms of class trajectory Andrew, through inheritance, has joined group 1 while Craig through dropping out of education has left it. Roger's downward mobility was predictable at the age of eighteen based on lack of educational qualifications and his occupational orientation, he had nevertheless obtained full time employment. The middle group of males has remained as it was in 1987 while Band Three is smaller through the loss of Andrew but otherwise remains the same.

Of the women one member, Angela, moves into Band One when she achieves her nursing qualification and Eve, starting work as a 'Circulation Assistant', has career ambitions and will seek advancement based on her Business Studies degree. Georgette has become temporarily downwardly mobile by leaving her degree course, while Barbara has moved to the second band from Band Three based on her husbands' skilled employment. The women in the third band in 1992-3 were mothers.

For men education was crucial to outcome, for women the crucial factor of education was evident but motherhood also had important effects. This was related to class of origin.

Home Background - Sunderland North

We can compare this summary with the Sunderland North sample. As in Hendon five years before, many of my respondents were still designated by parents rather than own occupation.

Over half of young people's fathers were in full-time work while more than one third were long term sick, retired or deceased. Those in the upper social class banding were all in full-time employment. The middle band was more mixed with just over one third of fathers in full-time employment while almost a third unemployed and one fifth, retired. In the lower class band half were in full-time employment.

The affluent area yielded a sample whose fathers were predominantly 'self made' men and skilled manual workers. Everyone had links back, through one or two generations to 'working class' parents and grandparents.

Spatial Orientation

I will start with a discussion of young people's spatial orientation in the Hendon and the Sunderland North samples to link home background with entry into the labour market. Spatial orientation expressed a whole range of beliefs and preferences and it figures importantly in succeeding chapters. It was a significant finding from my earlier research however that the young people who were hoping to set out on professional careers on the whole saw those careers as being established outside Sunderland. The links between the labour market and place then, need to be examined to provide that context.

Hendon

In Hendon in 1993, three quarters of the original sample were still living in Sunderland. In terms of educational qualifications, all of those with no or low level qualifications remained in the city while most of those with degrees had left.

This confirmed expectations from the first study when a relationship was established between educational achievement, class background and spatial orientation. The table 'Locality by Spatial Orientation (1991 p59) showed the overwhelming Sunderland orientation of the Locality Three group while those in Locality One were evenly divided between Sunderland and National labour markets in their expectations. Again these expectations are confirmed in terms of movement out of the town in the previous six years. These aggregate figures provide an overview of change but we need to turn to actors' accounts to understand how and why this relationship works.

Nicola, from Locality and Class Band One, was away from home studying for a PhD. but responded to my written request for information. I asked people to say whether they thought they would return to Sunderland.

Nicola wrote:

> *"For me there would never be any chance of getting the job I want in the North east at the moment but that may change. However, although I'll probably live in the south of England for most of my life I do have a very strong attachment to the North East of England which seems greater than feelings other people I have met have for the place they grew up. The area will always be home and I will always go back occasionally even if I have no family there to visit. I think this attachment may have something to do with the working-class industrial nature of the area as I have found similar strength of feeling from people from South Wales."*

Nicola and her contemporaries confirm the point made in the earlier study that it was the career oriented and well qualified who would leave, while those with lower levels or no qualifications would not fare any better in the job market outside Sunderland. To leave for that group would mean loss of networks which provide material support and identity.

This has to be a qualified finding because there were some people who would remain in the local area. Eve explained this in terms of the security of knowing the place:

> *"There's a girl I know lives at Grangetown. She did a dietician's course and worked at the hospital. She got loads of unconditional offers from all over and she's chosen Sunderland and I just can't understand it...."*

This orientation to Sunderland was identified by Robson (1969), in terms of different meanings of place according to social class. For women in the third class banding for example it was not simply Sunderland but the area within it, which was important. Pamela, despite her desperate desire to get away from Hendon at the age of eighteen and, *"the gangs that hang about on the street corners"* had as a 23 year old mother,

struggled for a tenancy in the area. "*I wanted to be in this area - I had to fight for it. I got the councillor on to it...*" Proximity to her family was the main reason for this attachment.

> "*I've got one brother lives in the corner, me mam's two doors away and me other brother lives further up the street.*"

Sandra, similarly, lived in a maisonette in Hendon; a few minutes walk from her mother's home. She had taken the tenancy to stay close to her family.

> "*I'd never leave Sunderland. Me brother and me sister live in the same street... I see me sister at me mam's every day....*"

And later:

> "*...I'll just basically stop in Sunderland, just be the way I am, I'll stop where I am. I've been to Newcastle for the day, I just prefer to stop here - I got lost in Newcastle.*"

I will deal in more detail in Chapter 9 with the question of spatial orientation. The point here is to recognise the patterning of meanings of place held by people within the sample, which relate to their world views.

Sunderland North

The Sunderland North sample was somewhat different in terms of the distribution of those meanings, but the range of understandings of place were of the same order.

I will introduce people by locality, in terms of their home and family circumstances and their relation to place. This outline of the nature of the sample will be developed later through discussion of people's accounts, their own understanding of the relationships between factors which are the subject of this research.

Social class banding facilitates comparison with the Hendon group although a major difference, which it fails to identify, is that the level of unemployment among fathers in the Sunderland North group is so much higher. Only those in Band One completely escaped unemployment. Information about home background, which tells us something about the households' relation to the economy, can be learned from parents' employment status.

In the affluent locality only one person had a father who was unemployed and generally households in this locality had a more central relation to employment than those in the other localities. Several parents were in insecure employment and this had an effect on outlook but it was among manual workers that this insecurity was most apparent. It was recognisable in the more affluent area however; Mary told me that her father's job insecurity meant they were *"never able to relax"*.

It is this experience of unemployment and the lack of professional middle class respondents in the sample, which makes the divide around economic centrality most meaningful.

We can look at the Sunderland North sample in terms of their gender and social class groups.

Male Social Class Band One

This group comprises five lads whose fathers are all in small business or managerial positions in local government or industry. All are assigned by father's occupational class, although this does not necessarily speak to their own trajectory.

Male Social Class Band Two

The middle group contained nine lads most of whom had fathers who were skilled manual workers, although four of these lads had their own class assignments based on apprenticeships in a garage, in painting and decorating and in the engineering industry. Three fathers in this group were unemployed.

Male Social Class Band Three

There were seven males in this group of whom three are assigned by fathers social class Three of the fathers were unemployed and only one was in secure employment.

Female Social Class Band One

This was a group of eight girls whose fathers were in similar positions to the male group with the addition of two public service professionals. Six of the girls were entering higher education. Two had chosen other careers, one in the navy and the second in hairdressing.

Female Social Class Band Two

Several of the eleven girls in this group were assigned by father's occupational class. Most were training for, or had entered, hotel and catering, hair and beauty therapy, clerical and caring jobs. Two girls assigned by father's social class were going into higher education. Ann would take a medical degree at Leicester University and Sophie would take a degree in Business Studies at Sunderland University.

Female Social Class Band Three

This is a group of two females both assigned by father's class. One is in further education and hopes to go to university, while the second is a mother to be.

We can already see, as with Hendon, that the gendered structure of occupation conforms to recognised divisions. The employment status of fathers is important in this study because children are almost universally, although to different degrees, still dependent. We must consider then, what differing levels of insecurity might mean for children's expectations of, and aspirations in, the labour market.

A high proportion of this sample had fathers who had been in the shipyards or the pits. This accounted for four fathers in Locality One, eight in Locality Two and six in Locality Three. Of those who had worked in either industry the people from the shipyards had mostly been re-employed. The pit closed while I was conducting my fieldwork and most of these fathers were still out of work.

Seventeen of the fathers in the sample were unemployed, long term sick or retired. Of these two had been in the shipyards and both lived in Locality Three. Nine had been in the pit, mostly living in Localities Two and Three. The others had had varying occupations in manufacturing.

The profile of employment of both fathers and of children illustrates the change which has been so fundamental in Sunderland's industrial structure and which we considered in Chapter 4.

Gender

Gender is a divide which significantly structures the sample and we will see that while class affected its nature, its force can be detected at all social class levels. This is a theme which is immanent in all of the research findings. Here in relation to the labour market it has already become evident in the employment which people held. The women were all either entering higher education or involved in the service sector. In the Sunderland North sample no-one was in manufacturing employment. For those who were working, wages were universally too low to support an independent life in Sunderland. Those who were planning to leave home would go into 'tied' employment in which the accommodation was part of the work.

The women in Sunderland North appeared to be rather different from those in Hendon, where women were more locally orientated. This needs to be interpreted in the light of the different kinds of work women and men were going into and perhaps also young people's expectations of that work.

In the male group no-one would be entering the traditional professions. They anticipated careers in finance, engineering, computing and advertising through university courses. Three were involved in sport, one professionally, while the other two would seek employment in the sport and leisure industry. There were two shopworkers and four apprentices as well as some young men who remained in education because they had no plans worked out. The male manufacturing worker, traditionally typical of the Sunderland workforce was almost entirely absent.

The gender divide in the nature of employment is clear but it is complicated by considerations of lifestage and class. Wages and conditions for young men and young

women have generally been poor in certain sectors of the labour market. The further complication, which is evident here, is the exploitation of an already vulnerable section of the workforce in the particular conditions of restructuring at this point in history.

Women's involvement in community and their relation to the labour market deserves more attention particularly because of the way in which in much research community is seen as a gendered concept. There is a well-known history of community studies in which it is the mother who is seen as the focal point (Young M and Willmott P. 1962). In discussions of occupational community however, the woman's role seems to be determined by male work (Dennis et al 1957, Roberts I. 1993). Many of the mothers of young people in this sample had common occupational experiences and, while male occupations are related to community, it is interesting that women's occupations are not considered in this light. Clearly we are not talking of single unbroken 'careers' in a single workplace, but we probably aren't for men either.

Locality, Spatial Orientation and Social Class

One of the areas of interest for me was the relation to traditional industry. In view of the discussion of occupational community (Roberts I. 1993) and the very widespread belief in its existence, I was interested in whether there was evidence to suggest that this past imprints itself upon the present in terms of people's expectations and action. I was seeking information about how far people held images of a traditional world of employment and how far they saw it as changing. I asked people about grandparents' employment to learn about their connection to that world. Commonly people knew what grandfathers did much more frequently than grandmothers and they frequently

described their grandmothers in terms of their domestic role. This may be an indication of change or a function of lifecycle, but women have always had a relatively high level of employment in Sunderland. Most women would have worked at least until having children and many would have returned to work later in life.

66.7% of this sample were Sunderland orientated and this was almost identical with Hendon where the figure was 67.5% when I saw them at eighteen. Related to locality the divide is also rather similar.

In Hendon, 40% of the sample as a whole had left Sunderland at some point in the last 6 years. This followed the expected gender divide detailed in the earlier research.

We can compare intention of both groups of eighteen-year-olds in terms of social class using the bands from the earlier study

The degree of localism is more pronounced in the upper social class group in Sunderland North and may be an artefact of the nature of the sample and the lack of a professional middle class. Those in Bands Two and Three were much more heavily oriented to the local area.

In my earlier research I identified a relationship between localism and social class in Sunderland which has been examined in wider research (Jenkins 1983). Local orientation is recognised as a feature of the Sunderland population and was identified as a problem in a report on Employment Problems in Sunderland published by the borough council in 1977. They relate this localism to physical isolation:

> Another problem factor which is more peculiar to Sunderland stems from
>
> the earlier isolation of the borough from through-routes. This feeling of
>
> being off-the-beaten track has affected not only the image of Sunderland

held by those outside the town but also the attitudes of its population to work-mobility, and skill-training in particular. Fortunately the improvement in road systems and the expansion of the borough's boundaries to the A1M are bringing about a change in these attitudes. Already, for example, there has been an improvement in the numbers commuting to Washington for work, often involving new skills.

Bloom 3.3 1977

Here they are noting a flow in the direction of Washington which we have discussed in Chapter 4 and which has become a significant feature of the new industrial profile of the city. They go on to express their concern about the shape of that change and to point to a relationship between occupational class and orientation:

However it is disturbing to find that 40% of Sunderland's skilled unemployed are prepared to leave the area to find work. If, as before, an upturn in the economy leads to jobs being created elsewhere before Sunderland benefits, a significant number of skilled workers could leave.

Bloom 3.3 1977

This of course does not touch upon the spatial orientation of the professional middle classes, the group which I found to be the most nationally oriented of all.

In the earlier study, as I have said, it was the well qualified who were leaving Sunderland. At first sight this appears to be quite different in Sunderland North. Of those studying at A level or above, 23% were Sunderland orientated in Hendon compared with 59% in Sunderland North.

The difference may lie in the ways in which people come to their qualifications, their career in education and the labour market, which is a function of the difference in the time of each study. We may be seeing evidence of a 'discouraged worker' (Gray, Jesson and Sime 1992) effect or an increasing optimism about the labour market. This is one of the notable points to emerge as an indicator of change in young people's experience of transition and must be questioned through the ethnographic account.

At this point I want to introduce the people I have described thus far only in aggregate terms, to set them in their context of home background and family connections. This will provide the basis for the discussion in the rest of this and subsequent chapters, of aspects of young people's lives. I hope it will enable the reader to see the real people who gave the accounts being analysed for this research.

I will deal in a later chapter with the notion of community and relation to the very local; here I want to concentrate on how people see themselves in terms of their city. Remaining faithful to the social class banding in which I have placed these young people I will describe their views as a group and identify wherein they differed.

I will summarise the main experiences of this group and compare them with the young people in Hendon five years before.

Sunderland North

Female Social Class Band One

The relationship between orientation and class although less pronounced is still visible in the sample. Linda is probably typical of this group

Linda is the daughter of a local small businessman. Her wider family, she told me had, *"all been in the shipyards and the pits, they never wanted to leave Sunderland".* Linda regards herself as working class *"at college my friends say I'm middle class because we've got out own business, but my mam and dad are hard working people and they get an average wage."* Linda however intends to use her educational qualifications to find a way out of Sunderland. *"I don't' like the place. I never have. I can't pinpoint what it is. I like it 'cos my family are here... its not busy enough. Mum wanted me to go to Sunderland University but I said, 'no'."*

This desire to leave was felt by all but two of the girls in the top social class band. These two girls were very strongly Sunderland-orientated.

Mary attends Sunderland University and is undertaking a degree in Technology Management. Her father is a manager in a local firm.

> *"He started off in the shipyards straight from school but he left when he realised they were going to close...he's back in a factory again - its not very secure at the minute. He's a typical Sunderland person, everything he works in just closes down - he just gets really annoyed about it."*

Mary is nevertheless strongly Sunderland orientated and told me this was the case for most of her friends.

> *"I want to stay here but to be honest I don't know why. I suppose its just knowing where you are and the people around you - lots of me friends do want to stay... me best friend started off at Durham (University) but she hated being away so she came back."*

Mary told *me: "I would go if there was a good reason, as long as I could get home!"*

Male Social Class Band One

Among the males in this group the split was in favour of staying in Sunderland. Ben was the only member of the group who actively wanted to leave. Ben was a student, son of a local 'self-made' businessman originating from Pennywell. He described his mother as a housewife.

> *"I'd like to think I won't be in Sunderland (at the age of 30).... I wouldn't necessarily want to go abroad but I don't want to spend the rest of my life like this that would be the biggest waste ever".*

Only one member of the group intended to go to University. Dan intended to undertake his undergraduate studies in Sunderland.

Two lads were unemployed and both (assigned by father's occupational class) were firmly Sunderland-bound. Scott articulated this in terms of family ties and the wider networks which they implied:

> *"I've got a canny big family - they live down there (in Castletown) and I know all their friends. I've lived here all my life"*

Female Social Class Band Two

This band was the largest for both males and females. Again attitude to the locality was mixed and overall young women appeared more nationally oriented than had the eighteen-year-olds from Hendon. These young women were training for jobs in Hairdressing and Beauty Therapy. Those who would leave would predominantly base this on the possibilities for work in the tourist industry. One person had experience of work outside Sunderland.

The relationship to the local area within the city was important. Sophie, doing her Business Studies degree in Sunderland, would prefer to stay. She expressed her

unhappiness with the change in the place but linked this explicitly with the closing of

the pit:

> *"I've lived in Castletown all my life - now it's really changing - I'd do*
> *anything to move away from here since they started to shut the pits - it*
> *used to be all miners but now they're unemployed."*

Three of the four girls entering hair and beauty jobs were very firmly nationally

orientated. Jean works part time as a hairdresser. Her hours were reduced because of

lack of business at the salon. She wants to move away:

> *"I'm sick of Sunderland - just bored with it. There's only so far you can go*
> *in Sunderland, its so small if I wanted to open a business, you can't do it*
> *in Sunderland - I want to move away, work abroad for a while."*

Emma was unusual in the sample because she had experience of work outside

Sunderland. Having returned to unemployment in the town she held a rather

pessimistic view of the place.

> *"I mean people have been saying 'wait a couple of years and it'll all get*
> *better' and now the shipyards and that's gone and now they shut the coal*
> *mine and I suppose people are thinking 'what's next?' you know...you lose*
> *hope I would say, and they're promising we'll come out of this recession*
> *but there's nothing to show we're coming out of this recession. If there*
> *was one sign - maybe crime would decrease because people have got*
> *hope. Everything's low here- morale's low whereas seeing from Dumfries*
> *people will help each other out-they understand they are lucky to have*
> *employment."*

Those who had jobs were firmly Sunderland-orientated. People also related to the

importance of 'belonging'. Lucy completed Youth Training as a clerical worker with

a local manufacturer and was taken on full time. She had lived in Carley Hill all her

life and expected to stay in Sunderland, living on *"a nice council estate,* (like her

own) *most families have lived here since the estate was built 30 years ago."* Of

Sunderland she said *"I know every corner, I know where I am - I love to go away on*

holiday but I wouldn't leave."

Male Social Class Band Two

The males in this group showed a bias toward Sunderland. Four of them, moving into higher education, thought they might have to leave to establish their careers.

Ryan would go to Newcastle College before studying for a degree. He will have to go to London to further his chosen career in advertising. His mother wanted him to get a job:

> *"I've been getting pressure off me mam to get a job, which is obvious. I think she would rather me go to Newcastle College - but it's the money problem - students don't get much".*

He looked forward to going to London with some trepidation:

> *"It'll be a change, it's a big place, expensive... its whether I'll be able to cope really".*

He thought he would miss Sunderland, *"family's the main thing, and friends. I just like the place itself".*

Of those going into higher education, only Colin, studying chemistry at a local University would actively seek work locally. This was a realistic prospect for him because he might secure work in the chemical industry in Teesside, in which case he would live at home.

The remainder of this group would stay in Sunderland.

Rory was living at home with his parents:

> *"...but I've had to go to Gateshead to get a job... if the money was right I would go but I'm used to Sunderland, I've lived here all my life, its not really knowing what other places are".*

Sid is an apprentice diesel fitter:

"I've no plans to move away, mainly because of my family, I don't like being away from them - I haven't been very far so I don't know what other places are like... I know a few people who've gone down south and they say "they don't like northerners down there" - There's a north/south divide - I'll keep in this area... I'd stay on this side of the river - its all the people I know around here - you always get to know people, but this is where I feel I belong".

Female Social Class Band Three

There were only two women in this band. Rachel was about to become a mother and was very firmly rooted in Sunderland. She lived with her boyfriend in a local cottage close to her mother's home in Southwick. Although she would like to live closer to her mother she thought the area was unsafe.

Hazel was living with her grandmother and was returning to college full time to study for 'A' levels. She hoped to leave to study for a medical degree but would, *"probably come back"*.

Male Social Class Band Three

This was a larger group for males but was different from the Hendon group in that, as with the females, no-one was involved in traditional manual work in manufacturing. Two were classified based on their work as shop assistants and a third worked in a warehouse. Two of the group were at college and the last was unemployed.

Only one person was keen to leave Sunderland. Matthew would go to university if his A levels were good. He was not sure if he would return:

"If I did come back it would only be for my family - I think Sunderland's gone downhill... I can't really say why."

Matthew's father has been unemployed for several years after being made redundant from Corning Glass. His mother worked part-time for a taxi firm.

"When I left school I thought 'I'm not going to do much here so I've got to go to college so I can get away from here."

"I don't like the people in Sunderland really, probably that's another reason I'd like to leave, they've got this sort of aggressive feel - I don't like that - rowdy, I don't know why."

Grant, a shop assistant at an electrical wholesaler in Sunderland, was more typical.

His father was made redundant from the shipyard and is now a supervisor in a

Newcastle firm. Grant's mother was a housewife.

"I'll stay, I'll never leave because of me family and me friends - this is me home and where I want to stay.... I've lived here all me life its quite friendly - there's a lot of shipyard workers - we would have gone in the shipyards like him (dad) but he was made redundant."

These findings reflect broadly the findings from Hendon five years earlier (Callaghan

1991 pp92-3) although it seemed that young women from the middle class band were

more nationally orientated in the later study.

The significance of class and gender remain but their action is more difficult to

identify in quantitative terms because of the effects of structural change in

disorganising their action. This does not mean that such factors have less significance

but that we may need to develop a more subtle understanding of their interaction in

the context of wholesale disruption and change. The fact that class, gender and place

matter comes through in the voices of young people. These are still the considerations

upon which they reflect when discussing constraints upon their choices and their

action in creating their futures.

Hendon Education - Reflections on the Past

Introductory information about the people in the Hendon sample is drawn from my MA and recorded in Callaghan (1991). Here I will relate to the experience of those people in the intervening years between our two meetings.

In the original research I reported that all of the children in the upper social class band, 87% of those in the non-manual section and 66.7% of those in the manual section were in the top academic stream at school. This compares with 21% from the lower social class group, none of whom had qualifications to 'A' level standard. In 1992-3 educational qualifications were high, 13.3% having postgraduate qualifications and a further 13.3% having degrees, while 20% of the sample had no educational qualifications. Only one person, having left full time education, had returned to it in the intervening years.

I wanted to reflect on Paul Willis' (1977) point that there are class differences in understandings of theory and practice and this relates to achievement of qualifications

"Whereas in middle class culture knowledge and qualifications are seen as a way of shifting upwards, the whole mode of practical alternatives open to an individual, in working class eyes theory is riveted to particular productive practices" (1977 p56).

There was evidence to support this view and the further point that in retrospect the choices made were injurious, "the cultural celebration has lasted, it might seem, just long enough to deliver him through the closed factory doors" (Willis 1977 p107). For

some however, experience of the labour market is bringing with it increasingly an acceptance of middle class instrumentalism

At twenty-four some people reflected upon missed opportunities. Lesley, reviewing her education in terms of re-entering the labour market when her daughter was at school full time said, *"I could've done better - I was a bit of a bully at school - I wish I'd done better"*. Leslie recognised that she would now have to seek qualifications to find work in the future.

Keith and his wife, Jeanette, talked about their school lives and those who stayed on at school,

Keith: *"When I think about it now, I think school was the best days of your life.*

Jeanette: *"You didn't realise it though, once you've got responsibilities.."*

Nevertheless the option of further and higher education was not considered appropriate.

Keith: *"The only reason you should stop on is if you get bad results. I just got CSEs I would like to have had 'O' levels and 'A' levels....you can't pick and choose a job now, there's people with 'A' levels and 'O' levels and they can't get a job."*

This view was held more firmly by those who had no value for qualifications.

Sandra: *"I'm not one of them that believes school was the best days of your life... I've had lasses who were in my class who got exam results, one of them's married livin' in council house - she hates it- the other one got a job as a secretary - she got paid off and she's just like me."*

Later, talking about her own son, Sandra told me, *"you just leave school as soon as you can and try to get a job before all the rest"*.

Paul, who at eighteen told me he had regularly been in trouble at school said: *"It was alright- we used to have some laughs and that.... I got suspended until I left school"*

About staying on he said, *"it's time to get on with your life, when you're sixteen"*. Education was clearly associated with childhood, to be left behind when one moved into adult life and importantly, work. This had been deeply felt at eighteen by those who stayed on, *"They look down on people who are still at school -they're all grown up- they think!"* (Callaghan 1991 Appendix p122)

For those young people in Hendon going into higher education at eighteen, I had found that this was based, for the most part, simply on an expectation that this was the 'normal' thing to do. Those who did not carry on with education were regarded as foolhardy. Lisa told me, *"If they don't stay on at school they know what they're letting themselves in for- it's their decision"* (Callaghan, 1991, p90).

Not only had Lisa finished her degree but she was intending to pursue post-graduate qualifications to improve her position in the labour market:

> *"You always got this feeling that if you got a degree you could have any job you wanted. It's not true- a lot of people decide to do a Master's degree 'cos they haven't got a job."*

For some however, the path into higher education had not been straightforward. Martin was one of the people for whom this represented a conscious life choice:

> *"I always wanted to do different things from the people I was at school with. I didn't like the way people conformed to what was expected - I didn't really want to get a job when I left school - I went to college and did 'A' levels and we simply lost touch."*

Martin reflected on the experience of school offering a range of futures. We can also recognise the push of locality in closing down that range, evidenced in the decisions Pamela made. Martin's habitus may not have prepared him for education but it did not preclude it either, working class self improvement has long been a recognised model.

In discussing the results which I had sent him from my earlier research Martin agreed with the point made about class differences in orientation to education and commented, *"I think as you go ahead in education you become more engaged with it"*. This is another perspective on the point Corrigan (1979) makes about education as imposition and reflects the development of an alternative and consequently self-conscious identity based on being drawn into a new field.

A relationship between educational qualifications and locality can be clearly identified in this sample, with three-quarters of those from the affluent locality having 'A' levels or above compared with only one sixth of the poor locality group. The most marked divide in relation to gender comes at the point of 'A' levels, when more young women seem to stop and young men to go on in education. This is consistent with other findings about the higher level of localism among women who have moved directly from school into jobs in the town.

Sunderland North

In Sunderland North only 9.5% of the sample had no qualifications. 40.5% were undertaking post GCSE qualifications.

The distribution according to gender was reasonably even. The level of educational qualifications increases as one goes up through the localities although a very high proportion of the intermediate locality had less than 5 GCSEs. The major difference however is the generally higher level of qualifications held by those in the upper compared with the poorer locality.

The most marked difference occurs in terms of social class. The professional middle class and the wholly unemployed are almost completely absent from the Sunderland North sample. The significant divide appears between the skilled and the semi and unskilled groups. Some of these people are of course in social class of their own designation but those in full time education are designated by father's occupation.

Two things seem different in the Sunderland North sample and together I think they may account to a considerable degree for the differences from Hendon.

Firstly, the group who are in full time education are not only the people who are going into higher education but also those who are sheltering from the labour market. This marks a very significant change over the period of the study. The meaning of education was different for a number of the young people I saw because staying on has a very real stratified quality. For some the acquisition of a qualification was not a passport to employment, further courses appeared an almost inevitable outcome of the completion of the present one.

Scott had started a training scheme for mechanics but was paid off for lack of placements '*a canny few of us got finished*' From there he moved to a woodwork course at the Training Association' and passed NVQ (National Vocational Qualifications) at level 1.

> *"I was there for 18 months- finished April this year. It would've been better if you got all the NVQs. I've wrote letters away, I was down the Jobcentre every day - looking for jobs but it doesn't look like there's going to be any, 'cos you've got to be qualified. I'll have to get qualified and hope a job comes along, you know. The instructor says he done his level 2 and 3 in a year so if I can get on that course in September it'll be a year - I'll be qualified."*

Education and Place

In the original research in Hendon I discussed the ways in which young people understood class differences in education. These were mainly expressed in terms of people's understanding of place. In Southmoor, the main Hendon school, the streaming system designated children across all subjects. The effect of this was recognised on both sides of the divide.

Deborah described her experience in the lower bands at school:

> *"I was good at French but they stopped it at third year because they said other subjects were more important for greens - we were denied languages and computers because as far as they were concerned, greens and yellows were thickoes....Reds and blues got typing and computers and that, things that lead to office jobs and that - no-one from yellow is working."*
>
> (Callaghan 1991 p83-84).

Some people were in schools operating a similar system in Sunderland North, Rebecca said of her school:

> *"In the first year we were divided into ability groups, I was in the middle so I was in the same class as all the other people if you know what I mean - we didn't get to know people in the top class - we didn't get on with them, they were snobby. We mixed with people in the bottom class."*

In the Sunderland North sample there was a similar recognition of the relation between place and educational achievement but this was not always so clearly institutionalised in the school's streaming system. Several of the former pupils of Monkwearmouth concurred with Mary's view:

> *"We were streamed for maths, English and science which was better - I preferred that system - in the classes where you weren't streamed - if you wanted to work you were disrupted by the ones who didn't - you'd get detention and that for the ones who'd made trouble."*

Sarah described the positive aspects of a more fluid system:

> *"We were streamed in some subjects after first year exams - the form group was mixed, it worked out really well - you got to know everybody, you made friends across the range. It was a friendly class and we all got on really well."*

Nevertheless, as Gordon pointed out, there was still a divide:

> *"...people from Southwick and other areas come and they had a lot of problems - the new Head made a big difference...The kids from Southwick were mostly in he lower streams - one or two were higher up".*

Ann also recognised the difference that place makes:

> *"Monkwearmouth School took people from different areas, the people from Southwick tended not to be as badly behaved as other people from Southwick area. I don't know why - perhaps its because a lot of people from round here went to Redhouse and Its got a pretty bad reputation - in general people from Fulwell do better."*

Several people pointed to the disparity in outcome between schools. Sue, who attended Hylton Redhouse, talked about the difference between schools and the effect of reputation on the quality of education:

> *"It was alright while you were there but most people didn't like their children to go there - it had a bad name - because of the kids - the lasses used to come out of school and pick on old people in the flats - they were just beyond control anyway. We had so many stand in teachers - the teachers were off sick they couldn't get staff to replace teachers who left - no-one took any notice of them, they were too soft. The Catholic schools made them take notice - Pennywell School has the same name."*

Emma however had attended Pennywell School and described a rather different experience:

> *"I went to that school, I mean I got a lot of stick about going to that school - I knew a lot of people who went to different schools, like Southmoor, better reputable schools and I loved Pennywell because I had the chance to prove that I could do something - I mean I've got trophies for achieving goals and I was musical up until I left school, I mean I didn't have the money to carry that on but, (hesitates) the area was - I*

mean the school got the reputation from the area that was, I mean - a handful of people giving the school a bad name and I couldn't understand it, I mean I was worried about going to the school when I first joined and I mean, it couldn't have been better. I mean there was a lot of divorced families, which I'm from anyway and single parent families and they (teachers) all understood.

I went all the way through and came out with my exam results and I mean, I could have done better but I got an A and a B and 5 C's. The lowest I got was a D. I loved everything that was going on in the school and I was praised by my mam and dad and they kept us going - you know"

On the whole however people from all areas related performance as well as standing and reputation of schools to the locality from which they drew their student population.

The spatial divide was most keenly felt by one lad who attended St. Aidan's Roman Catholic school:

"I could've gone to Redhouse but it hasn't got a very good reputation - it's a rough area, there's lots of trouble - I didn't want to go there anyway so me parents sent me over (the river) - its the same as any other school - there are those that do well and those that go to mess about.

I didn't like it much, they had a prejudice against people from Southwick - they said they didn't want people of 'our sort' representing the school. Me parents complained - the headmaster was sympathetic but nothing changed.

We were streamed and there was a pattern there - Southwick people tended to be in the bottom stream - I've just been doing a project on it - most of the people who lived close - in Ashbrooke, were in the top bands. "

This difference was seen by some from the poorer locality as a lost opportunity.

Colin described his experience. He remembered two children who were *"at the same level"* as him at junior school but who, by going to Royal Grammar school, had secured places in *"good universities"* while he felt he had underachieved in going to Teesside. He went on to explain that:

> *"Hylton Redhouse's not very good, too many people don't work at school and the teachers can't impose discipline... I wouldn't send my children to Redhouse. It seems to have got worse, the teachers are sick of it - the few times I've been back there's hardly any teachers left from when I was there - It's the estate, there's nothing for the kids to do - they just wander round the streets. There seems to be quite a few people who've went to that school and have had the ability to do well but they'd rather be disruptive. Some of the teacher's think 'you'll do nothing with that lot'. I could've done better at a different school... it wasn't a hard working atmosphere."*

Here again we can see the complex interaction between structure and action expressed in people's accounts. Colin identified the effect of living on his estate both on the pupils and in turn upon the teachers in the local school. The reason why Monkwearmouth doesn't have this outcome, according to these accounts, is not that some of the children are not from poor areas, but that because of its affluent pupils, the dominant culture of expectations is different.

