

YOUTH AND PUPIL GROUPS:
An Ethnographic Study of their Pedagogic Relations
and Resistant Practices

Shane J. Blackman

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
University of London

Institute of Education

1990



ABSTRACT

YOUTH AND PUPIL GROUPS: an ethnographic study of their pedagogic relations and resistant practice.

- The focus is on:
- a) differences and similarities between fifteen-year-old male and female groups which occupy differently specialised positions within the field of popular youth culture;
 - b) the relationship between such positions and forms of involvement in schooling and education.

The research is further concerned to explore the relationships between social class, sexuality and patriarchy in the practices within and between the various groups. To place the study in context, I discuss the role of qualitative research on youth, and examine five major traditions, ranging from the Chicago School, the Functionalists, British research on deviance in the 1950s and 1960s, Sociology of Education, through to the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Criticism of these approaches forms the starting point of the theory and method of the research.

The sample consists of over 120 girls and boys in a secondary school in the South of England. Five major groups are identified: Mod Boys, New Wave Girls, Boffin Boys, Boffin Girls and Criminal Boys. All the young people were studying for a number of GCE examinations (except the Criminal group). From this point of view the sample is unusual in British research, as it offers the possibility of studying forms of resistance and conformity among those whom the school considers as the pedagogic elite.

The method used was ethnographic and entailed sharing the experiences of the various groups both inside the school (classroom and leisure spaces) and outside the school (leisure and family spaces), for a period of two years. In addition, I have interviewed the headteachers, all heads of subject departments, and younger members of staff. Tape recorded discussions took place in and out of school (street and other locations), with groups and individuals.

The research provides the basis for a theory of youth cultural forms, which integrates structural, communicative and semiotic practices. The theory has arisen out of, and in part controlled the collection of the ethnographic data.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many individuals to acknowledge who helped me complete this Ph.D. Thesis. Before getting to the "starting blocks" I received much encouragement and support from Michael O'Dell, Keith Arthurs and Kenneth Mackinnon.

In the early stages of the fieldwork I was very grateful to the friendly staff at Rough Trade Records who allowed me access to them. Throughout my research experience at the Institute of Education, I should like to thank all staff and students from the department of the sociology of education, who gave me their valuable time. I am particularly grateful for the tutorial support from Philip Cohen, Roger Hewitt, John Hayes, Janet Holland, Philip Corrigan, Lesley Caldwell, Tony Green, Keith Swanwick and Stephen Ball. I would also like to express my thanks to Philip Brown, Clyde Chitty, Bernadette Cifuentes, Ann Lahiff, Norah Marks, Sally Poplar and my father who offered guidance, criticism and gave their time to me.

I owe much, and was also very fortunate to have Professor Basil Bernstein as my Ph.D. supervisor. His guidance, enthusiasm and practical support throughout the whole period of research has been an inspiration.

Finally, I owe a sincere debt to the Head Teacher of the school and his fine colleagues for support and encouragement. My greatest debt is to the boffin girls and boys, the criminal boys, the new wave girls and the mod boys who always made me welcome and research a pleasure.

**YOUTH AND PUPIL GROUPS : AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF
THEIR PEDAGOGIC RELATIONS AND RESISTANT PRACTICES**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	4
<u>PART 1</u>	
THEORY AND METHOD	
General Organisation of the Chapters	13
<u>CHAPTER ONE</u>	
Youth: An Evaluation of Subcultural Theory and Qualitative Research Methods	15
1. Introduction	15
1.1 The Chicago School and Functionalist Subcultural Theory	15
1.2 The British concept of Subculture	18
2. Educational Approaches to Youth	21
2.1 Introduction	21
2.2 Six case studies of secondary schooling	22
2.3 The Manchester Studies: Lacey and Hargreaves	22
2.4 Learning to Labour Paul Willis: Rejection of the concept of subculture	28
2.5 Paul Corrigan: Schooling the Smash Street Kids	34
2.6 Peter Woods: The Divided School	36
2.7 Stephen J. Ball: Beachside Comprehensive	39
2.8 Summary	43
3. Cultural Studies of Youth: the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies	44
3.1 Introduction	44
3.2 The making of the Centre	45
3.3 Philip Cohen: Subcultural conflict and working class community	48
3.4 Resistance: Through ritual and subculture	53
3.5 Dick Hebdige: The meaning of style or subculture	59
3.6 Summary	61

	Page
4. Conclusion : Subculture and Ethnography	63
4.1 Theories of youth subculture	64
4.2 Qualitative fieldwork methods	68
Notes	72
 <u>CHAPTER TWO</u>	
Methodology and an Introduction to the Protagonists of the Narrative	80
1. A Case Study of Youth Concepts in Secondary Schooling	80
1.1 Initial research intention and site	80
1.2 Approach	81
1.3 Two 'headstarts' in the fieldwork	84
1.4 Marshlands School: the research context	86
1.5 Description of a typical fieldwork day	90
2. The Youth Groups	91
2.1 Introduction	91
2.2 The groups	91
2.3 Mod boys	92
a. Membership	92
b. Description	92
c. Relations	95
2.4 New wave girls	96
a. Membership	96
b. Description	96
c. Relations	99
2.5 Boffin Boys and Boffin Girls	100
a. Membership	100
b. Description	100
c. Relations	101
2.6 Criminal Boys	104
a. Membership	104
b. Description	104
c. Relations	105
2.7 Marginal Group Members	106
3. Ethnography	108
3.1 Introduction	108
3.2 Biography	109
3.3 Apprenticeship and relation	110
3.4 Discussion	113
3.5 Communication	115

	Page
4. Contact and Access: a Description of Fieldwork During the Initial Two Weeks	118
Introduction	118
4.1 Episode One	118
4.2 Episode Two	120
4.3 Episode Three	120
4.4 Episode Four	123
4.5 Episode Five	124
4.6 Episode Six	126
4.7 Episode Seven	129
4.8 Some Issues raised	132
5. Conclusion	136
Notes	138
 <u>CHAPTER THREE</u>	
A Theory of Youth Cultural Forms	141
1 Introduction	141
2. Group Structure: Specialised Positions	143
2.1 Introduction	143
2.2 Style Leader	144
2.3 Cultural Ransacker	145
2.4 Peer Group Spokesperson	146
2.5 Peer Group Consolidator	147
2.6 Symbolic and social forms	148
2.7 Hierarchy within youth cultural forms	150
3. Social Relations of the Face	153
3.1 Introduction	153
3.2 Private face	154
3.3 Between(s) faces	155
3.4 Public face	157
4. Specialised Semiotic of the Youth Cultural Group	158
4.1 Introduction	158
4.2 Choreography	159
4.3 Dress and appearance	159
4.4 Techniques of the body	160
4.5 Posture and gesture	160
4.6 Three facets of mobility: walking, dancing and fighting	162
4.7 Narrative	164
4.8 Introduction: music and youth	164
4.9 The Band is the bond: six relations between youth group and musical artist	166

	Page
a. Identification	167
b. Projection	167
c. Condensation	168
d. Celebration	169
e. Production	169
f. Authenticity	170
4.10 Literature	170
4.11 Linguistics	172
4.12 Circulation	173
4.13 Social sites	173
4.14 Territorial movement	175
 5. Signature	 177
5.1 Introduction	177
5.2 The concept of signature	177
5.3 Three temporal aspects of signature	179
5.4 Historical signature	179
5.5 Variant signature	180
5.6 Emergent signature	181
 6. Order and Interpretation of Data	 183
6.1 Introduction	183
6.2 Transcription	183
6.3 Method of analysis	184
6.4 Interpretation	186
 <u>PART 2</u>	
 STYLE, GENDER AND CONFLICT	 189
 <u>CHAPTER FOUR</u>	
 Patriarchal Games and Ritual Jousting: New Wave Girls and Mod Boys	 190
 1. Introduction to Discussion A	 190
1.1 Ritual and refusal	191
1.2 Potency and parents	194
1.3 Marriage and employment	197
1.4 Private face	202
1.5 Male dependence / Female subordination to the domestic	203
 2. Introduction to Discussion B	 208
2.1 The gift ritual	210
2.2 Sexual fantasies	212
2.3 Masturbation	217
2.4 Heterosexual relations and opposition	222

	Page
3. Positions and Communication	226
3.1 Style Leader	227
3.2 Peer Group Spokesperson	228
3.3 Cultural Ransacker	230
3.4 Peer Group Consolidator	231
3.5 Forms and specialised positions	232

4. Conclusion	235
Notes	239

CHAPTER FIVE

Rituals of Violence : Mod Boys	240
1 Introduction	240
2. Ethnographic Description of the Mod Outing	240
3. Celebration and Mythologising	247
4. Positions and Communication	254
4.1 Phase One	255
4.2 Phase Two	257
4.3 Phase Three	258
4.4 Phase Four	259
5. Oppositions : Style and Generation	259
6. Conclusion	262
Notes	265

CHAPTER SIX

Rituals of Integrity : New Wave Girls	267
1. Introduction	267
2. The Choreography of Conversation	269
2.1 Onomatopoeia	269
2.2 Banter	270
2.3 Jokes	273
2.4 Epic narrative	276
2.5 Chorusing	278
3. Integrity	281
4. Pollution	287

	Page
5. Conclusion	293
Notes	295
 <u>PART 3</u>	
ISSUES OF CLASS, CAREERS AND CONFORMITY	296
 <u>CHAPTER SEVEN</u>	
Boffin Boys Culture : Pedagogic Practice and Sexual Vulnerabilities	297
1. Introduction	291
2. Boffin Boy Pupil Friendship Group	298
a. Identity	299
b. Rivalry	299
c. Vulnerability	300
2.1 An ideology of individualism: "not types" but "individuals"	300
3. Boffin Boys' Pedagogic Practice and Class Vulnerabilities	302
3.1 The seminar form	302
3.2 Social class vulnerabilities	307
4. Sexual Vulnerabilities	312
4.1 Introduction	312
4.2 Three kinds of relations with girls	313
4.3 Violation, dance and vulnerability	313
4.4 Inter-personal relations	318
4.5 Public and private bodily contact	322
4.6 Scapegoating : an insulation device	326
5. Conclusion	329
Notes	332
 <u>CHAPTER EIGHT</u>	
Boffin Girl Culture : Pedagogic Practice and Sexual Vulnerabilities	333
1. Introduction	333
1.1 Boffin girl pupil friendship group	334
2. Boffin Girls' Work Ethic	338

	Page
3. Official Pedagogic Practice	342
3.1 A model of conformist group relations	342
3.2 Pedagogic promenade	347
4. The Boffin Girls' Pedagogic Control	353
4.1 A self generating practice	353
4.2 Subordination and recognition	356
4.3 Ordinariness of examinations	360
5. Sex and Pedagogy	363
5.1 Genderised subjects	363
5.2 Sexual vulnerability	367
5.3 Girls' official sex education talks	372
6. Conclusions	375
Notes	377
 <u>PART 4</u>	
OPPOSITIONS : GENDER, STYLE AND SCHOOLING	378
 <u>CHAPTER NINE</u>	
Masculine Displays and School Performance : Boffin Boys and Mod Boys	379
1. Introduction	379
2. Pedagogy and Deviance	380
2.1 Intelligence and status	380
2.2 Schoolwork and "going out"	383
2.3 School rules and resistance	388
2.4 Pupil power relations	392
3. Transition from School	394
4. Adolescent Male Sexuality	397
4.1 Introduction	397
4.2 Parental surveillance	397
4.3 The condom	402
4.4 Male virginity	409
5. Conclusions	411
Notes	415

CHAPTER TEN

Parents, Pedagogy and Resistance : Boffin Girls and New Wave Girls	417
1. Introduction	417
2. Parental Regimes	418
2.1 Boffin girls and parents	418
2.2 New wave girls and parents	422
3. Pedagogy and Resistance	428
3.1 Introduction	428
3.2 Female classroom interaction and school relations	428
3.3 Critical conformity? Boffin girls' instrumental practices	435
3.4 Female resistance? The new wave girls	439
a. Initiation rite	440
b. Drinking alcohol	441
c. Cigarette smoking	444
d. Clothes and school uniform	448
e. "Skiving"	450
f. Girls together: 'lesbian' displays and physicality	452
4. Conclusions	456
Notes	461

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Patriarchy and Romance : Boffin Girls and New Wave Girls	463
1. Introduction	463
1.1 Sexism and modes of male aggression	463
1.2 Boffin girl strategies to deal with boffin boys	468
1.3 Understanding boys	472
1.4 New wave girls : an anti-patriarchal practice	477
a. Dance	478
b. "Cigars"	479
c. Valentine	480
d. Poem	481
e. Boyfriends	482

	Page
2. Two Adolescent Girl Parties : an ethnography	483
2.1 Setting	483
2.2 Party	485
2.3 Music and romance	489
2.4 Party post-mortems : celebration and rumour	491
3. Conclusion	496
Notes	501
 <u>CHAPTER TWELVE</u>	
Conclusion	503
1. Introduction	503
2. Issues of Method and Description	504
2.1 Researcher and researched	504
2.2 Incorporation	504
a. Collusion	504
b. Seduction	505
2.3 Resistance	505
a. Testing	505
b. Exclusion	505
2.4 Idealisation	506
a. 'Media halo'	506
b. 'Narcissism'	507
2.5 Knowledge control	507
2.6 Picture of the researcher	508
2.7 Theoretical language of description	515
3. Features of the Ethnography	518
3.1 Social class and the groups	518
3.2 School relations and the groups	522
3.3 Gender relations and the groups	528
a. Patriarchy	528
b. Pedagogy	529
c. Feminism	531
d. Ritual	532
e. Game	534
3.4 Overview of ethnographic findings	535
4. Future of Style	536
 Bibliography	 539

PART 1

THEORY AND METHOD

General Organisation of the Chapters

This study is an ethnographic exploration of four pupil groups inside and outside the context of a secondary school. The study is placed within its wider field by examining relevant studies of education and deviance which have become most associated with studies upon youth.

Part 1 is concerned with theory and method. Chapter 1 reviews the uses to which the concept of subculture has been put from the early urban ethnographic work of the Chicago School to more recent educational studies. We also examine the accounts given of their qualitative fieldwork methods. This is followed in Chapter 2 with an account of the methods used in this study and a description of the school, its structure and organisation together with a brief introduction to the youth and pupil groups.

Chapter 3 presents an account of a theoretical language of description, which we termed a theory of youth cultural forms. The description creates sets of hypotheses which are explored in turn in an attempt to make sense of the ethnographic data. The theory is concerned with a number of features: the internal relations and structure within groups, the social relations between groups, their specialised practices and also each youth group's position within the wider youth cultural field. The final section of this chapter provides an account of the analysis of the data and also gives relevant information about the transcription and interpretation of the data.

Part 2 is concerned with style, gender and conflict. Chapter 4 consists of a comparative analysis of the new wave girls and the mod boys, which deals with their different forms of private and public communication. This is in preparation for Chapters 5 and 6 which explore the practice of ritual within

each of the two youth cultural groups.

Part 3 is concerned with the boffin groups. Chapters 7 and 8 elaborate and explore the pedagogic relations and vulnerabilities within the boffin boy and boffin girl groups.

Part 4 presents a comparative analysis of the oppositions, differences and acceptances among the four groups with respect to gender, style and schooling. Chapter 9 focuses upon relations between the two male groups, the mod and boffin boys. Chapters 10 and 11 review the relations between the two girl groups, the new wave and boffin girls.

In the final chapter we draw together the most important of our findings.

CHAPTER 1

YOUTH : AN EVALUATION OF SUBCULTURAL THEORY AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

1. Introduction

The chapter is not a review of the general positioning of youth in theory and research but an investigation into specific themes which have been influential in the interpretation of youth.

Two approaches towards youth will be reviewed. The approaches developed to study youth in education. The approaches developed by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. Those two approaches within education and deviance were selected because they were the only significant areas where an interpretation of youth culture exists.

The purpose of this investigation is to provide a base for our own study. It was thought that closer examination of the qualitative studies of youth within the two approaches would yield valuable suggestions for our own fieldwork and offer pointers towards the development of an initial theoretical framework.

Before we move to an examination of the two approaches it may be useful to address what shaped or influenced theory and method of each of these perspectives.

1.1 The Chicago School and Functionalist Subcultural Theory

The sociology department of the University of Chicago pioneered and advanced the methodological technique of urban ethnography. Under the guidance of Park and Burgess, the Chicago School researchers developed clear sighted ethnographic practices to reach an understanding of how the varied cultural backgrounds of specific communities were expressed in daily life¹. The importance of these works derives from the

sensitive commitment of the researcher, and the researcher's integrity in dealing with the researched. [Anderson 1923, Palmer 1926, Cressey 1927/83, Shaw 1927, Thrasher 1928]. Chicago's urban ethnography specifies the responsibility created between the researcher and his or her group. The boredom, excitement and danger is shared and if necessary, laughed off through a series of joint private and public experiences; the observer is required to develop a sense of humour.

Each successive sociological school of deviance has acknowledged its indebtedness to the Chicago School, but at the same time each school has argued that the Chicago School was "somewhat naive". The criticism points to the limitation of the school's theoretical advances and to the tautological social ecology model of the community. During the 1940's and 1950's functionalist sociological theory displaced the ethnographic research tradition developed at the University of Chicago. Under the dominant period of American functionalist sociology, the earlier contribution of the Chicago School was repositioned and made to appear beholden to functionalism for the revealing of its inadequacies. Merton's [1938, 1957] work has been a major influence upon the understanding of the work of the Chicago School. Merton [1957] arranged the 'docking operation' between the two separate paradigms

"In examining the delinquency subculture, A K Cohen is of course in direct line of continuity with earlier studies by Shaw, McKay and, particularly, Thrasher" [p.179]

This presents the reader with an ideological manoeuvre. Thrasher's [1927] rich empirical data and keen observation bear absolutely no relation to Cohen's [1955] imposition of a theoretical structure upon youth.