This is not a complete account and here we perhaps can turn to action to explain the different paths people took. In Hendon, Eve, discussing her thoughts about the summary of research which I had sent her, said:

> *"I read your thing about the bands divided the classes and I think that was true - the majority of people in the top band were from Hillview and Grangetown. I think even though me, Barbara and Karen all lived in the same street and had similar backgrounds - we were all in the top band - but it's like what you make it - none of us was any brighter than any other.. but..."*

There may be critical decisions that people take at points in their lives which set them on different trajectories. As Barbara demonstrated however, predisposing factors may have sufficient force to enable people to reclaim those trajectories.

Of the sample from North Sunderland, twelve people were at, or would be going to university in the coming year. Seven of these were in Locality One, four were in

Locality Two and One came from Locality Three. Of these five would go to University in Sunderland.

Not surprisingly most young people saw the relevance of school and qualifications in terms of job outcomes. For some this meant the need to gain higher level qualifications.

Hazel told me, "*anyone who isn't going away to university, there's not much hope for them*". Her determination to do so sprung in part from the disadvantages under which she felt she laboured, yet another example of the interrelation of action and structure through a reflexive process:

> "*Me mam used to say to me 'prove them all wrong' because the politicians say that one parent families' kids never get anywhere. I'm determined to show them I can do it - and prove it for myself.*"

Emma described one of the factors involved in a decision about staying on.

> "*When you go to college, if you do 'A' levels, you haven't got works experience - down in Sunderland it's references. Anybody could have done 'A' levels but they don't know what type of person you are, how you get on in the working environment. If you've worked they know you're going to be the type of person for the job. In Dumfries they'll give anybody a chance to prove themselves... but you don't find that here, you don't get that extra chance.*"

The important but difficult question to answer is what shapes people's aspirations. These accounts would suggest that school and locality have an effect but it is not a determining effect. People do leave Redhouse, with all its problems, to go to university. Both Ann's and Colin's accounts, in their own ways, illustrate the interaction of action and structure and particular relations between the two which can be explained using Bourdieu's notions of habitus and field.

Education, Employment and Unemployment

Many of the people taking higher qualifications in Sunderland North were doing so because there were no jobs. They would have been in the labour market in Hendon five years before. This places their greater level of Sunderland orientation in context and, if there were any inference to be drawn, it would be that social class is more important than qualifications in determining orientation.

The conversations I had with people illustrated the way in which carrying on in education was a marginal decision.

Charles from the affluent locality had applied for university both in and out of Sunderland. He had left school at the age of 16 and studied for a BTEC First (Business and Technician's Education Council) on a Youth Training scheme. When the scheme came to an end he told me, *"everyone else got jobs, I didn't so I went to college"*.

This was a common theme among the people I interviewed illustrated, although she was not describing her own aspirations, by Victoria's comment:

> *"A lot of people apply to the University in case they can't get a job in the summer holidays."*

People were moving in and out of the labour market, between education, unemployment, training schemes and work in a more fluid way than they did in Hendon five years before.

Robert is on a three-year course to train as a Dental Technician. He typifies many young people who told me that entry into further or higher education came about because work was not available, rather than from a desire to continue in education:

"I left school at 16, it was either get a job, which there weren't any going round, or go to college."

Jason gave up college to take a part-time job, *"when you're at college you've got no money so I packed it in to get a job in shop"*. Unfortunately the shop closed and after six months on the dole Jason was on an Employment Training Scheme for bricklaying. He would be completing NVQ (National Vocational Qualification) Level 2 in the coming year and said that if there were no jobs available after that, he would go to Wearside College to study for Level 3.

This uncertainty permeates the levels of higher education as well as lower levels of qualification. Ryan had studied BTEC 'Art and Design' at Monkwearmouth College and was accepted onto the HND (Higher National Diploma) course at Newcastle College.

"I'll see what the prospects of getting a job are after that - if not I'll go on to a degree."

Ryan felt a degree would: *"... give us a better chance to get in the advertising world - you've got to get experience and they put you on a months work experience. They put you on a month's work experience - if you get on well they might keep you on".*

A number of people pointed to the importance of the placement year in a degree course as an introduction to a prospective employer.

For many young people then the move into work was being delayed against their own inclinations and this is significant in terms of the quality of experience which young people derive from their education, the value they place on it and their experience of citizenship.

Eleanor was applying for work in the large local stores as a Display Artist but would go to the University in Sunderland if she was unsuccessful:

"If I haven't heard anything by the summer I'll probably end up going to college 'cos you can get a grant if you go on a higher course - I can't go anywhere because I never have any money. I'm not very interested in it."

She had been *"pushed into"* applying for the course at Sunderland University by her brother who was studying there: *"he thought I'd be really good at the Natural History course, but I hate drawing, I like producing ideas"*. Entry into higher education was frequently not marked by excited anticipation of future potential, but rather by a recognition of the dismal alternatives. Eleanor talked about her brother's model making course which she was also considering:

"... if I was to do that, I don't know what I'd do - I mean the course is going degree in September so I'd come out with a degree but I'd have the BTEC as well so... I don't know what I'd do".

This illustrates a point, which will be developed in the next chapter, about Jenkins' (1983) relation of specific goals to outcomes. Frederick similarly told me:

"I was thinking about going into work actually because my group of friends weren't like, academically inclined, so I was thinking about going off with them - but I got a couple of interviews, like, tests but nothing came out of them so I went to Bede College ... I don't think I really would've took a job if I'd got one - I've always had college at the back of my mind - I just took the interviews to see - I've always wanted to go to college - I'm not sure why, just didn't want to scrimp and save all my life to get by, I'd like to be comfortable."

The decision is clearly a balanced one. The possibility of employment would attract many of the young people, now entering higher education, in another direction. Those who can get work will take it now rather than risk the future. People in the 1993 sample were moving from school to college, to schemes, to work and back to college in a much more fluid way than in the past. Some were entering University without any clearly formulated notion of why they were going. Some certainly would follow the traditional trajectories into professional and academic careers but the shift which has occurred in relation to education and employment was dramatic.

At one level this is entirely obvious, but the point is that many young people are not embracing improved opportunities in education as a route into higher rewards of employment but rather as a way of simply staying off the dole. Mary's place on a Technology Management degree at Sunderland University was one for which she had neither applied nor particularly wanted. After a number of rejections for the course of her choice:

> *"...I got a letter saying they'd changed my offer to Technology Management. I didn't have a clue what that was 'cos I'd applied for Social Sciences and it was nothing like it, so I went to careers to find out what it was and I decided to do it - It wouldn't have been so bad if it had been something relevant but it was nothing to do with it."*

The point of this chapter has been to provide information about the sample which acts both as an exemplar of the structural bases of people's experience and which can begin to identify recognisable accounts of individuals. It has sought to allude to, rather than to discuss, the meaning of those experiences because they are complex and must be comprehended as wholes. That discussion, I would argue, can only be satisfactory when the separate areas of people's lives can be reassembled.

The complexity of the social world, as Catherine Marsh (1982) has pointed out, means that in any model we may only be able to explain a fraction of all of the factors which have effect. Nonetheless an account based in the understanding of habitus and field which I have begun to outline, requires that we see the structure in people's action and do not seek explanations in terms of the random effects of individual factors such as personality.

The fact that the social world is complex should not deter us from trying to identify important structures, or from recognising the impossibility of simply isolating factors to provide an account along a single dimension. This does raise the problem of

standpoint, but I think it is possible to unpick signs of capitalism and patriarchy as well as the particularising effects of locality.

I have begun this account in terms of young people's relation to employment, education and to place and I have framed these issues according to class, gender and locality. The next chapter, chronologically, continues the story of the young people begun here. It will deal with their experience and expectations of the labour market and the transitions they are making. In the succeeding chapters I will develop the account in terms of young people's expectations of their working and domestic lives as well as their experience as citizens both at a formal level and within their local communities.

Chapter 7   Labour Market Experience

This chapter will deal with the issues of transition into the labour market, experience and expectations of work among young people in both samples. It will relate changes in employment and industrial structure to the kinds of work young people are moving into. In addition to these structural elements it will examine young people's actions, and expectations, in order to establish a basis for understanding the ways in which they propose to negotiate the move into adulthood and family life. The focus is on the significance of crisis in the industrial structure compounded by crisis in lifestage and the ways in which we can see different trajectories emerging from their interaction.

The chapter then, will document young people's experience of an uncertain labour market, their encounters with training schemes, work (casual and permanent), and unemployment, and the effects of these experiences on wage expectations. The traditional response to some of the problems encountered in relation to these factors might have been collective action through the trade union, and the chapter will conclude with a review of the ways in which people perceive the relevance of such action now.

The samples echo the picture of change in Sunderland which was drawn in Chapter 4. In Hendon, in 1987, thirteen of the forty respondents had entered full time work while eleven remained in education. In 1992 only nine of the forty-two eighteen-year-olds had entered full time work and a further twenty remained in education. The changing nature of work is also of interest and will be explored further here.

Emma compared the labour markets in Dumfries and Sunderland and the limited

opportunities for employment concentrated in the low paid service sector:

> *"In Dumfries I lived in - I was paid £85 for a 42 hour week.... But it was very comfortable living there.... Here it's 16 hours for £3 an hour - but in Dumfries you can walk about and McDonalds are wanting people all the time - every where's wanting staff. The Jobcentres are packed with jobs for younger people and I mean, here you don't see that."*

> *"In waitressing I don't think I could get in without experience - in Dumfries people come straight out of school - my sister's sixteen but she couldn't go into a hotel and ask for a job without experience."*

The experience of work was valuable for Emma in other ways:

> *"I've got more confidence now - you have to be able to speak to people - the bosses encourage you to speak to people if your standing about doing nothing they say 'go and have a nice chat with the guests'."*

The demand for labour also meant a more relaxed situation for people seeking work:

> *"In Dumfries they will give anybody a chance to prove themselves.. but you don't find that here, you haven't got that extra chance."*

Unlike the Hendon group, eighteen-year-olds in 1993 were involved in part-time

work while the proportion in full time work had significantly reduced.

The distribution of this involvement had also changed in that, while in Hendon in

1987 a high proportion of those in Band One were in full time education, this

experience had been generalised across the classes by 1993. The significant issue

then becomes the quality of that education and whether that is stratified.

To understand the nature and quality of the change in experience we must turn to

the ethnographic account. Increased participation in education has to be set in the

context of the rest of the labour market as Jane, back at college after YTS, pointed

out, *"there's no jobs now is there?"*

Hendon - Labour Market Experience

At eighteen, comparing with their parents' generation, I saw a change in the nature of the work which young people were expecting to get. This comprehended the decline in the skilled manual jobs as well as in the traditional working class woman's employment and the rise in service and casualised work. At twenty-four we should be able to learn whether this is a settled pattern or whether young people's entry into skilled positions was simply delayed.

Male Social Class Band One

In 1992-3 all but one of the males from the top social class grouping were entering or on their way to their predicted professional destinations. Craig represented the exception, by becoming a 'new age' traveller.

Male Social Class Band Two

In the second group Barry had achieved, through a combination of educational qualifications and work training, a central position in work in an engineering firm. He was making his way up an established career ladder and hoped to become a manager in his firm eventually through studying for an MBA (Masters Degree in Business Administration).

Henry had a trade, as a butcher and Peter was still working his way through surveyors' exams.

All had a sense of security in their skill/profession if not in their particular firm.

Male Social Class Band Three

In the third group Tom had completed his apprenticeship, started in the shipyards, with Coles Cranes, but apart from a short period of casual work, had been unemployed since then. He had been placed in this third group on the basis of his own assessment of the future for him and had found this to be borne out by experience.

> *"I was apprenticed as a fitter, there's no call for it now...it's a shipyard skill. The men down the pits are in the same boat."*

Tom's background lay in the skilled, affluent working class.

In the original research I noted, 'Tom and Andrew's parents would have liked them to stay on at school but were equally happy for their children to leave and go to work. These lads considered their parents' view of the possibility of staying on as a real alternative against the background of high unemployment. There was clearly a sense for both of them that their parents had expected them to "do better" than themselves when in fact they appeared to be unlikely to do as well (1991, p81).

In fact Andrew had found his way into the upper social class group through inheritance, while Tom was undoubtedly one of the last shipyard apprentices who had been prepared for and had almost made it, into skilled working life. A number of the young men I talked to both in Hendon and in Sunderland North related to the change in these futures based on their father's generation.

Scott talking about Castletown as a community told me:

"Me granddad says, 'you went in the pit or the shipyard. If your da worked in the pit you went in the pit, If he worked in the shipyards you went in the shipyards'."

Grant told me:

"I would have been happy in the shipyard and I would have been getting a trade."

For them the shipyard represented an alternative but no longer attainable, future which would have meant quite a different life in work and probably therefore in their family and community. It is important because it the context within which these young men grew up and provided the basis for their expectations.

The significance of the capital, social cultural or economic, possessed is evident here. Tom had developed a form of capital which at other times would have served him well, but which had no value in a restructured world. Here we see the most immediate and obvious effect of crisis because it occurred within the short span of Tom's working life. It exemplifies the disjuncture between habitus and field. Others' experience supports, although in rather less dramatic personal terms, this major change in the labour market.

The heavy industrial skills were not available to the group I interviewed in 1992-3. Barry was able, through education, to improve upon the standing (although not necessarily the standard of living) of his own father, made redundant from a more traditional trade. Barry was earning £17,000 a year when I met him for the second time, while his partner worked part time. He told me, *"there's nothing I can't do"*. The couple have no children, they enjoy relative affluence, a car, holidays abroad and look forward to continuing that standard of living.

For Peter, with professional aspirations the future was not so straightforward. He had chosen to leave school at 16 and was gaining qualifications through a 'correspondence course'. He had already experienced the setback of failing his first year degree exams and this, together with his low income and engagement to be married, had made him re-evaluate his earlier ambitions. He was considering giving up his career (and current earnings of £4,950 a year) to try for a more highly paid job at Nissan.

These examples illustrate both action and structure in the interaction of habitus and field, and we can see the relationship working throughout the sample.

It would have been incomprehensible for instance, for Stewart to have 'dropped out' because of both his central position and his own understanding of that. In Craig's case, however, despite his strong position structurally, his own orientation to the labour market was not in any sense instrumental. His intention to '*do something monumental*' suggested, when I interviewed him at eighteen, that any established career would be constraining. The point is that he *could* have gone in either direction.

This brings us to consideration of the two kinds of crisis discussed in Chapter 3: the crisis of industrial change expressed by Tom and Grant and the crisis of personal lifestage. The first of these is clearly structurally based and the important question is how people act in relation to it. The second, the lifestage crisis, may appear to be a personal, action crisis but also has clear structural elements.

Martin illustrates this latter point. At the age of eighteen he was set on a trajectory which had involved a crucial decision about education vs. other acceptable local cultural choices. By the time I saw him again in his early twenties a predictable, but entirely divergent, future was open to him. He reflected on both class and locality because he had become aware of differences based in these issues during his period at university. Talking about the choices he had made, Martin said:

> *"I always wanted to do different things from the people I was at school with - I didn't like the way people conformed to what was expected - the very traditional things - I didn't really want to go and get a job when I left school - I went to college and did 'A' levels".*

Martin articulated the individual effects of the structure/action interaction in response to a question about whether friendships had changed. He told me:

> *"Yeah - it's interesting. I was at college and I saw a guy from the Foundation course and it was one of the most difficult forty minutes I'd ever spent with anyone 'cos I'd obviously changed. I have kept in contact with three friends from Foundation but none before that- I don't see any of them - you just lose touch. "*

This talk of personal change is a way of articulating both structural force and action in relation to it. In my research the concern with the personal is important in so far as it embodies the social and here I am seeking to draw out the ways in which that is visible. Martin's account further illuminates this point.

Martin took a pride in his ability to compete and 'beat' people from middle class backgrounds and he accepted some and rejected other elements of his own working class culture.

> *"I've always maintained a strong sense of where I come from...the class I come from and the area I come from, but I try not to be hindered by it. ....*
> *It's* (the University) *not a place for class antagonism but you still feel something of an outsider beneath that - which in a sense is rewarding*

because I've done well at college - I'm working next to people who come from Hampstead - the meritocracy - and I've enjoyed doing better than them."

Andrew similarly moved out of his set trajectory. Andrew 's father was a joiner and had hoped that Andrew would 'do better', commenting when he was eighteen, *"if you're going to be a joiner I'll chop your fingers off"* (Callaghan 1991). Far from improving on his father's position, Andrew had struggled through YTS and worked on building sites before giving it up to go to work as a barman in Tenerife. His future was changed quite dramatically by inheritance from his grandmother which enabled him to go into partnership in business. Andrew reflected upon the identity problems created by his sudden change in status.

"I leave tellin' off the staff to Gary, I've only been there six weeks so it would be wrong for me to tell them off - the staff are good. I find meself worryin' about things I wouldn't two months back - I can feel meself changin' a bit, I said to me mates 'if I change tell us' I said ' I don't want your attitudes to change to me'."

These are examples of ways in which the discord between expectations and experience make people conscious and reflexive about their situation. They have effects not only on working life but also in the family and in civil society, as we shall see later.

These critical choices are not new or peculiar to a period of restructuring. In some jobs, such as the construction industry, uncertainty is an accepted feature of working life.

Keith was married with one child and was working and trying hard in Sunderland. His major worry was job insecurity and its effect on their ability to plan for the future. He earned £180 per week but wanted training to be raised to a skilled status

because, he told me, *"I do a plumber's job but I get a labourer's wage"*. He was

content that he had a job. The individualism of the current experience of work told

him that, rather than point to the exploitation involved in casualised work and the

lack of recognition for the skill he had developed, he should be grateful to an

employer who offers him work at all. *"I've got Regal House to thank..."*

At certain periods in history that experience of insecurity is generalised and when

this happens it must give rise to wider implications at a societal level. The personal

challenges faced by Keith and his wife take on a different quality when everyone

faces them.

Three men were unemployed with no prospect of work. Tom I have already

mentioned. Gary and Paul had had only casual experience of employment since

leaving school. Both had criminal records from their teenage years but were not

involved in criminality now. They had been part of the oppositional culture of

school life and had never been able to get a purchase on a 'proper job'. They would

undoubtedly have been in Willis' group of lads in 1977; the difference being that

there would have been a job for them to come out into. Both were now fathers and

were living with their families. Paul held to the model of work which he had

outlined to me when he was eighteen. Real work was manual:

> *"I couldn't just sit around writing I'd have to do something hard. It's not
> very hard work just sittin' in an office. I'd rather just get a job an' work
> hard than sit in an office bored silly."*

Female Social Class Band One

Of the five women in this group, all but one followed their trajectories established at the age of eighteen. Georgette was the only member who had left her course in higher education and returned to Sunderland eventually taking up a clerical occupation.

Female Social Class Band Two

Eve was the most highly qualified of the next group. She was leaving Sunderland to take up a job in London. Angela had embarked upon nursing training in Sunderland and would remain in the area. The remainder of group the comprised: two (relatively secure) bank clerks, one woman who after a period of unemployment, which she described as *"nightmare city"*, felt fairly secure in her work as a shop assistant, and two women, both largely unemployed until they had recently secured full time, although temporary, clerical work. Sandra, Pamela and Susan had become full-time mothers.

Female Social Class Band Three

In social class band three, Leslie, Barbara and Deborah had all become full-time mothers.

All of those who were working were in service occupations. They were subsidised by parents because their pay was too low to allow them to move into their own homes independently. This was true for the women in the banking jobs although for them it represented a choice over maintaining cars and a good lifestyle. It was most clearly true for the women in temporary employment. Only 10% of the sample were

independent in 1987. This had increased to 56.7% in 1992 however it also points to the fact that by the ages of 23 and 24 more than 40% of the sample were still dependent on parents. This is certainly longer than most of them had projected. Only one person in the sample (male), who answered a question about income, was actually earning above £10,000 per year. The level of dependence on parents is a further indicator of general low-income level with several of the independent being on Supplementary Benefit.

For the women who became mothers, their relationship with the labour market and expectations of it were completely separate. They were not however a homogenous group. Barbara who was married and had her first baby at eighteen had taken GCSEs before having her second child. Her husband was in skilled work as a glasscutter and she was planning, on her son's entry to school, to take 'A' levels and go on for Teacher Training. She told me that the couple had had their children quickly to make this possible. *"We decided to have him* (second child) *so close so that I could go on."* She was the only mother to have formulated specific plans for the future.

Lesley thought she would return to work via study:

> *"I'll go back when she's five - I was gunna do clerical work at the training centre - even part time it was 10.15 - 2.30 - it's too long to leave her. Me mam said she'd watch her but I could see...they're hard work. I'm gunna have to go to college. I'll have to try and learn some computers..."*

For the others however the problem earning enough to make work worthwhile was significant. Sandra:

"It would be good to have a job that would get me off the dole, when Michael's at school it would have to be...you'd have to pay poll tax. They just get you all ways, it's mostly schemes - £10 on top of your dole."

Pamela had enjoyed the freedom of not having to go out to work and said she would never return to employment. As a shopworker, she could not earn enough to keep her family going.

There was very clear evidence that motherhood presented a major hurdle to women who wanted or needed to work. For Pamela, Leslie and Sandra, being single mothers, the patriarchal structure of the labour market and the nature of state benefits meant they were trapped between low paid jobs and poor benefit levels. They experienced the added complication, common to all mothers, of arranging satisfactory childcare for any periods when they might be at work.

In both male and female jobs there were different levels of security but I came across no-one who felt confident that they had a 'job for life' and only one man who identified strongly with the organisation he worked for (a large supermarket chain).

The experience of unemployment was widespread with only 20% of the sample having no experience and 33.3% having had periods of unemployment which cumulatively came to a year or more. 66.7% of the sample had had some experience of full time employment by the age of 24 compared with only 40% in 1987.

There were some people who had set up their homes and families on the dole and were, *"... despite their unemployment...continuing to claim their adulthood"* (Hutson and Jenkins 1989 p153). This included two men who were living with their partners and children, although each described difficulties attendant upon it for their relationships. Among the women two lived with working partners, Susan's husband

had only recently started work in one of the Nissan satellites. She told me that living on the dole with two children had been, "*a hell of a struggle, it tore us apart actually*". Christine lived with her partner but had considerable support from her parents who were relatively affluent. Sandra was divorced from her husband while Lesley and Pamela were claiming independently of their partners.

So there was a considerable degree of consistency with the trajectories established at eighteen and the follow up study confirms the findings in the original research about the shift in the nature of work across the generations. Social class of origin, modified by educational achievement continued to be a reliable predictor and for several, Wallace's (1987) mismatch model continued to hold. Those with professional careers in mind had left or were leaving, while the Sunderland orientated were the teachers and nurses for whom the availability of employment in the locality was a determining factor in the choice of occupation.

Relation to the labour market for those who defined themselves as working or unemployed was more important in their discussion of identity than any leisure pursuits they engaged in. While I take note of Paul Willis (1992) point that in the absence of employment leisure may become increasingly important, the evidence from my sample seemed to be that in Sunderland people saw themselves as workers without jobs rather than in terms of any alternative estimation of identity.

Sunderland North - Labour Market Experience

Some people in Sunderland North, just as in Hendon, were still in full time education. Some had entered the labour market through YTS (Youth Training

Schemes) while others had returned to education after unsuccessful attempts to find work. 59.5% of the sample had experience of full time post 16 education. The questions concerning the meaning of that change will be dealt with in the ethnographic account.

To summarise experience so far however. Most of those who were apprenticed had begun their apprenticeship on YT schemes. A very small proportion of the sample had gone straight into full time work. 40.5% of the sample had had some experience of full time work, although this included any experience, however short-lived. Only one person considered themselves independent of their parents.

There was a gender imbalance with more males having experience of Youth Training than females. 57% of males compared with 38% of females had done YTS. Relating to locality it was only for those in the poor locality that Youth Training became a majority experience.

Government Training Schemes

47.6% of the sample as a whole had experience of Youth Training. 14.3% had been taken on full time 16.7% had returned to the dole and a further 16.7% had either not yet completed the scheme or had left prematurely.

In terms of outcome the split in getting a job from YTS was even across all three localities. Localities 2 and 3 had equal amounts of unemployment and but those in Locality Three had the highest number of unfinished schemes.

Charles, from Locality One, had done one year YTS and a BTEC 1ˢᵗ. There was no

job at end of his 6 months in placement:

> *"It was a - feeder plant for Nissan - they said there were no jobs there*
> *from the beginning but I enjoyed it - it gave you a sense of achievement."*

He returned to college to take further qualifications and expected to go to

University.

The uncertainty of outcome was a dominant theme in most accounts. Some people

had worked for two years believing they were working themselves into a job. Grant

said:

> *"It's luck whether you get kept on. Some people work hard and then get*
> *finished - everybody thought I was getting kept on - I was gutted - you*
> *haven't got a trade. I would have been happy in the shipyard and I*
> *would've been getting a trade. There aren't so many manual jobs now -*
> *I'm not bothered what type of job I get, just as long as I have a job - some*
> *money to enjoy my youth. I didn't have enough on YTS..."*

Kate doing Youth Training in the clerical section of the same firm, said:

> *"I don't think they would just throw me out on the street after 2 years.*
> *They don't say anything but.... I don't know if they are happy with me...*
> *I'm quite laid back, it'll be alright."*

Some of the work was hard and stressful while the financial rewards are poor and

people felt the injustice of this.

Rachel left school and undertook Youth Training organised by Springboard:

> *"... like a care assistant, I didn't like that 'cos I had to get up at 6 o'clock*
> *every morning.... I didn't have to do shifts - it was 8(am) - till 5(p.m.)*
> *every day although on YTS you're only supposed to do 9 till 4 so I don't*
> *know how they worked that out. The first day I went, one of them died -*
> *it was a bad first day but it was alright after that."*

She lost her place on the scheme because she was absent for 3 weeks:

"I had to stop off anyway - me friend was having a bairn and I had to look after her other two while she was in hospital. There's not much chance of a job most people I know haven't got one."

Rachel's expectation was that there would be no job at the end and her approach to it was consequently different from those who saw their YTS as a precursor to employment. In addition the financial reward was poor: *"getting £29 a week when you're 17, even £35 it's still not very worthwhile"*.

Jason had started a GCSE course at Monkwearmouth but left after two months to work as a part-time shop assistant earning £57 per week. When the shop closed he was unemployed for six months. He started Employment Training in bricklaying: *"most people start with YTS and if its good they stay - there are some apprenticeships but they start on YTS, do the last 2 years as apprentices"*.

On ET he receives £44 a week, *"I like it, the lads are OK"*. Of Youth Training he said:

> *"You're not employed. They're good basically but its only £30 a week, by the time you pay your board you've got nowt left. I know a lad doing the same work as somebody getting' £200 a week - but he's gettin' YTS money."*

Scott started a Youth Training mechanics course but:

> *"I got finished after 4 or 5 months 'cos there was no placements. I was waiting for a placement but there was quite a few of us got finished. They just explained, with the recession and that there was no placements - we were just sitting about."*

Scott's partner had come to Sunderland from Hertfordshire and she compared the two places.

> *"The attitude is different up here - my sister was told to go onto YTS instead of going to college - that's what happens up here if you're told*

that's all you're good for - its great if you get a job a the end of it, but a lot of people don't get anything - they've got the ability if they try... when they get older, in their 20's... they go back to college because they've seen they can't just go out and get a job. "

Emma also with the perspective of labour market experience elsewhere said:

"YTS jobs are not really heard of in Dumfries. I know a few 16 year olds that's just left school - the way they talked about college was a lot different than the way my sister talked about college - it was just another further education for them you know - and they had part-time jobs to cover them... there its a way of life - you just walk into a shop that's advertising Saturday jobs and you're more or less guaranteed you're going to get it'. Round here it's more like - you're leaving school - it's YTS. "

"You see I was the type of person who - I wouldn't say I wouldn't lower myself... but I refused...I mean the Careers Adviser said 'We can put you on a late YTS in a hospital or something' - that was when I finished my A levels - an' I said, 'I'm not working them hours for the wage they get', - I says, 'that is slave labour, its not right' ... I says 'if I can get a proper job...' I mean there's not a lot of people get a job from YTS because the employers just take on another YTS. They just go on the dole, its not right. "

Personal experience and expectations were important to views about Youth Training. Some schemes were obviously an introduction to work and young people were prepared to put up with the scheme for the eventual benefit of a job. Others would not lead to anything, or had not fulfilled their original promise, and left young people feeling let down and disillusioned. The stratified nature of YT schemes has been discussed in research (McKie 1987, Mizen 1995) and was recognised by the young people I talked to.

Daniel:

"Some people say 'I'm surprised you've stuck it so long', but if you get a canny firm and they keep you on after... I know some lads who've stuck it for 2 years and then they say 'sorry we don't want you' - it depends on the manager, some of them just use you for cheap labour".

Sue started work as a hairdresser on YTS:

"I stayed there more than 2 years 'cos I thought she was gunna keep us on - she wanted me to stop there but she wanted a YTS as well - she didn't keep me on. - I went for interviews and got another job."

Wage Expectations

None of this sample thought they were well paid and they recognised the dampening effect of YTS on wage expectations

Ryan is at college but reflected on YT schemes:

"Since they brought all the YTS and that in - if you can get a job that's better paid than that you'd be lucky.... You think you're doing well if you get higher."

"When you're leaving school it's quite OK. 'cos you can't really buy a house then - it gives you a bit of experience... but when you're 18 or 19 you're getting more in the way of getting jobs and then the money's nothing really... but I suppose its money in your pocket... but if you want to start setting up your life its not really any good. A couple of friends have gettin' a job after doin' YTS but not many - it's a good thing for leaving school but not for 18 year olds".

This disconnection from full time work has implications for expectations. Scott described his experience:

"There was a question at the dole about the lowest wage you'd work for - I didn't fill it in 'cos I didn't know 'cos I'd only been on YTS. The lady in the dole put down £80 a week she said 'because you're young and you've got no experience."

This was evident also in the Hendon sample where Alison, for example, described her feelings when she recently started temporary work: *"It's the first proper job I've had.* She was very happy with her pay: *"£150 a week - it seems a fortune to me after unemployment benefit".*

Without exception those who were working considered their wage too low to set up their own homes and most were not in apprenticeships which would eventually yield

much higher pay, but in service employment which would continue at the same level.

Naturally people compared their own wage against that of their contemporaries so that a 'good wage' was not necessarily assessed on the basis of what it enabled you to do so much as in the comparison to more poorly paid friends or YTS. I asked people what they thought would be a reasonable wage. Matthew told me:

> *"I don't know really, I don't know much about jobs. The wages I know of - some people in my class work for £3 an hour at Food Giant - that seems alright - somebody else works at Dorothy Perkins for £1.80 an hour."*

Having a job however, was recognised as most important. Oliver had completed a YTS at I.J.Dewhirst and was taken on full-time he was, *"not really happy with it"*, and was looking to improve his qualifications to get a better job. Oliver earned £106 a week, *"I'm on a poor wage"*, but he wouldn't leave because he considered himself fortunate to be working.

There was no sense of a 'rate for the job'. Sue compared the rates of pay in her salon.

> *"The girl I went to college with gets £65 a week and I get £50, I don't know why - It was my 18th birthday in May and it went up to £45 from £40 and then to £50 - he's more bothered about how much work you're doing on the till...That girl, gettin' £65 and I'm the same as her, maybe she's more experienced. It's a poor wage, compared to all the people I've gone to college with and what they're getting now - I get tips so that helps."*

So some people had experience of a full time job, but the nature and quality of the work was very variable. People reflected upon their conditions of work and level of autonomy.

Rory is the most highly paid person in this sample. He works for an engineering

firm which he chose in preference to Nissan:

> *"I got this job a month before I was going to Nissan - It's all work and no*
> *breaks - it's too intense. Where I work at the minute you're left to your job*
> *- there's no-one looking over your shoulder. "*

He is now in the third year of an apprenticeship and is confident he will be kept on

when he comes out.