Cohen's [ibid] book Delinquent Boys popularised the term subculture and first brought it into extensive use in youth studies. He used Merton's theory of anomie to structure his theoretical ideas in combination with psychological

understanding of aggression and frustration. Cohen extends the basic idea of Dollard, Miller, Mowrer and Sears [1939] that "the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration" [p.1]. Cohen [1955] argues that an "important function of the delinquent subculture is the legitimation of aggression" [p.131]. In Cohen's theory the aggressive behaviour of working class youth is primarily a result of not possessing middle class status owing to their class position; the structural strain causes the problem of status frustration [Cohen 1955, p.132].

Short [1960] in his introduction to Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas by Shaw and McKay claims that it was not until the functionalists entered the field, taking over from the Chicago School and introducing the concept of subculture that a proper sociology of youth could begin. Short's attempt to celebrate Cohen's [1955] application of the concept of subculture, reveals how the functionalists used the success theme of American culture and embodied it as the norm within that theoretical framework. Cohen's use of secondary data reveals a weakness in his thesis with respect to the sociological origins of gangs or subcultures. Cohen displays an inability to grasp intra-group dynamics stemming from his failure to carry out research into group intra-relations. Cohen and later Cloward and Ohlin [1960] utilised Merton's theory of anomie to develop their own specific theories of deviant subcultures, yet both ignore a crucial feature of Merton's understanding of deviance. Later functionalist theorists ignored Merton's interpretation of deviance as possibly creative; Merton did not assert that all deviations from the norm were pathological, although it can be argued that he had a narrow view of deviance as primarily a working class trait.

Merton's means-end framework is closer to Weber than Durkheim because of his emphasis upon the model of success which resonate with a Weberian understanding of the protestant work ethic². It is extremely doubtful whether Durkheim would describe working class formations as anomic. Durkheim looked

at collective ritual in terms of the degree of consensus it created. We suggest that he would see gang delinquency as restoring order to working class youth who form gangs as their solution to anomie; the gang is the norm. For the youth subcultural group deviance strengthens internal relations, creates solidarity and maintains order; anomie does not cause deviance, it is deviance which is a solution to anomie.

The meaning of subculture was embedded in functionalist theory as a collective response by working class youth to social/cultural structure. The purpose was to provide a theoretical basis for the study of deviance. However, once the theory has been constructed practices were left behind and the concrete specification of youth were lost.

Functionalist subcultural theory has been significantly accommodating; the concept of subculture has been grafted on to new bodies of thought whilst maintaining its basic structure intact [Cohen 1974]. In America it seems that by the late 1960's two concepts were in use, that of subculture applied essentially to working class deviant forms, and that of counter culture applied to forms of middle class dissent.

1.2 The British Concept of Subculture

In Britain during the 1950's American functionalist theory was dominant but did not displace the British tradition of carrying out small scale qualitative community studies. There is a historic basis for ethnography in the studies of the poor by Mayhew and Booth, a basis which was built upon by the Institute of Community Studies. However, the British centres for sociological research during the 1950's were extremely few [Bernstein 1975].

The social research at the University of Liverpool by Mays [1954] and Kerr [1958] popularised and gave credence to anthropological fieldwork techniques in studying working class culture and community. Similar techniques were used by the Institute of Community Studies, founded in 1954. Young and

Willmott [1962] state "Our aim was to try to combine something of what we understood to be the approach of anthropology with that of sociology" [p.204].

In Britain the political arithmetic tradition shaped the policy content and practice of research. British empirical work did not claim to be ethnographic; it had a variety of diffused inputs guiding its methodological principles. Indeed, the methodological application of anthropological fieldwork techniques was ambiguous. Throughout this period classic anthropological texts are cited in references, but what purpose did they serve? Few social researchers conducted extensive qualitative ethnographic analyses. The purpose of anthropological references in many instances is to locate a study within a tradition, to claim methodological continuity and to secure legitimation. However, the use of qualitative procedures during field relations by the Institute of Community studies established a precedent in British sociological research, not only because their reports were quickly published and accessible but because of the convincing and subtle descriptions of working class culture.

Downes and Rock [1982] point out that during the 1950's and 1960's the paradigmatic influence of American functionalism within sociology was considerable. Consequently, in Britain during the 1960's the lack of an indigenous theory of deviance, resulted in British research work being placed within the parameters of American theoretical arguments [Carson and Wiles 1971].

The new definition of the concept of subculture [Cohen 1955] was slow to be legitimised in British sociology of deviance, because of the British adherence to a concept of subculture referring to subgroups from within the working class, which is sometimes combined with thesis of the 'affectionless personality' [Bowlby 1946, Spinley 1953, Mays 1954, Klein 1965]. The concept of subculture is applied to working class youth as a subgroup, who are defined by the concept as psychologically disturbed, with a deviant sub set

of values. Youths who form groups, gangs, sub sets or subcultures are already defined as unstable or deficient or suffering from psychological problems of inadequate socialisation within a deprived culture. This psychological underpinning of the British concept of subculture is not too dissimilar from the thesis of subculture developed by Cohen [1955] as status frustration.

The British understanding of deviance did not centre around 'status frustration', but can be identified as developing from the sphere of leisure. During the late 1950's the strange couplet of poverty and affluence was held together. The Institute of Community Studies and researchers from the London School of Economics were pointing to working class poverty, whereas, Galbraith, Fyvel, Abrams and others were speaking of unprecedented increases in working class affluence³.

Increased working class affluence and leisure were invoked as creators of delinquency and central to this thesis was the "new teenage youth culture". It is of interest to note that there was no British theoretical application of the concept subculture to working class youth cultural groups until the 1970's.

Downes' [1966] study is a turning point in the sociology of deviance because it marks the break from regarding deviance and youth culture as a symptom. Downes' study was the basis for subsequent work by Taylor [1968] Cohen, S [1972] and for the new criminology of Taylor, Walton and Young [1973]. Collectively these studies mark a new interpretation of youth culture and deviance as metaphor and there is an understanding of the origin and purpose of youth culture within both class and community context. This understanding came to be a crucial element in the forthcoming Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and sociology of education interpretations of youth, deviance, resistance and conformity.

2. EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES TO YOUTH

2.1 Introduction

The focus will be upon the origins and use of ethnographic methods in six case studies of secondary schooling, and the way in which the theoretical concept of subculture has been applied: Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Willis (1977), Corrigan (1979), Woods (1979) and Ball (1981).

In the 1960's an important educational textbook was The Sociology of Education by Musgrave (1965) in which he discusses the educational relevance of the concept of subculture. His references reveal that the understanding of the concept of subculture was informed not only by sociological studies but also by literary studies. Eliot (1948), Snow (1950), Hoggart (1957), Snow (1957), Sillitoe (1959) and Williams (1960).

Musgrave (1965) refers to regional differences: "These divisions represent a sub-culture, the rural and the urban" (p.130). He further suggests "That social classes may be considered as sub-cultures" [p.130]. In school there are also educational subcultures. However, he is not at first interested in pupil subcultures but in the teacher/pupil subculture "Where a member of one sub-culture tries to communicate with members of another sub-culture" (p.131). He relies on Coleman's (1961) interpretation of American High School pupils to analyse British pupil subcultures. He introduces the concept of subculture into the sociology of education to refer to any grouping within the social structure. His conception of subculture in education has little specification, and because of the lack of definition it can refer to almost any social group. We shall explore this conceptualising of youth in the six case studies that follow and pay particular attention to the methods of research.

2.2 Six Case Studies of Secondary Schooling

2.3 The Manchester Studies

David Hargreaves, *Social Relations in a Secondary School*,
and
Colin Lacey, *Hightown Grammar*.

In the early 1960's the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester began to apply anthropological fieldwork methods to British urban and rural communities. One in particular, was a research project financed by a grant from the Ministry of Education, under a team of three research associates who were appointed to undertake research work into different schools;

- (a) Audrey Lambart,⁴ Secondary Grammar School for girls,
- (b) David Hargreaves, Secondary Modern School for boys,
and
- (c) Colin Lacey, Secondary Grammar School for boys.

The research project co-ordinators and consultants were from three major traditions which helped to establish and develop a qualitative sociological approach to schooling, namely,

- (a) Anthropological tradition,
Max Gluckman, Valdo Pons and Peter Worsley
- (b) Community Studies tradition,
Ronald Frankenberg and Tom Lupton
- (c) Social Demographic tradition,
A.H. Halsey

The continuity between the work of Lacey and others, and the political arithmetic tradition lies in a common concern to emphasise social injustice and educational opportunity. Lacey (1976) states that, the "Major concern of the study would be with the under-achievement of working class children in a grammar school" (p.56). Furthermore, he gives priority to the practice and context of social policy, speaking of "Sociology as a vital analytical tool in the reconstruction of our society" (p.55). His method of using fieldwork techniques in

a case study approach is similar to that of the Institute of Community Studies.

The technique of participant observation was the major method employed by both Lacey and Hargreaves. The method of contact used by each researcher within the school was as a teacher. Both researchers assess their fieldwork procedure in the context of moving from the formal position of the teacher, to a more informal position of contact with pupils. Hargreaves (1967) specifies a variety of role conflicts he encountered as a participant observer. They were as follows:-

- (a) Inspector role
- (b) Pupil role
- (c) Researcher role
- (d) Teacher role

Lacey (1976) explains that,

"The intention was to teach for the first year and then give up most of my teaching to move towards a freer research role in the second and third years. In the third year in particular I planned to move outside the school into the community and home". (p.57).

Lacey and Hargreaves undertook participant observation in the school from the teacher perspective rather than the pupil perspective. The discussion of methodological issues and problems relate only to the question of the teacher context and relations in the study. Both the researchers did participant observation in a generic sense, of the school as a social system. Each used questionnaires, school records and statistical data to supplement observation of teacher and pupil actions and meanings.

How far did Lacey or Hargreaves enter into a form of participant observation from the pupil perspective? Lacey (1976) points out,

"I entered informally into conversations with boys in and around the school and invited boys to my home which was only a few hundred yards away from school" (p.58)

He also ran a second year cricket team; however, his

account of the participant observations is from the teacher/supervisor context alone. There is no account of how pupils perceived the participant observation. In fact he states that the intended closer contact with pupils was never made.

"The final stage of this change of role was never achieved. I had planned to move out of the school and meet boys in clubs, coffee bars and informal out-of-school groups like regular street football games." (p.58).

Hargreaves (1967) demonstrates the effort he made to gain the boys' confidence, pointing out the difficulties in building up respect at the pupil level. He shows an awareness of the "two sides", when conducting participant observation in school. He notes,

"Whereas Whyte in Street Corner Society was able to participate as a member of the gang, I could never assume a pupil role. In the nature of things, I could never stand completely on each side of the teacher/pupil division." (p.204)

He considers that the most effective form of participant observation was in the teacher role and somewhat naively suggests it would not "Inhibit my relations with the pupils" (p.204).

The Lacey/Hargreaves model of participant observation is carried out from the perspective of how the teachers in the school community saw the researcher move from teacher to non-teacher role. Both focus on whether the "move" created any role conflict from the teacher side of the relationship. There is no consideration of how the pupils viewed the researcher's move from a teacher role to become a pupil's (Hargreaves, 1967) "part friend and ally" (p.205). Indeed, there is no discussion of the researcher/pupil relation to clarify whether the participant observer is able to develop the new role. The concept of subculture was extensively applied and developed by Lacey and Hargreaves, in an educational setting. Lacey (1966) states,

"The overall aim is to provide a picture of the stratification and subsequent subculture development associated with academic streaming." (p.245)

The concept of subculture was elaborated through two concepts. Firstly, differentiation, which is largely carried out by the teachers and refers to the separation and ranking of students according to a multiple set of criteria which makes up the normative academically orientated value system of the grammar school. Secondly, polarisation, which is largely carried within the student body, partly as a result of differentiation but influenced by external factors and with an autonomy of its own. Lacey (1966) states "It is a process of subculture formation in which the school dominated normative culture is opposed by an alternative culture which I will refer to as the anti group culture." (p.252)

He does not apply the concept of subculture to middle class pupils in the "express stream",⁵ instead he refers to the pro-school pupil groups using Oppenheim's (1955) term "cliques". He mentions the concept of subculture only in reference to 4E's adolescent subculture of working class pupils.

Hargreaves (1967) applies the concept of subculture further by suggesting that there is on the one hand a middle class academic subculture and on the other hand a working class delinquent subculture. These subcultures are defined as follows,

"'Academic' indicates that the values are orientated to those of the school and the teachers; 'delinquent' indicates that the values are negatively orientated towards the school, and in the direction of delinquent values." (p.162)

Lacey and Hargreaves are heavily influenced and rely upon the concept of subculture developed by Cohen (1955). The concept is taken up by both without critical examination and applied within their polarisation model. However, they do differ in the degree to which they apply Cohen's subcultural theory.

Hargreaves reinforces Cohen's negative interpretation of

working class youth groups which are defined as being in opposition to the values of middle class society. He lists Cohen's examples of middle class values (p.166-68) staying close to the original thesis, namely, subcultures are a 'reaction formation' to working class status problem. The functionalist definition of the concept of subculture is specific to working class youth, allowing them to solve their status problems when encountering middle class values. However, he does not explain how the concept of subculture functions for middle class pupils in the academic subculture who do not have status problems.

Hargreaves does attempt to distinguish the different features of solidarity within the two subcultures but the conclusions are rather unsurprising, and in many ways only reproduce the earlier findings of Himmelweit, Halsey and Oppenheim (1952) and Oppenheim (1955). The middle class pupils gravitate towards school values, and the working class pupils gravitate towards anti-school values. He inconsistently applies Cohen's concept of subculture. On the one hand he elaborates the concept of subculture to the collective meaning of working class delinquent subculture, and on the other hand uses Cohen's psychological analysis to displace the social group definition of the concept of subculture, in order to account for middle class pupils in an individualistic understanding.

Lacey like Hargreaves emphasises Cohen's subcultural thesis, although he is more directly concerned with a peer group analysis of adolescent culture than a subcultural interpretation. Lacey (1976) states the analysis,

"Is made clear at a theoretical level by using the term subculture to represent a set of ways of behaving and understanding, and not a group of individuals who are indelibly marked by experience or personal characteristics." (p.64).

In Hightown Grammar he attempts to combine the American concept of subculture (Cohen, 1955) as problem solving in a

situation of status frustration, with the "English" concept of subculture (Klein, 1965) as a sub set of values within the working class. Also, he develops an interpretation of peer group culture from the studies by Coleman (1961) and Sugarman (1967). There is a shift of emphasis in his interpretation of the data. In the 1966 paper, subcultural theory is the dominant explanation of pupil roles, but in the 1970 study the analysis is divided between subcultural and peer group theory applied to both working class and middle class pupils.

Lacey (1970) introduces Sugarman's interpretation of peer groups, youth culture and subculture to the model of differentiation and polarisation. Sugarman did not place together the concepts of youth culture and subculture. He only spoke of a subculture in reference to the home and school [social class and home background],⁶ youth culture was exclusively used to define youth movements, teenage culture and peer group culture. Sugarman (1967) did not use a qualitative method such as participant observation like Lacey and Hargreaves, he gained data "By questionnaires which the investigator administered in person" (p.154). His research interest was adolescent peer groups; the major pupil division he argued was between "The role of the teenager which is roughly, an inversion of the official pupil role" (p.154). He did not apply the concept of subculture to youth cultural groups or delinquent groups in school. Commitment to youth culture is seen in terms of sociability and popularity, what he calls the inversion of the official pupil role. Youth culture is defined as being a non-literate phenomenon and thus obviously of no educational relevance.

Lacey (1970) applies Sugarman's negative understanding of working class youth culture emphasising "That achievement and conduct ratings are negatively correlated with teenage commitment" (p.124). He asserts that Sugarman's interpretation of peer group values (teenage values/youth culture) relate to his analysis of anti academic groups i.e. subculture. He uses the concept of subculture in a specific sense of a set of values operated by the working class anti academic group.

There is an ambiguity in his analysis as a result of the different terms applied to describe a group and its practices. He uses the phrase the 'set of values' to mean the subcultural values of an adolescent peer group which may be heightened by their take up of other values such as teenage culture or youth culture. The ambiguity of terms derives from the attempt to merge or perhaps change the emphasis from subcultural groups to peer groups, but still retain elements of the functionalist subcultural theory. Furthermore, he wavers between Sugarman's and Coleman's understanding of peer group culture functions which have a different conception of social class and youth culture. He asserts that the role of the pupil and the role of the adolescent be kept conceptually distinct. Such a demand brings a problem to the analysis because he did not study the pupils' leisure activities outside school. The model of pupil polarisation demands that subcultural meaning has its centre of gravity outside the school but at the same time results in a clash of values inside the school. He used Sugarman's interpretation of youth culture to show that the values outside the school, provided the pupil subculture inside school with oppositional values. Sugarman's study is not on youth groups outside the school or based upon qualitative observation. A limitation in Lacey's interpretation of pupil polarisation is the reliance on Cohen's and Sugarman's theoretical division between anti academic subculture and official pro-school culture.

2.4 Learning to Labour: Paul Willis: rejection of the concept of the concept of subculture

Willis (1977) does not use the concept of subculture in Learning to Labour (or Profane Culture (1978)) but he does use the concept of the "lads". The term "lads" represents the nature of the group and displaces the problem of employing the concept of subculture. The use of the term "lads" rather than subculture does not remove the problem; there is no differentiation between and within the "lads" and the "ear'oles". He speaks of class fractions which are identifiable within the old division - the "roughs" and the

"respectables". It is interesting to consider why he did not use the concept of subculture because his empirical work was located at the C.C.C.S., at the same time as Resistance Through Ritual was being written. (including a contribution by Willis). In his Ph.D. thesis Willis (1972) is critical of the concept of subculture, "There has not been a vigorous analysis of the status of the culture a sub-culture is supposed to be "sub" to. The notion implies a relative positioning which seems to give an altogether misleading sense of absoluteness and dominance of the main culture" (p.xlv-xlvi). However, he does not elaborate upon the different uses of the concept of subculture or specify the precise reasons for not applying the concept in his case study. He suggests,

"At any rate I have treated the notion of sub-cultures somewhat warily in this thesis, and have tried throughout the case studies to refer to the groups as being in their respective cultures, rather than in their respective sub-cultures, in an attempt to avoid too mechanistic and received a notion of what the "dominant" culture is reckoned to be like." (p.xlvi).