> *"Compared with the other lads I get one of the top wages. In the first year*
> *I got £82 a week 42% of grade 1. Now I'm on 65% of Grade 1. When I'm*
> *out of my time I'll go on to grade 1 wage £970 a month. There's always*
> *overtime every week - I think I can come out with £1000 per month on a*
> *full wage and overtime. Most people seem to do alright on that wage. "*

Nonetheless Rory was experiencing employer's attempts at immiseration of working

conditions and pay.

> *"The wage is better at Nissan but conditions are better at Boons - the*
> *money wouldn't change my view on their working methods. Boons is trying*
> *to implement some of the Nissan style of workmanship - they're trying to*
> *have a line - a production line. Just recently I've been working on the*
> *control panel section, it's the first part where they've brought the line in,*
> *it's really boring. The trade are trying to stop it - there's less overtime as*
> *well so you can't get your wage up to a good level. "*

At the other end of the scale people were facing a certain future of low pay and

insecurity.

Rachel about to have her first child, told me:

> *"Me boyfriend was working down Villa (soft drinks firm), he's just been*
> *paid off.... Me brother's been working for Homeworthy for 12 weeks and*
> *me sisters just started work at the sewing factory. It's the first time she's*
> *had a job for ages. Me brother can always get jobs - all just for a few*
> *weeks.... Me boyfriend's just been working 10 weeks and then back on the*
> *dole. "*

"He was on a 60 hour week and he only was coming out with £180 most people get much more than that. It's not what you know, it's who you know - you get a job for 3 or 4 weeks and you're back on the dole - then there's nowt after that."

Rebecca, conversely, was happy in her more secure job as a Care Assistant, although it was poorly paid:

"We don't get holiday pay. I get £2.60 per hour so I come out with £350 per month. You get 2 weeks holiday a year and they cover your shifts and you can have another 2 weeks if you cover your own shifts...There's no double time for weekends."

She would only leave for a better paid job, *"if I could take the lasses with us - I'm happy where I am"*.

Her low wage was having an effect in her personal life however. She and her boyfriend would like to set up their own home together but their joint income isn't sufficient.

"Me boyfriend works there and we don't get enough together.... In years to come we'll get our own home - I'd like to do it now but I can't afford it".

When they start their family Rebecca told me, one of them will have to find a better paid job.

It is well recognised that youth can be exploited with low wages because they have not yet undertaken family responsibilities. Rebecca and her boyfriend work in a traditionally 'feminine' sector where such exploitation has been based on extension from the patriarchal family. The generalisation of low pay and insecurity is seeing men moving into these traditionally more female preserves, although clear cultural barriers remain. The question which then arises is how can young couples in such

circumstances establish independence and make their transitions into the adult world?

Sophie summed up the changes in Sunderland:

> *"A lot of people used to work in the shipyards and the pits - now it's all little jobs so they're low paid - it's not half as much as they used to get - specially people who haven't got the chance to do a degree - they're practically stuck."*

Service Work

A very large proportion of the people going into work were going into service jobs.

In the affluent locality, in Sunderland North, people on the whole were working toward professional and semi-professional occupations which offered a relatively high level of autonomy, status and income. In the intermediate locality there was a greater level of involvement in non-professional service occupations. None of the women were in traditional manufacturing jobs. The main jobs or qualifications sought by women were in hairdressing, beauty therapy and clerical work.

Jenny from the affluent locality, had entered hairdressing through YTS:

> *"I wanted to go into hairdressing when I left school, people say it's so hard to get jobs and I went out of school and I had a choice of places."*

She had not yet completed YTS but felt: *"if you want to do something you can do it"*. She saw her employment as a career in which the rewards of pay and promotion were low but the opportunities for creativity and control were high. She was on YTS but was confident she would be taken on:

> *"You have to work hard - it's much harder in high class salons because the standard of work is so high - I'm doing really well. After 2 years I'll*

have my own clients - that's the make or break - whether you can please your own clients. "

She described the nature of her work as, *"fantasy, everyone's in a dream world, you're like an actor you have to act".* The nature of work within occupational groups and with objectively similar conditions can have very different meanings for actors. None of the other girls I spoke to, in smaller salons, described work in these terms. For some however, the achievement of a skill such as hairdressing or 'beauty therapy' would be a way out of Sunderland.

Job Security

Only a small proportion of the Sunderland North group were absolutely secure about their future in employment while a slightly larger group were sure they would be unemployed. There is a clear relationship between locality and expectation of unemployment which follows predictable lines with very few of those in the affluent locality expecting unemployment as compared with almost one third of those in intermediate and poor localities. This of course does not reflect the quality of employment people expected but is an indicator of confidence about their place in the labour market.

In terms of the social class banding we see insecurity at all social class levels but differences within the sample were clear with only 23% of those in Band Three feeling secure or relatively secure compared with 42% of those in Band One. There was no significant gender divide here. Although women could be more confident of a job it would be both a less well paid and less secure one in Sunderland's economy.

More important seemed to be personal experience in terms of own father's position. Only people with fathers working considered themselves at no risk of being unemployed.

Related to educational qualifications, although we find insecurity throughout the sample, again the correspondence was clear. One half of those with no educational qualifications fully expected unemployment and all thought it a considerable risk. Of the group with A levels or studying at that level, 12% felt unemployment inevitable but only 12% thought it impossible with the majority in the range in between.

Insecurity in employment therefore has a very real stratified quality and we have identified the ways in which the sample divides. We can learn more from people's accounts.

Linda spoke about university:

> *"I'll have money and I think its worth it, to know that you're gunna do a job that's just gunna pay a little bit - if you get qualifications you'll get paid more."*

Conversely, Mary, halfway through a degree in Technology Management felt insecure about her future. She wasn't sure what she wanted to do as a career:

> *"I don't know I just hope I can find a job that's relevant to what I've learned, otherwise I'd do teaching. I think if I was looking of a job I'd want something in health and safety, a job with a future ... At the minute I can't see myself in a secure job - nothing is, not even teaching."*

One notable difference between the Hendon group and this group of career orientated young people lay in the concern about financing their studies. Although five years earlier people were aware that grants were poor it did not seem to be a

factor in anyone's decision about where to study. Now people were raising concerns about loans and their repayment. Linda:

> "*I'll hardly get any grant - I'll have to take out a student loan and get a part time job. I know they (parents) would help us a lot but I don't want to ask them for money.*"

Linda would go away to university but some people gave finance as their reason for remaining at home during their undergraduate years.

Jenkins (1983) made the point that the surest route into unemployment is not knowing what you want to do. The point related to young people with few qualifications but this seems to be replicating itself among more qualified young people. This may be a result of general insecurity throughout the system.

Among affluent males, Rory, who had left school at 16 with several GCSEs, told me that of three children in the family he was the only one with, "*solid foundations*". The most important aspect of work for him was security. He compared himself with his elder brother who had been an electrician in the shipyard: "*he served his time in the shipyard and then they just paid him off suddenly*". The only work which his brother had been able to get since then had been on a contract basis: "*...You can't plan, because it's all short term contracts ..you can't get the things you want*". Rory told me: "*I think I would have a secure job at Boons Supply - but the wage isn't wonderful so if I'm going to take another job I'll have to be secure in it*".

Ben and Robert were confident of their eventual, although very different plans although Robert noted a rather sudden change in his chosen field:

> *"When I applied for the course it was all how many percentage of students get a job after the course. Basically there's been a sudden drop...work placements are your best hope of getting a job."*

Dan is applying for a degree course but pointed out: *"You do a degree and there might not be a job at the end of it"*. He will go to Sunderland University and will stay at home until his degree in Sports Science is finished.

Although insecurity was felt throughout the social class scale its effects were most severe when experienced long term. Paul at 24 had been unemployed or casually employed since our first meeting. He had had a casual job at Market Force where he had worked over a two-year period:

> *"Just temporary - they finish you an' then take you on again. It was rubbish pay - £2.30 an hour. I got paid off there an' they didn't want us any more 'cos they were gettin' computers in. I've had a part time job - just odd days nothin' worth signin' off the dole for - there's a few around, £2 an hour an' that...I put in an application form but I never heard. You've got to be skilled or you've got to have done somethin'."*

Such employment prevented the development of skills or connections into the labour market.

Women had very different expectations of quality of working life and career expectations because of motherhood. This went throughout social class scale in both samples. It raises issues of sexism and motherism (Joshi 1991) in employment and the relation between point in the lifecycle and consciousness (Beechey 1983). These issues will also be dealt with in Chapter Eight.

In Hendon, Margaret articulated a common view from women about opportunities in work and the effects of gender:

> *"They say it doesn't, but I think it still does. There's still some jobs they wouldn't give a woman - I've never known a woman manager. They won't give Chief Cashier to a woman - they say the job's too heavy but if you're an ordinary cashier you have to do more than carry that."*

Job insecurity meant that women were unable to protest:

> *"At the minute you can't say a word. If you say a word against them - they've got you marked."*

One woman in Sunderland North had already been made redundant. Carol had a

full-time job as a Nursery Nurse but is now part-time and will soon be redundant:

> *"There's a lot of competition for jobs, a few of my friends still haven't got employment a year after getting their NNEB* (Nursery Nursing Qualification). *"*

She was working 2 days per week and from earning £9,200 pa as a full-time worker

but now received £254 per month net. Carol thought that, *"quite a reasonable*

wage", had it been maintained:

> *"It's been a bad experience at work, if this is what is happening to private businesses its looking very bleak. It's made me think, if the Business Centre can put so much money in - and it's just going to be left there... you can't build a future on an uncertain job."*

Unemployment

The experience of unemployment itself needs to be examined independently of job

insecurity, although the two are closely linked. We have already noted that in the

Sunderland North sample a number of people who would have been unemployed

five years before were undertaking various kinds of skill and competence training.

On the whole they did not see themselves in a positive position gaining extra

qualifications but rather as responding to an impossible job market. Tom articulated

the logic of this point of view. He described government schemes as:

"Pathetic - who's gunna work 40 hours a week for £10 doing gardens or what-have-you - suppose you go on one for a year and get City and Guilds - your employer knows it's just that you've been stuck on a scheme...Imagine bein' in the pit for thirty years and then gettin' stuck on one of them things."

The alternative view, and one with which young unemployed people must commonly contend, was expressed by Ann:

"I think there are more jobs around than people think - if you're unemployed I can't see any point in sitting around on the dole. You should be getting qualifications to enhance your chance of getting a job".

This individualistic perspective was frequently expressed and echoed the sentiments of my eighteen-year-old sample from Hendon. Those who were trying to cope with the realities of unemployment, however, saw the situation as rather less straightforward. Some people, as we saw in the previous chapter, were doing precisely what Ann recommended and had experienced the setbacks of unemployment after training.

Scott's youth training as a mechanic had been terminated because of shortage of places. He had completed a further eighteen-month training for NVQ level 1 in joinery and would do another year at college to get his level 2 and 3 certificates because there were no jobs available:

"I wanted to be a mechanic when I left school. I'd like to do joinery now. I'll have to get qualified an' hope a job comes along, you knaw? - If I get qualified an' there's no work I'll just have to try an' do something else, you knaw?"

The strains imposed by shortage of money were inevitably taking their toll on relationships. This was true for eighteen-year-olds and particularly for the twenty-three-year-olds who had become parents.

Those with partners and children described the experience of family life on the dole.

Paul saw it as the cause of his marriage failing. He was depressed by his situation:

> *"I usually get sick - you get up in the mornin' an' you're just doin' the same things. I was thinkin' of knockin' that wall (indicating the living room wall) out just for somethin' to do, 'cos I'm bored - somethin' to do."*

Angela in Hendon told me:

> *"I was out of work for about eight months and that was dreadful - after a while it's awful because you've got no money and you feel worthless because you're not doing anything worthwhile, I decided to go to college."*

Similarly Scott at the age of eighteen in Sunderland North was coping with the

strain:

> *"I think I'm easy going - whatever happens, happens - most things don't bother us - I've been looking for a job and I haven't got enough money and me an Kimberley's been fighting over it - I have to borrow off her and she hasn't got enough. It gets sickening - I know people who've got sacked from good jobs because they can't be bothered to work... It's feelin' good about yourself, you knaw. You're sittin' about all day, you've got nothin' to do... But if you've got a job, you've got somethin to get up in the mornin for and you go to work and half your days done and you can come home and sit down and have your tea and have a can of lager... go out at night and your money's in your pocket. You've worked for that so you can feel good in yourself."*

Rachel had solved the problem of boredom in unemployment by sleeping very late.

She found pregnancy difficult because:

> *"I wake up early every mornin' - an' I hate that 'cos it drags when you've got nowt to do."*

Keith, in Hendon, had been unemployed twice since we first met.

His wife told me: *"When we were on the dole, just to get out of the house - he was that sick he was prepared to take a job for £10 more than the dole - I couldn't see the point."*

Keith: *"It was the first time I'd been on the dole since I'd left school* (after 2yrs YTS and 4 years with Regal House) *plus it was just before Christmas - it hit us the first time."*

Emma, in Sunderland North, had been unemployed since her return to Sunderland 4

weeks before:

> *"I'm gettin' depressed - I'm so used to working and I feel idle. I'd do anything to go out to work... There was a framework to my life."*

Her unemployment benefit had been suspended because she left work voluntarily.

> *"I feel I haven't got my independence any more, its one thing I regret. I'm considering going back."*

> *"I've got a couple of interviews for jobs, and there was a feeling of satisfaction just getting an interview because before I went away the amount of jobs I applied for, and I didn't even get an interview - but now with that experience..."*

Emma described her route through the labour market after she left her 'A' level

studies and started looking for work:

> *"I started looking for work and it suddenly dawned on us how hard work was to find - I was at the Jobcentre all the time, if you went to the Careers Office there was nothing... then eventually from word of mouth ... me dad, me real dad, got me work in Dumfries. I thought 'well its a big step but there's nothing here', so I eventually moved to Dumfries... that's where I've been for seven months - till I come back here - it was seasonal but I could've stayed right over Christmas and that .. But the thing was I suddenly got homesick - and I made the mistake of coming down for the weekend when I was working up there and going away again made us very upset - it was the height of the season so we were really rushed off our feet and I was really stressed and I thought - I couldn't handle it... now, in a way, I'm regretting leaving my job - and now I've come back I've realised there's nothing here for young people. I mean I have been to the job centre and I've got an interview tomorrow, part-time at the Wessington (pub), and one on Monday for McDonalds."*

Emma's experience led her to reflect on the difference created by being in and out

of work for the transition to adulthood. She was considering a question about

whether her friendships had changed since leaving school:

"I suppose now - with us goin' to Dumfries- my friends up there are a lot more adult because they work, they handle their own money, they handle their own lives.

My friends down here haven't grown up 'cos they haven't had the chance. They don't have to plan their time for work - to plan their time when they can go out and if they're goin' to have a hangover the next day for work. - I mean you plan your time wisely - you think ahead. My friends down here...If you want clothes you have to plan to have the money - My friends down here, their parents pay for their clothes. My friends down here are a lot more - night-clubbin' - childish. In Dumfries we socialised, not just in night-clubs with teenagers but we went to family pubs - I wouldn't go over on a night time to the pub me dad goes in...

It's maturity and respect - you gain more respect because you're workin' apart from not havin' money to go out - they have a different attitude.

In Dumfries they've got more respect for younger people... they're gunna be the ones who pay the taxes for older people's pensions - they understand that younger people are the future. Whereas down here people don't think about the future because the pits have gone, the shipyards have gone - people are scared to think about the future."

The points Emma makes relate to the ways in which work is also a medium through which young people are socialised in their communities. The absence of work means not only loss of income but lack of development of other connections. She identifies the marginalising of a group of young people socially. While YTS attempts to fill those gaps the fact that young people do not have the status of workers inevitably affects their connections within the workplace as well as in the wider community. The immiseration of work implies the immiseration of citizenship. In addition expectations of work were not high. Suzanne described her job in Littlewoods as, *"boring and long hours"*, but commented, *"very few people are happy in their jobs now"*.

Trades Unions

Attitudes to and involvement in trades unions seemed significant as one indicator of the level of collectivism in people's world views and in their practice. In Chapter 2 we noted the significance of dominant class practices as 'regional markers'. Here I want to reflect on far such collective identity holds and how far it is undermined by philosophies of individualism and dominant employment relations.

Only three people in the Sunderland North sample were members of a trade union and no-one was active beyond membership. More people expressed indifference than supported the role of unions but no-one was actually opposed to them.

We can compare this with the Hendon sample of eighteen year olds in which sixteen people were members, (representing 40% compared with 7% of the Sunderland North sample). Two people were active in their union. By 1993 union membership for this group had declined with only five remaining members.

The only people who were members of trades unions were those in the clerical and skilled manual grades in Hendon in 1993. There was quite a clear gender divide with fewer women being members although of course this does not reflect whether a union was available to women or whether women's membership was canvassed.

In the Sunderland North group only males were actually members of trades unions and although there was some evidence of supportive attitudes from women, more than twice as many women expressed indifference as those expressing support. There are, of course, a host of issues to consider in relation to this statement which are to do with women's history of involvement in unions, the patriarchal nature of

traditional North Eastern labourism as well as the lack of rights of, or interest shown in, the casualised workforce.

Again in Sunderland North, people who are members of unions are in Class Band 2 and while supporters overall were outnumbered by those who are indifferent, the skilled manual grade was almost evenly split. In Band 3 only one was a union member. The lower level of union involvement reflects the more tenuous connection young people have with the labour market and raises the question of the effect on identity and citizenship.

In the earlier research I noted that in general people saw unions as supportive over health and safety issues and unfair dismissal, rather than as pay negotiators, and this was echoed by the young people from Sunderland North. There were some accounts from women in factory work in Hendon in 1987 of management opposition to unions and people were well aware of the Nissan agreement. It was the people in traditional manufacturing who spoke in terms of oppositional models of relations within the firm.

In 1993 some of the clerical and shop workers I talked to were using these descriptions. The fact that they did not join unions did not mean that people were uncritical of their employers and managers and they recounted management control practices which they regarded as unfair. Margaret was concerned by the insecurity in banking jobs and people's fear for their own position.

> *"They tried to change the contract - they wanted to change the working hours - well a lot of people have kids. Nobody agreed to the change but they still keep asking. Nat West have done it and you've got to try to keep up."*

Georgette, at the age of twenty-three, felt that unions had:

> *"...become a novelty. There is an underground one at work and you're not supposed to be in it, and apparently if they find out you're in it, you're out! I've made enquiries about it, it's the normal thing isn't it? You start work and you join a union - they're there for your interests".*

The experience of work was bringing consciousness of the value of unions although

for Carol, in Sunderland North, it was already too late:

> *"I don't really know what they're about - there is one - I did mean to apply but I didn't get round to it. Everything was going so well at work - but they've given us two weeks notice."*

Eve was moving from a skilled manual background through educational

qualifications into the world of business and marketing. She showed a common

ambivalence toward trade unions:

> *"I think they're losing their power, that's for sure. I wouldn't join one because I don't think they've got any clout in business - I think it's a shame because I think a trade union would be a good thing if they had the power - they're fighting for the miners now - but you can't really fight the government."*

George was working in a non union organisation:

> *"They're the owners, we're the drivers - they sit on us as much as they want and we can't do anythin' about it. The lad I work with is a good lad - we have our moments. He tells me how much he wants an' it's the same every week - on a bad week, I'll have to give him money."*

The general consensus was that unions were less attractive to join because they had

little power and while one person blamed the unions for the 'state of the country',

most thought they had been emasculated. Gary described his experience:

> *"There was one when I was on ET, polishing, and they were just sacking them like that - they never had any say in it."*

So while people on the whole thought unions had the potential to perform a valuable role, they had no confidence in their actual ability to fulfil it. Sophie's boyfriend worked for Nissan and told me they describe it as: *"the cabbage patch - you have to be stupid to put up with it - he sticks it just for a job"*. A union would be valuable, from Sophie's point of view: *"It's another voice for the worker in the country"*. She regarded restrictions on trade union rights as an attack on the individual: *"they're takin' away from your human rights"*.

Some people regarded the fact that they were working at all as a sign of the benevolence of their employer and as evidence that unions were not necessary:

> *"I think years ago - nowadays - firms is good to start with anyway, they know the score - nowadays you don't need unions."*

The problem of negotiating wages in periods of high unemployment was also recognised.

In Sunderland North there was less actual experience of unions but the attitude toward them remained broadly positive. While people recognised the importance of collective support, in practice they had little or no involvement with unions. Those who had work experience had greater knowledge of union activities but everyone regarded them as marginal. The persistence of traditional views in the workplace is evidenced by Sid, although it is tempered by the more individualistic concerns which seem characteristic of the new. Sid was a member of the TGWU:

> *"You've got more control if you're in the union - people say its good 'cos you get little discount cards in the shops. I don't know much about them in the past - I know lads at work say Labour's a union government and if you don't join the union you stand for the Tories. A lot of unions are starting to grow back up again - a lot of people diven't like the government at the minute."*

Most people would join a union if there was one in their workplace.

Daniel: *"We haven't got one. I would join one if there was one. I'd expect it to say things - we need somebody to speak up - nobody wanted to go on to monthly pay but he said, 'you've got no choice' - if we had a Union... they grumble all the time at work."*

In general views about unions were summed up by Frederick:

"Trade unions are necessary, they're interested in the welfare of the workers, the Tory party would exploit workers, they've abolished the wages councils and that. I suppose in the 1970s and 80s everyone was getting sick of the workers because of all the strikes and that but I suppose people have realised the trade unions don't do such a bad job after all and people need them."

One person raised lifecycle as an issue and this was more frequently raised in relation to interest in politics.

Lucy told me she was not a member: *"I don't really know what the union's all about really. I'm only young and it hasn't bothered us yet."*

Lucy's statement expresses a belief that young people are not citizens in the full sense of the word. The need to take an interest in your union is not inherent in the role of worker, but might come when you are older and have to take on adult responsibilities. Such a view is consistent with the way in which the labour market is structured, paying lower wages to young people and to women on the basis that they do not carry household responsibilities.

Women's Expectations

Women's expectations of work were significantly determined by their expectations of their domestic roles and this is dealt with in a later chapter. This research did show however that this difference was mediated by differences of class also.

In general women expected to experience discrimination. Sarah spoke about her chosen career:

> *"Women are still discriminated against in the medical profession. I wouldn't want to go as far as a Senior Registrar, but if I did, if I had kids and was competing against a man, the man would get it. There's still some discrimination against women without children because the recruiters are all older males."*

Bridgett commented on general discrimination in employment:

> *"I'd like to think it's equal but I still think it's biased against women - men still do have priority ...it will change but as it is..."*

In the lower reaches of the labour market discrimination confines women to certain sectors, frequently defined by their caring roles. Among the less qualified this permits the maintenance of lower pay in 'women's jobs' and is evidenced by the kinds of jobs women in this sample have taken.

Within that sphere Jenny noted the tendency for men to gain promotion over women. Speaking of her, managers she said:

> *"There's not many females in my company. Men do better out of it, I don't know why - men have always been over women - some men are better, to be a man in hairdressing you have to be good because it's looked on as a woman's job."*

The discrimination was accepted in some cases because of the nature of the work.

Nicola, from Hendon, wrote about two spheres of employment:

> *"My current job (working in a pub) is only a 'fill in' to earn something to try and pay off my overdraft and I don't think my gender affects my chances of promotion. However if I had the job I really want (oil industry or environmental consultant) gender would be an effect. For example I couldn't be employed - N. Africa or the Middle East and companies would be reluctant to take me on for rig work. However this couldn't really be classed as discrimination - it's just ease for the company. In other*

situations I would expect promotion on merit, but whether this is the case or not I've yet to find out."

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to identify the ways in which young people are encountering and dealing with change. It's focus has been on experience so it has concentrated on those who are working or looking for work rather than on people going into higher education.

I have identified earlier in the thesis the particular ways in which the labour market is structured and I have begun to identify the significance of the gender divide in employment for the different kinds of lives that men and women will lead, even in the same household. This gender divide is mediated by social class. In the professional groups similarity in gendered expectations is the closest, at least until children are born. In service and manual occupations the labour market for men is being deskilled, unemployment is high and work is increasingly insecure. For women these have been facts of life for rather longer. The new reality is that it is women who are getting the jobs, albeit jobs of poor quality, low pay and status. The generality of work is moving toward the service sector and for many young people this means they cannot, if their partner is in similar work, set up their own homes. As we shall see in the next chapters, this gender divide deepens when women move into motherhood.

Neither the moral panics about welfare dependency nor ideas about people inventing or reinventing themselves are borne out in this research. The people I have spoken to define themselves in terms of their relation to the labour market for the simple

but fundamental reason that it is this which determines their access to other resources. Only a very small proportion of the women defined themselves over a lifetime as full time mothers and these were women for whom the reality was that no job they could take would earn them enough to support their families.

The purpose of the first two findings chapters has been to begin the account in terms of actually understanding the impact of crisis in personal and in structural terms and I have pointed to the ways in which I think the people I have interviewed exemplify this process.

In so many ways the formation of family life and the relation to civil society are based on this fundamental relation to structure. I have argued that while it is undoubtedly complex, there are significant, identifiable forces structuring change and that we can begin to understand them only when we see them in their dynamic interaction. The thesis will attempt to develop an explanation in holistic terms and I have seen that as a process of building and making connections between a series of conceptual understandings. In this sense no findings chapter can stand alone and inevitably subsequent chapters will deal with employment issues alongside their main themes.

What I want to convey at this point, however, is the sense of fluidity and change, the effect of restructuring in reshaping young people's views of their world, their orientation to work, to family life, and to wider society. I have pointed to the way in which people perceive change within themselves as a result of their experience and I am arguing that we can see evidence of such change in their actions. In these two chapters this has been evident in staying in education as a means of coping with

rapid industrial decline. A second response taken note of, has been the way in which trades unions as an expression of collective voice have been marginalised in people's models of work and working relations.

In the following chapters I will develop the understanding of how changes in this fundamental relation to work are bringing about changes in people's relation to family and to civil society.

Chapter 8   Family

This chapter will look at the ways in which people plan their future in a restructured world. It will take the theme of change to compare young adults' experience at different points in time. The purpose of this comparison will be to recognise elements of identification with old, and adaptation to new, styles. A second major feature of this research has been the concern with lifecycle and we can begin to see changes in consciousness in relation to lifestage through the comparison of Hendon and Sunderland North at eighteen with Hendon at twenty-three and twenty-four.

In the chapters on education and work we established the ways in which a study in Sunderland provided a context for understanding change. In the first study I interviewed people who were facing the end of ordered industrial capitalism. The structures of the traditional world were still evident and some would make ordered transitions while others would commence their adult lives in traditional industries. Many were aware of that world as a future they had been raised to expect and knew that it would not be available to them. By the time I interviewed the people in Sunderland North I found that relation to the traditional was much more clearly broken. The level of order which was supported by a system of son following father, had disappeared. This was a world in transition and people were having to find their paths through it. The clear guidelines offered by previous generations would no longer suffice.

This chapter will examine the effect of these changes upon the domestic sphere. Inevitably, particularly for women, this will involve some discussion of expectations and experience of work. The restructuring of the labour market has brought about

changes in the gendered division of work, which we have discussed in Chapter 2. This was universally recognised by the people I interviewed. It was also clear that the changes operated in particular directions; most people would say to an erosion of gendered inequalities in both work and the domestic sphere. The interaction of class, gender and locality means that these changes are neither universal nor evenly distributed. It was clear from my findings that there are also differences according to sector of the labour market and educational qualifications.

To achieve comparisons of lifecycle and time the chapter will begin with an account of the first sample in Hendon and some initial comparisons with the eighteen-year-olds from Sunderland North. This will be set against the subsequent experience of twenty-three and twenty-four year olds in Hendon. The second part of the chapter will be concerned with the views of eighteen-year-olds in Sunderland North.

Marriage and Cohabitation

In Hendon, I found at eighteen that the upper social class group expected to form a partnership for life. Girls in this group were more likely to consider cohabitation as an alternative to marriage, while girls in the other groups would cohabit as a precursor to marriage. Only one person in the upper group would not cohabit and this was on the grounds of his parents rather than his own religious convictions. Only one girl in the upper social class group, already a mother, thought it was best to have children early. Financial security and career were very important to most people. In the intermediate group plans were to marry somewhat earlier. Those who wanted to follow careers would put this off until their thirties. For those in the lower social class band

expectations were that partnerships and children would come in the early to mid twenties.

There was still evidence of a sexual double standard with girls who became pregnant before marriage being regarded by young men as *slags*, despite the fact that they had sexual relationships with their own girlfriends. The crime, it seemed, was to get caught.

Comparing eighteen-year-olds in Hendon and in Sunderland North, the tendency seems to be toward settling down later in 1993 than in 1987. When we look at outcomes for Hendon however, for those for whom I have the information, the sample has bifurcated into rather earlier and later ages of marriage or cohabitation. At eighteen more than three-quarters of the sample had expressed a desire to settle down in their late twenties. At second interview five of the males and nine of the females had already established partnerships, while one third of the sample now considered over thirty to be a more appropriate age.

There is a notable difference according to gender with half of the men nominating the 30+ age group compared with less than a quarter of the women. Young women predominantly expected to or had settled in their early twenties.

People from the upper locality were more likely to settle later while only two people from the poorer locality expect to settle as late as the 25-29 age group.

In terms of social class it was the upper social class group who would form partnerships after thirty while those in band three had almost all established their families.

It is also interesting to consider how far partnerships are changing in form. Selman (1996) notes the tendency for young people either to marry later or not to marry at all, based on OPCS statistics. Accompanying this trend has been the growth in the number of births outside marriage which has increased from 5% of all births in 1950 to over 30% in the 1990's (Selman, 1996 p6), although most of such births are to couples living together (Selman 1996 p7). Cohabitation prior to marriage has become the dominant experience increasing from 6% in the late sixties to 58% in the period 1985-8 (Kiernan and Estaugh1993 in Selman)

The most significant shift in the Hendon sample seems to be in the intention of some people not to marry by 1994, while those who definitely had intended to marry had reduced by a third. Of course these results have to be interpreted in the light of the rather different profile of the sample as a whole by 1994 because of the loss of one quarter of the respondents. Nonetheless it would seem that several years of experience had reduced the attractiveness of marriage. In Sunderland North three quarters of the sample were certain they would cohabit, suggesting the move away from marriage may reflect both lifestage and structural change. This is reinforced by the second study in Hendon, where more young people felt they would cohabit than had expected to in 1988.

Hendon

Female Social Class Band One

Of this group two women were still in higher education. I was able to interview the woman who had remained at home and done her degree at Sunderland University.

Information on the second was based on written response. Nicola wrote to me to let me know that she was currently cohabiting with her partner in a house with other students. She expected first to establish a career and possibly to have children after she was 30.

Lisa had been unsure whether she would marry when I met her at eighteen but by the time I met her again she was certain that marriage or cohabitation would mean surrendering her independence and individuality. She felt that because of sexual inequality she would be unlikely to enter a cohabiting relationship although she would have a child:

> *"If I find the right man then yes, but I don't think I ever will. I guess I'd like to but it's not a priority - I do know girls who aim to get married and don't think about after. I don't think you need to be married to have children. I see myself more as a single parent. I would have to have a good job and be able to take maternity leave... none of my close friends want to settle down with a man - we all want children we don't necessarily need the man."*

Georgette who had embarked on, but left, higher education had felt at eighteen that marriage was important. She had joked:

> *"If I'm not married by thirty I'll become an old maid with cats and hamsters - I'll be left on the shelf. I hope I will get married. I'd like to get married between 25 and 30."*

At the age of 24 she had been contemplating a cohabiting relationship with her partner and had asked him to marry her. The couple had recently parted however, because he was keen for her to remain at home while he went out to work. Georgette was questioning whether this was what she really wanted. There remained for Georgette, as for a number of people, some ambivalence about the meaning of marriage:

> *"If somebody asked me to marry them and I loved them then yes I would, but if somebody asked me to move in with them and I loved them then - yes*

I would. It would just be if somebody was prepared to go that ... well it's
not legally any more even is it - that one stage further?"