The starting point for the research method of Lacey and Hargreaves is from the teacher perspective. Both considered that they would move to a pupil perspective as the study developed. In contrast to the work of Lacey and Hargreaves, the case studies of secondary schooling by Willis (1977) and Corrigan (1979) assert that their research method is orientated to the pupil perspective. Such an assertion raises the question of whether it is possible for Willis or Corrigan to claim that their respective studies are from within youth group.

The study by Willis is based on qualitative methods of research including participant observation. The case study is upon a group of pupils, "the lads", to the almost total exclusion of the teachers. However, he does not close off sources of information, or take sides against the teaching staff in the manner that Corrigan does.

After a preliminary two month pilot observation and enquiry

Willis chose a case study of twelve average ability white boys from the fourth year of a non-selective secondary school. It is important to note how much emphasis Willis places upon the friendship group, because it is from the pupil group context, that he develops the concept of the counter school culture.

The methodological significance of Learning to Labour is that it emphasised qualitative research methods in education. The range of methods employed by Willis (1975) were "Participant observation, observation, just being around, informal interviews and diaries" (p.7). He goes on to suggest that the greater concentration on qualitative methods involving participant observation was to gain "A really inward appreciation of the lads' culture and subjective orientation within it." (p.8).

Like Corrigan he points out, the necessity to show commitment to the boys rather than to the teaching staff. He appears to have had a smoother relation with the school authorities than Corrigan. An advantage for him was that he had already conducted a study using qualitative research methods [See Willis, 1972/1978].⁷ He showed more understanding and sensitivity than Corrigan towards both pupils and teachers. Willis (1975) suggests,

"The power differentiation between them meant that it was impossible to maintain a close and trusting relationship with both staff and pupils." (p.8)

He pinpoints the tension and problems when leaning towards either staff or pupils when doing research. Learning To Labour is a study from the pupil perspective. However, the commitment to the boys was not achieved at the expense of adequate relations with the school staff. Willis (1975) maintains,

"These costs can be minimised by clear statements of purpose to staff; but there is always a balance of disadvantage and mistrust." (p.10)

He goes on to specify the peculiar position and relation of the participant observer within a school.

"The researcher experienced many awkward situations in classes where there was misbehaviour. Whilst neither encouraging nor taking part in this messing about he could no more help the teacher to control the kids." (p.10)

Where discipline breaks down in the classroom, in the presence of the researcher he asserts that the teaching staff expect the researcher to intervene as a responsible adult. Such actions are of course proper, but not really appropriate from the researcher's perspective. He [Ibid] is honest to admit,

"This did not relieve the method however, of its internal stresses and contradictions nor did it lessen the feelings of tension and anxiety within the researcher." (p.10)

The relationship between theory and method in Learning To Labour is influenced by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies where he studied and became a research associate. The unstated theoretical position in his case study is cultural marxism, an approach which directs his interest to the cultural features of the working class pupil culture. Ethnographic methods, Willis (1977) asserts,

"Are suited to record this level and have a sensitivity to meanings and values as well as an ability to represent and interpret symbolic articulations, practices and forms of cultural production. In particular the ethnographic account, without always knowing how, can allow a degree of the activity, creativity and human agency within the object of study to come through into the analysis and the reader's experience." (p.3)

His cultural marxist understanding and the priority of the cultural guide the theory, method and object of the study. A criticism of his methodology is that the selective rules of correspondence between the theoretical discourse and its theoretical object, may show patterns other than those found within his stated aims.⁸

In the introduction to Learning To Labour he stresses the importance of areas outside the school which are a major resource for the "lads", namely, wider working class culture,

specifically shop floor culture. Having established the significance of the world outside school, after two years of intensive fieldwork Willis (1975) admits,

"A disappointing data flow in this period was that of the lads' leisure time activities." (p.12)

In an attempt to address the problem of a reduced level of first hand observation of the boys' leisure activities, he suggests "A lot of information was collected from day time discussion groups about their leisure activities." (p.13). He fails to conduct ethnographic fieldwork upon what he thought was important. A consequent limitation of this study is that without direct observations of the cultural he is in a weak position to assert the theoretical arguments. Two practical examples follow, firstly, skiving as an alternative timetable and secondly, relations with girls.⁹

He claims the boys collective construction of their own timetable is in direct opposition to what is formally offered by the school. The "lads" timetable is said to reflect their mobility and resistance. However, there is an omission to present ethnographic accounts of "wagging off", as there is no interpretation of what, who, where, when and why these boys miss lessons or the activities that occur during skiving. Willis criticises truancy as an imprecise measurement but fall foul himself of not collecting data on the alternative timetable of "wagging off".

Possibly the most glaring ethnographic omission, concerns the boys' relationships with girls. He adequately depicts the "lads" blatant sexism during group discussion but there is not one ethnographic description of boys and girls together. He does not travel with the "lads" to document their behaviour on contact with females at girls' houses, parties, discos, public houses or simply go out with the girls. There is no attempt to discover how much sexism occurs at the point of liaison. Instead, there is one brief mixed group discussion behind the sheds (p.43-47). A result of the limited ethnography in his

case study is that we must question the validity with which he gives cultural priority to the creative potential of the informal practices of the counter school culture. Limited data is inadequate to support extensive theoretical claims. Willis (1977) uses the phrase "Dominant ideologies acting upon working class lads" (p.160) but does not use the other half of the Marxist macro understanding of the social structure. If something is dominant, something will be subordinant, this is not stated. What is the dominant relation, in relation to? By not using the concept of subordinant culture or subculture he has a freer hand to develop his positive description of the cultural at a theoretical and methodological level. A further problem with the term the "lads" is that there is no differentiation between and within the "lads" and the "ear'oles". These class fractions are similar to previous social class divisions such as the roughs and the respectables [Jackson and Marsden 1962].

Small scale ethnography can raise the broadest macro issues. An interesting problem is that a number of macro studies have difficulty connecting with the micro level, and a number of interactional studies have difficulty connecting with the macro structures. Silverman (1985) observes,

"It should not be assumed that micro work necessarily lacks a macro or societal dimension ... any investigator who fails to understand the broader social context in which face-to-face interactions occur is not worth his salt."
(p.14-15)

An important omission within Willis' ethnography is that there exists no account of the internal relations between the boys. One could possibly read the "lads" counter school culture not as a group but as a number of individuals in relative isolation from each other, because there is no presentation of social relations, positions and practices within the group. In Learning to Labour there are only two sites of data collection, the school and the workplace. There is no triangulation of the three sites, school, home and work combined with an interpretation of the "lads'" internal

relations and practices.

Willis can be criticised for presenting macro theory without micro theory, and for arguing at the same time that the resultant micro theory is clearly demonstrated by the ethnographic method which he suggests has the potential to reveal macro theory. This is a methodological criticism not a criticism of his interpretation of macro and micro structural relations: it is a criticism of method not content.

2.5 Paul Corrigan: Schooling the Smash Street Kids

At the theoretical level Corrigan does not use the concept of subculture. This is possibly because his case study of secondary schooling was not based upon a group or gang. Furthermore, he inaccurately argues that Lacey and Hargreaves,

"Were interested in the ways in which a counter culture developed, and how this counter culture developed around working class boys." (p.46)

Neither Lacey nor Hargreaves applied the term counter culture, they were interested in anti school groups from the theoretical position of subcultural theory and peer group analysis. The concept of counter culture has been elaborated only by Willis (1977) to refer to anti school groupings.

Corrigan's (1979) study begins from a negative position by creating unnecessary divisions between himself and the head teachers. He sacrifices information from the teaching staff to focus solely upon the boys. He argues,

"It was impossible to get at the information about the boys if you were seen talking to teachers too often. I had to make an early choice in the school and did so in favour of learning more about the boys' situation." (p.12)

He consistently sees the social relations at the school through the lens of non-stop confrontation. It is important to reveal conflict in school but continually to stress the "them and us" context is of only a limited value. He maintains,

"If teachers had accepted me with open arms it would have meant that the boys would not be likely to trust me greatly." (p.12)

His account of continual pressure between pupils and teachers can be understood through his language, for example "Guerrilla struggle" (p.58). He attempts to conduct the reader through his study as though Corrigan is a pupil. "I was fairly scared of the teachers" (p.12). His assessment is a result of spending more time with the pupils, he did not "Feel at home" (p.13) with the teachers. A characteristic of urban ethnography studies by the Chicago School was to close no door early which might be useful later in the study. Corrigan not only closes sources of information but identifies with the pupil position, as though he also is in conflict with the teaching staff. His priority is to reinforce and reproduce certain pupil opinions, such as that school teachers are the common enemy. He considers his personal biography plays an essential role in his field relations, "I was going to have to use a lot of the insight gained from my own adolescent experience" (p.13). Personal biography is an important feature of qualitative research especially when studying adolescents. However, researchers should ensure that they do not trace their biography over what they discover during the inquiry. Such biographic influence casts doubt upon the reliability and validity of the study at two levels: firstly, the influence of the researcher in guiding the informants in the field, secondly, during the writing up process the researcher's categories and theory take priority rather than the participants' relations, practices and rituals.

Corrigan did not carry out participant observation in his study because he estimated that he was too tall in comparison with small adolescent boys. He restricted his data collection to questionnaires and interviews. He points out, "Unobtrusive participant observation by hanging around on a corner with them was simply impossible." (p.14). The assertion that Corrigan's case study represents an account from within a pupil culture is extremely doubtful. His inability to establish participant

observation does not detract from the conclusions of the study, but do cast a shadow upon the assertion that Schooling the Smash Street Kids is a qualitative analysis. He states,

"Neither inside or outside school was it possible for me to use the best method of gaining information. I had to use alternative techniques So I administered a questionnaire myself to groups of boys in both schools. I gave the questionnaire to 48 boys from Municipal School and 45 from Cunningham I gave the questionnaire to boys, preceded by a patter which I hoped would allay some their fears." (p.14)

He concludes that this "Importantly" (p.15) gave the boys "More confidence" (p.15) by allowing the pupils to fill "Them in with their mates" (p.15). Such claims further emphasise the dubious validity of Corrigan's data and the reliability of his research method, particularly when he says "I had no clear idea of the precise nature of my research" (p.12). The statement not only reveals a rather unprofessional methodological approach to research but shows his inability to carry out a qualitative study under proper control. A specific feature of qualitative case studies is that the process of change or shift of focus, can be built into the field methods. However, no excuse can be given for the loose strategies employed in Corrigan's book. Interviews are conducted at only one school, he did not interview any boys from Cunningham School because he had created a division between the school authorities and himself soon after entering the field.

2.6 Peter Woods: The Divided School

Woods (1979) employs a similar qualitative method to Lacey, Hargreaves and Willis but he has a different orientation due to his micro theoretical concern with symbolic interaction. His interest in symbolic interaction leads him to discuss schooling processes which previous qualitative studies had not addressed. Woods' method is teacher focused, but unlike Lacey or Hargreaves he does attempt to concentrate equally on staff and pupils. The particular interests which direct his fieldwork are meanings, symbols, adaptations, negotiations and regulations of the social context of schooling. Woods [Ibid.]

assesses his method, "I preferred to think of myself as an involved rather than as a participating observer" (p.26). This description contrasts with his more recent assertion that his analysis is ethnographic. (Woods, 1985 p.54).

He did not directly take on a teacher role within Lowfield School like Lacey or Hargreaves but Woods (1979) states that he "Helped out with supervision" (p.261), which assumes a teacher-like status. Similar to Hargreaves he specifies the difficulties of role conflict in conducting qualitative observation. He notes that the number of role conflicts were as follows, pupil counsellor, staff counsellor, secret agent, educational specialist, substitute member of staff, and fellow human being. (p.261-262). He maintains that he managed to conduct close qualitative observation with both staff and pupils "I felt very much involved in the scene and in the action" (p.262). Without wishing to deny the depth of his observation there are a number of points which he raises that suggest his "ethnographic ease" lay with the teachers rather than with the pupils. Woods [Ibid.] claims, "At least we can identify more readily with teacher culture. The road to understanding is a longer one with pupils." (p.265). He emphasises how he was able to "Forge close ties" (p.264) with different teachers to secure maximum ease within the teacher context of involved observation. However, he neglects to specify how he managed to secure trust with the different pupil groups. In fact Woods [Ibid.] argued against the Headmaster, "He tried to persuade me to travel to school on the school bus" (p.262). He admits there was much room for role conflict between on the one hand travelling on the school bus at the Headmaster's request as a possible force for order, and on the other hand, his own research interest in identifying the cultural patterns of pupils at a much more personal level. This instance reveals how he tries to move in and out of both the teacher and pupil worlds, while at the same time maintaining an overall position representing adult responsibility at the teacher level. He did not carry out an ethnographic study of pupil groups inside or outside the school. His use of methods such as symbolic interaction can

be praised for their sensitivity to the subjects under study. However, his particular use of these qualitative methods can be criticised due to a latent naivety.

Woods [Ibid.] argues,

"The company of like minded fellows helped to put them (pupils) at their ease As long as my interventions were not too intrusive, it might facilitate the establishment of their norms, and I might become privy to their culture, albeit in a rather rigged way." (p.265)

This type of covert method of observation and interview is inconsistent in his study because he did not develop close ethnographic relations with the pupils of Lowfield. There is no account of how he was able to develop the relations with the pupils. To claim that he could obtain confidential data by "just letting" pupils speak, especially in his presence, is a central contradiction in his method because he did not create a relationship within which personal exchange of information is possible.

At the meeting place of theory and method Woods [Ibid.] shows great clarity when assessing qualitative ethnography, "Too much pre-formulated theory at the start can prejudice the outcome of ethnography." (p.269). He recognises that the qualitative field worker may be dulled by too much exposure to theory before entering the field. Woods [Ibid.] is honest in admitting,

"I lean towards functionalist theory which points to the interdependence of systems and institutions in a mutually supportive and ongoing process." (p.18)

He develops a typology of pupil, adaptations which are elaborated by Merton's analysis of anomie, and informed by Goffman's interpretation of negotiation. This model of pupil interaction goes further than previous accounts and has the advantage of not being based upon Cohen's theory of subculture.¹⁰ However, the model is rather consensual and restrictive, the means and goals determine the pupils' every

possible action. The Mertonian theoretical framework elaborated with symbolic interaction cannot deal adequately with the contradictions of class, race and gender which the pupils bring to the school. Too much emphasis or "strain" is on maintaining the wholeness of theory to the detriment of participants relations, practices and rituals.

2.7 Stephen J. Ball: Beachside Comprehensive

A link between the educational studies of Woods (1979) and Ball (1981) is that their case studies of secondary schooling are based upon symbolic interaction. It is debatable how much symbolic interaction influenced Ball because there is a difference between on the one hand the study Beachside Comprehensive and on the other hand, Beachside Reconsidered¹¹ (1985) reflections on a methodological apprenticeship: the latter appears to be more symbolic interactionist than the former.

The Beachside study is in direct line of continuity with the earlier studies by Lacey and Hargreaves, particularly because Colin Lacey¹² was his supervisor. Hence, his methodological techniques are like those of Lacey and Hargreaves, that is, participant observations of the school system starts from the teacher position. Ball (1981) begins,

"My participation in the daily life of the school, apart from observing of lessons, etc., was by supply-teaching in the first year of field work plus four periods of timetabled teaching, and three periods of timetabled teaching in the second year of field work. I also accompanied forms on school visits, went on one school trip, invigilated in exams, took registers for absent teachers, played in the staff v. pupils cricket match, and so on ... I also spent some time in the Beachside community, but this was limited by the fact that I did not live in the immediate vicinity of the school. (p.xviii-xix).

He addresses the methodological issues of conducting a qualitative study, such as contact, acceptance and trust only from the position of the teachers. Ball (1985) discusses how friendly contact was made with certain teachers¹³ and close

relationships were established, while more formal relations were kept with other members of the teaching staff. There is nothing in the methodological account about how the pupils saw this participant observation or how he attempted to make friendly contact with adolescent boys and girls. In fairness to him he does state that, at the request of the publisher, he cut out almost the whole section of a chapter dealing with the social lives of the fourth and fifth year pupils (1985, p.92). The missing sections in his methodological account are important, particularly when Ball (1981) claims,

"The study seeks in part to describe and understand the social system of the school in terms of the actors' interpretations of the situation The study addresses the task of placing the classroom perceptions and interactions of teachers and pupils within a wider social context. (p.xvii).

There is little wrong with his description of participant observation from the teachers' perspective. However, he implicitly suggests that participant observation was achieved with the other actors i.e. the pupils without saying how the technique was applied. Furthermore, he argues that the world outside the school is central to the understanding of interaction inside the school. But where is the data on pupils' leisure activities? or why the methodological account of relations with pupils is so general?

He presents a complex analysis of classroom perceptions, relations and interactions between teachers and pupils, an analysis which is guided by his two major interests - mixed ability and banding. The considerable subtlety and careful interpretation of school processes are unfortunately linked to a limited understanding of the pupils' own cultural identification. He applies concepts which are functionalist, using "second order constructs" (1981, p.xviii) to define processes outside school, to support his conclusions reached inside the school. This occurs through his acceptance of three studies which describe the effect of the leisure practices of pupils on their school careers. The studies are Cohen (1955), Sugarman (1967), and Murdock and Phelps (1972, 1973), and the

two major concepts are subculture and youth culture.

Lacey (1981) in the foreword to Beachside Comprehensive announces the importance of the concept of subculture.