Christine already had one child when we first met, was living with her parents and

wanted her own council house rather than to cohabit with her partner. She had

subsequently met a new partner and had a second child. At eighteen she had said of

her partner:

> *"I've been with him a year now so in another year I will be sure ... then I*
> *would live with him for six months before we got married. I'll be married*
> *by the time I'm 20 ... It's him that goes on about marriage. I probably*
> *will. I do want to get married. "*

She had thought she might be pregnant with her second child when I first met her and

she now has two children age six and five years. She had not married and marriage

was no longer important. She had completed her family young and this had been her

intention, *"to get them over with ".*

Female Social Class Band Two

The big divide in this group is again between those who have their children already

and those who do not. This reflects decisions made over the whole sample in relation

to careers. Women were very conscious of the need to manage childbearing to

minimise the damage to careers. I met no-one who considered that having children

would not have a detrimental effect. Almost without exception women expected to

have a period of cohabitation before marriage. Several people were currently

considering moving in with a partner. Only Margaret and Alison talked about parents'

pressure upon them to marry although Beverley's mother, discussing her daughter's

relationship, told me, *"they're her morals not mine ".*

Eve had completed her Business Studies degree and was on the point of moving to work in London. Eve was not particularly committed to the idea of marriage but expected that she would cohabit with someone and eventually have children. Career was more important at this stage in her life and she would need to manage children to accommodate that. Eve was the only person from this group to be going to university in 1987.

At eighteen Angela worked in a hairdressing salon where she expected to remain for the foreseeable future. She told me then that she would move in with her boyfriend, within a year, against her parent's wishes. *"It's important to live together before you get married just to find out what the other person is like"*. By the age of twenty-four she had had several different jobs around the country and had returned to work in Sunderland where she had met her husband. She had been married for a few months when I met her the second time and was undertaking training as a Nurse. Now she thought she would have children but:

> *"... definitely not before I finish my training, then I would want to establish myself as being a staff nurse afterwards"*.

Despite being set on a career she recognised the effect of traditional domestic relations in her marriage:

> *"I'm more career orientated than my husband but I don't think he'll be too happy because he tended to get looked after by his mother - his dad went out and earned the money and he still thinks like that..."*

Children

In general people would have children in their late twenties or early thirties. Margaret would take advantage of the banks' scheme to allow women five years off, *"if we*

could afford it", and subsequently would return to work part-time. She reflected on her own mother's choice to give up work:

> *"She does a lot of voluntary work for WRVS. She seems quite happy with it but if I thought I would just be in the house it would drive me mad. I can see having young children would keep you busy... I still want to go out when I want. I don't want to buy a house and say I can't go out 'cos I've got no money."*

Beverley expressed herself in more traditional terms, describing her partner as a *'provider'*. She planned to cohabit before marriage and, because she and her partner are starting their own business, she is happy to continue working. In common with a number of others she anticipated that her mother would take a major part in childcare.

Three women were already mothers. Susan had married at nineteen when she found she was pregnant with her first child. She now had two children age three and one years and her husband had recently secured his first proper job. She told me things were now, *"beginning to look up"*.

Sandra was pregnant and had married shortly before I met her. By the time of our second meeting she was divorced from a violent husband.

> *"He was too bad tempered - if he had a bad day at work he'd come back and take it out on me. I kept leavin' and comin' back. He didn't have the patience with Michael, he wouldn't help at all. I got custody but he's got access."*

Since her divorce money had become a real problem and Sandra told me:

> *"I get £48 a week. Me gas and electricity is taken out and they pay me twenty and he (husband) gives me the other twenty-eight. Me parents help us a lot - I couldn't really manage if it wasn't for them ... I'm a lot happier now I'm me own boss where he sort of ruled us. I'd rather be along here now than along there with him an' be a bit comfortable with money."*

Sandra's experience meant that she would not marry again particularly because of her experience of the divorce. Despite photographic evidence of assault by her husband she found at court:

> *"They still try to put you in the wrong - 'Did you torment him so he bashed you?' - Well everyone has their arguments but you don't go an' bash your wife's brains in - you know what I mean?"*

She found being a single parent a strain but would not want to live with her new partner: *"you get on better when you live apart"*.

Pamela also now had a child and this had changed her life entirely. She told me: *"We were gunna get married - till I fell pregnant an' we had to put it off"*. At eighteen she had expected to continue to be a shopworker all her life, with short interruptions to have her children. By her early twenties however Pamela told me: *"I've had my freedom an' I was ready for havin' a baby"*. Her partner did not live with her and she was the only person in this group who thought she would never return to work: *"I'm enjoying my freedom"*. She is also not sure that she will ever marry:

> *"... not while he's on the dole. If we got married he'd have to claim for me... They ask you daft questions an' I felt like turnin' round an' sayin', 'it's none of your business'.... They ask you how your baby was conceived."*

Pamela, as a single parent, had considerable support from her wider family. Her partner remained involved but her pregnancy had changed their plans.

Female Social Class Band Three

I interviewed two of the three women in this group all of whom were mothers. Both Lesley and Barbara had left school at 16, but Barbara had started a Nursery Nursing course while Lesley had gone straight into employment in Market Force. In the earlier

research I pointed out that Barbara and her husband were expecting to establish a more affluent lifestyle based on both of them working. He would resume a failed apprenticeship and she would return to her training course.

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

<div align="right">Callaghan 1991 p109</div>

In fact neither of these things had happened but they had nevertheless continued to work toward their objective. Peter had managed to secure another apprenticeship and was now a skilled man, while Barbara had returned to college to take GCSEs with the intention, eventually, of going into teacher training when the children were at school. *"We're getting where we want to be but there's still a long way to go".* Barbara had decided to have her second child quickly for career, *"A lot of the reason we had him when we did was so I didn't have to stop and start again".* She considered her family complete but thought that a third child would not need her home full time:

> *"If I ever had another baby while I'm teaching I wouldn't pack in work. I've already done this for five years - we had a choice and I stayed at home and that's what I wanted to do then, but - if I had a baby in the future I wouldn't give up work...I know what it's like being at home all day every day with your children."*

At nineteen Lesley had been sure that she would marry. She had raised the idea of cohabitation but had decided against because, *'me parents went mad'* (Callaghan 1991

p171). At 24 she had a child and was cohabiting with her partner but would not marry him:

> *"I've been with him four and a half years - I fell pregnant - not planned or nowt like. I'm still with him, I'm not married and I'll not marry him. You don't have to these days these days - ne point, it's only a piece of paper."*

She had decided: *"I'm having no more bairns - I remember saying I would have one when I was twenty-nine, bit of an accident what!"* Lesley had been a packer at Market Force but thought she would need to go to college when her daughter started school, *"to learn some computers".*

Hendon

Male Social Class Band One

The discussion of marriage and family was a more straightforward one for the men because they did not see it as presenting them with a conflict in their working lives. Marriage and children had a much more taken-for-granted nature.

Dominic told me:

> *"I would get married if I wanted to start a family because you know where you are if you're married - I just don't want to do that yet."*

People were nevertheless aware of divorce. Stuart wrote:

> *"I am in no rush to settle down, marry or have children. Whilst I enjoy family life I also enjoy not having nay ties. I would probably be cautious about either, especially children. I wouldn't want to bring up kids within a bad relationship."*

Male Social Class Band Two

Gary was living with his partner and two children in a council house in Hendon:

> *"I cannot see myself gettin' married - it's just a waste of time - I got engaged - our old man wanted us to get married - when she was havin' the first bairn her mam said she might bring the vicar in to get us married"*

The disincentive to marry was based on expense: *"it's all money now"*.

Gary was unemployed but described a very traditional style of domestic relationship.

> *"I don't do much, I only get three to five hours sleep - I get migraines and that...I hoover now and again, put the fire on - very rare I'll do a bit of dustin'. I changed the first one's nappy but I can't with the second 'cos she's a girl."*

This was causing stress in his relationship. He told me how his partner felt: *"It's more of, 'You want to get stuck in' but I really want a job"*. The desire to maintain a traditional relationship was frustrated by his inability to find work but this did not mean that Gary was adapting to shared responsibility in the domestic sphere.

Barry and Jill had decided to cohabit before marriage and have lived together for four years.

> *"I wanted to get out of the house and have independence, I didn't want to wait for a year. It was something we never got round to. We were goin' to get married in September then the car was stolen and Jill was made redundant and we found our savings gone so we had to cancel it...Tradition will get us married - you're thought of as an item then".*

Jill was less concerned about marriage than Barry, even after children. She thought she would like to leave work when she had her children: *"but we'll probably both have to work. My parents'll get lumbered"*. Jill also had reservations about the role of full time mother: *"I couldn't imagine myself stayin' home to look after a baby - I'm too active. I can't imagine myself looking after the house"*.

Male Social Class Band Three

Martin thought he would probably focus all of his energy on career as an artist:

> *"It seems terrible but that doesn't really come into it at all. It's a very selfish life being a painter - I only think of things in terms of trying to get on at college and get on to a good course."*

Keith is married and has a son aged four. The couple had lived together for more than three years before marrying:

> *"We wanted to get married from the start, but we wanted a big church wedding - it cost two and a half thousand. We got married three months ago - we did everything back to front - when Jamie gets older he's goin' to say, 'I'm on the photos'."*

Keith's work is insecure and his wife is looking for a part time job:

> *"I think women can get jobs easier than men. When I used to go down to the Jobcentre there was more jobs for women than for men."*

They have had to manage his job insecurity:

> *"What we did - our last house - we paid £23,000 and sold it for £29,000. It was a lovely house. This was - we put a lot of money down and got a low start mortgage. We plan on livin' here for three years and the next one we buy will be it."*

They had decided to put off having another child. *"We were goin' to have one next year but we're havin' a new kitchen and the bedrooms need doin' so we've put it off."*

George and his partner had chosen to cohabit. They are renting rather than buying their house:

> *"We'd never lived together so we didn't know how it was goin to be so rather than jump in an' get a mortgage we thought we would give it a try - I mean we get on together - we hate each other really, we fight like cat and dog - we're not married."*

I asked if they would get married:

Fiona: *"No. We might as well be married now - the only difference between us and them that's married is about three and a half thousand pounds and a piece of paper."*

George: *"I will eventually - when I meet the right person"* (Laughing)

Fiona: *"I wouldn't get married before I'm twenty five. I know plenty of people who's got kids on their own."*

The couple say that they will have two children and would share child care.

Fiona: *"Me mam would help, an' I'd probably go back (to work) first time."*

George: *"I can support the house on my wage."*

Fiona: *"But when he has a bad week - an' when you've got kids they're not cheap."*

Motherhood and Domestic Roles

For those who had become mothers the direction of expectations and experience had

completely diverged from women who were as yet childless.

Lesley had found motherhood brought radical change:

> *"It's different. You cannot take things for granted - like goin' to the toilet in peace or goin' to the shops. We used to gan away, we can't now. I only gan out once a week...she's me shadow."*

Lesley was responsible for all of the domestic chores:

> *"Me, definitely. You get that taken for granted syndrome ... that's why I wouldn't marry him, you knaw - no I wouldn't marry him - he's like a bairn - wants to change his cars all the time. I say 'We've got a child now - we've got a family you've got to think', I says, 'you're a spoilt brat.' He says, 'No, its you'. Me dad says the same. He says, 'You take all his money off him' ... but he gets it all back ... no he's not really for marryin'. He does nothin' in the house - on his holidays he'll do the hooverin' that's all.... He's alright I suppose, he doesn't hit us or nowt - they all seem to be doin that don't they?"*

Motherhood meant more than simply having no time to herself. It meant a complete

change in priorities

> *"I used to think nowt about ganin to work and ganin out at the end of the week drinkin' - I wouldn't do that now - she is me life. I just wish I'd done more."*

It also meant disadvantage in the labour market:

> *"If I'd still been in the workin' scene I'd have moved with the times but I come out of it to have me bairn. When I was workin' it was just packin' - anybody could have done that blindfold but it's all computers now."*

A few people deliberately maintained very traditional roles

Fiona: *"I just do it, it's always done."*

George: *"If she wants us to do somethin' I'd do it."*

Fiona: *"I prefer to do it myself, it's done properly."*

George: *"I can do the floor and she comes in an' does it again."*

Fiona: *"The lad I work with - he's like a woman - I wouldn't like a lad to do the shoppin' and things like that.... He'll have to do more when we've got kids."*

George: *"I do the bins in the kitchen, I do nothin'. We have cross words 'cos she goes overboard - she does too much - she walks in front of the tele when there's a good film on."*

Women were exploited and most recognised this. For a few the models they hold contribute to that exploitation and are not accessible to straightforward arguments about fairness. Both Fiona and George work full time but Ashley considers her role and her feminine (as well as George's masculine) identity to be bound up in domestic organisation. Theirs is an extreme example but it does illustrate one of the ways in which action is guided by cultural understandings.

Barry and Jill told me that since she has worked part time she does the housework but that it is a focus of conflict: *"If we have an argument, that's what it'll be about"*.

Only one person was intending to wait until after marriage to cohabit. Peter and his partner will marry in three years time:

"But there's a lot to do in between, she wanted that date.... I want to have three and a half thousand saved before we get married. I'd want a house - not a flat - and a mortgage I won't rent".

"We hope to have children when we're older - twenty-eight or twenty-nine - depends on security. I'd have three but sayin' that she wants three girls."

In terms of housework:

" ... she's put us in me place there already. "If I'm goin' to be workin' nine to five you've got to do you're share". We'd both have to do it - take turns. I'd hope she would do the ironin' and I'd dust and hoover".

Their quite traditional relationship was affected by changes in work:

"I wouldn't want her to go back to work after we have the children but, sayin' that, she might just be established then."

Peter projected to life at thirty:

"I'd like to think I'd have a nice house in Sunderland - one, maybe two children - a nice car and a little runabout for Karen. I would like to end up with a Sierra."

Paul was unemployed and lived with his wife and two children on a council estate. He was married at the age of twenty: *"she was pregnant, we had to get married".* His unemployment has caused problems in his marriage and despite the fact he didn't want to leave, Paul said: *"I probably won't be here much longer."* He had two children aged 3 years and 11 months and considered his family complete. This was a much smaller family than his own parents had but Paul told me it was too expensive to have more. He didn't know what the future would hold. Paul did not take responsibility for any domestic chores:

"I don't know, like, I could do the ironin'. If I wanted a shirt I would get it out of the washin' and iron it - but I wouldn't do it all the time."

Paul saw little change in gender roles from his parents' to his own generation.

Sunderland North

In Sunderland North people were still much more heavily involved in education. Own class assignments were less reliable and movement in and out of work, schemes and college, more fluid. The social class banding seems consequently less meaningful and I found the elements of class I was seeking remained largely consistent with locality.

In general people in Sunderland North were more likely to expect to cohabit at eighteen, there seemed to be no significant gender difference in choice but women were slightly more likely to prefer cohabitation than men.

Of those who said they would cohabit from all localities there was a common explanation which was about getting to know your partner before taking a lifelong decision about marriage. It was emphatically not about the decline in the significance of partnerships for most people, but rather the attempt to protect and ensure marriage through experience. As the vehicle for a socially sanctioned sexual relationship marriage did seem less significant but as a basis for stable family life and childrearing, it remained central for most.

On the whole, young people from Sunderland North would cohabit for a period prior to marriage, but when they made the decision to have children they would expect to be in a firm partnership.

For young career-minded women, their rights of independence were also important.

> *"I want independence, marriage takes that away from you. I probably would get married but it would take me a long time to come round to the idea. I like to go for things and get them and I'd have to compromise if I got married.... It depends how successful I was - if I had success I would be quite happy but if I didn't I'd have to have something else to fill that space."*

Similarly although expecting to marry, Hannah was concerned about the effect of marriage upon her.

> *"I think I'd get married - it would be stability for the children rather than myself, I don't want to be swamped by my husband's identity. "*

Gordon also from the affluent locality, said:

> *"I'd probably just get married. If you get married there's something there, if you don't get married there's nothing there. I wouldn't move out until I was married. I'd have to look after myself!"*

Regardless of their preferred model, most young people expect to cohabit. Of those who prefer marriage immediately, security was an important aspect. Some of them reflected on personal experience of family breakdown. Jenny told me: *"I would marry, for security I suppose".*

Sue, from the poor locality, preferred cohabitation initially but thought that when she had children she would want to be married:

> *"A proper mother and father - so they know that you're Mr. And Mrs. I don't want to be like everybody else not settling down and not being with the father of the baby - that's what most people have done. - they're not, like, married.- they've had a baby and they've just gone off and left her on her own......I've worked since I left school and when I get married and have me kids I'll have done it right, I won't have done it wrong like all of them. "*

For others the experience of family breakdown convinced them of the need to be absolutely sure:

> *"It's just the way it happens I suppose, probably be living with somebody before getting married.. you can't just get to know people without living with them.... One thing I would never want to do - I'd rather stay unmarried and living together with children than knowing there was going to be a divorce and the major heartache that children suffer. I suppose...I always had a feeling 'why did it happen to us?' you know... 'Cos I mean when I was younger divorce wasn't as known and trying to explain at school why my mam's name was different from my stepdad - I have got a*

*lot of bad memories of that 'cos the teachers would say 'what happened?'
and I didn't like to say me mam and me dad are divorced 'cos it wasn't a
common thing - now it's a very common thing. "*

Two people from Locality Two and Three had already established cohabiting

relationships, others were planning to in the near future.

Scott and Kimberley talked about marriage. Scott said:

*"Hopefully we will - it's not very important - we're getting' to know each
other a lot better and our different habits and that - just getting along. I
don't know if we will get married - if you're living together for five years,
what's the point?"*

Kimberley:*"I think it's a lot to do with the fact that it's easy to get a divorce
now - my parents are divorced. I feel a lot of my friends' parents stay with
each other and they don't really want to - but that's the way they are -
religion was stronger. What's the point in getting married if you're going
to get divorced in five years? I think some people - when they've been
together for thirty years - I can't imagine being with someone for thirty
years... other girls my age are the same. I know my family, my
grandparents are against divorce but that's their generation - it's all
changed, I know a few people who've been married a few times. "*

So Kimberley was questioning the value of marriage as an institution and suggesting a

radically different way of organising relationships. She was unusual in this respect,

however. Those who envisaged cohabiting partnerships, on the whole, wanted them to

be lifelong.

Rachel, from the poor locality, was about to have her first child and had rented a

cottage with her partner who was unemployed. She was torn between the desire for

respectability, a belief in marriage as a stabilising influence, and awareness of the

cost.

*"I'm supposed to be getting married in April but, I don't know - it's
getting the money to get married - it was he's idea - people look at you as
if to say - she's got a bairn with no wedding ring or nowt - though nobody
really bothers round here but ...I think I'd rather be married - most people
just think it's a waste of time. It's getting' the money to get married, these*

> *days, even a Register Office, I think it's about eighty pound to get married at the Civic Centre.... It'd settle us down more - we're always fightin' now, but everybody fights. I think it'll settle him down an' all. He was a right tear-away but since I got him he's really quietened down - I think he'll settle down even more if he gets married."*

Few people described strong social pressure toward marriage when there were no children, but it seemed to be a consideration among others for several. Sophie and Frederick from the intermediate group, both entering higher education, reflected on the pressure to get married and the importance of convention.

Sophie: *"I'd rather live with someone - to find out what it would be like, find out about them - then get married. It's not really important to get married - but it's one of them things I'd just do."*

Frederick thought he would prefer to be married:

> *"I don't know really I've never really thought about it that much - it's just something I expect. I would live together, people say marriage is just a piece of paper. I suppose some people do it to be accepted - I suppose some people frown on people who don't get married."*

Matthew, from the poor locality was one of a few people determined to cohabit rather than to marry:

> *"I'd live with somebody, I wouldn't get married. I wouldn't have children, I've never liked them really, I've got this thing about children - that's the thing about here. I don't like the teenage single parents, it's not right. They should have two parents looking after them. I don't think people round here are - I know somebody that there's three fathers - I think that's terrible."*

So there was a complete range of views, but a very strong tendency to believe in cohabitation as preliminary to marriage and a way of 'making sure'. Marriage as a life pattern which fits with the stability of a job for life is disrupted for this generation of young people. The feeling of Kimberley that it would be impossible to imagine life for thirty years with the same person was the extreme expression of that. People clearly see value in marriage, but it is particularly related to children now.

Emma talked of people who cohabit with children: *"good luck to them, but when there's children there's not just yourself"*.

People are employing different strategies, although for most to the same end, the achievement of a two-parent family for the care and rearing of children. The women who did not envisage fitting into this pattern were either on Supplementary Benefit for whom partners could be a liability or were aiming to be professional women who recognised a personal cost in marriage in a patriarchal society.

Children and Career

Another notable feature of expectations was the way in which marriage or settling down would be delayed. The significant factor in settling down would be having children, not having a partner. For the career-minded this would be appropriate in their thirties. As Bridgett said: *"now 35 doesn't seem that old"*. Women were particularly concerned about the management of children, family life and work.

Bridgett told me:

> *"I'd like to get somewhere to get some responsibilities and things - a lot of employers discriminate against women with children. I won't have them when I start on the career ladder - but when I get further up - and then I'll have to try to carry on and it'll knock me down... More and more women are getting opportunities but it's still the majority of men in the top places. I need success, that's what I'm aiming for. I'll see how far I can go before I have a child ...once I'm settled in, the next promotion up ... I'll have one just after I'm promoted."*

Hannah said:

> *"I'll leave children until later, when I'm established in my career. You lose out in your career. I'd stay part time till they're at school - the longer you leave it, the harder it is to get back in."*

Some young women going into higher education in the Sunderland North group had less clear career objectives and more traditional family models. Mary was torn between the desire to *"have a job with a future"* and the desire to bring up her children as her own mother had:

> *"I would hope whoever I was married to would have a good enough job so that I could have time off. I would have to make sure it was the right time to have children, get me career established....*
>
> *I wouldn't mind going back to full time if I could fit it in with the children. If I hated it I wouldn't. If I did want to work I might go for a little job. "*

This conflict between family and work was one which all of the career orientated women faced. I asked if she would swap roles with her partner? *"I don't know I hadn't though of that really ... he could look after them couldn't he?"* Mary commented, laughing, that she was surprised by her own response:

> *"I don't know - if the job was very special I might. It would depend if could leave them happily... it's a strange idea. "*

Sarah is going into medicine:

> *"I've always believed you can do both, but medicine is still in the dark ages about women with children. You wouldn't get promotion. Kids would have to come first but I would like a career beforehand. I may not have children until I'm 36-38 years old, it depends where I decide to specialise. "*

Sophie intends to do a Business Studies degree at Sunderland University:

> *"I think I'd rather have a good job and a decent house. I'd like to think that I could still work and he would still work. I'd like to have a good job, be promoted - if I do have children it would be difficult to get promoted - but employers think that you can't have promotion - I'd rather have the job but in the end its' your family that counts the most. "*

At the other end of the continuum, Jenny although very involved in her work as a hairdresser, clearly expected that her domestic role would prevent her from working.

Asked about a career she said:

> *"I'm not looking that far ahead - there might be babies and a husband to look after. I want to be on the artistic side - you get past it after 35, you have to go into management or something else. If there was plenty of money, I would take maternity leave and go back to work - but it might 'cost money, 'cos it's not a well paid job."*

Jenny, like the women who were going into the professions, was committed to her work, but the reality was that her earning potential would not significantly improve as she grew older as it can through career progression. This is a further instance of the interaction of gender and class in their effects on women's lives. Professional women will have to choose between their work and their family and at eighteen they are devising strategies to try to manage both. The young women who were going into hairdressing and beauty therapy by contrast, saw themselves as settled down with their children by the age of thirty, though they would not give up work for ever.

Rachel, from the poor locality, preferred a very traditional model. Her work experience had been confined to Youth Training and the option of work in the future was extremely limited.

Rachel was pregnant and thought she would:

> *"Probably just have two (children). It was sort of planned - I was the only one - all me friends had bairns - I was saying, 'I want one'... I don't want one now and one a few months later, I couldn't handle it. We'll wait till they get in the infants."*

Reflecting on the difference between hers and her own parents' decisions she pointed out: *"Me dad was working when we were kids."*

Rachel was not putting off children for a rewarding career or having them close together so that she could return to the labour market. For her, with an unemployed or

casually employed partner, the reality was that no job she could get would support the family.

For those who would found their future on dual earning the management of work and children would be negotiated around the practicalities of two careers. Scott and Kimberley had considered this. Kimberley wants to have children:

> *"I would wait until I've got - I'm gunna do nursing - when I've got a stable job.... If he had a job I'd take time off and go back 'cos he'd find it harder to get another job - but I don't see why a man can't look after a baby... when we baby-sit he won't change a nappy. "*

The cost of children was also a consideration which was regularly raised and awareness of this was evenly spread across the sample.

In traditional families, supported by the family wage, the woman might be expected to leave work to look after children. In an age when male wages are not so high, the conflict between these images and the need for women to work presents a problem. At the same time the availability of effective contraception presents a choice in the organisation of family and work. Young people, many of whom do not have the resources of free childcare because grandmothers are in employment, have to try to manage a way through a set of competing demands.

Work also has non-economic aspects in the formation of identity and this was often the woman's dilemma in carrying on with enjoyable work, as Jenny would wish, or in reclaiming individual identity as some of my twenty three year old sample suggested. There are clearly effects of both gender and class to unpick here in understanding the choices people make. Rachel articulated the importance of locality, what *'people round here'* do as a guide to action.

None of the men had any conflict between career and children. The only expectation anyone mentioned was that they would have to work harder to succeed once they were responsible for a family. This however is not necessarily a simple thing in the current employment climate, as we saw in the last chapter. The stress upon family life which unemployment would cause was the area in which men recognised conflict and here we see the relation with class.

Sid, from the poor locality, said:

> *"I think a lot of trouble starts at home when you're unemployed. If you've got a sound job and you like it you should have no trouble. There's a lot of pressure when you're tryin' to look after your wife and kids. I want them to enjoy childhood an' then go to work or see the world - as long as they're happy I'll sit back with my wife an' enjoy their childhood."*

Most people were aiming eventually to move into a kind of family life which would be much like the one their parents held. As Ben said:

> *"I probably would follow the pattern of my parents, unconsciously. You might as well get married as live together the commitment's just the same."*

This is evidence of the persistence of relatively permanent structures beyond the objective conditions for their existence. The family has been a stable institution organised along patriarchal lines. While patriarchy retains considerable force there are changes which young men and women can identify over the span of a generation. In interview, people frequently reflected on those changes, using their parents as a basis for comparison with their own practices. The structures of the labour market remain imbued with patriarchy, but conscious reflexive action, the changes in law and social policy have altered the way in which people relate to those structures. While it is true, as Wilson (1977) pointed out, that the welfare state is patriarchal in its inception, some Supplementary Benefit laws and regulations create equal citizenship. At the

same time, equality legislation has meant that in the professions women enter on the same basis of men (although they do not seem to have equal access to entry, pay or promotion). It is hardly surprising that it is the women in these groups who are most fundamentally questioning the value of marriage.

This is not to say that the family is redundant but rather that structural forces seem to indicate change. The action of people in coping with that change is what I am interested in and this is open to different strategies. I have argued that restructuring has meant that the effect of structure is less visible and it is this which encourages some commentators to claim the end of class. In fact what we are seeing is complex not chaotic. It expresses a complicated interaction of forces but not one without order. The direction and nature of these forces can be identified and understood.

Women's ideas of family life diverged in terms of their relation to work much more than did men's, and here we see the effects of the interaction of gender and class as well as local culture. Being the only one left without children was a factor for two girls in the poor area and they made different responses which appeared to relate strongly to position in the labour market. For those women entering higher education, having careers and children would be difficult to balance to achieve. They recognised the existence of 'motherism' (Joshi 1991) as having an effect in their lives. There was an understanding of the need for both partners to work to support the family and women proposed taking several years out of work, working part time as well as taking only maternity leave as ways of managing both. They felt the pressure not to be out of the labour market too long and equally the pressure not to leave their children in the care of others. Some would have the support of mothers but for many mothers were also working and would not be able to help.

As with the Hendon group of eighteen-year-olds, the majority considered teenage

pregnancy waste or a foolish choice. Bridgett said: *"it wouldn't do for me at all, you*

lose your independence. I couldn't carry on with my education".

Emma, reflecting on her school-friends, said:

> *"A few went to college from Penny well - the majority (hesitates) the*
> *majority of girls have got babies now - it's a very taboo subject really -*
> *they ended up - just have children and get the money from that. I mean I*
> *wouldn't say it was on purpose ... instead of goin' on YTS they just*
> *claimed from the government I'd rather work and walk out with what*
> *money I've earned."*

Partnership Roles

The question of who pays for time out together was revealing about attitudes to roles

within partnerships. Women on the whole expect and want to pay for themselves.

Often, however, because men are in better paid jobs they are not in a position to assert

this independence. Linda expressed the conflict between these pressures:

> *"I always used to say, 'I'll pay for my half' - but me boyfriend - he always*
> *pays and I never stop him because I've got no money - and I feel terrible*
> *because if I've got some money in the house he'll say, 'It doesn't matter,*
> *I've got plenty of money, you never have any, keep it', and I feel so selfish*
> *and I think, 'Well he's got money and I haven't'. I always used to say,*
> *'No! I've got some money here,' but I think some people expect a man to*
> *pay constantly, but the majority now pay their own way - it's just 'cos I'm*
> *with him."*

In response to a question why girls want to pay:

> *"I think it's sort of lack of control really - if a man pays constantly it's like*
> *they're paying to be with you - I always used to be like that. I think it*
> *would be a strain for some people, especially if they're both earning."*

Lydia: *"He pays most, he earns £130 a week and I get £61. I pay some though*
- I'd feel crap if I didn't pay some - if we go out and get something to eat
he probably pays one time and I'll pay the next - but we share - he always
wants to pay."

Both men and women are coming to terms with a change and the increasing independence of women necessarily has implications for the ways in which men define their roles. On the whole the convention that men pay continues to hold for those who are in employment or earn substantially more than their partners but most men recognised a change.

Graham: *"I would offer to pay but they would probably turn round and say, 'No I pay my own way'. You normally expect a man to ask a woman out but it's the other way round now."*

The challenge to definitions of masculinity involved in women paying for themselves is evidenced in Rebecca's account and this relates to the particular setting of the local social club. She is cohabiting with her partner and their money is pooled. However, in the social club:

"He goes to the bar, I wouldn't dare go to the bar - I don't know, I suppose while I'm sittin' talkin' he goes to the bar... in the social clubs you don't see many women get up to buy the drinks."

Hazel: *"The lad I've just finished with, he used to pay for all the drinks. He used to go mad if I bought a drink."*

Asked why lads hold such views: *"They like the girls to think they can - that they're not relying on somebody else."*

Some of the girls held the view that lads should pay initially: *"It's just the right thing for him to do"*, but they expected to share costs as the relationship developed.

Lads also sometimes saw that as their role. Ryan told me that he paid: *"I don't mind, it's just me background, with being the man"*. This was despite the fact that Ryan was a student and his girlfriend was working. Again the influence of locality is apparent:

"At the minute she's got a lot more money than me 'cos she's on a full time wage. She'll say, You pay for me a lot' and she'll pay sometimes.

You go out with your friends and you buy your girlfriend a drink and they say it's alright - then she buys you one and your friends are looking at you ... she's buying all the drinks - it's your friends really. "

"Sometimes she'll argue and sometimes she'll just come round and say, 'right we're going out I'll pay'. "

Lucy gave a common response: *"Mostly I pay half, not all the time, sometimes they pay. After a while your money is shared. "*

Sid: *"Well at first I would pay, but once I got to know her we'd gan Dutch, share and share alike all the time - unless I was the only one who was working, then I would treat her. There's a lot more women working now than there is men, it's changing all the time. "*

Paying for a night out raised issues of traditional definitions of masculinity relating to power, but again these were being challenged by the restructuring of work and accompanying high levels of unemployment. For women, insisting on paying half meant demanding equality but not taking over, as many of the men feared. The masculine model of partnerships involved necessary domination and subordination but women did not discuss partnership in these terms.

Domestic Division of Labour

Domestic chores and models of their proper allocation cast more light on expected division of roles and of the power and responsibility of partners.

In Locality One, only one girl, Jenny, envisaged an entirely 'traditional' style partnership with her partner in control:

"I'd like to be the weak female - he sees us as someone who needs looking after - I'm wild, I need to be kept on a short leash. "

Jenny liked her work and wanted to continue, but she thought of domestic chores:

"I think I'd do it all because he's not very domesticated. As a child he was never spoilt, he was brought up very strictly, but now his mother runs after him with everything... I'm very old fashioned like that. I could quite happily be the mother, the housewife and go to work."