"Ball found that the broad banding of ability within Beachside Comprehensive school had produced a sub-culture polarisation similar to that found in previous studies of secondary modern and grammar schools. Making use of the findings and conceptual frameworks of these earlier studies, Ball is able to 'fine tune' his investigation and point up fascinating differences in the more complex process of sub-culture formation and polarisation within the comprehensive school." (p.xiii)

He emphasises the continuity between the earlier studies and Ball's more recent contribution: indeed the continuity is, that the concept of subculture is not critically discussed. Ball (1981) neglects to refer to Mannheim (1965) and Downes (1966) or make any criticism of Cohen's concept and states, "Cohen makes the point in his study of delinquent boys that a group being is necessary if a subculture is to develop." (p.258). In the first section of this chapter it was pointed out that Cohen was a theorist; for empirical evidence he relied on the urban ethnographic studies by members of the Chicago School. Cohen's theoretical analysis is particularly weak with respect to local groups, gang or subculture formation because he did not directly observe adolescent groups.

Ball [Ibid.] accepts the primary argument within Cohen's concept of subculture,

"That is to say, a crucially necessary condition for the development of a sub-culture is the existence of a group of people facing the same problems of adjustment." (p.259)

In earlier sections of this chapter we point to the psychological and psychoanalytic basis of both the American and the British concepts of subculture. The term 'problems of adjustment' functions to define an inner state in working class children. The proletariat suffer problems of status deprivation because they do not belong to the bourgeoisie. He reproduces and reinforces the Lacey and Hargreaves acceptance

of Cohen's analysis of deviance and schooling.

In Beachside Comprehensive there is no analysis of the meaning of pupil engagement with youth culture. Ball (1981) supports Sugarman's understanding,

"For many of the pro-school pupils, involvement in the adolescent sub-culture required a considerable diversion of time and energy from school work, but for the anti school pupils it also provided an inversion of the related values of academic achievement and conformity to rules." (Sugarman, 1967:151) (p.113)

He augments Sugarman's thesis with the interpretation of youth culture by Murdock and Phelps (1973). They criticise Sugarman for the misleading conception that youth culture is a homogenous set of symbols. However, Murdock and Phelps (1972) produce an equally functionalist and oversimplified interpretation of youth cultural relations and practices according to which working class youth are involved in "street culture" and middle class youth are involved in "pop media culture". Ball questions the assumptions of Murdock and Phelps but finally applies Sugarman's thesis to working class pupils who are disruptive and Murdock and Phelps' thesis to middle class pupils who like "pop" but are not against the school. Overall, the misleading use of different concepts applied to half situations serves to reveal Ball's limited understanding of pupils' youth cultural practices, position and relations.

Lacey, Hargreaves and Ball admit that their respective studies pinpoint the extremes of pupils' cultures, pro or anti school groups but a problem remains, a significant number of pupils are not accounted for. It is a matter of further research not only to investigate "conformist" and "resistant"¹⁴ pupil groups but to carry out intensive fieldwork on relationships between and within different pupils groups both inside and outside the school context. Ball has achieved much through making use of the findings and conceptual frameworks of earlier studies by Lacey and Hargreaves. However, the impact of his study is limited for two reasons. Firstly, the uncritical reproduction of the functionalist concepts of

subculture and youth culture. Secondly, the omission of ethnographic fieldwork on the pupil groups within the informal school spaces and the context of pupil culture outside the school.

2.8 Summary

The six educational case studies discussed apply and develop qualitative research methods¹⁵. The method of Lacey and Hargreaves was participant observation from the teacher perspective of the schooling process, they produced functionalist interpretations of the school as a social system. The studies by Corrigan and Willis were accounts of and from the pupil perspective, with minimal empirical concentration on the teaching staff. Corrigan's study was not based on participant observation, data was obtained through the methods of the questionnaire and interview. The major importance of this study is as a professional marker for future researchers to consider before they enter field relations. Willis' method was ethnographic, producing a detailed analysis of the boys' counter school culture as they moved to the factory to encounter shop floor culture. The theoretical influence of cultural marxism is predominant in the selection and interpretation of data by Willis. The respective studies by Woods and Ball use the methods of involved observer and participant observer, although in more recent papers both suggest their methods were more ethnographic. Woods' account of his research method is ambiguous, particularly in relation to the pupils. He claims to have achieved a close relation with pupils which permits him to take a back seat role in discussions. However, there is little intimate information from pupils and he provides no account of how he established such a close relation. Ball's account of his method reflects the tradition of work upon which his case study is based. He considerably advances the Lacey and Hargreaves approach towards studying secondary schooling, while at the same time reproducing the major flaws of the subcultural approach.

The fundamental methodological criticism of each case

study, is the missing account, namely how pupils negotiate, understand and work with the participant observer. The qualitative method of each study is explained through the position of the observer, teacher and school relations. The absence of the pupil perspective is crucial only because each researcher claims to have achieved close contact with pupils, allowing them access to the pupils' confidence.

The Manchester studies have had significant influence in establishing qualitative research, particularly participant observation as a valuable method to investigate secondary schooling. A central issue in each of the six case studies discussed concerns the role of the observer, as Frankenberg (1963) argues,

"A central paradox of the participant observation method is to seek information by not asking questions." (p.22)

The studies by Lacey, Hargreaves, Willis and Corrigan have been criticised by feminist researchers because the focus is only on boys. This omission is a weakness not because there is no consideration of women, since these studies were located in single sex male schools, but because the female presence is itself invisible.

3. CULTURAL STUDIES OF YOUTH: the Centre for Contemporary STUDIES

3.1 Introduction

It is remarkable that the sociological studies so far reviewed have paid little attention to the significance of style for youth, or to the significance of class location for the activities, interactions and meanings created by youth. In other words, little significance has been given to an active concept of culture. It is of equal interest that the studies for which the CCCS is renowned are based upon secondary data and none are concerned with the school. However, we are reviewing the work of the CCCS because of their theoretical insistence upon ethnography as a technique that allows access

to the intentions, practices and rituals of youth. In short, the CCCS revitalised the concept of subculture by inserting the concept into a Marxist framework. This review will be critical of their revitalised concept of subculture and its relation to the CCCS concept of ethnography.

This section will not be an exhaustive account of the C.C.C.S's¹⁶ interpretation of youth, but a selective reading of the position elaborated in their Resistance Through Ritual (1975). There are a variety of interpretations of youth subcultures within Resistance Through Ritual because numerous authors contributed.¹⁷ The intention is to focus on the major theoretical chapter: 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class', and to specify the Centre's unique approach to ethnography.

3.2 The Making of the Centre

The location of the Centre within the intellectual tradition of English Literature is fundamental to an understanding of its theoretical developments and methodological procedures. The Centre has non-sociological origins, and it is of importance that it took an oppositional stand to sociology.

Hall (1980) claims that the Centre decided to 'break with sociology' because the predominance of functionalist theory had not only displaced the social from sociology but, "Its premises and predispositions were highly ideological" (p.20). The "break" became evident after the Centre established its journal in 1972, Working Papers in Cultural Studies.

A primary motivation of the Centre was the establishment and development of its own intellectual field. Hall [Ibid.] states that it was threatened on many different sides, and that consequently reaction was defensive. He emphasises that the Centre was fighting an intellectual battle singlehanded. However, he does not tell the full story. He omits any mention of the sociological traditions previous to structural functionalism, such as the Chicago School, which were capable

of cultural and structural sensitivity towards their subjects.

To understand the C.C.C.S. perspective(s) within Resistance Through Ritual it is important to identify the influences which made that position possible. The guiding ideas of the Centre's approach¹⁸ were derived from three sources, namely,

- (a) English Literature typified by Richard Hoggart
- (b) Marxism as interpreted by Raymond Williams
- (c) History through the eyes of E.P. Thompson.

The elements unifying the three was the legacy of the Leavisite tradition. As Hall [Ibid.] states, the C.C.C.S. developed a radical analysis of popular cultural forms by deploying literary criticism to read,

"The emblems, idioms, social arrangements, the lived cultures and languages of working class life, as particular kinds of text, as a privileged sort of cultural evidence" (p.18)

This led the Centre to a Leavisite and Marxist analysis which concentrates on the very Englishness of English working class culture, seeking paradoxically both to hold and to change working class tradition. The Marxist analysis contained within Resistance Through Ritual attempts to restore the creativity of human agency. In an Occasional Paper Critcher (1973) specifies the three areas, English Literature, Marxism and History, and the three intellectuals, Hoggart, Williams and Thompson, who provide the abstract arguments to construct the theoretical concept of culture within Resistance Through Ritual. He states,

"Culture (Williams, 1961) rather than leisure is the starting point. A whole range of political familial and recreational activities are read for values initially in a way which owed much to literary criticism (Hoggart, 1958) but which has now been elaborated and even extended to social history (Thompson, 1963). Culture is essentially the creation of meanings, symbols and institutions which serve this purpose are initiated or appropriated as expressions of group identity. Culture is also inseparable from class as a 'whole way of life', in Williams phrase it gives expression to the sense of shared experience which constitutes class consciousness." (p.4)

On the basis of Thompson's (1963) classic work The Making of the English Working Class, the C.C.C.S. was able to make an analysis of class cultures and ideologies which stressed historical agency, distinctive class formation and collective experience, rather than economic determinism.

Through understanding the meanings of ways of life Thompson brought activity and practice into the analysis of class culture. The C.C.C.S. developed an interpretation of class culture as actively and creatively engaged upon struggle. This interpretation was the result of an important change, when Hall introduced the classical Marxist question of 'base' and 'superstructures'. Hall (1980) asserts "The metaphor was a highly significant moment which had a formative impact on the Centre's work" (p.25). The various interpretations¹⁹ of youth subculture in Resistance Through Ritual represented a new Marxist analysis, based on a particular reading of Gramsci.

A significant argument throughout Resistance Through Ritual is that cultural responses, such as youth style are related to questions of class formation and the construction of hegemony. The Centre insert(s) youth subculture as a subordinate group within a subordinant class into key institutions and structures. The Centre claims that its analysis is adequate to interpret whether youth subcultures support or resist the power and the social authority of the dominant order, and asserts, furthermore, that the collective experience and potential cultural responses within working class culture could be conceptualised as creative and relatively autonomous. At the cultural level youth subcultures take up Marx's dictum of the making of culture but not under the circumstances of one's own choosing. C.C.C.S. theory at a cultural level produces active class struggle, in which youth subcultural groups act out the contradictions of their parent culture by means of resistance through rituals.

Culture is defined in Resistance Through Ritual by Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts (1975)

"To refer to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give expressive form to their social and material life experiences" (p.10)

The Centre emphasises Thompson's (1963) interpretation of culture as meaning the practice and struggle of lived experience. The Centre's analysis of culture only occurs at the level of class culture, to be more specific working class culture. There is no comparison or contrast with middle class culture. There is a limited discussion on counter culture but this only serves to emphasise the problem and division between the features of subculture in contrast to counter culture. It is interesting to compare the Centre's notion of counter culture with Gramsci's idea of counter culture/ideology. For the Centre, counter culture is essentially middle class hippie culture supplemented with ideas of alternative communities, bourgeois individualism and intellectual class consciousness. Whereas for Gramsci counter culture is understood as the formation of strategies by the working class [organisations] to increase awareness of class consciousness in relation to capital and labour.

The Centre's theoretical definition of culture is all embracing but the substantive interpretation of culture is applied only to working class culture. The description of working class culture is at the level of conflict or opposition with the dominant bourgeois culture but the definition of culture refers to the relationships within social groups not between them. The Centre's analysis of culture is interwoven within and between the concepts of class struggle, subculture, cultural power and dominant and subordinated ideology. However, it is never quite clearly explained what precisely are the oppressive forms of culture which force working class culture to take the shape that it does. The analysis of working class culture is the Centre's theoretical interpretation of the meaning of class culture not a direct observation of class cultural practices. The Gramscian argument is presented i.e. subordinate groups are in opposition to dominant culture but such an explanation does not generate rules of method to

examine empirically how subcultures become cultures of resistance.

3.3 Philip Cohen: Subcultural Conflict and Working Class Community

The Centre's examination of youth culture was given concrete empirical and theoretical substance by Cohen, P's (1972) seminal paper "Subcultural Conflict and Working Class Community" in W.P.C.S.2 pp.5-51.

Cohen's paper was originally written in 1970. It derives empirically from his thorough-going ethnographic analysis of working class youth subcultures and gangs, in the West and East End of London. [See The Paint House, 1972]. It derives theoretically from his reading of the original French texts of Althusser and Levi-Strauss.

Cohen was a community activist in the 1960's and 1970's, consequently 'internationale situationniste' work is prominent in his approach. Unlike many of his contemporaries after 1968, he did not focus upon middle class forms of dissent but on working class forms of resistance.

Cohen's (1972) paper provided the C.C.C.S. with an initial interpretation of youth subculture and a possible guide for further research. He suggests three levels at which the analysis of subcultures could take shape, i.e.

- (a) The Historical - 'specifying the problematics of particular class fraction'
- (b) The Semiotic - 'youth subcultural subsystems of transformation and communications'
- (c) The Ethnographic²⁰ - 'an analysis of the way the subculture is actually lived out by those who are the bearers and supporters of the subculture.'

Cohen [Ibid.] argues,

"No real analysis of subculture is complete without all those levels being in place." (p.24)



There will be a discussion later of whether the Centre took up Cohen's suggestions for future research.²¹ The three levels are present within Cohen's paper, but in an underdeveloped empirical condition, and his analysis is given only at an abstract theoretical level.

Does the Centre's interpretation of youth subculture deal with each of the three levels? Or does the emphasis on literary criticism through semiotic analysis shift their examination away from direct social observation, to an emphasis on interpretation of meaning?

Many influences are present on Cohen's paper, for example, Marxism, Psychoanalysis, Historicism and Community Studies. The position of psychoanalysis is particularly influential in his analysis, and can be loosely compared to the psychological elements within earlier theories of deviant subcultures by Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960). In these earlier studies, frustration is conceptualised as underpinning the collective actions taken by youth; "reaction formation to create a subculture" by working class youth is defined as being aggressive. In contrast, Cohen's (1972) interpretations of the concept of subculture operates in an action-research framework, from the political understanding of a radicalising of the community studies approach.

There is a degree of historicism within Cohen's analysis, which appears in the correspondence he believes to exist between the current problems of the male East Ender and those experienced by the East Ender in the nineteenth century. He attempts to reduce the problem of historicism through his particular conceptions of community and territory which give creative agency to their members. But it is precisely his interpretation of community and territory which emphasise the features of his historicism. Namely, the male East Ender is characterised as unchanging through time.

It is this understanding of the maleness of subcultures, which lies at the centre of the feminist critique of the

C.C.C.S. gender-blind analysis of youth culture. McRobbie and Garber (1975), McRobbie (1980), Campbell (1981), McRobbie and Nava (1984), Griffin (1985).

At a cultural level male subcultural agents become "conscious agents" through their territorial actions: the actions may include explicit racist and sexist oppressive practices. [See Cohen, S. (1972/1980)].

Youth subcultures are harbingers, recreating new forms of solidarity albeit retrieving²² the old solidarities of the traditional neighbourhood, destroyed during post-war re-development.

Cohen laid the basic foundations for this male interpretation of subculture-territory-solidarity which was extensively elaborated by Clarke and Jefferson (1973) and in their respective occasional papers on skinheads and teddy boys.

The origin of the male interpretation in Cohen's argument is to be found within the formulations that the parent culture [male] generates the youth subculture [male]. A number of problems follow, such as, at what level is this parent culture? At the parent-familial level? At the parent class culture level? At the parent community level? Cohen (1972) suggests,

"That mods skinheads are a succession of subcultures which all correspond to the same parent culture which attempts to work out through a system of transformations, the basic problematic or contradiction which is inserted in the subculture by the parent culture" (p.23)

He applies the concept 'a system of transformations' but no rules or principles are made explicit, whereby this theoretical notion could be understood: without such rules the term remains at the level of a metaphor. In addition, there is the problem concerning the hypothesis that youth subcultures can achieve a magical integration with past forms of solidarity: how would it be possible to test this hypothesis.

A possible weakness in Cohen's interpretation stems from the ambiguous relationship between parent/family culture and class culture. Furthermore, he leaves little room for creative space within youth subcultures (which are supposed to possess a relative autonomy) when a subculture is defined by the contradiction of the whole class context, i.e. the parent class. Youth subcultures are denied real potential routes of action because subcultures are defined within leisure processes. Cohen [Ibid.] specifies that subcultures, "Attempt to realise but in an imaginary relation the conditions of existence" (p.24). This theoretical argument represents a direct Althusserian interpretation of the function of subcultures. In this framework an interpretation of youth subcultures cannot be further elaborated because the concept of subculture restricts analysis. Cohen [Ibid.] argues that subcultures, by "definition cannot break out of the contradictions derived from the parent culture" (p.25). This interpretation denies youth any creative act.²³ In fact, he argues further that, "The latent function of subcultures is this, to express and resolve albeit magically,²⁴ the contradictions which remain hidden or unresolved in the parent culture" (p.23).

The hypothesis is that youth subcultures can achieve a "magical" integration with the past forms of solidarity, through a re-focusing toward, and within the adult working class struggle. He appears to argue that youth subcultures have unfortunately not recognised the "real" class problems. There is confusion between on the one hand, subcultures as occupying potential counter hegemonic spaces with relative autonomy to determine their own struggle, and on the other hand, subcultures which are defined as impotent "in an imaginary set of relations" (p.25), suffering from false consciousness and misrecognition.

The reason for this ambiguity in Cohen's [and later the C.C.C.S.] interpretation is that youth subcultures are not located within the labour market and do not possess a primary economic position. The interpretation of subculture is located

within working class leisure, at a cultural level, rather than working class labour at an economic level. He makes an explicit division between the real relations - adult (male) struggle and the imaginary relations - youth (male) struggle, the latter create stylistic meaning rather than political meaning.

The fundamental difference between the C.C.C.S. and Cohen's work is at the practical level of organised and participatory working class politics. Generally, Cohen attempts to engage with a 'structure of representation' within a working class organisation, for example tenant associations, by using them as a base to illustrate the conditions of powerless expressed by subordinate groups. His work is empirical, showing a concern for practice and participation which is quite different from the C.C.C.S.'s approach of 'literary ethnography'.

3.4 Resistance: Through Ritual and Subculture

The Centre's methodological approach to youth subculture is defined as 'literary ethnography' because this method deals with preconstituted meaning as a text: direct empirical observation of social reality is not required. The priority of the Centre is to look at contemporary popular cultural forms through the critical approaches of literary studies.

The specific approach within Resistance Through Ritual is to read youth cultural style as a text, to interpret each youth style through its creation of meaning. Youth subcultures are read for their construction, re-construction and de-construction of possible meanings. The C.C.C.S. developed a different approach to the method of ethnography, which was oppositional to the current anthropological criterion of ethnography. The use of 'literary ethnography' alone to interpret social forms like youth subcultures presents a problem. The youth style is studied at a distance, not via close ethnographic observation but through media sources which have a predetermined quality. The interpretation of meaning, i.e. what the youth style represents is achieved through

semiotic analysis. In Resistance Through Ritual and in the occasional papers by Jefferson (1973), Clarke (1974), and Hebdige (1974a) on Teddy Boys, Skinheads and Mods,²⁵ there are no empirical observations of youth subcultures, but semiotic investigations into style.

The methodological technique of 'literary ethnography' is that whereby a researcher puts together an analysis by becoming totally immersed in how the object of study, youth subcultural style, is labelled presented and defined. This level of interpretation reads into youth style, in order to interpret, and then presents the relevant meanings the investigator has found. This approach has been criticised by Cohen (1972/1980) who asserts,

"Too much of the theory masks a curious value distortion. The subculture is observed and decoded, its creativity celebrated and its political limitations acknowledged - and then the critique of the social order constructed." (p.XXVII).

Cohen is right to acknowledge the Centre's over-preoccupation with theory but he fails to point out that the Centre does not concern itself with theoretical analysis at an interactional level, particularly with how youth cultural groups are formed and how each local group develops its stylistic practice of the wider youth cultural style.

The Centre deals with style as already labelled, without first hand qualitative investigation of its origin and social relations, within, and between, youth cultural groups. Such an analysis presents potential difficulties, especially when the C.C.C.S. moves the emphasis of their argument from the literary studies interpretation of meaning to the sociological context of social relations and practices without substantial empirical evidence (Filmer 1969).

The point is not that the theory developed by the C.C.C.S. is inconclusive or irrelevant; what is in question is the validity with respect to empirical investigation. The critical

point is reached when the C.C.C.S. moves beyond the literary studies boundary to make direct statements about the social context. Armed only with their 'literary ethnography' at an interpretative level, this approach possesses little substantial evidence to support the theoretical claims.

The major contribution the C.C.C.S. has brought to the youth question, is to place it on the map and systematise the topic as a field of academic discourse. Prior to the Centre's studies, working class youth had been predominantly presented as passive. The C.C.C.S. approach through literary criticism of sociological analysis presents a unique paradigmatic interpretation. The diversity of theoretical importations used by the Centre resulted in a highly intricate analysis. These were,

- (a) Style - defined by Barthes, is read as a text through the complex semiotic analysis to reveal hidden meanings.
- (b) Resistance²⁶ - initially elaborated by Althusser is understood as an activity which occurs in a site or space, such as a subculture, which holds the potential to create, re-create or win relative autonomy.
- (c) Bricolage and Homology - these two theoretical concepts derive from the work of Levi-Strauss; they were applied by the Centre to give a new and different understanding of how meaning and internal order are created and re-created within youth culture and youth cultural style.
- (d) Hegemony - first developed by Gramsci and later elaborated by Althusser. The Centre's application and refinement of the concept of hegemony could reveal how social struggle is an active engagement by class cultures in a dynamic relation between subordinate and dominant orders.

In Resistance Through Ritual the basic assumption is that youth cultural styles belong to working class youth subcultures, specifically deriving from a working class

experience. The variety of styles are interpreted as cultural political responses to particular class experiences. This raises the question of the level at which the analysis of youth subculture is being made. Is it leisure, work, school, home or community? Clarke (1982) suggests that the priority is given to leisure, he argues,

"Even if we accept that it is possible to read youth styles as a form of resistance, the Centre's claims that subcultures 'generate exclusively in the leisure sphere' consequently mean that the institutional sites of hegemony those of school, work and home are ignored." (p.19)

Leisure is defined in Resistance Through Ritual as an arena of space and time which constitutes a site of possibilities where working class youth subcultures may negotiate their own collective experience.

The C.C.C.S. definition of the concept of subculture represents a further addition to the ways in which the concept of subculture may be defined and applied. A fundamental and unchanging feature of the American functionalist, the British Community Settlement interpretation and the C.C.C.S. understanding of the concept of subculture is the function of leisure. Each of the three define the concept of subculture as a "reaction formation", where the creation of an identity is necessitated because of contact with dominant values which an individual does not possess. This issue is called the "problem-solving" difficulty, and the status induced frustration causes problems which are collectively worked upon by the youth subculture in the sphere of leisure. It is not clearly specified how the function of leisure operates, particularly with reference to how a subculture creates space or time to gain a relative autonomy. The C.C.C.S. concept of subculture defines youth as creating leisure based careers, Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts (1975) assert,

"The relation between class, and subculture has been in a more dynamic historical framework. The relations between classes, the experience and responses to change within different class fractions, is now seen as the determining level. However, the subculture is seen as one specific

kind of response, with its own meaning structure - its own "relative autonomy". Thus, the attempt to think the problem right through to the level of the social formation as a whole is done, not by repressing but by retaining what is specific about the intermediary concept of subculture." (p.35)

What is not specified by the C.C.C.S. is that the concept of subculture has meanings and relations other than a simple reference to leisure based careers for youth subcultural stylists. Priority is given to the subculture's possession of a meaningful style and artifacts rather than to the social relations and practices of class, gender or race.

In Resistance Through Ritual there is considerable emphasis upon youth cultural style as the starting point for analysis in the "ethnography" chapters. Do Jefferson, Clarke, or Hebdige work backwards by uncovering the class relations to detect the contradiction present in the parent culture, or can it be suggested that the Centre began with the formulation of the concept of subculture already defined in a relation of opposition? Although youth style is "ethnographically" traced to the youth subculture(s), the concept of subculture is defined at the outset in terms of a hegemonic relation to the dominant culture. The abstract concept of subculture is defined as oppositional, possessing potential strategies for resistance, rather than in terms for the youth cultural style.

There is no empirical observation of how youth cultural groups at an interactional level struggle to develop a culture of resistance²⁷ through youth style. The concept of subculture is located within the Marxist framework of subordinate and dominant culture. Subordinate cultures are placed against dominant cultures giving the abstract model movement and contradiction.

This is an Althusserian interpretation of class struggle which takes place on an ideological plane, where youth subcultures are defined through their "imaginary relations" and "magical functions" to the real conditions of their existence.

The crux of the Centre's argument is that subcultures are ideological sites/constructions which operate under and through hegemony. Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts (1975) argue that the process occurs

"By inserting the subordinate class into key institutions and structures which support the power and social authority of the dominant order."

Unfortunately, the subcultural strategies of youth are "pitched largely at a symbolic level" (p.47). Therefore, there is no subcultural solutions to working class youth unemployment, educational disadvantage and so on.

The primary difficulty with the C.C.C.S. concept of subculture is the way the interpretation of style moves from cultural to political, challenging bourgeois order but failing to challenge the material conditions of existence. Youth subcultures are defined as solving problems in imaginary ways. The theoretical function of subculture is "magically" to resolve contradictions which remain hidden in the parent culture. It would perhaps be better if we could consider "myths" as attempting to recognise rather than resolve the contradictions which are in the social structure.

The theoretical project of the C.C.C.S. work was to put an emphasis on lived cultures, through the study of youth subcultures. Using Levi-Strauss's concept of bricolage [the idea that objects can be re-ordered and re-contextualised to create new meanings] the C.C.C.S. brought creativity to youth subcultures which their members might partially determine their own lives through a relative autonomy. However, a youth subculture's interpretation of meaning, or the ability to re-order meaning, only concerns the symbolic context because the C.C.C.S. already define youth style as deriving from leisure based practices, not economic practices.

A parallel exists between the abstract Althusserian model and the Centre's methodological procedure of "literary ethnography"; neither is based upon direct social observation.

Indeed, the combination of Althusser's theory and the literary studies method questions the Centre's original aim i.e. to bring the "social" back to sociology because functionalist theory gives priority to abstraction.

The contributions to Resistance Through Ritual maintain that youth subcultures possess the power to challenge, resist and take over signs of conventional society and embody them in their own subcultural meaning to threaten the stability of "respectable society". Such an interpretation raises the question how far these "cultural penetrations" reach into bourgeois order. The capacity to re-define an object within society to challenge the everyday "normal" use of that object requires substantial and relentless upheaval. There are a number of theoretical leaps contained in Resistance Through Ritual, in particular the jump from the interpretation of symbols to the significance of shared symbols and practices.

The complex theoretical proposition of the Centre may be valid, but in sociology abstract models without empirical evidence must surely be of only limited use. The theoretical baggage of resistance carried by youth as the bearers of subcultural style is both too heavy a responsibility and precludes other explanations and descriptions of the displays of youth.

3.5 Dick Hebdige: The Meaning of Style or Subculture

Hebdige alone, as a member of the C.C.C.S. and a contributor to Resistance Through Ritual, has attempted to write for youth as well as to write about youth for an adult academic audience.

The work of Hebdige (1979) further elaborates the literary studies understanding of the concept of subculture in relation to youth style. Hebdige [Ibid.] suggests,

"The challenge to hegemony which subcultures represent is not issued directly by them. Rather it is expressed obliquely, in style." (p.17)

His concern is to establish a popular aesthetic and to show working class cultural practices within a framework of 'high culture'. One central problem in Hebdige's understanding of youth subcultural style, is that as a theorist he over-emphasises the political significance of style. This criticism should not blind us to the significant contribution his structuralist analysis has brought to the reading of youth culture.

A weakness in Hebdige's interpretation is the issue of how his structuralist theory could be tested. This problem relates to the general cultural studies approach to youth culture which examine only the authentic moment of the 'spectacular subculture's debut'. An omission from the cultural studies application of the concept of subculture, is the recognition that each past historical youth cultural style is also present on the street today. There exists no attempt, through this approach, to investigate how subcultural members make sense of their practice. Style is interpreted in isolation, away from the social context of its subcultural practitioners and performers. The social relations are not directly observed. No attempts are made to see how a style becomes diffused to a wider working class audience in regional communities. Such a criticism is important because of the Centre's assertion that youth subcultures possess the power to re-order meaning to threaten bourgeois society.

Hebdige's account of youth cultural style is a reading from secondary source²⁸ i.e. music press, television, records, radio, national press, books, fanzines and so on. His analysis is based upon an interpretation of style as a macro text, he does not consider the interactional issues of lived relations;²⁹ those who bear the style are social-structures. A feature of Hebdige's work which has been extensively criticised is his gender blind and masculine interpretation of youth cultural style. An issue which has received less attention is his analysis of the race-specific nature of most youth subculture. It could be argued that the gender-blind³⁰ / ethnic [black] interpretation of youth subcultures are not unrelated. The

public dominance of young black men over young black women³¹ would result in Hebdige omitting gender from his analysis.

Hebdige does not focus on the so called "counter cultures", such as the hippies, in contrast to the emphasis placed upon the difference between "counter culture" and subculture in Resistance Through Ritual (p.57-71). The definition of "counter-culture" is based on the possibility to create an "alternative" new type of community in contrast to the definition of subculture which does not incorporate this capacity. This division, however, is in opposition to the Centre's argument that working class subcultures possess the capacity to define and create their own cultural space. Is it "counter cultures" or subcultures that possess relative autonomy and for what purpose? Is the creation of an "alternative" type of community, resistant to bourgeois order? Does resistance to bourgeois society contain the potential to create a new type of community? Can "counter cultures" be defined as resistant when deriving from the bourgeoisie? Is such a strategy an alternative or an opposition?

The priority given to subcultural style as creative resistance aiming to define a social space, is a legacy of the Leavisite tradition of literary interpretation. It insists that creativity can only occur through small groups [youth subcultures] for reasons of creativity itself. However, as only a minority of working class youth enter subcultures, the Leavisite interpretation of working class culture is elitist; only those youths in subcultures are seen as the select groups who possess the "real working class creative potential to challenge bourgeois order." Filmer (1977) argues, "How can a common culture be safeguarded by a succession of minorities, even the totality of whose members are in no way coterminous with, nor claim representativeness of, the members of that common culture?" (p.73).

The Leavisite subcultural interpretation rests fundamentally upon a false dichotomy between youth who are: "Stylists" and "Style-less". The literary studies approach

places emphasis upon the potential resistance of those few working class youth involved in subcultural styles, while ridiculing the remaining working class youth as the "straights" or the "normals".

To dwell on this criticism would be unproductive as the Centre points out that youth subcultures represent a heightening of those features already present within working class culture. Working class youth are subject to the same repeated contradiction, therefore the majority of working class youth have the potential to take up youth cultural style. It is an unfortunate feature of the Centre's theory however that an insensitive and elitist [anti-Gramsci] division is created and elaborately extended (Hebdige, 1979) with respect to those working class youth who are defined as "style-less straights", in contrast to those working class youth who are treated as "heroes" for possessing style.

This interpretation results from the Centre's concept of subculture defined at the outset as a leisure based career within a Marxist framework and from its methodological technique of 'literary ethnography' which fails to observe directly the lived practices of youth cultural forms.

3.6 Summary

The C.C.C.S.'s application and development of the concept of subculture is very different from the previous approaches examined in the earlier sections of this chapter.

The Centre retains the "old clothes" of the concept of subculture i.e. Merton, Cohen, and Cloward and Ohlin, and supplement these with the "new clothes" of the concept of subculture i.e. Gramsci, Althusser, Barthes and Levi-Strauss. The American functionalist understanding of the concept of subculture was only partially criticised by the Centre, in fact, in many ways the theoretical explanation of the Centre have more features in common with the theoretical advances of the functionalist school of sociology than with the Chicago

School of empirical sociology.

The C.C.C.S. interpretation of youth subculture³² is built on the indigenous work of the Institute of Community Studies and the National Deviancy Conference. The particular sociological insight which the Centre elaborated came from the Leavisite Legacy, namely, the application of literary criticism to interpret and 'recast' working class cultural forms, relations and practices.

Both Hoggart and Hall³³ suggest that the Centre would be "crossing intellectual territorial boundaries" through the cultural studies approach. A possible consequence of the weakening of classification (Bernstein, 1977) between academic subjects is that a diversity of approaches begin to identify common ground. The investigation into youth culture by the Centre is particularly representative of this type of approach, where a range of differing theoretical inputs critically explores and elaborates a complex issue or problem.

The Centre in their elaboration of the Marxist base and superstructure metaphor created a macro theoretical model for the general reading of micro youth groups' styles. However, 'literary ethnography' is substituted for direct empirical observation as a means of obtaining evidence for their theory.

The purpose of this critical understanding and engagement with the Centre's contribution to the youth question, is not to disparage their subtle insights but to build upon their significant theoretical and methodological developments. The Centre For Contemporary Cultural Studies not only systematised the field of thought relating to youth, it recreated the discourse.

4. CONCLUSION: subculture and ethnography

This chapter began with an examination of sociological explanations of youth, where attention focused upon deviance and schooling because these are the only two significant areas

where systematic interpretations of youth culture exist. The aim was to describe theoretical constructions of youth especially the concept of subculture, and to examine the methods employed by researchers.

4.1 Theories of Youth Subculture

The Chicago School, as we have shown, did not elaborate theoretically the concept of subculture. The original application within the sociology of deviance derives from Cohen's (1955) functionalist theory of male delinquent subcultures. Cohen utilised and somewhat abused Merton's theory of anomie by applying the structural correspondence of differentiation within anomie to subculture. Cohen transferred the framework of Merton's theoretical arguments concerning cultural goals and institutional means to his development of the concept of subculture. Cohen redefined Merton's scale of 'individual adaptations' to mean a 'collective response' of aggression by working class adolescents. Cohen's concept of subculture results from a fusion of Merton's theory of anomie, with psychological theories of aggression. (Dollard et al, 1939).

From this perspective the collective response of 'aggressive behaviour' associated with working class youth is seen primarily as a function of status frustration (Merton, 1938, 1957) arising out of contact with middle class values. The class position of working class youth generates structural strain which causes the problems of status frustration. The concept of subculture is essentially functionalist and the theory is constructed with reference only to secondary sources. (from the Chicago School). Unlike functionalist theorists, the Chicago School did not directly contrast the normal with the deviant but sought investigation of relations, functions and meanings of small groups and gangs in their own terms and community processes. We have suggested that the Chicago School did not perceive deviance as exceptional; in fact most Chicago School studies interpret deviance as a normal part of the community. Bulmer (1984), Downes and Rock (1983).

Cohen (1955) is reluctant to acknowledge the influence of Durkheim and Merton, in the development of his concept of the delinquent subculture. Cohen's theory is based upon an interpretation of anomie, which supports his notion that the working class and the middle class are in opposition. This theory is derived from a reading of Whyte's (1943) Street Corner Society which posits a conflict of values between college and corner boys.

Mannheim (1965) states,

"Cohen uses certain fundamental notions as convenient assumptions and not as description of processes that have been actually observed." (p.511)

Cohen also assumes that the majority of working class youth automatically want to become middle class. Such a hypothesis may apply to the American working class youth but in Britain Goldthrope, Lockwood et al (1968) argued that the majority of working class youth wished to maintain their own values rather than adopt those of the middle class.

Cohen is unable to demonstrate how working class values are defined as delinquent or how middle class values are supposedly normal. In fact, Mannheim (1965) and later Downes (1966) suggest that Cohen's theory should be questioned because of its insistence upon the irrational, negative, non-utilitarian nature of working class gang delinquency. A central criticism of Cohen's concept of subculture, relates to the interpretation of gangs as suffering from normlessness. This analysis is not only sexist and class discriminatory but inconsistent with previous findings by the Chicago School which demonstrate empirically the complex divisions of labour, relations and values in working class groups.