For most there was a feeling that domestic chores should be more evenly shared. This was particularly true for those entering higher education.

Sarah was determined she would not replicate her parents' style:

"I'd have a prenuptial agreement for half the housework. My father and brother do nothing, my mother does it all - my father has to have his hair washed for him! My mother does all the housework, the washing, the garden, the bins, everything - it makes me so angry. They both work full time - the males in the Murray family all seem like that. My friends at school are a lot more open minded towards equal opportunities."

Bridgett expressed a common feeling about the sharing of housework:

"I'd try making him do something - he'd probably end up doing the hoovering and I'd wash and iron - women probably will always do more in the house."

The girls in the intermediate group expected some sharing, but again not an equal contribution.

Jane, training in beauty therapy said:

"He'd have to do his fair share but it wouldn't be half - I'd still be in charge of the house. Its different from my parents, she (indicating mother) *does everything in this house. I'll always work full time till I have children then I might go part time, after I have children - you're still bringing money into the house - it's independence."*

Sophie, moving into business studies, expected equal sharing of tasks:

"When me and me boyfriend talk about it, he would pack in work and look after the baby... When my man and dad first moved to Castletown he used to push her (sister) *round the village in a pram and he said he was the first one in Castletown to do that."*

Some people considered particular tasks to be women's jobs, ironing, washing or cooking. Rebecca said her partner: *"can't cook, but that's a woman's job anyway"*.

Although there was some cynicism about male behaviour, there was a belief that there was some limited change across the generations. Mary and Lydia, who were both ambivalent about their future in employment, were also uncertain about domestic roles. Mary told me:

> *"We'd do half each - I always hope but whether it would happen I don't know. Decorating's more of a man's thing ... The boyfriend I've got at the minute hasn't got a clue - I know some of them do but if they have a choice they wouldn't - if the woman's there."*

For most women there was a strong sense of the unfairness of the system in which they lived, coupled with a resigned acceptance of its power.

Among the males, Graham from the upper locality had the most egalitarian model and he reflected on how this represented a change on his parents' generation. He and his partner would:

> *"just work it out between the both of us - anyone can iron or cook if they think about it. I would definitely do half, even more probably. If she had a good job and wanted to keep it I would rather get a childminder - If I was earning less I would pack in my job. My parents would say the woman's got to pack her job in and have the tea on the table."*

Robert and Scott from this group also expected to share while the remainder thought they would 'help' but not take equal responsibility for domestic chores. Gordon thought there would be some interchangeability but many roles were defined by sex.

> *"I don't think things have changed. Women go to work through necessity, but they wouldn't dream of mending a drainpipe or the car - the same with men. Most men expect to do more in the house but I would never expect to see a man hoover or dustin' - things have just stayed the same."*

In fact, from the accounts of most young people, things do seem to be changing. The performance of domestic chores has a moral dimension relating to the proper roles of partners, whichever perspective young people take upon it. The girls more often saw the relationship explicitly in terms of power and their own disadvantage. Scott and Kimberley had just moved into a flat together and talked about the division of domestic chores.

Scott: *"She cooks I wash up."*

Kimberley: *"He cannot cook - his friend says 'get her in the kitchen - that's where they belong'. There still are men like that. He's been painting while I've cleaned but we'll just take turns - I wouldn't put up with anyone who'll say 'you do that'."*

Scott: *"We both do it because it's our place and we both want it to look nice ... When my dad comes in from work his tea's on the table ready for him - if we were both working it would be first one in."*

Kimberley: *"I think it's a lot to do with parents - Your dad was a miner so you're going to be a miner, and the women didn't work, and there are still people like that in Sunderland - men goin' out on a Sunday and comin' back for their Sunday dinner and that."*

Several of the lads thought their wives should give up work to look after children, even though they would not wish to.

Ryan: *"If I'm coming in with a good wage, I'd just ask her if she wanted to go out to work - I'd rather go out to work. I think it's right for the man to go out and get the money, rather than just rely on the woman - she could be making all the money and I could spend it."*

Of domestic chores:

"It's a matter of getting home and making something and sticking it in the microwave then doing the washing up, then going to bed, then getting up the next morning and doing the same thing - but if there was children involved you'd just have to get a childminder."

Rory, from the affluent area, defined work in terms of bringing money in:

> *"Looking' after children isn't workin' - because you're not earning'. I wouldn't want to live off my wife's wages...it's normally the man who works."*

Entering skilled and relatively well-paid work, Rory would be able to maintain such a position.

Edward thought that domestic chores and childcare would be shared, but also said:

> *"I couldn't bear to be at home with children all day. I'd need to be out at work. I'd like my wife to stay off with the children for at least a year."*

So, while most people would share responsibilities, there was a general feeling among most of the men that the care of children was a woman's role and it was both practical and right for that to continue. An enforced role swap would be a case, Ben said, of *"swallowing your pride"*. This was also recognised by women but not expressed so often in terms of what was right, but rather in terms of what men would resent or find hard to accept. Hazel had no patience with the idea:

> *"If a woman worked and he didn't, it would take away his manhood - total bollocks!"*

Conclusion

The models of the past are not universal ones. Some men did help in the house, some did more than others, some did nothing at all. There was undeniably a convention which said that men could justify doing no domestic work because they provided the family wage. This has disappeared among all class groups. In the affluent group, where the men are going into careers, they are usually entering partnerships with women who also have a career orientation. In the intermediate and poorer groups, the labour market is rather more uncertain and people have to work out the best strategies for creating a family life they can. In doing so they will use as a resource the cultural

values about what should be done, but this is not the sole resource and it is not an imperative. The decline in the demonstrable significance of occupational class because of restructuring and the increasingly obvious significance of locality can be comprehended within this framework. Changes in the structure of employment, the gendered composition of the labour force and young people's routes into work made it more difficult to chart the effects of class. These are effects of crisis when the absence of order may render the structure of class as rather less distinct. At such a time, actors may use more visible guides to support their choices. One such guide exists in terms of neighbours and neighbourhood. These, always important, referents gain significance among the confusion of other forces. This is consistent with our account in the last chapter, which saw particular schools as decisive in people's futures. The distinction was drawn between attendance at schools where the culture was one of hard work and academic success and attendance at schools where, in Colin's estimation, *'nobody bothers'*. In this chapter we saw how it was important to Rachel that she was the last one among her friends who had become pregnant and equally to Sue that she should not.

Whatever the split, it seems to these young people that it will always be the woman's responsibility to ensure that housework and childcare are satisfactorily taken care of. Even though at this stage in their life neither girls nor lads commonly do a lot in the house, their preparation for domestic work is clearly differentiated. Images of self and of masculinity as well as femininity are implicated in these questions. They are an attempt to define roles when the traditional base for a strict separation has gone. The dominance of men has not gone and the perceived threat to it is being resisted.

Matthew described it in terms of who pays:

"I think a lot of men would buy the drinks. Sticking with that macho image makes them feel good that they're supporting somebody ... that they're the stronger of the two. In my house me mam does all the typical women's jobs but she complains about it. She does a part time job so she makes more money than me dad and me dad doesn't like that and he encourages her to pack in."

This organisation of roles is no longer viable in a restructured world. Change and uncertainty not only have their effect on domestic roles but also undermine the survival of stable, lifelong partnerships. These structural changes have not upturned but have disrupted the straightforward reproduction of traditional family life and the unquestioned dominance of patriarchy. As Emma pointed out:

"You've got more choice to do what you want - if you want to work and not have children, that's alright too."

The action of young people in meeting these changes is varied but for the most part it is based on a desire to retain what they hold as valued elements of family life, especially in relation to the support and care of children.

The young people I interviewed in this research illustrate two very different points in the structural character of a place. The first group, in 1987, were entering a labour market which had strong traditional features which were subject to change. The second group encountered a world which had gone through the change and in which the certainties of the past provided no basis for the decisions they would have to make. It is in this that we see the impact of structure upon action and the return of those active choices upon the structure, discussed here in terms of relations within the family.

Chapter 9   Civil Society

This chapter will be concerned with issues of citizenship, community and relation to civil society. It will seek to provide the final dimension to findings about young people's experiences of the adult world. In doing so, as I have emphasised throughout this thesis, the aim is to build an account rather than to offer a disparate set of descriptions. I am trying to explain how these different aspects of young people's lives interrelate, because only then can we bring together action and structure.

This chapter will centre on the effect of relation to place on citizenship, young people's experience of local community, and the way in which they see themselves within the wider political community. It will involve examination of those issues of individualism and collectivism which became central ideas in the previous research.

The discussion of citizenship will focus firstly upon the eighteen-year-olds from Sunderland North because of their more tenuous connection with the labour market. As we saw in Chapter 7 some of the critical aspects of transition to adulthood had been resolved by people when I met them at 24. What remained were issues of structural crisis, with which young unemployed men and women (most dramatically those with families) were dealing. For many, however, although we can claim a transition has occurred, it was qualitatively different from earlier generations because of this interaction of employment change with class and gender effects. It returns us to the point made in Chapter 3, that young people's citizenship is limited because of the way in which this lifestage is socially constructed. In completing the account we have to develop an understanding of the class and gender disadvantages which compound the problem.

At eighteen in Sunderland North, as I have argued in earlier chapters, the relation to the labour market is different from that of eighteen-year-olds five years before. Consequently relation to citizenship is also challenged in fundamental ways. I will look at questions of participation and involvement in community and politics to provide evidence in this respect.

I have focused the discussion on place as a framework for understanding relations outside the world of work. As in all elements of this research, the separation is useful only for analytical purposes, and non-economic aspects of work, class and gender have of course been important in forming relations within places. Here I want to emphasise the ways in which places assume identities of their own and consequently have effect upon young people's experience. The intention here is not to reify place but to recognise the effects of history and the development of places in people's understanding and images of them. It is to recognise that people do reify places in holding these images, and that they act accordingly. In previous chapters I have discussed young people's views about national versus local orientation. Here relation to the spatial will also be central but it will focus on the meaning of places within the local and their impact on people's experiences of citizenship.

I will present these findings in terms of locality because of the importance of the spatial to the concepts this chapter will be dealing with. My choice of locality based samples was an attempt to gain access to people who had recognisably different levels of social and economic standing, to allow the significance of place to emerge. The findings presented will relate predominantly to Sunderland North because ideas arising from the earlier research were developed here. I am arguing that these are bound up with, but not simply related to, place because places have histories and

'characters' of their own. These less tangible elements are what I am trying to access in discussions of community, citizenship and the social fabric.

Sunderland North

Upper locality

One of the notable characteristics of my affluent locality sample was the way in which they commonly had wider family across Sunderland North in the intermediate and poorer areas. Many were families of the skilled working class, so that we are not talking about a separate or foreign culture such as the professional middle class might represent. It might then be more surprising that the divide described is so pronounced. The affluent locality comprised respectable working class people who might just as easily be met in Redhouse and Carley Hill. A divide between the rough and respectable working class emerged frequently in people's models of the world and this divide exists spatially within the poor locality.

Places were used to characterise people so that Lydia speaking of Hendon for example, told me: "*I wouldn't go to Hendon, they're bad people - thieves...* "

All felt their own locality was relatively safe and several people summed up the difference between areas in terms of tenure. Graham was talking about crime:

> "*Car crime is always on the increase but this is one of the best areas of Sunderland - places like Pennywell and Hendon are unbelievable. We get a lot of cars in the garage after the police have got them back. Mostly its Hendon and Pennywell people steal cars. It seems to be just the council run estates for some reason.* "

For others the concern was less specific. Robert said: "*I probably wouldn't go to some council estates.*" It was not individual, but dominant tenure that people were relating to.

There was a clear recognition of difference, which included different interests. Mary illustrated this in pondering about the local authority ward she lived in. Mary, although in the affluent area, lived within the boundary of Colliery ward:

> "*In our voting we're like split up so I don't feel as though we can make any difference. It seems a bit strange 'cos all the houses down there are different to ours - I think we should be in Fulwell and we're not....*"

Rory pointed out that this understanding of difference was held from both sides:

> "*We played in Pennywell - the pool team - we thought they'd be rough but they weren't. One thing I do remember - they had a sweep. I happened to win an' one of the lads gives us the money an' he said, 'money goes to money' he was jokin' but that's their image.... People think everyone's well off in Fulwell - probably are compared to them.*"

Gordon was similarly aware of the image of the area:

> "*A lot of people say this area's posh - it's not it's just ordinary. Downhill - it's just unemployment - they do daft things like play football at two o'clock in the morning with car headlights, they smash things up and spray things - it's just for something to do.*"

Gordon pointed to the 'Seaburn Casuals', a group of lads from the affluent area who had been involved in several incidents of violence, including one stabbing:

> "*It's just a gang of lads that goes drinking, I was quite surprised. They're just young lads, not much older than me.*"

The difference may lie, then, not in the behaviour of either group but in the way in which that behaviour is taken to typify the local people.

Mary had been seriously physically assaulted by a group of young girls in her own area:

> *"We went out when I was seventeen - we were stood at the bus stop - there was like gangs - they go to the school youth club and they come out at nine o'clock and they were hanging about - girls and that. 'cos me mate was small they decided to pick on her - they accused her of being someone she wasn't and taunted her, so we decided not to stand there any more and they followed us and jumped on her and I was horrified and I tried to help and we were in an awful state, bashed up an' that. It was awful... With it being a safe area.. If it had been somewhere I expected trouble it's not so bad."*

People also identified differences between the council estates along the lines of a rough/respectable divide.

Mary told me:

> *"It's split into areas still so that people in the bad areas would rather break into houses than get themselves a job - Southwick, Thorney Close, Town End Farm - some of them will be nice but the ones you hear about... I've got friends from Southwick - it's just a shame they live there 'cos you wouldn't expect them to. All the ones at school - the bad ones - were from Southwick - you just expected it... You can tell straight away from the way they're dressed - the scruffy ones - you just associate them with Southwick straight away."*

Linda was conscious of the difference between places and the negative images held:

> *"My auntie lives in Southwick - it's a rough kind of place. People get labelled - but my auntie's there. Her husband works, they've got a nice house and raised a good family - see what I mean? They didn't want to live there but they've made the best of it - there's people around them haven't got the nice things they have."*

Hazel was comparing Hendon to the city centre in terms of safety. Having worked in a pub in Hendon, she held the view that the city was the more dangerous: *"the town is more violent than the East End, for all it's got a bad reputation. It's the way they've been brought up - a lot of women around there are more rough than the boys".* The difference between the places however lay in the: *"Hendon Mafia. If you upset somebody, you've got their family on your back".*

Intermediate locality

Most of the people from this locality were drawn from the areas of Castletown and Southwick. Castletown and Southwick are both former villages which have been absorbed into the urban space of Sunderland. Castletown is basically a pit village and although it has undergone significant changes in its built form as well as its employment base, this origin remains firmly imprinted upon it. Southwick is characterised as a rough place but, as with most areas, it contains areas of different housing and levels of affluence within its boundaries. Edward explained that Southwick is more than one kind of area:

> *"It's alright round here, but over Beaumont Street it's bad - it gives Southwick a bad name...There's a border - there are two parts of Southwick, Thompson Road divides the council from the privately owned and the co-op housing."*

Castletown was described as a village by most of its inhabitants and it was recognisably bounded place in which long established social relations operated.

Sophie, talking about how she spent her leisure time, told me: *"I wouldn't drink in Castletown - I think the people who drink in the pubs in Castletown are the original people."* Sophie did not describe herself as one of the *'original people'* despite the fact that she was born there.

Daniel's father had moved into Castletown in the 1960's but he told me: *"In this village we are immigrants."*

This sense of place was echoed in the interviews I held, particularly when parents were part of them. Jane's mother told me:

> *"I love Castletown, I wouldn't move from here. I can't explain it - this is where I belong and that's it. All the top ends been built in the last five years... it was a pit village. People who move in don't associate it as a village but people who've grown up here call it a village - it used to be surrounded by fields."*

The close knit nature of the community of Castletown was recognised in several of the interviews, Jason told me: *"things go straight round Castletown and everybody gets to know - Castletown people - everybody knows everybody"*.

This was particularly related to crime, knowing who committed it and being able to act upon it. Of burglaries, Jason said:

> *"There was a lot - but they've sorted them out - mainly people that's local - it always gets back to people whose house has been burgled - everybody knows who it is and they sort them out. One lad had to have a steel piece pit in his jaw 'cos he'd been pinching cars. If they get caught nothing happens - if they get locked up it's like a holiday camp.... There's bad kids round the shops - generations comin' through - car thieves...everybody gets to know who it is."*

People recognised the ways in which change was having an impact. Sophie has been quoted before in her desire to leave, now that the pits have closed.

Jason also spoke of the effect on the place:

> *"A lot of people round here worked at Wearmouth Pit until the last two years - they got their redundancy but there's nothing to do."*

Ryan described Castletown as a community: *"Everybody knows each other - we're all knitted together."* The change he pointed to was occurring among young people:

> *"The trouble near the shops - gangs drinking and giving abuse, me mam fears for her safety walking home. I used to hang about the shop when it was drink but not now - at first it was just sitting at the bus stop - just a daft laugh. When I was 16 drink started to come in, then people from Hylton Castle started coming down causing trouble. At the minute it's more threatening, there's a lot of violence. The co-op's been broken into I don't know how many times. Drinking gives them a bit of a buzz and they pick on people...If you go on your own you'd get trouble - if you went late*

at night - they just hang about opposite the church, fifteen and sixteen year olds and a lot of girls runnin' about screamin'...The buses have stopped at the top...There's a handful of them left school, just bummin' about doin' nothin', stealin' cars an' that some are still at school.

It's boredom really there's nothin' organised for kids of that age. It's the way they've been brought up - if they've been disruptive for the last couple of years 'cos they've got into that way - but there are people who've been disruptive then get a job straight away. I used to be disruptive, but when I got into the fifth year I settled down and worked for my results."

The particular problem which young people in Castletown raised was the way in which some young people inhabited the area and how that had changed. Some lads mentioned that they had gone through a phase of being part of the street youth as Ryan did. This was evident in the poor and intermediate areas. Sid, in the poor locality told me:

"We've all stood on street corners, but some of them, as they get older, they don't want to move on, but I just wanted to get on with life an go to work. Just before you leave school people just want to stay kids, but it's time to move on, childhood's there, move on an' get some work."

Sid had been successful in his search for work, but he encapsulates the problem for those for whom such an option is not available. These young people were seen as arrested at an earlier life stage.

The account young people gave me was of a very stable place, although several of my interviewees were migrants from elsewhere. They came; however, in to established ways of going on and these dominated until the upheaval created by the loss of the pits. They were describing a world in which what was lost was more than jobs but was also a level of order, and a recognition of acceptable behaviour and its limits.

Frederick compared the demography of Castletown with that of Pennywell in explaining his understanding of what was going on. Frederick had lived in Pennywell

for most of his teenage years and described Pennywell: "*It was hell, you just get your windows smashed all the time.*"

Of Castletown, however:

> " *I came here when I was fifteen. It's a lot quieter here - the majority of people are quite old - in their 50s and 60s. I know it's quite a community...I mean somebody finds something out and everybody knows the next day - it's that sort of place.*"

This point is significant; disorder is more closely associated with areas with large populations of young people.

Frederick described the differences between Castletown and Pennywell in terms of crime:

> "*There's not so much here in Castletown, not really like Pennywell, throwin' things through your windows. I suppose it was 'cos we were outsiders - people I knew who'd been there for years - they never got anything like that - unless there was feud between the families. They just do it for a bit of fun - I don't suppose the parents really bother what the kids are doing. They'd have family all over so you couldn't really do anything about it 'cos you got the police out to one and it just happens again.*"

Stability is established through the long-term socialisation of people into the ways of the place as well as the social institutions of family and community. These are firmly embedded and older people are not likely to be the source of disorder. The break identified is among the younger people for whom crisis has a more immediate and fundamentally disruptive effect, a group who have the weakest link to this traditional world and yet for whom its passing presents the most disturbing questions.

Eleanor, like several others, saw Castletown as changing and identified youths as a critical group in creating that change. She described her family's feelings:

"I used to really like Castletown - till about six months ago when the yobs started comin down - I mean they've taken the buses off - we don't have buses after 6.30 at night - we've been threatened to have our windows put in. Me dad's cars been broken into twice - it was like broad daylight as well an' me dad was saying you know, "I wish we could move away from this place". When we moved here it was just a nice area - I mean we moved down from Downhill 'cos it was a really nice area - just a little village - but now! The co-op along the street's been broken into loads of times - I just don't go now I used to take the dog out every night when I come in from college but I just don't take her out now."

GC:*" How old are they?"*

Eleanor: *"About fourteen to eighteen. There used to be about twenty of them, it...it's like Pennywell ... none of them are from Castletown, they all just come down from Redhouse and Downhill and Hylton Castle - but they daren't stay up in their own areas because there's vigilante's out for them and now- it was in the paper last night - they're gunna have vigilantes in Castletown 'cos everyone's just sick of it."*

Eleanor's account of their motivation raises an interesting point:

"... 'cos they've got nothin' to do - there's nothin' for the kids to do they're talkin' about at the community centre puttin' squash courts in and that - supervised activities - but kids like that just aren't interested."

Here we see evidence of the two crises of youth and structure which are a theme in this thesis. Supervised activities may be a laudable attempt to ameliorate the problems faced by people who are at the receiving end of structural crisis and change. When offered to people in a lifestage at which those structural factors have their most challenging and disruptive effects they may be regarded as irrelevant, or even as patronising attempts at control. These are matters of structure and lifestage which clearly also have class and gender components.

A further aspect of places lies in the ways in which their reputations affect action. Young people often recognised from personal knowledge that these reputations may be exaggerated, but would rely upon them to guide their action in places they were not familiar with.

"I've been to the East End once - I thought it was OK but all the stories I've heard put us off a bit - I know me friends go all the time."

Daniel told me: *"I wouldn't go to the East End, a load of rough people down there."*

People used Pennywell, Hendon and Southwick as their point of comparison epitomising the rough estates. Frederick had lived in Pennywell but would not go to Hendon because of the 'stories':

"It's where you're brought up really. I don't go down the East End, it's not 'cos it's rough or anything ...I suppose if I went down there I wouldn't feel comfortable - you know, with the stories. I don't know if they're true or not - I don't think I'd feel really threatened."

GC: *What Stories?*

Frederick: *"Like it's rough and stuff like that ... but people can't really help it so, I mean, I think they're nice enough people it's just because of their job situation they haven't really got a chance in life."*

Others who were regular visitors to the East End had a different experience. A number of people told me that on Friday and Saturday nights: "M*ost people from round here go to town or the East End - you see the people you know, lads you went to school with."* A lot of people from Hendon were re-housed North of the river after the war, which may account for this flow in the opposite direction to socialise.

Emma had moved from Pennywell to a 'respectable' part of Southwick and commented upon the sudden rise in crime over the last three years.

"In Pennywell you've got a load of gangs - teenagers just out to cause trouble - Here I'd say vandalism and cars and that is all jealousy and resentment against people who've got nice things. In Pennywell it's just to be known - you know - just to have a name. 'We've got something as well, we'll be known as well'. A lot of the vandalism and cars were done in front of the police to get chase. Some of it was for fun, but some of it was to prove they can do something. Here it's different - they even resent people who can afford to have a car and they can't have one. If you were born and raised in Pennywell there was a sense of ownership, I would say... of the place, you know, 'We were born here'."

Places have both objective and subjective aspects and, as Rory's experience of Pennywell illustrated, people act toward each other in accordance with those expectations. This is not to say that reputations are accepted uncritically, because people also have experience which counters them. It nevertheless affects citizenship rights both in the practical sense that some of the areas are blacklisted for credit and in terms of the expectations which are formed from outside.

On the whole people described disturbance and disorder in terms of the action of young people and the inaction of their parents in maintaining control and, in this respect, used accounts offered by right wing press and politicians to describe what was going on.

Some of the people I interviewed understood causality as a more complex thing.

Scott: *"It's all different factors isn't it? Some people say it's the parents, some people say it's school - but it isn't just one thing it's all connected – it's parents and people you hang about with. Unemployment and poverty causes it and the consumer society - havin' things."*

Emma similarly gave an account of the complex effect of unemployment upon a place:

"I find that Sunderland is a very depressed area - you see it walking through the town centre - I mean I've done it in Dumfries and I've done it in Sunderland and I didn't realise... people just get on with their own little lives and they have no contact... In Dumfries you walk through the town and people are so much...I wouldn't say happier...but they want to speak to people and I think that a lot of the fact that crime isn't a major thing in Dumfries yet. I mean we lived in a house for a while and we used to leave the front door open and nobody bothered - I mean you couldn't do that here - you couldn't have your windows open or anything."

In contrast to Emma's account, Frederick's mother described the way in which Castletown is experienced as a community. Frederick's mother told me:

> *"We've just popped down to the shops and the doors have been left open - Ernie's (Frederick's stepfather) lived here thirty years - when you've got good neighbours...."*

Emma had observed other differences between Sunderland and Dumfries:

> *"Children are pushed aside here, even when you get to eighteen or nineteen you're treated like children whereas up there you're not. I mean there's people working in the hotel who are only sixteen - as soon as you left school you were an adult because of the way you were employed."*

This of course is the nub of the transition issue and young people moving into adulthood without that central defining experience of employment. The various routes through further education, which had replaced employment, could not confer this status. The lack of order, which transition through this lifestage implies, becomes more profound in interaction with the uncertainty created by restructuring. Clearly employment and social policies can have effects upon how this restructuring is experienced, and we have seen the effects of social security legislation and youth training schemes on transitions into adult life in the family and employment.

Community

The discussion of community was particularly pertinent to people in the intermediate locality, as we have seen so far in terms of the long established social relations in Castletown.

There was sense of stability based in the dominant employment of the past. Ryan described it in terms of being *"knitted together"*. Sophie spoke of the people who drink in the Castletown pubs as the *"original people"*. Here I want to discuss the ways in which people perceived community, or lack of it, in their feelings about and involvement in, their local area.

The spatial base for working class community, in contrast to the professional middle class, was notable in the two samples. Robert gave an account of community in his part of Fulwell as based on the shipyard:

> *"I don't think it's the same as it was years ago. Like the families that have been here for years are still ... but the new ones not so much. Everybody keeps themselves to themselves - the people two doors up we never talk to them - it's not as close. Maybe it's just the line of work years ago everybody was from the shipyards and they all had something in common - now you have nothing in common it was all word of mouth in the shipyard - that's all changed now. "*

It is not that people didn't move into and out of work in pits and shipyards, but the fact that they have had that common experience of work, which is even more specific than a common experience of domination and subordination which forms part of the class experience. This is at least part of what makes occupational community and it is not detracted from by the fact that people also have very different work experiences. My research has not been in occupational communities but it has encountered young people's accounts of them. Whatever the reality, that image of community life is a reference point for their own identity.

A feature of community, already mentioned, related to fear of crime, especially that which arose from the disorder of groups of young people on the street. In Castletown there was an answer, which was not to hide away but to respond. The action was taken by few but my interviews indicated that the support of many lay behind them.

Eleanor told me about the vigilante group forming to sort out the kids:

> *"They're villains actually. I can understand it really - there are some villains, round the corner there's a family - so there's a big meeting at the pub on Monday night and this villain's goin' to sort these kids out - these kids deserve everything that's comin' to them. "*

Southwick was also regarded as a community by many although often discussions of this community merged with discussions of underclass. It was also related to lifestage.

Edward lived in a street of pit houses in Southwick:

> *"People don't come in as much as they used to. I know everyone in this half of the street. I would say you get to know the new families if they've got a child that plays in the street - there's been a few new families moved in and I've only started to recognise them - whereas when you're a kid you're out there - and you always look back at the good things."*

Edward articulated a general view that consciousness of community is stronger in particular lifestages and that the cement of community lies in the sociability created by women at home with young children. This points, not to occupational community as creating bonds, but to the existence of the family wage and the confinement of women to the domestic sphere as creating the kind of community people described in Sunderland. Restructuring means that women are likely to be at home for shorter periods in their lives and this may have an effect on that network of relationships.

The community of the street is forged by women with young children. For most of the young people I interviewed, their lifestage dictated a different consciousness, although awareness of locality and images of other remained important.

It was in the affluent areas that mothers were most heavily engaged in work and this is consistent with information about the restructuring of the labour market in Sunderland. If the basis of women's sociability might be differently affected in different areas, the persistence of community based on this single element would be most likely in poorer areas where work is not available.

Emma saw community as an aspect of adversity:

"Especially in places where there's unemployment, where everybody's in the same boat and you just have to get on with it and help each other in which way you can 'cos you understand how the next person feels. Community is goin out drinkin' an the people in your local area are in the same boat as you."

Jean and her stepfather discussed the nature of community in Southwick.

Stepfather: *"We've always lived in Southwick, Southwick's alright, people say Southwick's rough but if it was I wouldn't be here - parts of Southwick are good to live in."*

Jean: *"Everybody round here just likes to be on the dole - they're all the same - they're all on the dole. There's loads of crime in the squares - that's why it's got a bad name - that's where it all is ... Beaumont Street is terrible at night - we used to live up that way. I'm alright, but me friend Joanna wouldn't go that way 'cos she comes from Witherwack. I don't think they'd say anything - it's bad when they've had a few drinks and a few lasses cause trouble - you're alright if you come from round here."*

Stepfather: *"It was all the pits and the shipyards and it's been destroyed - no wonder the kids are the way they are, the majority don't want work. ... I've lived in Southwick years. Its not a patch on Hendon where I was born, the kids are out of control - you can't blame parents when they're out of the house".*

GC: *"Would you describe it as a community?"*

Jean: *"I would say there is - they all stick together. In a way I feel part of it. If you go up Beaumont Street they all stick together but the further out you get out the less they mix. I was tortured when we first moved up here 'cos I was new."*

Mother: *"If you don't fit (to Jean) - 'cos you went to a different school at first - you don't fit in unless you're born up that way. I knocked about with them up the squares; it was always a bad area - it's getting worse. When I was younger it was playin' knocky nine doors, now it's stonin' the houses an' burnin' cars out - it's calmed down a bit over the last couple of years."*

Jean's mother attributed this to the recent renovation work and the Council's firm action against troublesome tenants.

For everyone I spoke to community meant interconnections, the degree of sociability between neighbours, and the way in which that operated as a support system when you are, *"all in the same boat"*. The general perception was of community

disappearing and we have to recognise that this might be a response to change rather than to complete loss. The picture I have drawn represents the dominant accounts but it is not unqualified. Frederick's mother could still pop down to the shops leaving her doors open because of good neighbours. The post war community studies detailed this loss of community and yet found it being re-established (Willmott 1963, Roberts I 1996). This returns us to a concept of crisis involving change which can, but need not, mean disintegration. These are recognisable forces for change and we have raised the question of how far changes in the gender composition of the workforce and in working relations have affected the traditional basis of community. The further question to be answered concerns show people will act in recreating their communities in the face of change.

Poor locality

In the poor locality, most of the people I interviewed were from the Redhouse and Southwick council estates, although there were some from housing association property in the area. The comparisons made between the two areas are interesting, because it emerged that these places had different meanings for their inhabitants and for those outside. Although quite similar in their objective conditions, levels of affluence and economic activity, they are different in their histories. The ways in which people see a place are based in both past and present and these attributions as we have already argued, affect their attitudes and in turn the quality of citizenship enjoyed by its inhabitants. I came across no oppositional models of the social structure; roughness was always attributed to others rather than to the self. Comments about area and underclass were often inextricably linked and when asked about the

notion of underclass, people tended to characterise it in terms of particular areas of Sunderland.

In much the same way as people had strong feelings about Castletown and change, I found people related particularly to Southwick. The general image of Southwick was of a rough, closed place, to which you would not be admitted easily. The terms used were similar to those you might hear from people bemoaning their inability to be accepted in a rural village after years of residence. You have to belong and there is suspicion, if not downright hostility, toward those who don't. Outward hostility was not drawn from the older population of the place, however, but from the young people who hung about the street corners and gave strangers a hard time as they passed by.

Sid told me:

> *"If you look at Sunderland there are areas - they just resort to a life of crime straight away - I think if they're brought up in that kind of area it just rubs off on them then once an area gets a name - Barclay Court, down by the Wheatsheaf - that was rough as hell and then you'd gan down there and there'd be smashed windows and that - there were quiet people as well but now everything's worse and worse ... Beaumont Street ... all the lads sit outside - it is rough in some parts - Marley Potts is rough - you get a mixture wherever you gan."*

The people in Beaumont Street were mentioned on numerous occasions and were universally regarded as 'rough'. The account was resonant of the poor locality in Hendon where people spoke of gangs and associated problems of order.