The British concept of subculture in the 1950's and 1960's was, however, quite differently, defined as a sub set of values existing within the working class. Both the American functionalist and British approaches to subculture relate only to the working class. However, the British concept of

subculture is similar to the American in agreeing that working class youth who form collective responses, such as subcultures (or groups) are psychologically disturbed or inadequately socialised. In British sociology of the period a major influence was psychoanalysis, with particular reference to explanations of juvenile delinquency³⁴ (Bowlby 1946, 1953), (Friedlander 1947). The concept of subculture was embedded in the thesis of the deviant working class affectionless personality.

Downes (1966) hints at the psychological underpinning of the concept of subculture and acutely questions the application of American subcultural theory to Britain. Downes prepared the way for the development of a more indigenous and sophisticated British form of labelling theory.

The development of the concept of subculture by the CCCS within "Stencilled Occasional papers" and Resistance Through Ritual (1975) is essentially taken from Cohen, P's, (1972) interpretation of subcultural conflict at a community level. Resistance Through Ritual contains a variety of approaches. The first chapter by the editors provides the major theoretical contribution of the theory of youth subcultures, a highly intricate development of Cohen's original formulation. The concept of subculture is applied theoretically as a device within the complex Marxist base and superstructure problematic. Major Marxist theorists such as Althusser and Gramsci, and major structuralist theorists such as Levi-Strauss and Barthes are employed to re-define the concept of subculture as a potential space for youth as a creative agency to occupy.

The concept of subculture here refers to a location containing the possibility to create, re-create and win space offering a relative autonomy at an ideological level. The concept of subculture is not at an economic or political level because subcultures are defined as possessing only imaginary solutions arising out of their location within leisure rather than within labour processes. The subcultural response of youth is related to structural features of hegemony at the

level of class, culture and generation, but not to gender and race.

Hebdige's (1979) book redresses the neglect of race and black youth cultures and introduces an analysis of the race-specific nature of most youth subcultures. Unfortunately, Hebdige does not address either the position of women in subcultures or the double invisibility of black women.

The interpretation and application of the concept of subculture is predominantly masculine. McRobbie and Garber (1975), Sharpe (1976), McRobbie (1980), Davies (1985), Griffin (1985), Heidensohn (1985). Girls/young women may be referred to or partially included as members of a subculture but no priority or significance is given to women at either the empirical or theoretical level.

In the sociology of education the concept of subculture is differently elaborated through the construction of a theoretical model comprising two concepts, differentiation and polarisation. The overall conclusion suggests that within school polarisation between pro and anti pupil groups through the process of streaming creates school subcultures. The polarisation thesis originally developed by Lacey (1966) and Hargreaves (1967) has received further support in the empirical case studies of secondary schooling by Willis (1977), Corrigan (1979), Woods (1979) and Ball (1981).

The concept of subculture applied within the polarisation thesis is directly derived from Cohen's (1955) functionalist analysis of male delinquents. In the sociology of education, Aggleton (1984) has used the term 'subcultural experience' to refer to a site of social practice relatively free or "hidden from parental and teacherly surveillance" (p.240). Aggleton's application of the concept of subculture shows a shift towards the cultural Marxist (C.C.C.S.) understanding of the concept of subculture. Aggleton uses the concept of subculture not to refer to working class youth but middle class youth. This introduces a particular problem in

his definition of resistance. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies elaborated the concept of resistance to refer to working class youth subcultures, not to the practices of bourgeois youth in further education.

It is important to make clear, however, how the concept of subculture has changed definition and foci.

The Lacey (1966) application of the concept of subculture suggests that pupils who create a subculture do so in terms of the school's structural processes. The Cohen P's (1972) application of the concept of subculture suggests that youths who form subcultures are defined by their sheer distance from the school. This suggests a subculture can be created by youths within and outside the boundary of the school.

4.2 Qualitative Fieldwork Methods

The use of qualitative methods is fundamental to the research discussed.

The Chicago School developed urban ethnographic analysis because of Park's insistence that the researchers should be close to their subjects, as illustrated in Anderson (1923). An important question is whether the Chicago School were actually aware of their methodology. Did these researchers realise they were practising ethnography? (See introduction to Anderson 1923). Park (1916) firmly believed that the anthropological approach could be used in urban Chicago. The anthropological tradition can be seen in the studies produced at the University of Chicago in the 1920's and 1930's, in particular in the book by Palmer (1928) Field Studies in Sociology: a Student's Manual, which prepares the researcher for field relations [Palmer 1926, Shaw 1927].

There is considerable difference of method between the studies by Anderson (1923), Thrasher (1927), Shaw (1930), and Cressey (1932). These four studies have an ethnographic base but clearly specialise in different techniques within the

ethnographic approach. Anderson used his own experience of the hobo way of life to detail the culture of the homeless man. Thrasher derived data from a wide range of formal and informal sources. Shaw applied a cultural biographic approach to gain the 'delinquent's own story' in his (her) own words. Cressey used a combination of roles, the sociological stranger and the anonymous stranger.

These Chicago School studies show different field methods within an urban ethnographic approach. The priority set by the Chicago School was to collect rich qualitative data. This approach was significantly continued after the Second World War, by Becker (1951), (1953), and Polsky (1961), (1964).

British sociological research on deviance during the 1950's and early 1960's utilised a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods in a framework of community settlement analysis. The methodological accounts within these studies rarely offer either a description of the precise nature of the formal and informal relations between the researcher and the researched, or an account of the relative success or failure of strategies of access and contact.

In the 1950's the Institute of Community Studies established and made popular the British reputation for qualitative research strategies. The early publications of the I.C.S. display numerous anthropological references. However, a difference is apparent between the references to secure legitimation and the references which inform fieldwork procedure. [Willmott 1985] The I.C.S. did not carry out ethnographic studies of the community or use the method of participant observation; the two major methods developed and applied were the techniques of interviewing and questionnaires.

It is interesting to compare the implicit ethnographic approach of the Chicago School and the explicit assertion of the qualitative research technique by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. The concept of ethnography employed at the C.C.C.S., in the study of youth subcultures did

not require any substantial direct social investigation of such subcultures.³⁵ The C.C.C.S. introduced literary criticism as a tool to investigate social relations, practices and meaning. This method we have called "literary ethnography", rather than ethnography in the classical anthropological sense of living with a group of people to document and understand their culture. The studies of youth subcultures by Jefferson (1973), Clarke (1974) and Hebdige (1974a) were not ethnographically based upon direct qualitative observations of youth but on media sources, that is, the work was based upon secondary sources.

In the sociology of education the qualitative approach of ethnography has become an umbrella term to legitimate a disparate range of qualitative methods of research. Grimshaw, Hobson and Willis (1980) argue, "Ethnographic studies have come to be used more and more as a tool of mainstream sociological investigation" (p.73). Although there has been an increase in the number of ethnographic studies in the sociology of education there have been few such studies on pupil cultures. (See Turner³⁶ (1983).) There is further the question of the relation between ethnographic principles and methods in anthropology, and the ethnographic principles and methods in sociology. Over and above differences between ethnography and specific methods of the qualitative approach is a larger question that is the relation between ethnography and theory.

It may be that the rejection of structuralist theories of cultural reproduction, together with opposition to survey approaches is because both are seen as antithetical to approaches which celebrate active, creative, resisting practices of usually working class youth. It is a matter of some interest that this shift in methodology is not necessarily paralleled by fieldwork training.

The six³⁷ major case studies within the sociology of education (discussed in section three) have produced little substantive theoretical descriptions. This is in contrast to the ethnographies of classic anthropological studies which

produced elaborate and complex theories of meaning and culture. In sociology the relation between theory and ethnography has been very different from that in anthropology. Within the sociology of education the movement towards ethnography (or participant observation) has resulted in increasing the distance between macro and micro theory. The current emphasis upon micro practices disconnected from larger macro social structural concerns perhaps stems from the disillusionment with macro theory which developed during the 1960's and early 1970's. It even may be that in the sociology of education we are now entering a period of a new empiricism, this time characterised by qualitative rather than quantitative methods.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Park [1915]
2. American analysis of social class generally takes a more Weberian approach towards social stratification; the emphasis is upon status groupings rather than class functions.
3. Macalister Brew [1957].
4. Lambart has produced two papers from her unpublished thesis submitted to the University of Manchester in 1970, under the title 'The Sociology of an Unstreamed Urban Grammar School for Girls'. First, 'The Sisterhood', in Hammersley and Woods (1976) The Process of Schooling. Second, 'Expulsion in context: a school as a system in action', in Frankenberg (1982) Custom and Conflict in British Society.

Lambart's study was the only Manchester study not to be published. The Grammar school was called Mereside and it had important differences in comparison with Hightown and Lumley; Mereside was a girls' school and unstreamed. Discussing her method Lambart (1982) explains,

"We made participatory observation our main technique, since we were aiming 'to lay more emphasis on the micro-sociological study of particular schools and to concentrate on the behaviour of both teachers and pupils within these establishments'." (p.188)

She supplements her qualitative method with questionnaires, essays written by pupils, official school records and a small survey of the Mereside's house system carried out by sixth form girls.

In the two papers Lambart does not use the concept of subculture to describe the girls' relations and practices. In the first paper she uses the term 'the sisterhood' to represent the nature of the girl group. Unfortunately she reinforces Mays' (1954) moral thesis concerning working class youth and family deprivation when she argues that the sisterhood were "Acting as a substitute family." [Lambart (1976), p.154]. She goes into great detail to show the girls' strength, solidarity and group identity but her interpretation is firmly located in the male tradition of the sociology of deviance: namely, boys are on the street, girls in the home. Nava (1981). Where the girls display attitudes and actions which contradict the gendered model of "home and street" Lambart concludes that the girls are deviant and she interprets the girls' behaviour in terms of the male approach. This leads her to understand the girls' collective strength as unfeminine mischief and disrespectful in the same way as the model sees boys' anti school behaviour. What is missing from her analysis is a feminist understanding of the qualitative

relations, positions and practices of the girls' sisterhood.

In neither paper does she produce an account of how she made contact or was able to conduct participant observation with girls. She describes the formal processes of carrying out fieldwork but there is no presentation of how the social relations with girls or teachers were established.

5. In the chapter 'The Express Stream' Lacey does use the concept of subculture to refer jointly to middle class and working class pupil groups. However, he does not generally speak of middle class pupil groups as subcultures, instead he uses the term "clique" which is taken from Oppenheim (1955).
6. Introduction to Moral Education (1967) includes two chapters by Sugarman which reveal the division between youth culture and subculture. In chapter seven 'Mass Society and Youth Culture' he speaks only of youth culture. In chapter eight 'Home and School' he refers only to the concept of subculture.
7. Profane Culture published in 1978 is based on work for his Ph.D. thesis awarded in December 1972.
8. Ethnography for Marxists within the sociology of education has been appropriated as a method to demonstrate theory. Hargreaves (1982) has criticised the Marxist approach to structure and process within educational analysis. The major criticism is not the relation of theory and method but the procedures, principles and application of methodology. Further, Hargreaves and Hammersley (1982) criticise the C.C.C.S. approach.

"Their response is to discharge vast quantities of superficially persuasive rhetoric - a kind of C.C.C.S. "gas", as it were - which casts an imperceptible yet intellectually disabling cloud of dogmatism across the theoretical terrain." (p.140).

The rhetorical tone of their criticism of the C.C.C.S. is more a revelation about the academics who wrote in the paper, than a constructive analysis and interpretation of the C.C.C.S. theories and methods.

9. The lack of empirical studies upon young women within the sociology of education is now well documented, Deem (1978), Smart and Smart (1978), MacDonald (1980), McRobbie (1980), Campbell (1981). Two recent contributions to the growing literature are Davies (1984) Pupil Power and Griffin (1985) Typical Girls. Both studies use qualitative forms of observation.

Davies uses questionnaires and both structured and unstructured interviews to gain data. She also follows a group of girls within school using participant observation.

Davies' study is not an ethnography of an adolescent girl culture; in fact the empirical part of the book seems far too short, in its place is her account of previous interpretations of youth. However, she does provide a sensitive reading of the pupils under study and offers a new interpretation through her theoretical development of the concept of 'scripts'. Overall, her focus is upon girls, boys and teachers which reflects the strengths and weaknesses of the Lacey/Hargreaves model of participant observation within the process and structure of the school.

Griffin's study looks at young women's transition from school to the labour market; it is a close qualitative reading of a group of twenty five white working class girls. She states that her method "Did not involve true participant observation" (p.108). This suggests that her study is not an ethnography of a group of adolescent girls but a study of how she interprets the young women's particular issues through the rite of transition to adulthood. The strength of Griffin's interpretation is the way in which she describes, documents and engages with the young women's experience. The empirical data in the work section is more thorough than that on the school section. This possibly demonstrates how she became more readily accepted by the young women in her study.

A criticism that applies to both studies is that neither sufficiently deals with methodological accounts concerning contact and development of trust and respect. Entering the field often involves immense struggle and change for both the researcher and the researched. This criticism does not solely apply to Davies or Griffin but generally to educational case studies of secondary school and youth.

Finally, a further issue is that there exist few studies on black adolescent girls (or boys). Fuller's (1980) study 'Black girls in a London Comprehensive School' is an important article not only because of her ethnic focus but because she shows that girls can have a "positive identity as females" (p.57). Her study is of working class black girls and illustrates the processes of class, gender and race, in relation to sexist practices in the family and the school.

Fuller's girls were attempting to achieve social class mobility via acceptance of the market principle to achieve economic independence. Acceptance of educational qualifications was the route to a career offering financial independence from men. She asserts that the girls were attempting to escape class and ethnic patriarchal forms of sexist domination. She demonstrates how the girls had to fight and struggle with contradictory racial, class and sexist discrimination.

A central problem in Fuller's interpretation is her preoccupation with the concept of subculture. She attempts to show that the girls are a subculture but her

description reads like the 'forcing of a square peg into a round hole'. By claiming that the girls are a subculture she distracts attention from the girls cultural practices and her insightful analysis. The problems with Fuller's subcultural analysis emphasise many of the difficulties already discussed concerning the use of the concept of subculture.

McRobbie (1980) provides a critical analysis of the male interpretation of the concept of subculture, revealing both its gender bias and invisibility. Her arguments receive further emphasis from Heidensohn (1985) and particularly, Campbell (1981) who elaborates the problems in defining female deviance, and is critical of male theories applied to females calling them second rate theories for the second sex' and 'borrowings from the boys'.

10. Hammersley's (1985) research proposal concerning education continues to adhere uncritically to Cohen's (1955) concept of subculture.

11. Ball (1985) attempts to change the theoretical position of Beachside Comprehensive by suggesting in his methodological account, some five years on, that the book derives from a symbolic interactionist analysis. The two bibliographies are as follows:

(a) Beachside Comprehensive (1981)
Becker (1952), (1963), (1961)
Berger and Luckman (1967)
Goffman (1952), (1968)
Schutz (1972)

(b) Beachside Reconsidered (1985)
Becker (1964), (1960), (1968)
Bloor (1978)
Blumer (1976)
Goffman (1971)
Mead (1953)
Rock (1979)
Schutz (1972)
Schutz and Luckman (1974)
Wax (1952)

In Beachside Comprehensive there is little discussion of symbolic interaction, indeed it is not even listed in the index. Whereas, in the 1985 paper the editor's comment asserts, "Stephen Ball locates his research within that sociological tradition of empirical study which is founded upon symbolic interactionism." (p.69).

12. An interesting point concerning Ball's study of pupil polarisation is raised by Lacey (1982) who argues

"Stephen Ball, whose detailed study of a comprehensive school reveals a similar process, describes a more complex multi-stranded development with more extreme developments that he calls a contra culture." (p.173)

However, in reading Beachside Comprehensive I have been unable to locate Ball's systematic use of the term contra culture.

13. Ball's five major teacher informants were Mike, Roger, Gloria, Don and Terence.
14. When conducting educational research the importance of considering conflict and resistance within school and amongst pupil groups was pointed out by Waller (1932) from the University of Chicago.
15. An area of ethnography within the sociology of education not covered here is the ethnography of the classroom. This is because on consulting the literature, namely the studies of Hargreaves, Hestor and Mellor (1975), Delamont (1976), Hammersley (1976), Woods (1980), Atkinson (1981), Hammersley (1983) I found that the concept of subculture, the primary concern of this analysis, had been little used in the ethnography of the classroom.
16. C.C.C.S. or Centre is used here unless otherwise indicated to refer to a body of writings by members of the Centre published as books, working papers and occasional papers.
17. Contributors to Resistance Through Ritual, were as follows: Butters, Chambers, Clarke, Corrigan, Critcher, Frith, Garber, Hall, Hebdige, Jefferson, McCron, McRobbie, Murdock, Pearson, Powell, Roberts, Tivoling, Webster and Willis.
18. An additional influence upon the work at the C.C.C.S. was the National Deviance Conference which includes the work of Taylor (1968), Cohen, S (1972) and Taylor, Walton and Young (1973).
19. Resistance Through Ritual can be read as a British update of labelling theory, with a particular interest in the question of structure and agency in sociological theory.
20. In Cohen's (1972) original paper the third level is phenomenological. In discussion, Cohen suggests that an ethnographic method could describe at a phenomenological level how "subculture" is lived out by those who are the bearers and supporters of the subculture.
21. There is little direct social observation in Resistance Through Ritual; the method used is "literary ethnography". However, the Centre did engage in direct qualitative analysis, for example, the two major studies by Willis (1972) (1977) used the field method of participant observation.
22. This raises important questions: what does it mean to preserve, destroy, restore, or even reclaim any type of cultural form? What establishes the past in the present? And finally, what are the principles and regulations of this particular form of transmission?

23. Youth cultural groups are defined through their supposed mis-apprehension of class relations. According to the C.C.C.S. interpretation, youth suffer false consciousness because they have not understood the ground rules of their own subordination.
24. The concept of "magical relations" applied by Cohen and later in Resistance Through Ritual, is an adaptation of Levi-Strauss' conception of myth.
25. Cohen (1972) argues that "parka's" and "crombies" were youth cultural styles developed from mods and skinheads. This idea receives further elaboration from Clarke and Jefferson (1975) and in Resistance Through Ritual. It has to be pointed out that "parka's" and "crombies" were types of coat worn by mods and skinheads, not new youth cultural styles.
26. "Resistance" is defined as creating, winning, and redefining space, both at a physical and imaginary level.
27. The concept of resistance has been applied in a rather haphazard manner, with the result that resistance as a concept has lost specific meaning.

Two important issues not covered by the concept of resistance are, firstly, how and in what way are the "resistors" conscious of the process? and how can this be measured? and, secondly, accepting that there is evidence of resistance, what information exists concerning the rituals of consent?

28. Hebdige (1979) did not carry out a qualitative study of youth groups, although in discussion he argued that his method had a biographical context and approach, somewhat like Becker's (1963) study.
29. A criticism of the opening theoretical chapter in Resistance Through Ritual is that it operates with a "blanket" conception of class. What is not specified at the level of class, gender or race is the reference of the concept of community and cohesion which is being destroyed or recovered. The position in Resistance Through Ritual is that youth subcultures are re-emphasising their class position which has been misplaced.

Cohen's (1972) original thesis applied only to mods and skinheads. Hebdige (1979) and Brake (1980) place punk within Cohen's model of subcultural conflict within a working class community. However, they give no detailed description of how punk functions to "retrieve" elements of an adult working class culture. Cohen's model cannot explain punk as a youth cultural style and practice, because it is more politically orientated than previous working class youth cultures.

The limitation in Cohen's model corresponds to the problem in Resistance Through Ritual with respect to the division

between, on the one hand, working class subcultures as cultures of resistance and, on the other hand, middle class counter cultures as alternative cultures.

At the level of practice, punk in the late 1970's was opposed to the rock-a-billy rebels, and represented working class youth subcultures in conflict. However, punk was not in opposition to the "new Ted". As Johnny Rotten of the Sex Pistols frequently asserted, the true enemies were the hippies. Punk was in opposition to rock-a-billy at the level of music and style. Fundamentally, punk represents an idea and an attitude in opposition not only to previous music and style but, also at a political cultural and intellectual level.

30. See McRobbie (1980), Davis (1985), Griffin (1985).
31. See Fuller (1978), (1980).
32. In discussion Cohen has suggested that he presented an ambiguity between parents, youth, family, adult working class culture and community which cannot resolve the contradictions of class relations.
33. Under Hall's guidance the C.C.C.S. focused upon popular culture through a Marxist lens and thus radicalised popular culture in a more progressive manner than it had under Hoggart.
34. A key text which I have not discussed is Burt (1925) The Young Delinquent. This book held an important and influential position in the field of deviance, and in fact represents a tradition in itself, with particular reference to psychoanalytic theories of deviance.
35. The work of Willis (1972), (1977), (1978) has always been based upon empirical observation of youth groups in contrast to most studies of youth carried out at the C.C.C.S. which are biased towards the use of secondary sources.
36. Turner's (1983) investigation into pupil culture begins by critically assessing the theoretical and educational value of both the subcultural approach and the adaptation model. He suggests that previous educational studies upon youth are empirically weak, in respect of close qualitative observations. Turner's account is one of the few existing case studies on pupil groups; however, due to problems of access he confined himself to sixth form groups and eventually selected only five pupils from the fifth year for intensive study (p.161).
37. An interesting piece of qualitative research which stands between the studies of education and deviance is Knuckle Sandwich, Robbins and Cohen (1978). They became "advisors" to different sections of the youth and adult population concerning a specific community issue. Both the researchers and the researched here are at the levelling

base of a practical struggle: the possibility of making something out of the old Black Horse public house. Robbins and Cohen describe the relations and practices of different sections of youth with respect to different agencies and institutions as the community project evolves.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROTAGONISTS OF THE NARRATIVE

1. A Case Study of Youth Groups in Secondary Schooling

1.1 Initial Research Intention and Site

The original intention of this study was to obtain a deeper understanding of the role and practice of youth groups in secondary school by means of an intensive case study of one school. Initially contact was made with a number of London schools but after careful consideration the site was changed. Most ethnographic or case studies of secondary schools are carried out in urban areas and as a consequence such schools, their internal groupings, formal and informal practices have perhaps introduced unwittingly a bias in our understanding. A decision was made to site the study in the south of England where the nearest large town and railway station is fifteen miles from the school. The school in question has a mixed social class composition and was chosen because I knew it very well. I was known to the school authorities, but because of age differences I was not known by the groups I intended to study. I thus had the advantage of considerable first hand knowledge of the local culture, the economy of the region and the school to which I have given the pseudonym of Marshlands Comprehensive¹.

The school was founded early in the reign of James I as a Hospital school. During the nineteenth century Marshlands became a Grammar school but after the 1944 Education Act it became a mixed Secondary Modern, and finally in the 1970's Marshlands became a Comprehensive.

The area around Marshlands is heavily dependent on the seasonal tourist industry, agriculture and distant large towns to offer employment. The region has a considerable level of unemployment, especially amongst the youth labour force, a reflection of the economic crisis of the 1980's (Gleeson 1989).

The pupil intake of Marshlands is overwhelmingly white, equally divided between working class and middle class, with very few pupils, if any, from ethnic minorities. An important characteristic of the social class structure of the area is that the people have been established in the vicinity for a long time; teachers stated that they had taught some of the pupils' mothers, fathers, aunts and uncles.

The school is one of the largest Comprehensive's in the county with over two thousands pupils. Marshlands was explicitly streamed as a Modern school but when it became a comprehensive classroom streaming was no longer immediately apparent from the titles of forms [for example A, B, C, Remedials] as these titles were replaced by the initials of teachers.

The focus of this case study is on the fifth year boys and girls who number three hundred and ten.

1.2 Approach

The fieldwork at Marshlands Comprehensive began in the Autumn term, winter 1980, and was concluded by the summer term 1981. The ethnography of the youth cultural groups was not finished till the late summer of 1982. The fieldwork had its origin in part of the work involved in the presentation of the dissertation which was a part requirement of the examination for the M.Sc. Sociology with special reference to education (1981). During the first year of the Ph.D. the collection of ethnographic data was formally finished and the process of the cassette transcription and the review of the field diaries began.

The year before I entered the Institute of Education, University of London to study for a higher degree I was employed as a manager of a record shop in the West End of London. The experience gained while working in the record shop, especially of different musical styles, was to prove a highly valuable asset in relations with pupils.

The original general aim of the study was an examination of the context of youth culture and secondary schooling, with respect to the relationship between youth cultural style and pupil commitment to the formal schooling process.

The initial sample design of the study reflected the current problems in the sociology of education; youth unemployment and the growth of the new "vocationalism". As a consequence, two groups of pupils were to be selected, those who had decided to leave at statutory age and those who had decided to stay on at school.

The samples were to be of two male and two female groups [sixteen individuals]. The division between the "leavers" and the "stayers" would provide an opportunity for a comparative study. It was expected that such a design would throw some light upon such issues as the influence of youth cultural style upon the pupils' commitment to school, to academic achievement and upon job choice and aspirations. The original design would accommodate both my own research interest and a current priority in the sociology of education.

The choice of fifth year pupils was important because it had been suggested in previous accounts that this year was the prime period of pupil subcultural polarisation. The affect of the youth group would be at its maximum and on the basis of subcultural theory we should expect to see "resistant" and "conformist" pupils in opposition.

I formally made contact with the Headmaster at Marshlands Comprehensive and he agreed to my research proposal. The Headmaster referred the discussion of further details to the respective heads of fifth year boys and girls. The primary purpose of the first day in school was to meet the Heads of Department in each subject and to circulate an outline of the research aim and strategy to all teaching staff.

This research plan was not initially based on an ethnographic approach. The field methods and sampling were

influenced by previous case studies of secondary schooling in the sociology of education, Lacey (1966), Hargreaves (1967), Willis (1977), Corrigan (1979) and Woods (1979).

However, after the first week in Marshlands Comprehensive there was a major methodological change. The reason for this change of research method was that I could see various youth groups in the school whose practices seemed to be visibly at variance with expectations derived from the literature. I could see that certain territories in the school were patrolled by youth groups with their own specific style [for example "mods"]. Furthermore, these groups and several other groupings in the school contained some of the "ablest students" in terms of examination success. Two days spent in the playground and informal school spaces, brought to my attention a "criminal" group who were a formation isolated from other groupings of pupils [Descriptions of these specific groups follow later].

It seemed that here was a situation of educational and sociological interest. The school presented the possibility of examining in some detail the relationship between groupings of youths whose style, practice and rituals had their basis not in the school but in a context and culture external to the school. Further, it was clear that there were some groupings of pupils whose practices were clearly generated by the school itself, rather than by the context external to the school. The relations and contact between the different youth groups and pupils in the school appeared to be counter to the pupil polarisation thesis. Lacey (1966), Hargreaves (1967) and Hammersley (1985). The delinquent pupil group did not appear to come into conflict with the most academically able school pupils.

The youth cultural groups considered "deviant" were both male and female, and of mixed social class. Furthermore, the youth groups who opposed school regulations and order were in the upper ability bands of the school. These features of the relations between, and composition of the groupings of pupils were responsible for the radical change in the object of

research and, equally important, of a change in method. This change of plan and method created a new range of research problems and issues.

It was now clear that the research could not proceed on the basis of interviews and questionnaires, if an understanding were to be obtained of the inner meanings, practices and relations between the various groups. In fact, to gain such an understanding it would be necessary to develop a close relationship with all the groups. Such a relationship would make my position in the school, from the perspective of the teachers, to say the least, ambiguous. For example, the teachers would be seeing me closely attached to a range of different, if not opposing groups both inside and outside the school. Further, I was faced with the problem of how to gain acceptance in a number of youth groups who were different in terms of gender and class composition, different in youth cultural style, who held different positions in the school and, in the case of the "criminal" group, pupils who were involved in illegal activities. An issue of particular concern was the problem of managing this complexity not only in school but also outside the school.

There was the problem of my role and relation to the potential and actual deviant/criminal activities that I might be called upon to witness both inside the school and outside the school, together with the difficulty this could cause in my relations to teachers and parents. Finally, there was always the issue of being captured by one or a number of the groups, and the maintenance of "in between" positions both within and between each respective group.

The discussion which follows shows my attempt to come to grips with the complex ethnographic issues created by this change in the research plan.

1.3 Two "headstarts" in the fieldwork

The first "headstart" in developing the field relations

was an important meeting with a group of boys, who were to become the "mod boys" in this study. This meeting was prior to the beginning of the formal fieldwork at the school.

The meeting occurred in a bus shelter outside a public house after closing time, late on a Friday night. I was accompanied by two persons, an elder mod called Concrete and a white Rastafarian called Jahman. These two men were old friends of mine who both lived and worked in the locality. These two persons were well known to the mod boys because of their style, practice and rituals. However, owing to the age difference of a number of years, no sustained contact had occurred between the mod boys and these two local figures. The information about Concrete and Jahman, possessed by the 'mod boys which I discovered later tended to be an accumulation of myths and incidents.

During the discussion at the bus shelter it became clear that this meeting was partly pre-arranged by the mod boys. They had observed the movements of these two figures, particularly their social drinking habits: the mod boys always knew where to find them. Banter (and the exchange of ideals and ideas) established a rapport between the younger and older stylists. From the mod boys perspective, my presence with these two local figures at the meeting and the following discussion meant that I was associated with Concrete and Jahman. From the research perspective my friendship with these two older individuals who were still involved in youth cultural style, practice and ritual was evidence to the mod boys that I was acceptable and understood their practices.

The second "headstart" in developing field relations involved a member of the school ancillary staff who was a personal friend, Mrs. Strummer who had worked at Marshlands Comprehensive for many years. Through my contact with her I had access to a continual flow of information not only about the relations between members of the teaching staff and the school's ancillary staff but of knowledge of rumours, stories and gossip promoted by various sections of the school

community. Access to such information made sense of particular problems which otherwise I might have found either disturbing or difficult to understand.²

1.4 Marshlands School: the research context

Marshlands Comprehensive has a large teaching staff numbering ninety two teachers. The school is organised on a split site with first and second year pupils in the lower school and third, fourth, fifth and sixth in the upper school. Marshlands has a wide range of subjects in the curriculum which gives pupils plenty of choice when they have to decide on their options in the third year³.

Number of teaching staff and departments at Marshlands

Comprehensive Headmaster	1
Deputy Heads	3
Departments	
Art	4
Commerce	3
Craft and Technology	7
English	11
Home Economics	6
Humanities	14
Mathematics	9
Modern Languages	8
Music	2
Physical Education	6
Remedial	5
Science	12
Teacher Leader of Youth Wing	1
Total	92

The age range of the teaching staff at Marshlands is from twenty three to late fifties; many teachers had extensive teaching experience both at Marshlands and other types of schools. There was also a substantial number of young teachers in all subject departments.

At the outset of the field relations in school I made the decision to help the teaching staff in any way possible, providing this did not compromise future communications with pupils. I decided to tell the teachers that I was not only grateful to the headmaster who had formally allowed me access to the school but also to the whole teaching staff. It was also necessary to obtain the cooperation of those who served in the different work hierarchies which constituted important features of the school's social structure [academic, administrative, catering and service]. At a concrete level I made myself useful and helpful whether this involved moving desks or tables, passing a message to another member of staff or discussing academic/educational matters.

Ball (1984) states that a number of teachers at Beachside acted as informants throughout his fieldwork [p.78]. At Marshlands Comprehensive there were four major teacher informants: Mr Lydon, Mr Williams, Miss Ridgwell and Mr Prett. There were other significant teachers who though not strictly close informants did welcome discussion on a whole range of educational issues, problems and conflicts. The four major teacher informants gave support throughout the study in the school, even when I encountered difficulties, including a change in the relations with three members of the school staff. These were three teachers who were at first pleasant but later became rather uncooperative.⁴

The focus upon pupil groups within this case study entailed a neglect of the teachers' perspective. However, fieldwork concerning my formal and informal contact with teachers is still available in detailed field diaries and interview notes. I formally interviewed fifteen teachers, each interview lasting between fifty and eighty minutes. The site of each interview was the teacher's classrooms or office. The interviews were not recorded, instead I took full notes.

Teachers interviewed

Headmaster*

Head of the Art Department

Head of the English Department*
Head of the Modern Languages Department
Head of the Science Department
Head of the Fifth Year Boys*
Head of the Fifth Year Girls*
Teacher Leader of the Youth Wing*
Careers teacher*
English teacher
Geography teacher
Maths teacher
Metalwork teacher
Science teacher
Sociology teacher*
Total 15

[* Certain teachers were interviewed on more than one occasion]

It is difficult to calculate the number of occasions when further informal discussion took place with these other teachers. Indeed, innumerable small discussions and "talks" occurred with the teaching staff in the staff room, classrooms, corridors, other school spaces and outside school. The formal interviews with teachers represent only a small fraction of the information gathered from the teachers.⁵

The Head of the English department made a constructive suggestion, that if I provided him with a possible title for an English Language essay about youth culture, he would set it for the fifth year students and supply me with the scripts. These "teenage essays" were an interesting future resource. To help the teaching staff to be aware of my presence and purpose in their school I began circulation of a number of papers, sheets specifying aims, objectives, developments and a list of the types of issues I expected to raise with the pupils. The reason why I produced such information and made personal contact with the teaching staff was to ensure that the teachers knew about the nature of my research work, Hargreaves (1967) asserts,

"I was told by the staff that the Head had simply circulated a brief note to all the teachers, saying that a sociologist from the University would be coming to work in the school for a short period. The staff had no indication of the type of work I intended to do. Had I spoken formally to the staff for a few moments on my first day at the school, much of the misunderstanding and suspicion of which I was soon to become aware would have been avoided" [p.194].

I considered Hargreaves' warning very seriously. I had no formal position within the school [except as a researcher] and did not teach or take on any teacher-like responsibility in front of students, except for a short period of time I taught one subject under the guidance of one teacher informant. Although the intention had been not to teach, in fact I did teach this fifth year class for a number of weeks during the fieldwork in school. The suggestion came from the teacher. I was unwilling at first, but after consultations with both the teacher and the pupils I decided to go ahead.

During the initial contact with the teaching staff a substantial number of the teachers asked whether I would like to sit in on their lessons to observe pupil behaviour. The teachers' interest in the research and their cooperation provided an opportunity to organise classroom observation, and gave access to individual teachers' free periods.

During the whole period of school based fieldwork I observed a large number of lessons. Below is a list of the classroom observations. Over twenty five different teachers in classroom situations were observed. Each time I was either sitting at the back or the side of the classroom away from the pupils.

Classroom observations of subjects at Marshlands Comprehensive
Art, Biology, Careers, English Language, English Literature, French, Geography, General Studies, German, History, Maths, Metal work, Physical Education, Science, Sociology.

Observations were also carried out upon a number of fifth year pupils during their free periods. These were the pupils

who had taken 'O' level courses a year early.

There was, in addition, classroom observation on seven occasions when a "stand-in" teacher took the lesson, plus classroom observation of the sixth form 'A' level sociology group.

For the first few days at the school I arrived by car but after the fifth day I came to, and left the school by the school bus or train. In both cases I travelled with the pupils. I went to morning assembly, where I always stood with the teaching staff. Each first period was spent with one fifth year form during their tutor period.

A substantial amount of time was spent in the youth wing of the school run by the teacher leader. The youth wing was a separate purpose-built block, which included a dance floor, certain leisure facilities, soft drinks and snack bar, table tennis, pool table, juke-box and various games both electronic and manual. There were smaller rooms for discussions, competitions and hobbies. I spent much time at the youth wing talking to the teacher leader, going to discos, dances, live gigs or just "hanging around" with the youth groups.

1.5 Description of a typical fieldwork day

Walk to railway station with the pupils.

Train journey with the pupils.

Walk to the school from the railway station with the pupils.

Assembly.

Tutor period.

Double lesson classroom observation.

Breaktime, usually spent with the pupils, occasionally with the teaching staff.

Double lesson classroom observation.