Discussing the distinction between Redhouse and Southwick, Kate told me she would not only never leave Sunderland, but would never leave Redhouse:

> *"This area's quite nice - not as bad as Southwick, as long as you stop down this area it's OK. It's bad when you get up to Marley Potts - I don't go up to Marley Potts, but the houses are a bit of a mess - it's just got a reputation."*

Carol also from Redhouse told me:

> *"It's alright, there's no trouble - you get the odd gangs. I lived in Southwick till I was two, then we moved to Redhouse and I've lived here ever since. There's only one newcomer in the street, it's hard to get on this estate."*

Carol's parents, like several other people in the street, were buying their council house; so that the estate, although in the poor area, contained a significant number of people with steady incomes.

Colin spoke of:

> *"....a few areas I wouldn't like to live in - mainly the estates surrounding here, Marley Potts, Southwick - people who want to spend all their time collecting the dole and it's just spiralling down from that. No-one really wants to move there unless they're forced into it. This estate is alright".*

People who themselves lived in Southwick, described what they saw as a decline in the place. Ann and her mother talked about the place, debating crime and its causes.

Ann: *"This area's been going down for the last few years, the motorbikes and that."*

Mother: *"There are young people who have addresses just for the giros - young people who are coming in who don't have any aims and purposes - if they mixed people more - the flats are all just teenagers - I don't think human beings should be put in compartments like that."*

Ann: *"I would say its an easy cop out - I know a lot of people who wouldn't turn to crime because its essentially wrong, I know a lot of people who wouldn't turn to crime - they class it as all Southwick, but I'm Southwick too."*

Mother: *"... but you've got more pride..."*

Ann: *"I think it's too easy for them."*

Mother: *"There's areas of Pennywell where I don't think they've got a chance."*

Ann: *"Do you not think it's a bit of you've got to be brought up with the right values?"*

Mother: *"Yes, but you're talking about second generation. Everybody's got some value and it's a shame it's not being exploited. People have to have a sense of their own importance."*

Ann: *"It's too easy for them,"*

Mother: *"There must be people who've got better values and they're told it's cissy - you can't get an across the board answer because everybody is different."*

Rachel had recently moved out of her mother's home in Marley Potts, to privately

rented accommodation in a 'quieter' area. Of her mother's area she said:

"It's getting' worse, it can be - sometimes - quiet, but you can have pinched cars flyin' up and down the street... Mostly they're about twenty year old, they steal them to do them up and sell - they used to always be burnin' out cars - now they're all done up ... A few live round here but mostly Marley Crescent. This part is the best part - a little lad yesterday set fire next to the shops.... The buses have stopped 'cos they're throwin' rocks - it's quietened down bit now. Some of them's harmless - I dunnot like walkin' past them. If I'm with me boyfriend I'm not bothered 'cos he knows them but some of them - I'm not that keen."

Rachel thought the problem of crime was becoming increasingly severe:

"Me boyfriend got slashed a few months ago – his back - a lad come in me sister's with a Stanley knife - there was two five year old girls there, they were hysterical. He just got a Stanley knife out and slashed his back - they live at the top of me mam's street - I'm just glad I'm out of the way of him."

Of the area and safety in general, however, Rachel told me:

"I'm used to it by now - if they din't knaw your face and that they'd probably give you stick, but I've known them all me life."

"It's worse than it used to be up here. It wasn't that bad, it's just gettin' worse - it's the way they're brought up, they just let them do what they want, the parents an' that... the kids, they're wicked down there - they've got to be able to look after themselves. If you're soft down there you just get kicked in. If you're a snob an' you move down here you get burgled."

In Chapter 6, I related Matthew's experience of school and the effect of the prejudice expressed there. Matthew felt there was some basis of truth in the negative views people expressed about the area:

> *"I wouldn't go to the green in Southwick - A couple of nights ago I was goin' down - you always see gangs on the corners, twenty little children after ten o'clock at night speedin' down the road on their bikes - young ones. My family wasn't like that - A lot of people in Southwick and Marley Potts - I don't think they bother. Round this street is alright but once you get out of here.... I'm closed in - people at St. Aidan's used to say, 'Southwick is black'."*

Despite what he saw as the different values of his own family, Matthew felt discriminated against because of the negative characterisation of the place.

Community

Rachel was sceptical of claims about a community in her area of Southwick:

> *"Not round this area I don't think they really want to be a community in this area - everybody just keeps themselves to themselves round here. If you've lived up here you're best off 'cos you get bricks through your window."*

One of the problems, which Rachel identified, was that of drugs and their effect on people's safety in the area:

> *"There's a few where my sister lived does it - everybody says nowt. Some people gan out to do stuff when they're high - for a buzz....most of them are skint - they burgle just to get the money for beer and drugs. I was just talkin' to me boyfriend about it the other week - we says, before long it's gonna be guns an everything round here, just like London."*

Sid felt, in contrast, that Redhouse was a community:

> *"There's never much trouble. People just want to get on with their lives, bring up their children ...A lot of people have lived here for years. I've lived in Redhouse all me life. Once you're in Redhouse you just move around in Redhouse. Me gran lives down the road - all me family - all the*

people I know around here.... You always get to know people but this is where I feel I belong. "

Crime militated against feelings of community because it made people feel defensive. In fact, there were different expectations of community and how individuals related to it. In the affluent locality, while everyone was not *'in the same boat'*, they shared common lifestyles and had common experience of the expectations of their place. This is a basis for the existence of community. In Castletown the stability and economic commonality of the past had recognisable effects in creating a fabric. This was a community with both geographic and symbolic boundaries. Southwick was characterised differently, with the emphasis placed on its exclusionary nature and crime out of control. In effect, however, these are both elements of the same mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion.

The explanations which people develop for these characteristics are different. In all three areas people described the problems created by disorderly youth. In Southwick, however, this was explained by the lack of interest of parents, the poor values held, and the need young people had to be noticed. In Castletown people are facing the same problems but the explanation was not based in the deficit of local people. In fact people from the surrounding council estates were more often seen as responsible. In the affluent locality there seemed to be no explanation for the behaviour of the Seaburn Casuals or the girls who assaulted Mary, but this disorder was not taken to typify the people in the place.

Crime

Citizenship is limited by fear of crime and this had a definite gender dimension. Several of the girls would not walk past the gangs on their own. All were conscious of

safety issues, although controlled by them to different degrees. Sue, from the poor locality, considered women often responsible for their own experience as victims:

> *"When I go out I wear trousers - the young 'uns wear skirts so short, little bodysuits. The way they look, they're like... teasin'."*

Jenny, from the affluent locality, disagreed:

> *"I don't agree with 'It's the way people dress'. A woman should be able to go out with her skirt round her neck and not be touched."*

The vast majority of people had not been victims of any violence and, of those who had seven were male and two female. The likelihood of suffering violent crime is of course much higher for men than for women. However, what is relevant here is not only actual violence but also the fear of violence which affects citizenship by limiting freedom. This is interesting because the nature of the violence women fear tends to be different. On the whole, when women spoke of violence, what they feared was sexual attack rather than straightforward physical violence. Women were more concerned and adapted their behaviour to avoid possible risks.

Young men talked about the dangers of being attacked by lads in or around the pubs, while women were more conscious of the need to avoid unpopulated areas. Most women who felt untroubled by crime would nevertheless avoid parks and quiet roads at night time. Safety in this respect is more a gender than a class issue.

Politics

The importance of political affiliation to this research lies in its existence as well as its nature. I am interested in how far people see themselves as part of a wider political community, and intention to vote is one expression of that.

I was interested in young people's political views in terms of their models of collectivism and individualism. This was an important issue in my earlier research and I have continued to find it useful here. The Sunderland North group did not contain any conviction Tories, but this did not mean that people necessarily held collectivist views. One of the most striking, and some might feel worrying, aspects of political involvement was the lack of interest in the political process. Few people felt they had a personal part to play, or that it would seriously respond to their interests or needs. This may, in some degree reflect the way in which youth, in all times under capitalism, has been a marginalised group. It may equally speak to the particular experience of contemporary youth. As Councillor Sidaway pointed out, in the past, *"when you left school and went into the pit you joined your union and took your place."* There is a sense in which many of the young people I have interviewed cannot find their place or even any indication of what it might be. This is what is implicit in Scott's acceptance that, when he has trained as a joiner, if there is no job he will have to train for something else, or in Trevor's attempts at BTEC and GNVQ courses with only a vague notion of what will follow. These are not foolish or careless approaches to the problem of unemployment; they represent a recognition, by some young people, of the contingent nature of everything.

The lower level of interest in politics was noted in the study of Marienthal. In their description of a 'weary community' Jahoda *et. al.* described the decline in interest and active involvement in the local community. They document this in the use of libraries, theatre and political organisation (1972 p39):

> It is often assumed that the unemployed do not use their time to further
>
> their education, but the problem is not that simple. If one sees in their

situation merely an abundance of time and nothing more, then one will probably be surprised by their reduced interest in reading ... The following pages will show how a number of institutions have been radically changed by the decline of cultural life and how these changes penetrate deeply into the private lives of the unemployed. The area in which this manifests itself most clearly is politics.

After describing a general decline in party membership and activism the authors note:

It seems that especially among the younger people the few who are still politically active are those who still have work. (Ibid. p.41)

I asked people how they would vote to connect to issues of collectivism and identity in class terms. The divide was clear across the localities, and while the Labour Party was preferred in all localities, it was the majority vote only of those from Locality Two. In the affluent locality Conservatives and Liberal Democrats were also important, while in Locality Three more people were uncertain of their vote or had decided not to vote at all. In terms of social class, it was in Band Three that Labour voting became a majority choice. There was one woman in Locality Three who would not disclose her vote, but generally, fewer women than men intended to vote Labour. This is not evidence to support the view that women are more right wing, but it is interesting to consider how, when the class background and interests, which most of this sample had in common, interact with those of gender, the dominance of that Labour identification is undermined.

Affluent Locality

The majority of people who expressed a view were Labour supporters in sentiment, although they had not necessarily exercised their right to vote. More of the women said they would not vote than said they would vote Labour.

For some, political views were formed firmly within the family. Linda told me she would vote Labour:

> *"I don't know why, it's been hammered into me - my family's always voted Labour. The Conservatives wouldn't have a chance in Sunderland, it's too much of a working class town.... I don't know if I'll always vote Labour - it's different in different places...if you go to London, Labour is extreme... When I start working I'll get more interested. "*

Bridgett related to the lack of interest which reflects the individualism of most of her friends:

> *"We just talk about our own little lives" This individualistic approach was widely held, "I'm not very up on politics, I don't understand it. I'll probably vote Conservative 'cos I'm doing alright. "*

Rory was very unusual throughout the sample however in expressing an intention to vote Conservative.

Individualism was evident in questioning the significance of personal contribution to the political sphere. Robert told me he hadn't voted so far:

> *"I'm not into politics - it's whether my one vote would really do any change ... saying that, a lot of people are probably thinking the same. "*

Like several others from this locality Bridgett was unsure how or whether she would vote. This derived, for most people, from cynicism about the political parties and a distrust in the motivation of the politicians themselves.

Jenny said:

"I don't believe in any of them. I think they're a pile of rubbish. I don't even bother with it - I'm not really interested. I don't agree with anyone to vote for them."

I noted earlier Mary's sense of separateness from her local authority ward. She also felt that her lack of knowledge meant that she was not qualified to vote:

"I don't know anything about it - it's strange putting a cross on paper when you don't know anything about it."

Gordon was working full time and was one of the few people who took an interest in politics to the degree that he followed election campaigns and watched some current affairs programmes. He intended to vote:

"I pay taxes so I want to have a say. I won't vote Tory - they've made a mess of it. Labour don't seem to be leading anywhere, they always just contradict each other - I'll probably vote Liberal Democrat if I do vote - I've never seen any scandals about them."

Charles, conversely, had an identification with the Labour party which would override what he saw as his own personal advantage:

"I'll probably vote Labour but I'm probably better off with the Tories.... Labour is for the working class."

Graham similarly identified with the Labour party as a working class party: *"they think more for the working class"*. He would not necessarily always vote for the Labour party however.

Intermediate Locality

The most common response people gave me was that they did not understand politics and would therefore probably not vote. For some however, it was an active choice.

Emma did not intend to vote:

> *"There's nothing that any of the parties offer - they don't offer any hope-they aren't offering anything to people who are less well off.... They're not giving ordinary people their way - they never have a look and say what people do actually face in communities. They talk about unemployed people, none of them has been unemployed and had to try to manage on their budget - The time I would vote is when someone who's been unemployed and had to struggle stands. ... they're all full of wind. They don't give a damn about people like us, the workers, people who want to work for a living and can't work for a living - they don't see that."*

Others had an identification with the Labour party which sprang from experience of

the area over time.

Sophie saw herself as at odds with most of her contemporaries in taking an interest in

politics:

> *"I'm one of the few young people that are actually interested about anything, most of them switch the news off... They don't even bother going to vote."*

Sophie's identification was a strong one and it was implicitly based in class divisions:

> *"Labour, I don't think I could ever vote Conservative - they've got all that much money and they're not bothered about anybody else - since the pit closures - it wouldn't be morally right to vote for them."*

Scott and Kimberley had also given some thought to their vote and had their own

reasons for each voting Labour.

Kimberley: *"I'd like them to get into power at the next election and then I'll see what they do- obviously they can't change everything straight away... I'll vote Labour 'cos they're set on getting the NHS back the way it was and I'm going into the NHS."*

Scott: *"I think some of the things. They're tryin' to get rid of YTS and create more apprenticeships. The Tories only got in 'cos they lied - I just think they won't get in - I think a lot of it's people frightened of change and they won't give Labour a chance."*

GC: "Would you see yourself as a Labour person?"

Scott: *"Yeah 'cos me mam and dad always vote Labour an that's probably why I'm gunna vote for them - and 'cos of the apprenticeships an' that."*

Kimberley: *"It's terrible what they've done. Margaret Thatcher, she's done it all - crippled the unions. I wasn't bothered about politics when I was at school and it's since I've been goin to vote I've taken an interest - people just don't bother voting half the time."*

Edward told me:

"The Conservatives have been in too long - things are gettin' worse. If something bad happens they blame it on labour thirteen years ago. At election time there's all the juicy carrots for people who haven't decided and people swallow it! I'll always vote Labour, I'm a bit of a socialist - a closet socialist." (laughing).

Frederick, planning to go into the stock market, would vote Labour:

"I think they've got the policies that society needs. Labour have got more idea of how to shift the balance in favour of the poor person, whereas I don't think the Tories will do that sort of thing."

Jason would vote Liberal Democrat, but said:

"My family are Labour - I think the whole of Castletown is - everybody round here is."

Voting Labour was dominant because of people's experience as workers and the community of interests which that generated. The young people I interviewed leaned in that direction because of that history, but some were questioning how far the Labour party could now be identified as their party.

Poor locality

What we begin to see are the effects of traditional class-based identification which provides a perspective from which many of the young people view the world, but also for some, a degree of dissatisfaction with their experience of the Conservative government to date. This did not necessarily give rise to an oppositional stance, however, and some were worried about the uncertainty which they perceived would be brought by a Labour government. It is equally possible to interpret their lack of

support for Labour as a lifestage effect. If you are to question dominant values in

these areas then the relevant beliefs would be Labour ones. In reality, I think we can

see elements of both in some of the opinions expressed.

Ann told me:

> *"Most of my family are Labour. I voted Liberal first time - the second time I voted Conservative (European Election) 'cos I'm not really for the European ... It upset my dad, he's voted Labour all his life. Me mam votes Labour - but it's my right. In the next general election I'll vote Labour because I think it's time for a change and I don't suppose if I voted Liberal it would make any difference... this is a typical Labour area."*

I asked Ann about Sunderland being a Labour town:

> *"It brings you back to community. I think you should vote on the issues of the time, not the party you're brought up to... you're expected to vote Labour."*

I raised the point it was possible to interpret what people were doing as expressing a

common interest:

> *"That's in the origins but I think they're more and more - both parties - I'm disillusioned by all the parties. I think there'll be a massive swing to Labour 'cos people just need a change. I won't identify with any party, otherwise there's no point in voting and having elections."*

As in the other localities people gave lack of interest or knowledge as the reason for

not voting.

Sue said:

> *"I've never voted - I don't know, I'm not bothered - I haven't the foggiest idea what it's all about. As long as hairdressers' wages don't go down I'm not bothered."*

Sid: *"I don't know enough about it. The union man says you're for the Tories if you don't vote for Labour, but I don't understand politics, but its a waste of a vote if I don't know what I'm voting for - so I've put it off for a bit... At first I'd say to meself - I'll vote Labour 'cos that's who me dad votes*

for and me mam votes for - but some people does that - Redhouse is Labour, Sunderland is Labour - they just follow the pack. People say the Tories have done nowt for this country but Labour hasn't been in since I was little."

Rachel did not intend to vote:

"No I've got no interest in them, I don't know much about them. I think me dad and them votes for Labour and I said, 'I think I'll vote Conservative' and he said, 'ye'll not you knaw'. I'd probably vote Labour, I don't know who's in Labour, I've never took much notice."

This raises questions of identification with a class and a traditional way of going on. Class habitus, which implies the operation of a common interest, might have predisposed people to vote Labour and some people intended to do so. On the other hand, some young people were questioning this tradition. Almost no one said they would vote Tory, they simply did not intend to vote at all. The disillusionment with politics coupled with a feeling of impotence as a voter, may be signs of loss of collective identity and citizenship. They could equally be signs of a loss of faith in the Labour Party as the traditional instrument of collectivism.

Hendon

Within the local area Hendon had very real meaning, connoting roughness, so that none of the young people I interviewed in the affluent part of the ward identified themselves as living in Hendon. For those in the intermediate and poorer areas the identification with the place was much stronger, despite the fact that, as one respondent said: *"If you say you come from Hendon people take a step back"*, and *"you can't get credit"*.

The spatial aspect of young people's feeling about citizenship was evidently stratified according to both class and gender. It was clear that the young and unemployed were

most locally bound, because at least here they had some relation to place. The reason they did not want to go job hunting in London was that without a job you lack identity. At home there is the identity, the tie, the networks of local community to sustain a life on the dole.

I found, at twenty-three, young women identified family as more important because they recognised the realities of support with childcare. These were the people who were most locally bound.

Sandra, a young divorced mother, said:

> *"I'd never leave Sunderland... Me mother and me sister live in the same street, I see me sister at me mother's every day."*

There were differences in orientation according to social class and educational qualifications, those with careers ahead generally preferring to look beyond Sunderland at eighteen, so that by twenty-four most of them had left. On the whole I had access to those who stayed and saw their futures within Sunderland. Those who remained were either locally bound because of their work, or because unemployment made the option of moving less attractive.

The contrast in orientation was pronounced.

Eve had been away to university and was about to take up a job in marketing in London: *"Sunderland is so boring compared with London...."*

Susan, mother of two children living on one Sunderland's outer estates, considered herself displaced because she had been unable to get a house in her local area: *"I miss Hendon, there's nothing like Hendon, they're all friendly there."*

Place was clearly not just an expression of a physical setting, it was the 'life of the place' people talked about.

Martin had spent his university years in Newcastle while living at home. He was now contemplating the move to London to further his career. He articulated a strangeness, inspired by moving out of local culture, which illustrates Cohen's point that people "become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries" (1982 p3).

> *"I can empathise with the attachment people have to the area but having been to college, and having all your friends leave, and having been educated, you have a sort of ambivalence to where you come from. You have ties with your family and on the other hand you have the typical idea of escaping from a small town, which is common ... particularly when you've had your eyes opened... It's the conforming, provincial frame of mind that's always bugged me.... You forget because you've done other things, what traditional attitudes people do have... it shocked me actually being away and doing something else. You just imagine it no longer exists but its incredible, it's gone but its still there.... "*

It is this disconnection which marks the difference between those who will remain locally bound and those who have left.

Politics

The level of interest and participation in party politics was extremely low, with only one person actually contemplating joining a party. More commonly there seemed to be a detachment from the political which was evident at both eighteen and twenty-four. Many people expressed distrust of politicians and a sense of powerlessness in relation to the political sphere. The individualisation of world views meant that notions of collectivity were unpopular and resulted in feelings of being atomised. Young people were not involved in collective organisations such as trade unions, so

that the consciousness of the collective were less prominent in their world view than perhaps it was in their parents' generation.

Lisa was from a professional class background and had voted Conservative:

> *"I would have voted Liberal Democrat - I don't mind a tax increase but I don't want to be working just to pay off my tax - but anyway the liberal Democrats hadn't a chance.... I don't like Labour saying just because you're better off you have to pay more. I don't mind social improvement and doing my bit as long as it's... the more tax they take off me the less I'll have to put aside. "*

From the intermediate locality, Angela didn't vote:

> *"I don't know if any of them do a worthwhile job. I wouldn't vote because of the region or family, it's individual. "*

Eve would have voted Liberal Democrat at the last election:

> *"I heard Paddy Ashdown and I thought he was really charismatic. I wouldn't have voted Conservative 'cos they've had too long in power. Will we ever have another Labour or a Liberal government? And in three years who'll remember these miners? People my age haven't ever seen a Labour government...I'll be a floating voter - for me circumstances, 'cos let's be honest you vote for yourself - coming from this kind of area I'm quite inclined to vote Labour. I believe in the health service and not paying for prescriptions. "*

Many young people expressed a sense of the collective which has elements of history and spatiality. Responses, which relate to the idea of local and class identity, are significant because, in fact, young people are taught that this is not an acceptable reason to vote in a particular way. The view that such an identification may represent a meaningful choice is no part of dominant values about individualised voting. People identified political issues but often related to collective self-interest. This comes, not from a dominant ideology or the media, but from their lived experience, their identification with '*the likes of us*'.

Martin voted Labour:

> *"I just think things are getting worse and worse, particularly for the working class."*

I asked Martin if he saw this as a lifelong affiliation:

> *"I suppose so, I did it out of a gut feeling which is informed by my own experience and what I see happening around me."*

Gary: said he would vote:

> *"Labour. They said if they get in they'd create jobs - they couldn't have done it straight away - I don't know if it was all talk - but all me family votes it and all me mates everybody you talk to votes it. Everything is just ganin down ... soon everybody'll be on the dole."*

Barry said:

> *"I vote Labour, don't ask me why. A lot of it's to do with my parents I don't really pay much interest - the Tories seem to have driven a wedge in the middle of the classes, the poor get poorer and the rich get richer."*

Keith similarly, said: *"Everybody I talk to votes Labour I think it's mainly in the South Tories get elected."*

Paul: *"I'll always vote Labour. Sunderland is a Labour town"*

There were elements of both collectivism and individualism in people's voting choices, as well as in the relative value they placed on closeness to family and friends as opposed to developing careers and affluent lifestyles. These elements relate to the notion of citizenship as collective, guaranteed by society, and demonstrate the ways in which the hegemony of individualism supports the citizenship of only a particular class and gender.

The absence of collectivism had other effects, which people recognised. Tom saw the deprivation of citizenship rights as emanating both from the vulnerability to crime and from the state:

> *"Women can't walk by themselves at night and a bloke walking past a gang of lads will get jumped on... there's definitely an undercurrent of violence. There's' no respect for each other, a lot of violence doesn't get reported...if you get punched in the face you don't go to the police.... I wouldn't trust the police as far as I could throw them, we've got the criminals on one side and the police on the other."*

In this respect the citizenship of young people is undermined because their leisure involves being in the streets at night, while the police who are there for their protection have, at least, an ambivalence in their dealings with young people.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to establish how young people's identities and expectations are created in part in relation to the areas they live in. This cannot simply be reduced to class and gender because those forces act in particular directions to establish the relations dominant in the area.

I have examined the ways in which people experience and characterise places in relation to the social problems of crime as well as notions of community and collective. I have related particularly to political beliefs as one expression of world views and feelings of connectedness. I have argued earlier that citizenship is affected by class, gender and lifestage and I have tried to show here the contribution that place can be seen to make to that variation. I have identified the way in which problems of order affect the quality of young people's citizenship, their freedom of movement and action.

The findings support Robson's (1969) point that working class communities have a spatial base and I have suggested that identifications based on place are likely to be strongest in those areas where work does not provide an alternative set of relationships. These issues are important in the reproduction of family and working lives and I have shown that people act in accordance with images as well as the objective reality of places. This has an effect on citizenship.

What emerges from this chapter, particularly from the Sunderland North sample, is the perceived effect of structural change upon the fabric of community. The gender divide was more important than that of class in the experience and fear of crime. Class divisions in the consciousness of communities are pronounced however. The young people I spoke to highlighted issues of disorder and their concern about disorderly youth. Perceptions were of communities in decline and I have raised the question of whether the evidence points to crisis provoking decline or change. I have argued that we can still see strong elements of collectivism in young people's world views although they may no longer be organised in the form of party allegiance or take any form of political expression.

The concluding chapter will bring together these findings with those relating to young people's views of education, work and family life, to reflect both on particular experiences of a restructured world and on the process of social and cultural reproduction which they evidence.

Chapter 10   Conclusion

This thesis has been an attempt to relate action and structure in understanding young people's experience. It has sought to examine the structural factors in young people's lives; the effects of class, gender and place in creating orientation to action.

To this I have wanted to bring an understanding of people's action and their own interpretations of their action. This is not to prioritise actors' accounts above those of theorists (Jenkins 1983) but because I recognise that we can learn much that is valuable from actors themselves (Marsh 1982).

I have employed the notion of habitus to explain that interaction. I have examined the ways in which class is not simply an economic relation but must be understood in terms of its wider processes and its social relations as both action and structure. I have sought to use an understanding of determination which relies on limits and boundaries within which there is space for action (Williams 1973). I have argued that, while action is a constant process, we can gain access to it most clearly when the structural forces we have discussed are open to change, when the processes of creating and reproducing a class habitus are not so smoothly tailored to the conditions of the day. It is at these times that we can see people taking conscious choices, acting in relation to goals formed against a background of constraint, but nevertheless acting.

Within this overall understanding, I have developed an account of the nature of class and of patriarchy as major structural forces shaping people's lives. I have argued that place plays a related but identifiably separate part because of the

effect of history and the sedimentation of practices and relations in a place. I have related ideas of individualism/communalism, and localism, to these issues of place.

I have raised a whole range of questions with young people to gain access to their views and expectations, and in this chapter I want to review some of the most significant findings from my research and to discuss ways in which they reflect upon this theoretical framework.

It has been clear from discussion with young people throughout my research that people are facing decisions, sometimes seeking to re-establish the styles of their own parents, sometimes taking radically new directions. My argument is that this does not mean structure has no effect, it means that it's effect is complex and that we must understand the nature of interaction in order to understand the choices young people make.

I have cited the way in which Tom faced the shipyard apprenticeship and how leaving it affected his view of the future. Equally Anthony and Eve, from skilled working-class families, moved out of a class style on the basis of educational achievement and the lack of local opportunities.

People recognised the same set of imperatives in their lives; they made their decisions in relation to the structural conditions which pertain to their class, their gender and their place. The change in those conditions created visible room for action and people took different action. Some who would remain unemployed in Sunderland described their world in limited terms and preferred not to think too far into the future. Some, like Peter, would work towards just what their parents had, although based on a much higher level of formal qualification. Others, like

Anthony and Eve, would take an unexpected direction. For the most part the people who did this at twenty-four had expected to at eighteen.

Tom was the only person apparently set for skilled status whose life changed comprehensively in the time between our meetings. His experience had radicalised his political views and raised questions about values. This is not to say he was entirely satisfied and happy with life as it was before, but he was following a recognised path into adult life in Sunderland. This is the significant issue. It is to recognise that when people 'choose' their lifestyle they do so within the context of contradiction and constraint. The world they have left behind was not ideal or problem free. Within it's constraints however there were established routes for young people to take. The people I spoke to recognised many problems and felt, to different degrees, their freedom of choice or their lack of alternatives. These were often consciously framed in terms of their class and gender as well as the place they lived in.

I have used the idea of habitus in this research because it sees people performing their social roles without always having overt knowledge or consciousness of their purpose or even full knowledge of the effects of their action. This is only part, although a large part, of action. In addition, I would argue, people act knowingly and purposefully but not necessarily in terms which can be comprehended by rational action theory. People can predict the future, act appropriately; based on the understanding their habitus gives them. At times when there is disruption between habitus and field conduct becomes intelligible only through an understanding of a particular habitus. These are the numerous

situations in which people do not act in an obviously rational way. My findings about localism seem to fit into this category (Callaghan 1991).

The question is are those unknowing actions disrupted in crisis just as the knowing ones must be? Is this what happens when people question traditional values, their culture? How can we account for change in some areas of a culture and continuity in others? I have used Cohen's (1985) argument that culture evolves because it suits people, but can continue to have effect for a while after those needs have changed, to frame this account.

I have sought to understand how structures are both reproduced and modified by action. The nature of my study enabled me to examine lifestage as well as temporal change. This meant that in comparing eighteen-year-olds in Hendon with those in Sunderland North I was looking at people at very different points in time. The first, at the end of a phase of 'organised' capitalism, had grown up in a context in which the traditional paths had reasonably appeared to provide the future. The second group knew that these paths were completely gone. I encountered young people at the centre of very fundamental structural change and I found that one route out of that, albeit a temporary one, was to return to full time education.

Education and the Labour market

I found a considerable degree of continuity with the apparent trajectories on which young people were set in Hendon at eighteen and twenty-four.

I looked at the link between labour market and place as a context for examining my earlier findings, that the affluent and career minded were leaving Sunderland.

This followed the expected gender divide and appeared to be borne out by subsequent experience. There was a high level of consistency between spatial orientation and class banding in Hendon, but when I brought this relation to the Sunderland North people it seemed that they were more locally orientated. I have related this to some degree to their different class profile, in that while my Hendon sample yielded children of the professional middle class, in Sunderland North the affluent sample was based mainly upon the skilled working class. Those with higher levels of educational qualifications appear to be more Sunderland-oriented in Sunderland North, but again, we must remember the huge increase in numbers staying on in post-16 education so that in terms of eventual careers the effect of class and educational achievement is masked in the later study.

The discussions held with young people in Hendon about educational qualifications exemplified the class differences Paul Willis (1977) identified and I have interpreted them in terms of a class habitus. Young middle class people simply expected to go to university and poorer people expected not to. This is an overstatement, but it is in these broad brush strokes that we see the effects of habitus. We can look for the more obvious effect of action where those expectations don't appear to hold. This was evidenced for example, by Martin whose choice was to *"do different things from the people I was at school with"*.

It was also evident in the way in which the relation between structure and action can be seen in the reputation and academic achievement of different schools. Attitudes to school held in the local area, have effect on teachers' attitudes and the relative success of the school. So while some children from Southwick

attended Monkwearmouth, the majority went to Redhouse. Monkwearmouth was predominantly a middle class school and Southwick children tended to be in lower bands but to be 'better behaved ' than their contemporaries at Redhouse. There were many examples of this interaction. Colin from Redhouse wanted to achieve but felt the school's poor standards had let him down. He felt in pursuing his education, he was acting against the dominant culture in his school and in his area. We are not then talking of a process of crude determination. It is rather a process in which structure and action reflect upon each other. It is this reflexivity which opens action to view from the accounts of actors. It is exemplified by Hazel, whose determination to do well arose in part from her position as a child from a disrupted family. In the end this formulation does bring us to an understanding in terms of structural parameters, and some would argue that that is not meaningful action at all.

In far greater proportions than for 18 year olds in Hendon, the Sunderland North sample were taking further qualifications, but, as interviews showed, for many this was against their own preference. It must lead to a re-evaluation of the meaning of higher education in terms of young people's experience, aspirations and claims to citizenship. This was not the carefree youth identified by Bourdieu (1993) for the middle class, it was troubled by the need to secure supplementary sources of income and the concern about what kinds of employment were going to be available. It was a 'choice' exercised because the alternative of employment was not available.

We must also recognise the subjective/objective divide in discussing actors' accounts, for while objectively we might recognise greater prospects for some

young people than others, their own subjective understanding of their future may be at variance with that assessment. I have related to this (Callaghan 1991) in terms of young people's assertion of control. The need to claim control led people to argue that 'anyone can get a job' when it was evident that they couldn't. For some young people experience of long-term unemployment had robbed them of even this feeling of control. For the well educated and career-minded, the level of uncertainty was equally low, with a much greater confidence about what their personal attributes and qualifications would bring them. Education appears to be a major intervening factor mediating the way in which habitus has effect, but again we need to be aware of the changed meaning of further and higher education for young people.

Unemployment was much higher among Sunderland North fathers, so that the relation of the household to the economy could not be discovered from class allocation alone. This was important because all of the young people I met in Sunderland North were to some degree dependent on parents.

In seeking to detect structural factors in this study, gender emerged as a significant source of division. Differences in the nature of gender divisions again appear to be contradictory between the samples, but when we look at what we are measuring more closely it is clear that it is complicated by the class profile and the changed nature of work available. It would be interesting to look at this question again in another five years, to see whether these expectations are realised.

The relation between occupation and community is interesting and one which has generally focused on men's occupation rather than women's. In Sunderland

women have long had high rates of labour market participation. It is impossible to adequately reflect on that relation here but it would form a useful area for further research. The major change in orientation observed in this research arises through change in the nature of work available.

I have identified in earlier chapters the ways in which work has changed for people remaining in Sunderland: the effects upon gendered processes, the casualisation of employment, and the tertiarization of the economy. I have pointed to evidence of a decline in the central working class, and in my earlier study I pointed to the ways in which people were experiencing these changes in Sunderland.

I have identified crisis in structure and crisis in lifestage, both of which have an effect in determining the boundaries and limits within which people make their choices. It was evident when people talked about personal change and compared it with the trajectory on which they had originally been set, or the ways in which their contemporaries had continued to live. I have provided evidence of this from people's reflections upon their own sense of distance and discord from those alternative futures.

I found evidence of extension of the transition and Emma's comparison with an area of low unemployment drew this very clearly: *"As soon as you left school you were an adult because of the way in which you were employed"*. There was evidence that young people continued to be dependent on parents for much longer periods than they themselves had anticipated and this related to low levels of pay as well as to the expectation that partnerships would be put off until the late twenties. People were generally conscious of insecurity in employment.

Those who were unemployed were not re-evaluating their identity in terms of leisure, but regarded themselves first and foremost as unemployed. They talked about a deficit in their lives with which they coped with varying degrees of discomfort, not about a source of alternative identity.

Most young people felt that YTS was not a real introduction to employment and its role in keeping wages down was recognised. For those in employment wages were generally too low to allow independence and their prospects were of continuing at these relatively low levels for the future. For young people in higher education, financing their studies was a major issue and the difference between affluent parents and poorer parents was crucial in this.

The gender divide in employment was clear among young people. A very high proportion of women in the middle band in Sunderland North were service workers in hair and beauty. Across all three samples I found that women were particularly conscious of the fundamental difference which motherhood would bring to their lives.

The impact of the lack of work experience was reflected upon as it affected the movement into adult roles. This was bound up in the ability to plan for the future, to exercise adult roles and to be citizens. It can be seen in membership of trade unions, which again speaks to a gender divide. Unions were not regarded as a strong voice for working people and the fact that they seemed to have little power acted as a disincentive for joining them. On the whole however people saw a role for unions and the attitudes to them were broadly positive.

Family

The changes brought about by restructuring and globalisation have impact in people's experience, not only in their work, but also in their family lives and their relation to their neighbourhoods and communities.

In facing a restructured world people were re-evaluating the traditional path into family life and adult responsibility. This part of the research centred on the ways in which decisions about cohabitation and marriage, age of settling down and domestic and working roles are determined. How far we can ascertain signs of class and gendered action within those structures?

I was consciously asking about the division of labour within the home as well as orientation to work. While I recognise that other writers have found the class divide much more significant than that of gender (Roberts E.1994, McDowell 1986), my research suggests that both divides were significant in different contexts. Women were well aware of their oppression in the domestic sphere as they were of their differences with other women based on class. Young women anticipated their future and were taking conscious action in relation to it. This is not to suggest that their action would necessarily overcome structural constraints or that they all had the same opportunities for doing so. Class and place were important here. It does, however, point us to the ways in which a crisis in structure creates space for conscious action.

On the whole people intended to settle down later. The Hendon follow-up showed a bifurcation in that people were settling down earlier, or intending to settle much later, than they had originally planned. Those who had not already

done so expected to put off settling down until much later than they had anticipated at eighteen. The clearest change seemed to be in the intention to cohabit but not to marry, and this seemed to be both a lifecycle and a temporal effect. Marriage, especially for young women was much more a matter of conscious choice. Young men found the prospect of having children raised no conflicts for them, while women were conscious of the ways in which children would be a disadvantage to their working lives. Family responsibilities challenged men when they were unable to fulfil expectations. I found the young unemployed fathers had not embraced shared domestic responsibilities but, rather, pined for the opportunity to play their traditional role. This is hardly surprising when young men in this position were simultaneously yielding adult citizenship status and patriarchal domination.

This, of course, varied according to class. For the career-oriented, the concerns were different from those who saw themselves as working in non-career jobs. All women, however, were aware of disadvantage in the labour market and the way in which this was compounded by the domestic sphere. I have discussed this in terms of 'sexism' and 'motherism' (Joshi 1991). Women approached these issues with different strategies and different levels of determination to retain control of their lives.

For most of the young adults I spoke to, marriage was important for child rearing, but, again, career minded young women saw this as a disadvantage for them. Lisa intended to have her child without a partner based on her security in career, Pamela and Leslie, already mothers, were doing much the same on state benefit. The differences created by this interaction of class and gender have real

effect. The disadvantages are common to the gender, but the response to those disadvantages varies according to class and place.

Cohabitation for many people would be a way of ensuring they didn't make a mistake and subsequently have to divorce. People referred to marriage as an expectation upon which they had reflected. There remained an impetus towards marriage based on parents' and grandparents' feelings, as well as the sense of security it implied. These factors were challenged, however, by women's increasing expectation of independence and re-evaluation of marriage and patriarchal domestic relationships, and by fears of both parties of instability and divorce. Overall, people's decisions appeared to relate to the desire to produce stable two-parent families so that marriage became a significant choice at this stage in their lives.

The conflict between work and family was most keenly felt by the young career-oriented women for whom the aim would be to establish career before children. The changes in law and policy, which have improved women's citizenship in relation to men, have had effect primarily for the middle class and even then have only brought partial change. At the same time relations in work, and to a considerable degree in the family, remain patriarchal. It is not surprising then that it is young women from the middle class who are making conscious choices about marriage and children.

The persistence of gendered relations based in patriarchy was evidenced clearly when young people talked about who paid for their joint leisure pursuits. Here again we see the effect of place, so that in Castletown one young woman explained that she would not 'dare' to go to the bar, while this was not an issue

for many women. It acted as a control for both the girls and the lads in some places. There was an underlying reality that most lads earned more than their girlfriends, but, when this was not the case, lads had to try to pay or suffer the disapproval of friends. This was discussed more or less explicitly in power terms.

The findings about domestic relations and partnerships show definite signs of this change and the strain of distance between women's and men's expectations. For women and men, gendered identities are closely bound up with their domestic and work roles and the changes in economic structure that are bringing about challenges to those roles. They are changes which reflect the interaction of cultural resources with the effect of current processes of class, gender and locality.

Civil Society

I have held that relation to place is an important aspect of young people's world views. People's experience of place and its attribution by others, was part of their citizenship. I found evidence of a rough/respectable divide based on place but, as in Hendon five years earlier, roughness was attributable to others not to the self. There were penalties to living in parts of Hendon which people had complained of. It was not possible to get credit, other people thought they were 'rough', and socially they were seen as inferior by their contemporaries. On the outer estates, the separation between areas is much more apparent and complete, and includes schools catchment areas as well.

Place was particularly significant in identity, and people had a sense of both the boundaries and relative social honour across places. Castletown was recognised

as a village divided between the 'original people' and newcomers, even of 18 years residence.

Young people talked about change they had witnessed in their own area. It seemed to be young people in the intermediate area and poor area who complained of deterioration while those in the affluent area experienced this less directly. Here is another sign of polarisation in which we can identify the effects of action on place and of place in turn on action (Byrne 1995).

There was universal evidence of the importance of place in people's attribution of characteristics to each other. We saw in Chapter 4 the nature of those characteristics and the way in which objective signifiers of places, like Southwick and Redhouse, were converging. It was clear from young people's accounts that the different places had different meaning and the people who lived in Hendon and in Southwick were well aware of those negative attributions. People act in accordance with these stereotypes but sometimes actual experience challenges and opens up those views to questioning.

The issue of community was important to people and young people related this to the quality of their lives. For many there was a sense of fragility, of a golden past of 'real' community. I was interested in the degree to which this was more than simply the identification of a shared experience of relations of domination as Roberts R. (1971) described in Salford, and the degree to which it was enhanced by a common specific experience of work routines and relations in Sunderland North, in the shipyard or the pit (Roberts I. 1993).

Some people related loss of community to the increased number of women going out to work, and therefore no longer developing a network of relations within the

local area. This model suggests that community, rather than a feature of the imperatives of male employment, was a result of the family wage system which placed women at home, creating a network of relationships based on the domestic sphere. It seems to be supported by the feeling that many women expressed, of a desire to work to fulfil social as well as economic needs. Once the fabric of domestic-based association is broken down, the search for identity and meaning are shifted outside of the domestic sphere. I have identified, in particular, the way in which changes in initial conditions have complex effects, not only on work and the domestic sphere but on relations in a place.

In Chapter 2 I pointed to the fact that crisis in structure may mean change but need not mean disintegration (O'Connor J. 1981). This was certainly true of earlier studies into the fragility of working class community. I was given different accounts of the state of communities, but there was substantial evidence of their meaning for people in Sunderland. Clearly, a sense of fragility may indicate the disparity in images of past and present, rather than their reality. I found young people in my second sample were more Sunderland-oriented generally and I have related this to their class profile. In addition there was a high degree of attachment to living north of the river and the significant spatial boundary was generally more local than city level. Almost all of those who had been locally oriented in Hendon had remained.

People related to absence of collectivism in crime and the loss of respect and reciprocity. Crime and disorder were major sources of discontent with local areas, and made people feel defensive, particularly in areas where crime was pervasive. Nevertheless the girl who had expressed a desire to leave such an area

at eighteen had fought to be allowed a tenancy there at twenty-three. Young mothers were very locally bound because of their need for support, both financial and personal.

In terms of personal safety, crime was more a gender than a class issue and while lads were more often victims of violent crime, it was girls who adapted their behaviour to avoid it. Women were more generally aware the danger of sexual attack and it was the invasive nature of this threat which was meaningful, so that girls effectively had less freedom of movement than lads.

I took political affiliation and intention to vote as signal also of people's feelings of involvement in civil society. There was a sense in which marginality was more pronounced among young unemployed people or people with poor prospects and these people were the least likely to vote.

It was in some ways surprising to find the degree to which twenty-three and twenty-four year olds in Hendon continued to identify with 'the likes of us' as a basis for voting. I have made the point that this is a class action which denies the validity of their education about the individualist nature of democracy. Despite the insistence that voting is a rational, individualistic enterprise, there is an underlying rationality in class identification which people act upon, even if not consciously.

In the Sunderland North group, the identification with the Labour party was much stronger among men than women. Women were more likely to intend not to vote or to be unsure about their vote and I have suggested that this might result from the combination of changed relations in work and the patriarchal nature of Labourism in the North East. In general, despite their appreciation of a history

which predisposed them to identify themselves with Labour, many of the young people were questioning the basis of that identification today. It is in these questionings that we can see the effects of crisis in creating uncertainty and, therefore, conscious re-evaluation of action. It leaves us with the question of whether there is an erosion of class identification, or whether this simply meant that the Labour Party no longer served that interest.

Underclass

I was interested in the question of whether we can ascertain signs of an underclass in Sunderland. To have a meaningful concept of the underclass as a separate class, and in order to understand it as behaviourally different, the concept of spatial isolation is fundamental. It is not in evidence in Hendon, although many of the other features which mark out the notion of the underclass are. It inevitably leads to a different orientation towards the labour market and lifestyle and it was clear from their accounts that most of these young people would move into formal work should a reasonable opportunity arise. Spatial segregation is more in evidence in North Sunderland and yet the young people I interviewed were trying to enter mainstream employment, though they had to do so by various and tortuous routes which might suggest a greater rather than lesser commitment to work.

I have found it difficult to identify any of my young people as part of an underclass. It is here we can see a major divergence between, 'processes of *group identification* and *social categorisation*' (Jenkins 1996 p23) in terms of the ways in which young people understood their own situation and the ways in

which that situation is interpreted from outside. As Robinson and Gregson (1992) point out there is no evidence of class-consciousness. Underclass was a term which held meaning for the young people I spoke to but they saw it as another negative description, like roughness, which could justly be applied to someone else. As a term conferred upon them, it did not account for the different meanings of their welfare dependency. From inside, they all subscribed to an attachment to work and they were simply taking the rational step, in a casualised, low wage economy, of remaining dependent on benefit.

Underclass as a concept explaining behaviour is much more difficult to identify. The behaviours that are seen as undermining the 'social fabric' and threatening to good order, may well be a response to structural conditions, although I think the rise in illegitimacy must also be seen in terms of young women's independence. I did not come across many people who talked about committing crime, apart from defrauding the DSS, but they clearly identified a greater fear of crime in the areas in which they lived.

At the same time, it is difficult to dispense entirely with the concept of an underclass, because, as I have said, it clearly marks out the experience of some people in relation to the labour market. It seems quite possible that this experience will deepen in the future as children are brought up in households where there is either no experience of work or only casual, part-time and badly paid employment. Its significance as a concept will be in how it informs social policy.

There does not appear to be evidence for a firm dividing line between the underclass and the working class in my study. Young people subscribed to many

conventional values and ideals about their own lives and necessarily adapted those which were too blatantly inconsistent with their experience. In the end, for many, their hopes were to have life-styles like those of their parents, based on stable employment and stable partnerships in close-knit, law-abiding communities.

My research has brought me to an understanding of a relationship between structure and action which is based on insights gained from Bourdieu. I have argued that I have studied a group who are subject to two forms of crisis, crisis of lifestage and crisis of objective structural conditions. These two crises are the basis of change rather than disintegration and, by looking at their interaction we can reach an understanding of the ways in which structural forces result in differing outcomes. I am prepared to accept that my discussion implies a limited place for action as existing within the boundaries and springing from the space created by structure. It is the reflexive nature of the relation of structure and action which in my view makes such an interpretation tenable.

In the first part of this thesis, I sought to establish an understanding of processes of class, gender, place and lifestage from which I could pose questions to the ethnographic study. Thus far I have pointed to the ways in which particular findings relate to these theoretical frameworks. I now want to turn this understanding back upon the theoretical chapters to reflect upon processes of structure and action, and the interaction of factors of class, gender, place and lifestage in creating the boundaries within which people live their lives.

I began with an understanding of class as process and argued that we cannot learn about class if we regard it simply as a structural force. People reproduce

their class and in doing so they exemplify the interaction I have argued for. They do not only reproduce their class, however, they reproduce, or challenge, relations based in other structures, most notably of gender but also, I would argue, those of place. It is the endless complexity of this interaction which renders prediction impossible, but *post hoc* explanation entirely valid. Here I will outline my understanding of the direction of those prime forces which I have formulated.

I have found in this study that the preparation and particular endowments of class habitus were important in producing the boundaries of people's lives. Privilege was recognised but not much resented, and individualism and action-based explanations meant that those who succeeded could point to their effort and intelligence rather than their economic, social and cultural advantages. For some, on both sides of the divide of class, however, there was recognition of structural disadvantage. Consciousness of gendered oppressions, for example, was much more evident among the oppressed, but resistance to it was structured by interaction with class and place. This is evidenced more broadly in discussions of the women's movement as in origin middle class (Eder 1993). It is, nevertheless, a movement whose effects go beyond middle class women.

We have seen the effects of structural change in undermining habitus and the changing relative significance of particular kinds of capital, but also in the persistence of class underlying access to those forms, and hence the stratified nature of education and youth training.

We have examined the importance of local boundaries as part of a collective consciousness. From outside this could be viewed simply as evidence of the

collective injuries of social class and we have suggested several identifiable effects which are discernible.

One logical conclusion to localism and the processes of 'emptying out' (Lash and Urry 1995) is the emergence of an underclass. It is a concept which has pejorative overtones which obscure the debate about process and, from my research, I can come to no certain conclusion. Clearly spatial processes are operating but in Sunderland young people's orientations were toward the formal labour market, where that was a reasonable option.

We have raised the question of whether these structural changes are giving rise to a re-formed cultural condition of post-modernity. The freeing of agency from structure was not evident in my research and Sunderland does not qualify as a post-modern city. Despite the uncertainties which have been created by structural change my actors seemed to be firmly anchored in their class, their gender, and their place. Frequently the significance of those factors was less clear because increased entry into higher education obscured the trajectories upon which people were set. It is here that the role of qualitative research is clear because it makes visible the different meanings education had for people's futures. The education system as a means of reproducing privilege, however, remains, essentially unchallenged.

My research locates a lifestage crisis within a structural crisis. It recognises the particularity of conditions appertaining to youth; the relation youth have to an older generation but also the structural forces which crosscut those of lifestage. I have argued that Bourdieu's class-based poles (Bourdieu 1993) do not entirely represent the experience of the young people I have interviewed. The particular

consciousness of youth relates to the social and structural conditions within which the lifestage is experienced. Young people on the whole are accorded freedoms and restrictions not imposed on older groups, but their ability to exercise these freedoms and the degree to which they are constrained, are shaped by their class and their gender.

The significance of youth as a socially constructed lifestage is clear, but I have not argued that we can identify any coherent group. Youth is stratified but we can also see the disadvantaged position of youth in relation to other age groups. That relative disadvantage is interactive with the advantages and disadvantages of class and gender so that no single identifiable group emerges.

Young people in Sunderland are experiencing limitations to their citizenship through the labour market. The quality and quantity of work available, even to those with some qualifications, are not enough to base an independent future on. It leads to a world in which the household is supported by two low incomes and the possibilities for change in class structure and consciousness, as well as in gender-based identity, discussed in earlier chapters. Low wages may not be a new experience for women, but they mark a radical shift for both women and men in the formation of the household economy. In effect, the promises of individualism held out to them as a category are illusory to all but the white, male, well qualified and mostly middle class and many of them will have to leave Sunderland to find it!

The young people who failed in the education system did help to reproduce their disadvantages, but they were not entirely unconscious of the fact. Their action was individualised, it was to make the best they could of their adult lives, and it

lay in the context of a feeling of powerlessness in the face of change. Why was there no strong class-consciousness or action? My answer is that the conditions did not exist. On the whole people were surviving, even if it was on the margins. People are reflexive, they exist in the future as well as the present and the past. When they talked about the future (which they did only when pressed) the unemployed hoped some day to have jobs. This had been the experience of their parents' generation, and a belief or expectation of a similar experience did not seem unreasonable, even if the objective range of possibilities was more limited. Restructuring means, however, that that industrial future is no longer available.

I have outlined the nature of global industrial change and its effects in restructuring the labour market. We have also seen how restructuring in this sphere has effect upon family and in civil society. Changes in gender relations, for example, which at this stage may be more apparent than real, are being propelled by real changes in gendered consciousness. This is based both in labour market experience and in family relations. I have outlined the ways in which, for many women of the working class, their consciousness leads to anger without much of a solution. This is nevertheless a seedbed of change. What happens to that consciousness, and how it informs action, will depend largely on the structural position women and men are placed in, in their class, their place and their lifestage. Here we must also look to the processes which fracture women's consciousness, the experience of domination and exploitation within the domestic sphere which many young women are resisting (Callaghan 1997). Set against this there remains an idealised view of family life which many young women and men find attractive. The question then becomes one of whether the conventional family style can fulfil those needs.

I have argued for the importance of gender and its interaction with class. It returns us to the question of whether we can see any structure as dominant. It is clear that women's labour is exploited in the work of reproduction but it is also clear that working class men, in furthering their class interests, act against working class women. This is based in a habitus which I have argued is increasingly challenged.

Women, particularly of the middle class, may be recognising interests outside partnership. At the same time there are positive expectations of partnerships from girls as well as lads. Common interests exist in the formation of partnership and the rearing of children but the contribution partners will make to this is a focus for struggle. This becomes particularly clear when old styles are no longer appropriate and new ones must be forged.

While I have some reservations about the discussion of patriarchy (Pollert 1996), the evidence leads me to support the dual systems model. If we do not hold to two contingently related structures, women's concerns become subsumed and even submerged beneath those of class and there they seem to disappear. The fact that two structures need to be recognised for action to be taken on both fronts is a fairly strong indication of their separate, although potentially complementary, force.

In developing a complex account we have considered the effects of the interaction of class, gender and place. We have examined citizenship as a gendered concept, evidenced in the relation between women and men in the family and the relationship in turn between the public and the private sphere. The changes wrought by increased economic participation, particularly in women's

views on partnership and marriage, suggests some assertion of rights of independent citizenship among women. For women of the working class, however, the birth of children means exchanging dependence on men for dependence on a patriarchal state.

Turning to the importance of locality, I have sought to examine the ways in which place is immanent in filtering the avenues of possibilities within which people see their lives. It lies again in the structural conditions which I have outlined, but also in how people identify themselves, *'the likes of us'*. It is recognisable in the process which saw Pamela moving from a rejection of her area and *'the gangs that hang around the street corners'* at eighteen, to fighting for a house in the area as a young mother of twenty three. It is evidenced in those processes which occur to limit horizons and draw in experience. This is clear from my discussions with young people in my earlier research and from my current findings. It is evident more broadly, from research into young people's aspirations (Furlong et al 1996). It reinforces Robson's (1969) point that the working class in Sunderland are locality based, while the middle class refer beyond their area in the formation of identity.

I have tried, in this thesis, to show how, in a situation in which the forces of class, gender and locality come together, we can identify change along a particular axis. At the same time I have alluded to the process of polarisation as breaking the continuum of neighbourhoods in places. I have related to the cultural divergence which people perceived between the council estates of Southwick and Redhouse, which they respectively describe as rough and respectable. This cultural divergence is at odds now with the convergence of

material conditions in those places. It points us to some questions about the future of local cultures and how they are likely to change. If we can no longer characterise some areas as based on a relation to employment in shipyards or pits or any other stable work, then a central tenet in the relations within and between households, their neighbourhood and their city has been removed.

This is related to Cohen's analysis of the ways in which people are aware of their culture.

> "... people know their way of doing things; they know a customary mode of thought and performance. They do not necessarily value it because it is traditional, but because it suits them. It developed, after all, to meet their own requirements and conditions, and, if those requirements and conditions remain, theirs is the most practical means of doing whatever is required...." (1982 p5).

In Sunderland, those requirements and conditions are changing and I am suggesting that this can be seen, for example, in women's questioning of gender roles which have been traditional in the area. This has effects not only on their households but feeds back into dominant expectations of their culture.

One possible trajectory can be suggested, based on Cohen's idea of peripherality, which recognises the discreteness of local experience and a local identity which becomes increasingly important when under attack. Areas such as Marley Potts and Redhouse are peripheral in economic terms. Their lack of connection into the wider economy, which was recognised by the women who talked to me, is likely

to have consequences for the assimilation of the next generation of young people into the adult world.

A changing employment relationship, which has impoverished men's work and all but removed the family wage, has, on the other hand, had some effect in making power relations in the domestic division more equal. The ways in which these changes work out within households will inevitably affect and be affected by the ways in which they turn out in neighbourhoods.

A further, related conclusion is based on Marcuse's view of neighbourhood as a 'source of identity' (Marcuse 1993 p361). If neighbourhoods are changing and a process of polarisation is underway, then this will clearly have implications for identity both held within and conferred from outside.

It would seem reasonable to argue that in areas where unemployment is very high, work relations may become less significant in forming consciousness and neighbourhood correspondingly more so. Sunderland's employment profile has changed radically in a very short time. This has created a process of polarisation into work-rich and work-poor areas, which will continue to have important consequences for changes in class and gender relations. We can see clear divisions along the lines of gender and of class and these are given particular shape in their combination in particular areas. The implications of this combination for people's identity, their experience of citizenship, and their relation to the city as a whole are areas for focused research in the future.

I did not discover major differences between geographical centre and periphery in this research. The similarities of poor localities in Hendon and Sunderland North far outweighed their differences. I have noted the differences between my

affluent localities in the two places, which is a function both of sample size and the particular histories of the places. Those who moved out of the concentrated shipyard areas in the post war period, moved either to council estates or into owner occupied housing in Sunderland North (Roberts, I. 1993).

Place was important because it was part of people's social identity (Jenkins 1996). It was central to their evaluation of themselves and to attribution by outsiders and here its relation to citizenship is clear.

With each perspective from which we view young people's worlds, we see the reality of the interaction of processes of class, gender and place with their lifestage. We can look from the perspective of class but it is not until we consider the effects of gender, place and lifestage that we understand it. This must be true whichever standpoint we take. Our explanations must access experience along all dimensions, to recognise that explanation is only finally coherent when it can account for internal connections, consistencies, and contradictions.

I have identified an ultimately determining role for structure, in setting the limits and boundaries within which action has effect, but I have tried also to maintain a place for the creative actor. People take conscious reflexive action in all fields but they must also rely on the resources with which their habitus equips them for life to go on. In this thesis I have sought to identify both components in an explanation of transition and change.

The model must be a dynamic one because it has to account for the action of people in making and remaking their worlds, but also the enduring nature of structures, not reified, as in physical metaphors, but as open to a constant process of adaptation and change. This research is an attempt to account for the action of

the lads and the ear 'oles; for the choices, decisions and constraints experienced by young women in moving into adulthood. In seeking to make sense of the complexity of their experience, I have tried to identify the major forces through which they can be understood. I have given an account of young people, not in relation to a mechanistic impersonal set of structures, but one which can recognise action in the context of constraint. It is an understanding which has developed through the process of conducting the research, through interaction of theory and fieldwork, in seeking explanations for the ways in which young people represented their worlds to me.

Bibliography

Acker, J. (1994) *Citizenship, dependency and Gender in comparative social policy analysis*, Paper to W.E.S. Conference.

Acker J. (1989) *The Problem with Patriarchy*. Sociology V. 23 no. 2 pp235-240.

Allen J and Massey D (eds) (1988) *The Economy in question*. London, Sage in association with the Open University.

Arber, S. and Ginn, J. (1995) 'The mirage of gender equality: occupational success in the labour market and within marriage' B.J.S. vol. 46, no. 1, pp21-42.

Archer, M. (1996) *Social Integration and System Integration: Developing the Distinction* Sociology V.30 no.4 p6.

Ashton, D.N. (1986) *Unemployment under Capitalism - The Sociology of British and American Labour Markets*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Brighton.

Bagguley, P. (1992) *Protest, Acquiescence and the Unemployed: a comparative analysis of the 1930's and 1980's*. B.J.S. Vol. 43 no. 3 pp443-461.

Bagguley, P. and Mann, M. (1992) *Idle, Thieving Bastards: Scholarly Representations of the Underclass*. Work, Employment and Society 6, pp113-126.

Bagguley, P. (1992) *Social Change, the Middle Class and the Emergence of New Social Movements: a critical analysis*. The Sociological Review Vol. 40 no. 1, pp26-48.

Bagguley p. (1995) *Dangerous classes - the underclass and social citizenship*. Sociological Review vol. 43 no. 1, pp205-207.

Bagguley, P., Mark-Lawson, J., Shapio, D., Urry, J., Walby, S. and Warde, A. (1990) *Restructuring Place, Class and Gender*, London, Sage Publications.

Banim, M. (1986) *Occupying Houses; The Social Relations of Tenure*, PhD Thesis, University of Durham.

Barbalet, J. M. (1993)   Citizenship, Class Inequality and Resentment in
                           Citizenship and Social Theory, B. Turner (ed.).

Bates, I. (1993)   'A job which is right for me: social class, gender and
                           individualisation' in *Youth and Inequality*, Bates and
                           Riseborough (eds.), OU Press, Buckingham.

Bauman, Z. (1987)   *'From Here to Modernity'*, New Statesman, 25th
                           September 1987.

Becker H. (1953)   *'Becoming a Marihuana User'*, The American Journal of
                           Sociology, no.59, pp41-58.

Beechey, V. (1983)   *Subjectivity and Social Relations*, Milton Keynes, Open
                           University Press.

Beechey, V. (1986)   'Studies of Women's Employment' in *Waged Work: A
                           Reader* edited by Feminist Review, London, Virago Press.

Beechey, V. (1987)   'Recent Approaches to Women's Employment in Great
                           Britain' in *Unequal Work*, London, Verso.

Bell, C. (1971)   *Middle Class Families: Social and Geographical Mobility*,
                           London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bell C.T. (1985)   *The Way We Were in Hendon; Sunderland in the 1920's
                           and 30's*, Sunderland, CVS.

Bloom L. (1977)   *Employment Problems in Sunderland*, Sunderland Borough
                           Council.

Bott, E. (1957)   *Family and Social Network*, London, Tavistock.

Bourdieu P. (1977)   *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge, Cambridge
                           University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986)   *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of the
                           Table*, London, Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. and   *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Cambridge, Polity.
Wacquant, L. J. D.
(1992)

Bourdieu, P. (1990)   *The Logic of Practice*, Cambridge, Polity.

Bourdieu, P, (1993)   *Sociology in Question*, London, Sage.

Bowles, S, and Gintis,   *Schooling in Capitalist America - Educational Reform and
H. (1976)   the Contradiction of Economic Life*, London, Routledge
                           and Kegan Paul.

Bradley, H. (1989)   *Men's Work, Women's Work. A Sociological History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Employment*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Bradley, H. (1996)   *Fractured identities*. Cambridge, Polity.

Bradshaw, J, and   *Living on the Edge - A study of the living standards of*
Holmes, H. (1989)   *families on benefit in Tyne and Wear*, London, Tyneside Child Poverty Action Group.

Brannen Dodds, and   *Young People, Health and Family Life*, Buckingham,
Oakley (1994)   O U Press.

Brannen and Wilson   *Give and Take in Families*, London, Allen and Unwin.
eds. (1987)

Brown, R. (1995)   *Unemployment, Youth and the Employment Relationship*, Conference Paper. University of Durham.

Bruegel, Irene. (1986)   'The Reserve Army of Labour 1974 - 79' in *Waged Work: A Reader* edited by Feminist Review, London, Virago Press.

Burgess, R. G. (1982)   *The Unstructured Interview as a Conversation in Field Research - a Sourcebook and Field Manual*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

Burrows, R. and   *Consumption and Class: Divisions and Change.*
Marsh, C. (1992)   Macmillan. Basingstoke.

Burton, Frank (1978)   *The Politics of Legitimacy: Struggles in a Belfast Community*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Byrne, D. (1984)   '*Just haad on a minute there: A rejection of Andre Gorz's Farewell to the Working Class'*, Capital and Class , No 24, pp75 - 98, Winter 1984.

Byrne D. (1989)   *Beyond the Inner City*, Milton Keynes, OU Press.

Byrne, D (1993),   *Deindustrialisation, Planning and Class structures : a study in the effects of social policy on social structures*, Durham, Thesis (Ph.D.)University of Durham.

Byrne, D. (1995a)   *Community and the dispossessed working class*, Paper to Rivers of Blood Conference.

Byrne, D. (1995b)   '*Chaotic' places or complex places? Cities in a post-industrial era'* Paper to the BSA Conference.

Byrne D. (1995c)   *'Deindustrialisation and Dispossession: An examination of social division in the Industrial City'*, Sociology, vol. 29, pp95-115.

Callaghan, G. (1991)   *Young Adults - Views of Deindustrialisation and its Consequences*, MA Thesis, University of Durham.

Callaghan, G. (1992)   *'Locality and Localism: The Spatial Orientation of Young Adults in Sunderland'* Youth and Policy, no.39.

Callaghan, G. (1995)   *Young adults in Sunderland: images of citizenship*, Paper to Youth 2000 Conference, Middlesborough.

Callaghan, G. (1997)   *Youth and Power in Family Relations*, paper to the BSA Conference, York.

Casson, M (1979)   *Youth Unemployment*, London, Macmillan.

Charles, N. and Kerr,   *Women, Food and Families*, Manchester, Manchester
M. (1988)   University Press.

Charles, N. (1990)   *'Women and Class: a problematic relationship'* Sociological Review, v.38 no. 1, pp43-89.

Chisolm, L., Du Bois -   *'Youth Transitions, Gender and Social Change'* Sociology
Reymond, M.   vol. 27 No. 2, pp259 - 279.

Clarke J, Critcher C   *Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory*,
and Johnson R. (1979)   London Hutchinson.

Cochrane, A. (1987)   *'What a difference the place makes: The new structuralism of locality'* Antipode, 19:3, pp354-363.

Cockburn, Cynthia   *The Material of Male Power, in Waged Work: A Reader*,
(1986)   edited by Feminist Review, London, Virago Press.

Coffield, F., Borrill,   *Growing up at the Margins - Young Adults in the North*
C. and Marshall, S.   *East*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
(1986)

Cohen, A. P. (1985)   *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, Ellis Horwood Tavistock, London.

Cohen, A. P. (1982)   *Belonging; identity and social organisation in British rural cultures*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Comer, Lee (1974)   *Wedlocked Women*, Leeds, Feminist Books.

Connell, R. W. (1994)   'Gender Regimes and the Gender Order' in *The Polity Reader in Gender Studies*, Cambridge, Polity.

Cooke, P. (1985)

'Class Practices as Regional Markers - A Contribution to Labour Geography', in D. Gregory and J. Urry (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London, Macmillan.

Cooke, P. (1987)

'Spatial Development Processes: Organised or Disorganised?' in Thrift and Williams (eds.) *Class and Space: The making of Urban Society*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Cooke, P. (ed.) (1989a)

Localities: The changing face of urban Britain, Unwin Hyman Ltd, London.

Cooke, P. (1989b)

'*Locality-theory and the poverty of Spatial Variation*' Antipode, 21:3, pp261-273.

Coombes M, Atkins D, Dorling D, and Wong C. (1993-4)

Unemployment in the North: Recession and Recovery in the Regions? Northern Economic Review, Winter 1993/4 No. 21, pp80-89.

Corrigan, P. (1979)

Schooling the Smash Street Kids. London Macmillan.

Coulson, Magas and Wainwright (1980)

'*The housewife and her labour under capitalism - a critique*', New Left Review , no 89, 1980.

County Association of Trade Councils (1988)

Nissan and the Single Trade Union Agreements: The Way Forward or a Dead End?, Newcastle, Tyne and Wear County Association of Trade Councils.

Coyle, Angela (1982)

'Sex and Skill in the Organisation of the Clothing Industry' in J West (ed.) *Work, Women and the Labour Market*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cragg, A. and Dawson, T. (1982)

Unemployed Women - a case study of attitudes and experiences, London, Department of Employment.

Crompton, R. (1996)

'*Paid Employment and the Changing System of Gender Relations*', Sociology Vol. 3, no. 3, pp427-446.

Cross, G. (1995)

Consumer History and the Dilemmas of Working Class History, paper to the North East Labour History Conference, Newcastle.

CSE Sex and Class Group (1982)

Sex and Class, Capital and Class , Vol. 16, Spring 1982.

CSO (1995)

Social Focus on Women. Crown Copyright

Damer, S. (1989)   *From Moorepark to 'Wine Alley'. The rise and fall of a Glasgow housing estate*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Darhendorf, Ralph (1987)   *'The erosion of citizenship: its consequences for us all'*, New Statesman , 12th June 1987.

Dawe, A. (1970)   *'The Two Sociologies'* British Journal of Sociology, 21, pp207-218.

Day G. and Murdoch J.(1993)   *'Locality and Community: Coming To Terms With Place'*, Sociological Review, Vol. 41, no. 1, pp82-111.

de Vaus, D. A. (1986)   *Surveys in Social Research*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

Dennis, N., Henriques, F. M. and Slaughter, C. (1957)   *Coal is our life*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Dennis, Norman (1970)   *People and Planning - The Sociology of Housing in Sunderland*, London, Faber.

Dennis, N. and Erdos, G. (1992)   *Families without Fatherhood*, London, I.E.A.

Devine, F. (1992)   *'Social Identities, Class Identity and Political Perspectives'*, Sociological Review, vol. 40, no. 2, pp229-252.

Duncan, S. S. (1986)   'What is Locality?' *Working Papers in Urban and Regional Studies*, 51, University of Sussex, Brighton.

Eder, K. (1993)   *The New Politics of Class,* London, Sage.

Esser, J. and Hirsch, J. (1994)   'The Crisis of Fordism and the Dimensions of 'Poor-Fordist' Regional Structure' in Amin, A. (ed.) *Postfordism,* London, Sage.

Evans, Mary and Ungerson, Clare (1983)   *Sexual Divisions: Patterns and Processes*, London, Tavistock.

Fainstein S. Gordon I. and Harloe M. (1992)   *Divided Cities*. London Blackwell.

Finch, J. (1983)   'Dividing the Rough and the Respectable: Working class women and pre-school playgroups' in Gamarnikow et al. (eds.) *The Public and the Private* Heinemann, London.

Finch J (1984) — "It's great to have someone to talk to" Ethics and politics of interviewing women' in C. Bell and H. Roberts (eds.) *Social Researching: Politics, Problems and Practice*, London, Routledge.

Folbre, N. (1994) — *Who Pays for the Kids; gender and the structures of constraint*, London, Routledge.

Foord, J. and Gregson, N. (1987) — *Patriarchy: Towards a Reconceptualisation*. Antipode, pp186-208.

Forrest and Murie (1986) — *Marginalisation and Subsidised Individualism*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 10, pp46-73.

Forrest and Murie (1987) — The Affluent Homeowner: Labour Market Policies and the Shaping of Housing Histories in *Class and Space*, Thrift and Williams (eds.).

Forrest and Murie (1990) — *'Transformation through Tenure? The early purchases of council houses 1968-1973'*, Journal Of Social Policy, vol. 20 no. 1, pp1-25.

Friedman, Andrew L. (1977) — *Industry and Labour - Class Struggle at Work in Monopoly Capitalism*, London, Macmillan.

Friend, Andrew and Metcalfe, Andy (1981) — *Slump City - The Politics of Mass Unemployment*, London, Pluto Press.

Furlong, A. Biggart, A. and Cartmel, J. (1996) — *Neighbourhoods, Opportunity Structures and Occupational Aspirations*, Sociology, vol. 30, no 3, pp551-565.

Garrahan, P. (1986) — *Nissan in the North East of England*, Capital and Class, 27, pp5-13.

Garrahan and Stewart (1992) — *The Nissan Enigma*, Mansell, London.

Gibson P. (1996) — *Southwick on Wear* Vol. 4. Sunderland.

Giddens, Anthony (1984) — *The Constitution of Society - An Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Gittins, D. 1985 — *The Family in Question: changing households and familiar ideologies*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Glendinning, C. and Millar, J. (eds.)(1987) — *Women and Poverty in Britain*, Brighton, Wheatsheaf.

Glendinning C. and Millar J. 1991 — 'Poverty: the forgotten Englishwoman - reconstructing research and policy on poverty' in *Women's issues in Social Policy*, McLean and Groves (eds.) London, Routledge.

Goldthorpe, J. H., Lockwood, D., Bechhofer, F. and Platt, J. (1986) — *The Affluent Worker - Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Goldthorpe, J. and Marshall, G. (1992) — 'The Promising Future of Class Analysis: a response to recent critiques', Sociology, 26, pp381-400.

Goodin, R. E. (1985), — 'Self-reliance v. the Welfare State', Journal of Social Policy, 14(1), pp25-47.

Gorz, A. (1982) — *Farewell to the Working Class*, London, Pluto.

Gough, Ian (1979) — *The Political Economy of the Welfare State*, London, Macmillan.

Graham, J. (1992) — 'Post Fordism as Politics: the Political Consequences of Narrative on the Left', Society and Space, 50, pp393-410.

Graham J.(1987) — 'Women's poverty and caring' in C. Glendinning and J. Millar (eds.) *Women and Poverty in Britain*, Brighton, Wheatsheaf.

Gray, J., Jesson, D. and Sime, N. (1992) — *The 'Discouraged Worker' Revisited; Post 16 Participation in Employment South of the Border*, Sociology vol. 26, no. 3, pp493-505.

Gregson, N. and Lowe, M. (1994) — *Waged Domestic Labour and the Renegotiation of the Domestic Division of Labour within Dual Career Households*. Sociology vol. 28, no. 1, pp55-78.

Griffin, C. (1985) — *Typical Girls? Young Women from School to the Job Market*, London, Routledge Kegan Paul.

Griffin, C. (1993) — *Representations of Youth: the Study of Youth and Adolescence in Britain and America*, Oxford, Polity.

Hage and Powers (1992) — *Post -Industrial Lives: Roles and Relationships in the 21st Century*, Sage, Newbury Park.

Hakim, C. (1994) — 'A century of change in occupational segregation', Journal of Historical Sociology, vol. 7, no. 4, pp435-454.

Hakim, C. (1995) 'Five feminist myths about women's employment', British Journal of Sociology, 46, 3, pp429-455.

Hakim, C. (1996) 'The sexual division of labour and women's heterogeneity', British Journal of Sociology, 47, 1, pp178-188.

Hammersley, Martyn (1990) 'What's wrong with Ethnography? The myth of theoretical description', Sociology, vol. 24, no 4, pp597-615.

Hargreaves, David (1967) Social Relations in a Secondary School, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Harloe, Michael (1983) 'Sector and Class: A critical comment', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 8, pp202-7.

Harloe, Michael and Lebas, E. (1981) City, Class and Capital, London, Arnold.

Hartmann, H. (1981) 'The unhappy marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more progressive union' in Sargent, L. (ed.), Women in Revolution, the unhappy marriage of Marxism and Feminism, London, Pluto.

Harvey, D. (1989) The Condition of Post Modernity, Cambridge, Basil Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1993) 'Social Justice, Postmodernism and the City', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 17 no.3, pp588-601.

Healey, P. (1993) 'Developing in a Fragile Property Market: the Development of Industry in Tyne and Wear', Northern Economic Review, no.20.

Healey P. (1992) Rebuilding the City; Property led Urban Regeneration. London Spon.

Hewitt, P. (1994) 'Families in Flux', The Political Quarterly, vol. 65 no. 2, pp268-178.

Hobsbawm, E. (1994) The Age of Extremes, London, Penguin.

Hoggart, R. (1957) The Uses of Literacy, Harmondsworth. Penguin.

Holton, R. and Turner, B. (1994) 'Debate and Pseudo-debate in Class Analysis: some unpromising aspects of Goldthorpe and Marshall's defence', Sociology, 28, no. 3, pp799-804.

House, J. W. (1969) The North East.

Howard, John, Morris Mavis, Stevens, John and Stone, Ian (1986)
: *Employment and Unemployment on Wearside: A report based on the 1985 Sunderland Household Survey*, Sunderland, Sunderland Polytechnic Economic Development Unit.

Huby and Dix (1992)
: *Evaluating the Social Fund. Dept. of Social Security Research Report no. 9* quoted in Arksey H, *Collecting data through joint interviews*. Social Research Update Issue 15 1996.

Hudson, R (1986)
: 'Producing an Industrial Wasteland: Capital, labour and the state in the North East of England' in Martin and Rowthorn (eds.) *The Geography of Deindustrialisation*, London, Macmillan.

Hutson, S and Jenkins, R. (1989)
: *Taking the Strain: Families, Unemployment and the Transition to Adulthood*, Milton Keynes, Open University.

Hutson S. (1989)
: *Young Women in South Wales- a Regional Variation?* Youth and Policy No. 24, pp21-26.

Irwin S. (1995)
: *Social Reproduction and Change in Transition from youth to adulthood. Sociology.* Vol. 29 no.2, pp293-316.

Jackson B. (1968)
: *Working Class Community: Some General Notions Raised by a Study in Northern England.* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jahoda, M. & Lazarsfeld, P.F. & Zeisel, H. (1972)
: *Marienthal: the sociography of an unemployed community.* London, Tavistock.

Jenkins, R. (1983)
: *Lads, Citizens and Ordinary Kids - Working Class Youth Lifestyles in Belfast*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jenkins, R., Bryman, A., Ford, J., Keil, T., and Beardsworth, A. (1983)
: *Information in the Labour Market: The impact of recession, Sociology* Vol. 17 no. 2, pp260-267.

Jenkins, R. (1992)
: *Pierre Bourdieu*, London Routledge.

Jenkins R. (1996)
: *Social Identity.* London, Routledge.

Jones, G. and Wallace. C, (1992)
: *Youth, Family and Citizenship*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

Joshi, H. (1991)   'Sex and Motherhood as a Handicap in the Labour
                        Market' in *Women Take Issue,* Mavis McLean and Dulcie
                        Groves (eds.), London, Routledge.

Karsada J.D.(1989)   *Urban Industrial transition and the Underclass.* Annals of
                        the American Academy of Political and Social Science
                        501, pp26-47.

Kearns, A. (1995)   *'Active Citizenship and Local Governance: political and
                        geographical dimensions'* Political Geography, vol. 14,
                        No. 2, pp155-175.

Kiernan and Estaugh   *Cohabitation: Extra Marital Childbearing and Social
(1993)   Policy.* London, Family Policy Studies Centre.

Kitzinger J. (1994)   *The Methodology of Focus Groups: the importance of
                        interaction between research participants* Sociology of
                        Health and Illness, Vol. 16 no, 1 pp103-121.

Krueger, R. A. (1988)   *Focus Groups: A practical guide for Applied Research,*
                        London Sage.

Land H. (1991)   Time To Care in McLean M and Groves D. *Women Take
                        Issue,* London, Routledge.

Lash, S. and Urry, J.   *The End of Organised Capitalism,* Oxford, Blackwell.
(1987)

Lash, S. and Urry, J.   *Economies of Signs and Space,* London, Sage.
(1994)

Leonard, Diana and   'Women in the Family: Companions or Caretakers?' in V.
Speakman, Mary Anne   Beechey and E Whitelegg (eds.) *Women in Britain Today,*
(1986)   Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Lister R. (1993)   *Tracing the Contours of Women's Citizenship.* Policy and
                        Politics, Vol. 21. No. 1, pp3-16.

Lister, R. (1990)   *'Women, economic dependency and citizenship',* Journal
                        of Social Policy, vol. 19, pp445-467.

McDowell (1986)   *'Beyond Patriarchy: A class based explanation of women's
                        subordination'* Antipode, 18.3, pp311-321.

McDowell, L. (1983)   'City and Home' in M Evans and C Ungerson (eds.)
                        Sexual Divisions: Patterns and Processes, London,
                        Tavistock.

McDowell, L. (1992)
'Gender Divisions in a post-Fordist era: New Contradictions or the same old story?' *in Defining Women: social institutions and gender division*. McDowell and Pringle (eds.), Cambridge, Polity.

McDowell, L. and Court, G. (1994)
Gender Divisions of Labour in the Post Fordist Economy: the maintenance of occupational sex segregation in the financial services sector, Environment and Planning A. Vol. 26, pp1397-1418

McKie, Linda (1987)
'Gaining Access to the Labour Market via the Youth Training Scheme (A Typology of YTS schemes in Co. Durham)', Working Papers in Sociology and Social Policy, no 19, University of Durham.

McRobbie, Angela (1978)
'Working class girls and the culture of femininity in *Women Take Issue'*, in McLean, M. and Groves, D. (eds.) London, Routledge.

McRobbie, A. (1990)
From Jackie to Just Seventeen, London Macmillan.

McRobbie A. (1993)
Feminism, Postmodernism and the Real Me. Theory, Culture and Society. Vol. 10, pp27-42. London, Sage.

Mackian S.(1995)
That Great Dust Heap called History; Recovering the Multiple Spaces of Citizenship. Political Geography Vol. 14 no. 2, pp209-216.

MacDonald, R (1991)
'Youth, Class and Locality in Rural England.' Youth and Policy, no 33, p21.

MacDonald, R. (1994)
Fiddly jobs, Undeclared working and the Something For Nothing Society. W.E.S. Vol. 8 no. 4, pp531-552.

Mann, M. (1994)
'Persons, Households, Families, Lineages, Genders, Classes and Nations', *The Polity Reader in Gender Studies,* Polity, Cambridge.

Marcuse, P. (1993)
What's So New About Divided Cities? International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol.17, no 3, p355-365.

Marsh, C. (1982)
The Survey Method, Adequacy at the level of meaning, George Allen and Unwin, London.

Marshall, T. H. (1950)
Citizenship and Social Class and other essays. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Marston, S. A. (1995)   'The Private Goes Public: Citizenship and the New Spaces of Civil Society', Political Geography, vol. 14, no. 2, pp.194-198.

Martin, R. and Rowthorn, B. (eds.)(1986)   The Geography of Deindustrialisation, London, Macmillan.

Massey, D. (1984)   Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production, London, Macmillan.

Massey, D. (1986)   'The Legacy Lingers on: The impact of Britain's International role on its internal geography' in Martin and Rowthorn (eds.), The Geography of Deindustrialisation, London, Macmillan.

Massey, D. (1994)   Politics of Space/Time in Space, Place and Gender, Cambridge, Polity.

Massey, D. and McDowell, L. (1994)   'A Woman's Place?' in Massey D. (ed.) Space, Place, and Gender, Cambridge, Polity.

Massey, D.(1993)   Flexible Sexism Environment and Planning D: Society and Space vol. 9, pp31-57.

Massey, D. S. and Denton, N. A. (1993)   American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass, Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press.

May T. (1996)   Situating Social Theory. Buckingham, O.U. Press.

Milburn, G. E. and Miller, S. T. (eds.) (1988)   Sunderland: River, Town and People, Sunderland, Sunderland Borough Council.

Miliband, R. (1978)   'A State of Desubordination', B.J.S. vol. 29, no. 4, pp399-409.

Mizen, P. (1995)   The State, Young people and Youth Training; In and Against the Training State. London, Mansell.

Morgan, D. (1988)   Focus Groups as Qualitative Research. London, Sage.

Morris L.D. (1985)   Renegotiation of the Domestic Division of Labour in the context of Redundancy in 'Restructuring Capital: Recession and Reorganisation in Industrial Society. Newby et.al, London, Macmillan.

Morris, L. D. (1987)   *'Local Social Polarisation - a case study of Hartlepool'*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 11, no 3, pp331-350.

Morris, L. D. (1993)   *'Is there a British Underclass*?, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 17, no. 3, pp404-412.

Morris, L. D. and   *Employment Histories and the Concept of Underclass*
Irwin, S. (1992)   Sociology Vol. 26 no. 3, pp401-420.

Mouzelis, N. (1993)   *The poverty of Sociological Theory* Sociology Vol. 27 no. 4, pp675-696.

Mouzelis, N. (1995)   *Sociological Theory: What went Wrong?*, London, Routledge.

Murray, Chris (1985)   *'The Social Conditions of Youth in Britain'*, Manchester, Department of Adult and Higher Education Occasional Papers, no. 15, Centre for Youth Studies, University of Manchester.

Murray, C. (1990)   *Underclass* IEA. Health and Welfare Unit. London.

Nicols, T. (1979)   'Social Class: Official, Sociological and Marxist' in J. Irvine, I. Miles and J. Evans (eds.) *Demystifying Social Statistics*, London, Pluto.

Norris, G. M. (1978)   *'Unemployment, Subemployment and Personal Characteristics.'* Sociological Review, vol. 27, pp89-108.

O'Connor, J. (1993)   *'Gender, Class and Citizenship in the comparative analysis of welfare regimes: theoretical and methodological issues'*, British Journal of Sociology vol. 44 No 3, p501-517.

O'Connor, J. (1981)   *'The Meaning of Crisis'*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research , vol. 5, pp301-329.

Outhwaite, W (1987)   *New Philosophies of Social Science*, Macmillan, London.

Pahl, J. M. and Pahl,   *Managers and their Wives - A study of career and family*
R. E. (1971)   *relationships in the middle class*, Harmondsworth, Pelican.

Pahl, R. E. (1980)   *'Employment, Work and the Domestic Division of Labour'*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 4, pp1-19.

Pahl, R. E. (1984)   *Divisions of Labour*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Pahl, R. E. and
Wallace, Claire (1985)
Household work strategies in economic recession, in N. Redclift and E. Mingione (eds.) *Beyond Employment: Household, Gender and Subsistence*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Pahl, R. E. (1988)
On Work; Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Approaches. Oxford. Blackwell.

Painter J. (1995)
Spaces of Citizenship- An introduction. Political Geography Vol. 14 no. 2, pp107-120.

Parker, H. (1989)
Instead of the dole: an enquiry into integration of the tax and benefit system. London Routledge.

Parkin, F. (1979)
Marxism and Class Theory: A bourgeois critique, London, Tavistock.

Parsons, T. (1964)
Family, Socialisation and Interaction Process, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Patterson, G. (1988)
'Victorian Working Life' in Milburn G E, and Miller S T, (eds.), *Sunderland: River, Town and People*, Sunderland, Sunderland Borough Council.

Payne, J. (1989)
Unemployment and Family Formation among Young Men. *Sociology*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp171-191.

Payne, J. and Payne C. (1994)
Recession, Restructuring and the Fate of the Unemployed: Evidence in the Underclass Debate. Sociology Vol. 28 No. 1, pp1-19.

Peck, J; Tickell, A (1995)
Business Goes Local - Dissecting The Business Agenda In Manchester International Journal Of Urban And Regional Research Vol. 19 No. 1, pp55-78.

Peck, J.
The trouble with TECs: a critique of the Training and Enterprise Council Initiative. Policy and Politics v.21 no. 4 1993, pp289-305.

Phillips A. (1987)
Divided Loyalties: Dilemmas of Sex and Class, London, Virago.

Piven, F. F. and
Cloward, R. A. (1977)
Poor Peoples' Movements - Why they Succeed, How they Fail, New York, Pantheon Books.

Pollert, A. (1981)
Girls, Wives, Factory Lives, London, Macmillan.

Pollert A. (1995)
Labour Markets in Transition. W.E.S. Vol. 9, pp29-656.

Pollert, A. (1996) *Gender and Class Revisited, Or The Poverty of Patriarchy* Sociology Vol. 30 no. 4, pp639-659.

Porter, M. (1982) 'Standing on the Edge - working class housewives and the world of work' in West (ed.) *Work, Women and the Labour Market*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Postone, LiPuma and Calhoun (1993) 'Bourdieu and Social Theory' in Calhoun, LiPuma and Postone, *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, Cambridge, Polity.

Potts, G. R. (1988) 'Growth of Sunderland' in Milburn, G. E. and Miller, S. T. (eds.), *Sunderland: River, Town and People*, Sunderland, Sunderland Borough Council.

Pratt, G. and Hanson, S. (1988) '*Gender, Class and Space*. Environment and Planning D', Society and Space, 1988 vol. 6, pp15-35.

Raffe D. and Willms D (1989) *Schooling the Discouraged Worker; Local Labour Market Effects on Educational Participation*. Sociology Vol. 23 No. 4, pp559-581.

Ramazanoglu (1989) *Improving on Sociology: The problems of taking a Feminist standpoint*. Sociology Vol. 23 no. 3, pp427-442.

Rapoport, R. N. and Rapoport, R. (1971) *Dual Career Families*, London, Penguin.

Rattansi (1994) *Racism, Modernity and Identity: On the Western Front*. Cambridge, Polity.

Roberts, E. (1994) *A Woman's Place: An oral history of Working Class Women 1890-1940*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Roberts, E. (1995) *Women and Families*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Roberts, I. (1993) *Class, Craft and Control*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Roberts, I. (1996) *Bring Em Back Alive*. Unpublished Paper, University of Durham.

Roberts, K. and Parsell (1992) *Entering the Labour Market in Britain: the survival of traditional Opportunity Structures*. Sociological Review Vol. 40 no. 3, pp726-753.

Roberts K. Clarke and Wallace, C. (1994) *Flexibility and Individualism: A comparison of Transitions in Employment in England and Germany*. Sociology V28 no. 1, pp31-54.

Roberts, K. (1995) *Youth and the Underclass,* paper to the Youth 2000 Conference, University of Teesside.

Roberts R. (1971) *The Classic Slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the Twentieth Century. Manchester,* Manchester University Press.

Robinson, F. and Gregson, N. (1992) 'The Underclass: a Class apart?', Critical Social Policy, no. 34, pp38-51.

Robinson, F. and Shaw K. (1994) *Who Runs the North?* Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Unison. Northern Region.

Robson, B. T. (1969) *Urban Analysis - A study of a city structure with special reference to Sunderland,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Roche, M. (1992) 'Rethinking Citizenship: Welfare, Ideology and Change' in *Modern Society,* Cambridge, Polity.

Rosenfeld, R. and Birkelund, G. (1995) 'Women's Part time Work: A Cross-National Comparison', European Sociological Review, vol. 11, no. 2, pp111-133.

Rowthorn, Bob (1986) 'Deindustrialisation in Britain' in Martin and Rowthorn (eds.) *The Geography of Deindustrialisation,* London, Macmillan.

Samuel, R. and Thompson, P. (ed.) (1994) *The myths we live by,* Routledge, London.

Sargent L. (1981) *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: A Debate on Class and Patriarchy* London, Pluto Press.

Sarre, P. (1989) 'Race and Class Structure' in *The Changing Social Structure,* Hamnett, C., McDowell, L. and Sarre, P., London, Sage.

Saunders, P. (1981) *Social Theory and the Urban Question,* London.

Savage, M. and Warde, A. (1993) *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity,* London, Macmillan.

Selman, P.(1996) *The Relationship Revolution: Is the family collapsing or adjusting to a new world of Equal Opportunities?* B.A.A.S. Newcastle.

Sennett, R. and Cobb, J. (1972) *The Hidden Injuries of Class,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Shields, R. (1991)   *Places at the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London, Routledge.

Sinfield, A. (1981)   *What Unemployment Means*, Oxford, Martin Robertson.

Smith, S. J.(1995)   '*Citizenship: All or Nothing?*' Political Geography, vol. 14, No. 2, pp.190-193.

Stephenson, C. (1996)   *Waking the hibernating elephant: Workers resistance in the foreign owned sector,* paper to the Conference 'The future of the sociology of work, employment and organisations', University of Durham.

Stewart, A. (1995)   '*Two Conceptions of Citizenship*', British Journal of Sociology, vol. 26, no. 1, pp63-78.

Stewart, (1994)   *City Challenge*. Northern Economic Review no. 20.

Stewart, D. and   *Focus groups: Theory and Practice,* London, Sage.
Shamdasani, P. (19)

Stone, Ian, Stevens,   *Economic Restructuring and Employment Change on*
John and Morris,   *Wearside since 1971*, Sunderland, Sunderland Polytechnic.
Mavis (1985)

Stone, I. (1993)   *Remaking it on Wearside*, Northern Economic Review. No. 20, pp6-22.

Strangleman T. and   *The Greening of Brownfield Sites*. Paper to Manufacturing
Roberts I. (1996)   Matters. RU Conference Cardiff.

Stubbs, C. &   *A Woman's Work in the Changing Local Economy*,
Wheelock, J. (1990)   Avebury, Aldershot.

Sunderland,   *Official Guide and Industrial Review*. Sunderland,
                          Borough Council.
Borough of, (1960)

Thompson, E. P.   *The Making of the English Working Class* London.
(1980)   Penguin.

Toomey, D. (1989)   '*Linking class and gender inequality; the family and schooling*', British Journal of the Sociology of Education, vol. 10, no. 4, pp389-402.

Turner B.S. (1990)   *Outline of a theory of Citizenship*. Sociology Vol. 24 no. 2 pp189-217.

Turner B.(ed.) (1992)   *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London, Sage.

Urry, J. (1981)   '*Localities, Regions and Social Class*', International
                         Journal of Urban and Regional Research. Vol. 5, pp.455-
                         474.

Urry, J. (1983)   *Some notes on the analysis of space*, International Journal
                         of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 7.

Urry, J. (1985)   'Social Relations, Space and Time' in Gregory and Urry
                         (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London,
                         Macmillan.

Vogel, U. (1994)   'Marriage and the boundaries of citizenship' in *The
                         Condition of Citizenship*, Bart Van Steenbergen, (ed.).

Vogler C. and Pahl J.   Money, Power and Inequality within Marriage.
(1994)   Sociological Review Vol. 42 no. 2, pp63-288.

Wacquant, L. (1993)   '*Urban outcasts: Stigma and Division in the Black
                         American Ghetto and the French Urban Periphery*',
                         International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,
                         vol. 17, no. 3.

Wacquant, L. and   The cost of Racial Exclusion in the Inner City. Annals
Wilson, W. J. (1989)   AAPSS 501, pp8-25.

Wainwright, H. (1984)   'Women and the Division of Labour' in P. Abrams and R.
                         Brown (eds.) *UK Society: Work, Urbanism and Inequality*,
                         London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

Walby, S. (1986)   *Patriarchy at Work*. Cambridge, Polity.

Walby (1989)   *Theorising Patriarchy*, Sociology, vol.23, no.2, pp213-234

Walby (1990)   *Theorising Patriarchy*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Walby, S. (1994a)   'Towards a Theory of Patriarchy', *Gender Studies*, Polity
                         Press, Cambridge.

Walby, S. (1994b)   '*Is citizenship gendered?*' Sociology, vol. 28, no. 2,
                         pp379-395.

Wallace, Claire (1987)   *For Richer, For Poorer - growing up in and out of work*,
                         London, Tavistock.

Ward, C. and Dale, A.   '*The impact of early life course transitions on equality at
(1992)   work and at home*', The Sociological Review, Vol. 40 no.
                         3, pp509-522.

Ward, J. and Napthanine, D. (eds.) (1993)
The likes of us: Sunderland People talking, Wear Books, Sunderland.

Warde, A. and Urry, J. (1985)
Localities, Class and Gender, Lancaster Regionalism Group.

Warde, A. (1990)
'*Production, Consumption and Social Change: Reservations concerning Peter Saunders' Sociology of Consumption*', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol. 14, no. 2.

Westergaard J. (1992)
'*About and Beyond the 'Underclass': some notes on influences of social climate on British Sociology today*', Sociology, vol. 20, no. 4, pp75-87.

Westwood, S. (1984)
All Day Every Day, Pluto Press, London.

Wheelock, Jane (1990)
Husbands at Home - The Domestic Economy in a Post Industrial Society, London, Routledge.

Whyte, William F. (1943)
Street Corner Society, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Whyte, William F. (1982)
'Interviewing in Field Research' in *Field Research - a Sourcebook and Field Manual*, London, George Allen and Unwin.

Wicks, Malcolm (1987)
A Future for All, Harmondsworth, Pelican.

Williams, R. (1973)
'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory', *New Left Review* , no. 82, pp.3-17.

Willis, Paul (1977)
Learning to Labour: how working class kids get working class jobs, Farnborough, Saxon House.

Willis, Paul (1984)
'*Youth Unemployment: 1. A new social state*', New Society, 29th March 1984, pp475-477.

Willis, Paul (1984)
'*Youth Unemployment: 2. Ways of Living*', New Society, 5th April 1984, pp13-15.

Willis, P. (1984)
'*The Land of Juventus*', New Society, 12th April 1984, pp57-59.

Willis, P. (1990)
Common Culture, Symbolic Work at Play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Willmott P (1963)   *The Evolution of Community.* Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Willmott P and Young   *Family and class in a London suburb.* London. Routledge
M (1960)   Kegan Paul.

Wilson, E. (1978)   *Women and the Welfare State,* London, Tavistock.

Wilson, W. J. (1992)   *Another Look at the 'Truly Disadvantaged'* Political
                          Science Quarterly No. 106, pp639-56.

Wilson, W. J. (1991)   '*Studying Inner City Social Dislocation: The Challenge of
                          Public Agenda Research'*, American Sociological Review,
                          vol. 56, pp1-14.

Wyn J. (1995)   *Recent Developments in Youth Research in Australia.*
                          Paper to Youth 2000 Conference, University of Teesside.

Young I. (1981)   'Beyond the Unhappy Marriage' in Sargent L, *The
                          Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism,* London,
                          Pluto Press.

Young M and Willmott   *Family and Kinship in East London.* London, Penguin.
P. (1962)

Young, M. and   *The Symmetrical Family,* Harmondsworth, Penguin.
Willmott, P. (1975)