School dinner [or outside dinner] always with the pupils.

Lunch break, interview pupil groups, outside the school with a pupil group, sometimes in the staffroom with teachers.

Double lesson classroom observation.

Breaktime, usually spent with the pupils, occasionally with the

teaching staff.

Last lesson classroom observation.

Walk to the railway station with the pupils.

Train journey home with the pupils.

Walk home from the railway station with the pupils.

Early evening, a pupil group visit my house or I go out to join a group.

Night, return home.

2. The Youth Groups

2.1 Introduction

Each name, label or term which refers to the groups in this case study derives from the practices within and between the various youth groups. The labels are not my invention.

The five major groups were able not only to define their own relations and positions in the school but could define other groups and individuals. A group's ability to define other groups in the context of the school, reveals who controls the status and meaning of social, academic and territorial practices. Certain groups would not accept the label and status location assigned to them by others. The capacity of a group to determine their status [outside their own group] is in part dependent on the strength of the group's internal division of labour and collective solidarity.

The following sections will give a detailed account of the membership, social relations and a description of the five major groups.

2.2 The Groups

The five major groups,

- a. Youth cultural groups, mod boys and new wave girls
- b. Pupil groups, boffin boys and boffin girls
- c. Delinquent group, criminal boys.

The other smaller fifth year groups at Marshlands Comprehensive included:

a. Youth cultural groups, punk boys, rock-a-billy rebels [boys and girls], rockers [including headbangers and heavy metal boys and girls], rude boys, soul girls.

b. Pupil group square boffin boys, square boffin girls, straight boys, straight girls, remedial boys, remedial girls.

I shall now describe briefly the membership, culture and relations of the groups we found for the basis of this study.

2.3 The Mod Boys

- a. Membership
- b. Description
- c. Relations

a. Membership

The mod boys group contains nine individuals
Paul, Rich, Keef, Hat, Tosh, Gangster, Hendrix, Rod.
The mod boys' girlfriends were
Annette-Paul, Clare-Rich, Tracey-Keef, Janet-Hat.

There were two different types of marginal members of the mod group. First, there were five older boys who had already left school.

Joey, Craig, John, Tony, Baz.

Second, there were four younger boys in the fourth year.
Dave, Roger, Carrot, Stu.

Mod boys

b. Description

Mod is a youth cultural style and practice developed in the late 1950's. The youth style was not a response to the "rockers" but a development and gradual stylistic change from the "Teddy boy". Two influences on the mod appearance in the late fifties were firstly the emergence of Italian and French clothes in London and secondly, the growth of black culture in such forms as modern jazz, "new clubs", soul and ska music and drugs within the context of the "underworld" (See Hebdige, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, Melly, 1972).

From the 1960's the meaning of being a mod widened to cover several variants. Brake (1980) considers there were four divisions. First, the art school high camp version, second the mainstream smooth mod, third, the scooter boys [and girls] and fourth, the "hard mods" (See Knight, 1982).

In Marshlands Comprehensive the mod boys did not reflect one particular division, their appearance was a combination of all four, adopted in an attempt to reinforce the base line of mod identification. For the mod boys the "mod revival" of the late 1970's and early 1980's had much to do with punk and in particular the position of one band of musicians "The Jam". During the time of punk a large number of mod bands were formed but the only band to sustain the course and produce consistent and "hardline" singles and Lp's relevant to youth was "The Jam".⁶ A further and crucial input to the mod boys' style was the film release of *Quadrophenia* in 1979. *Quadrophenia* was originally produced by The Who in 1973 and written by Pete Townsend. The story is of a young mod who experiences the youth cultural style and practice in the 1960's. Hebdige (1975) asserts, "The importance of style to mods can never be overstressed - Mod was pure, unadulterated STYLE, the essence of style" [p.93]. The mod boys' youth cultural style has three features:

- (a) Music: R and B, soul music, northern soul, blue beat, ska, Tamla Motown, and English bands in 1960's. The Small Faces and The Who,⁷ in the 1970's and 1980's firstly The Jam and The Style Council, then Secret Affair, Purple Hearts, Nine Below Zero, Lambrettas and The Chords.
- (b) Style: Originally business neatness and colour coordination fused with cool "blackness" and "hard" indigenous gangsterism provided the mod style with immense variation (Barnes, 1979, Hebdige, 1979). The mod revival reduced the style to a restricted number of items such as short hair, suit, collar and tie, fred perry and loafers, hidden underneath a parka or a crombie.

Because of the substantial documentation of the 1960's mod style, the mod boys could experiment with original ideas from the 1960's⁸ to the limitations imposed by the 1980's revival.

(c) Objects and Life-style: The mod boys possessed the obligatory scooters. They went to scooter rallies around the country to celebrate features of mod and scooter activities and club relations and to collect specialist items.

Their life-style included intense shopping adventures, discos, parties, gigs, clubs and pubs, drug taking experiments and visits to the seafront for ritual promenades.

Melly (1972) makes a distinction between the first generations of the mods in the 1950's and the new generations in 1963.

"The main thing about the mods was that they were true purists. Clothes were their only interest, but at the same time, in that they were the forerunners of the general trend, they carried with them their own destruction. As the 'mod' thing spread it lost its purity. For the next generation of Mods, those who picked up the 'mod' thing around 1963, clothes, while still their central preoccupation, weren't enough. They needed music [Rhythm and Blues], transport [scooters] and drugs [pep pills]. What's more they needed fashion ready-made. They hadn't the time or fanaticism to invent their own styles, and this is where Carnaby Street came in" [p.150-51].

A criticism of Melly's account is that he introduces an elitist element into the notion of style and his analysis suggests a romantic fascination which is absent from the, perhaps, more realistic view of youth style and low life practices which are detailed by MacInnes (1959) (1957) in Absolute Beginners and City of Spades.

The mod boys were under no illusion; they regarded themselves as not only taking from the past but also redeveloping and, essentially through the position of The Jam, strengthening and articulating mod style to make it relevant to the 1980's.

c. Relations

The mod boys' control of territory is both symbolic and social; symbolically the boys' coherent youth cultural style supports and emphasises their solidarity, socially the number of mod boys and their physical strength, combines to make the boys a substantial territorial force.

The boys' physical strength was important in situations where they might receive a challenge from an oppositional or rival youth cultural group. The mod boys established their own scooter club called "The Undecideds", with bank account, journal, newsletters, badges and so on. Through the scooter club the mod boys' group became an official organisation, with national contacts and a reputation, as a result of attendance at scooter rally's conventions and parties.

Most of the mod boys had girlfriends, in particular Paul, Rich, Hat and Keef had regular girlfriends. The mod boys enjoyed talking about sexual experiences both privately and publicly, especially in the presence of the boffin boys.

The mod boys had experience of work⁹ in the local labour market usually took the form of working on Saturday, Sunday, in the evenings or during the holidays. The jobs involved working in a garage, on a farm, a building site, with photographers, in an amusement park and restaurants. Thus, before leaving school the boys had acquired a wealth of information and experience of the local labour market (Markall and Finn 1982, Brown and Ashton 1987). The boys' parents were largely working class but some had bought their own houses. The mod boys would occasionally receive some financial assistance but all parents expected the boys to work hard whether for them or their employers.

At school the mod boys were taking 'O' level and some CSE examinations. All the boys were in the upper or middle band of the streaming system. The mod boys walked a fine line in school between deviant and appropriate school behaviour. However, the boys could use their academic position as a

resource to negotiate with teachers when caught breaking school rules.

2.4 The New Wave Girls

- a. Membership
- b. Description
- c. Relations

a. Membership

New wave girls' group contains ten individuals
Clare, Sally, Sioux, Debbie, Cathy, Lynne, Cat, Collen,
Steff, Denise.

The new wave girls' boyfriends¹⁰ were

Rich-Clare, Peter-Sally, Slim-Sioux, Bloc-Cathy,
Stephen-Collen, Gaz-Steff, Mick-Debbie.

There were an additional nine marginal members to the new wave girls group.

Christina, Katy, Dianne, Pat, Rachel, Jane, Jan,
Paulette, Phil [one boy member]

b. Description

New Wave is a term borrowed from the cinema. The label allows for a broad definition and description. The musical meaning originally referred to the alternative and different American new bands during the period 1975/1977. In Britain in 1977 new wave was different from punk, although both shared common values and causes like independence, creativity and diversity (Chambers, 1985).

The first round of punk basically finished in late 1978 with the formation of Public Image Limited by John Lydon who dropped the name Johnny Rotten. The Lp release of "Metal Box" [really metal] was the first Lp by a punk band which took up the challenge and diversity of the idea of punk to break further conventional musical and conceptual boundaries. The term punk, although valid, could no longer, or not adequately describe the musical diversity that it had created. By 1979, after the decline of punk, the term new wave became more widely used to describe or refer to a band which had punk roots or

origins (Laing 1985, Rimmer, 1985).

The influence¹¹ of punk and new wave went further than challenging musical structure/style, it challenged the conventional and taken for granted aspects of cultural practice. Central issues of discrimination were directly pulled out into the open. Punk demanded that people question and look at their own lives, and social relations (Frith 1983 and 1988).

The idea of punk was not only confrontation or refusal to accept what was traditionally thought appropriate. Punk was also about "doing it yourself". Punk was both explicitly and implicitly feminist, it challenged male domination, romance, sexual embarrassment and violence. Punk was concerned not only to expose but crucially to ridicule forms of social injustice. The political growth of formal organisations such as Rock Against Racism and the Anti Nazi League were clear expressions of punk at its most politically powerful (Widgery, 1986). In particular, the Tom Robinson Band broke the mould, and became a future model for punk [political] bands, by playing benefit gigs and writing songs directly concerning oppressed social groups such as battered wives and homosexuals (Burchill and Parsons, 1978).

It is significant that two recent mass political movements derive from punk: firstly, Red Wedge which took shape from the bands which supported the 1984/1985 Miners' Strike, G.L.C. and Free Nelson Mandela Campaign, and secondly Band Aid and Live Aid for Africa set up by Bob Geldof Leader of the Boomtown Rats (Street, 1986).

For the new wave girls¹² punk and new wave provided a means to disturb, disrupt and disvalue the commonly accepted values concerning appropriate female behaviour. Hebdige (1979) states, "Behind punk's favoured 'cut ups' lay hints of disorder, of breakdown and category confusion: a desire ... to erode racial and gender boundaries' [p.123]. The new wave girls seized the independence and diversity within the meaning

of punk and new wave to challenge female passivity and to reinforce their own female solidarity.

The new wave girls' style has three features,

- (a) Music: New Wave, punk and reggae. For example, The Cure, Joy Division, Siouxsie and the Banshees, Talking Heads, The Clash, Sex Pistols, The Damned, Crass, The Buzzcocks, The Jam, UB40, Steel Pulse, Basement Five, Teardrop Explodes, Devo, Joe Jackson, [and Joan Armatrading].
- (b) Style: Through a number of ways the new wave girls held to the idea of punk clothes for example confrontation dressing through oppositions such as wearing a skirt, Doctor Martens boots under a "dirty mac".
The new wave girls would attempt experimental combinations. The girls predominantly wore trousers usually black, tee shirts of various types, monkey boots and large jumpers.
- (c) Objects and Life Style: The new wave girls' general appearance was in non-traditional female clothes. The girls sometimes made and adapted their own clothes¹³ and shoes. An interesting feature of the girls' style was omission of the major iconography of sexual fetishism associated with punk. The girls questioned the dominance of sexual fetishism and inverted the meaning of its expression. Thus, the safety pin or "DM's" were used to establish an alternative mode to the dominant forms for teenager girls.

Their appearance was a combination of challenge and alternative practice.

The girls were differently disposed to the use of make-up. Most of the girls would wear little; others would use make-up in a non conventional manner and yet others banned it because of its link with animals. The new wave girls did not conform to traditional markers of female beauty.

c. Relations

The fifth year boys of Marshlands Comprehensive were wary of the new wave girls, in fact, most boys kept their distance. The new wave girls' youth cultural style and inappropriate school uniform made them a highly visible group. The girls stylistic solidarity and very close physical contact emphasised their confidence and strength. One of the criminal boys said "Coming home one evening, I saw this group by the "Chippy" about hundred yards away. I thought fuck it, might get a beating here. So I crossed the road, right. When I got closer it was the girls - really put the shit up me for a bit - was about ten of them."

The majority of the new wave girls' boyfriends were either in the upper sixth form, college or working. The new wave girls had experience of working in the local labour market, on Saturday, Sunday or midweek and during the school holidays. Their employment ranged from hotel work, restaurants, public houses, farms and running a shop. When the girls were younger they baby sat. The new wave girls did their share of domestic labour [unlike the mod boys] in the home, although the extent of this work was tempered by the girls' ability to gain economic independence and by the nature of their familial relations. The new wave girls' parents were lower middle class and working class. The girls received more financial support than the mod boys but the girls had to work to gain a disposable income.

The girls were taking 'O' levels and some CSE examinations. All the new wave girls were in the upper or middle band of the streaming system. Somewhat like the mod boys, the new wave girls kept a fine balance between school deviance and appropriate behaviour. However, the girls completed more school homework and were more selective in their "skiving" and school deviance. The new wave girls were liked by the teachers because they were assertive in the classroom and would not tolerate sexism from the boys.

2.5 The Boffin Boys and Boffin Girls

- a. Membership.
- b. Description.
- c. Relations.

a. Membership

The boffin boys' group contain three central members
Howard, Gary, James.

There are an additional eight close marginal members to
the boffin boys group,

Davey, Will, Russ, Nick, Paul, Christopher, Benjamin,
Cyril.

The boffin girls' group contains thirteen individuals which
could be divided into three smaller groupings.

1. Core group: Kerry, Rose, Mary, Monica, Ellen.
2. Group A: Rosemary, Sarah, Alison, Wendy.
3. Group B: Valerie, Lousie, Donna, Madeleine.

There were an additional eight close marginal members to
the boffin girls' group.

Michelle, Claire, Sharon, Caroline, April, Angela,
Jennifer, Elizabeth.

b. Description

Boffin is R.A.F. slang for a scientist employed by the
armed services. In the context of Marshlands Comprehensive
Boffins are those pupils who specialise in academic
superiority; for such pupils this is the major and crucial
achievement and prestige marker. Depending upon who was using
the term and for what reason, the term boffin had a dual
function, it could be a label of status or abuse. The boffins
themselves would accept the name in the presence of an all
boffin gathering but where other group or individuals were
present the boffins were reluctant to regard themselves in this
way. This shows that the definition of boffin, in the wider
school sense does not only refer to an academic skill but also
specifies inferior social and sexual attitudes.

The boffin groups were pupil groups shaped through the process of streaming and significantly sustained by individual competition to succeed in formal examinations. From the boffins' perspective it was important that they were understood by all non-group members as supportive of the school system and values. The boffin cannot be adequately compared with Jackson and Marsden's (1962) "respectables", Lacey's (1966) pro-school pupils, Willis' (1977) "ear'holes", or Turner's (1983) "swots".¹⁴

The purpose of the boffin identity was to mobilise and incorporate the school examination system into their own school image. The boffin groups would respect and obey school regulation and authority, especially when visible to other pupils. The boffin groups were reluctant to initiate collective actions unless these were in support of the formal school process.

Boffin boys had certain members who followed specific youth cultural styles such as hip hop, soul, funk and rude boy. Some of the boffin boys were involved in a youth cultural style at the level of singleton [see section Marginal members], they possessed the style but no social relations of style, their social relations were only pedagogic.

Boffin girls had a similar range of youth cultural styles for example, modette, soul girls and rockabilly rebel. A difference between the two boffin groups was that within the boffin girl group(s) there was an internal Hippie group. The Hippie group had more established relations with the boffin boys, than other members of the boffin girls which meant that these girls possessed additional social status. The boffin girls specialised in the Hippie style particularly at the level of ideas such as C.N.D. and Greenpeace.

c. Relations: boffin boys

The boffin boys' territorial powers in school derived from their status position within the school as the top fifth year

examinees. The boffin boys could define the social positions of all pupils taking examinations, except the mod boys and the new wave girls. Other boffin groups in school were subject to the boffin boys' academic status relations. The boffin boys' capacity to control the social relations inside school for the "conforming" groups did not apply to the boffin girls' group. The boffin girls refused to accept the boffin boys' territorial claims. The girls' rejections of the boffin boys was both pedagogic and social. Firstly, the girls asserted that they were "brighter" and secondly, stated "They're not worth going out with, anyway". Only one boffin boy had been out with a girl; in general the boffin boys did not have regular girlfriends.

The boffin boys, unlike the mod boys and the new wave girls, can be said to have two social identities, one of which was visible in the school and the other invisible. In the school the social identity was marked by conventional appropriate dress but outside school their dress changed. As a consequence it would be inappropriate to "read" the boffin boys only in terms of their school presentations. There is then a visible academic identity and an invisible social identity.

In general, the accounts of "conformist" pupils are not substantiated with respect to qualitative methods of research. On the one hand, Willis (1977) interprets the "ear'holes" in his study through the single opinion of the anti school group, the "lads". On the other hand, Turner (1983) develops an individualistic and rationalistic approach towards understanding pro-school pupils. In both studies, not only is there little ethnographic field work on the "conformist" pupils, but there is no close observation of pro-school pupils outside the context of the school.

The boffin boys did not have part time jobs although some would occasionally collect golf balls or caddie but most of their time was spent on homework and this excluded them from work in the local labour market and importantly, domestic

labour in the home.

The majority of the boffin boys' parents were middle and lower middle class although some were working class. All the boys received encouragement and sometimes practical help from their parents. The boffin boys were taking 'O' levels and two of them had passed some 'O' level examinations a year early in the fourth year. The boffin boys' primary public image was that of academic achievements.

c. Relations: boffin girls

A strength of the boffin girls was that they were a large group. The size of the girls' group acted as a positive resource for some of the girls who appeared shy and passive, such girls could have been easy targets for humiliation in small groups, pairs or on their own. The boffin girls did not define the other boffin groups, unlike the boffin boys, who insisted upon a boffin hierarchy with themselves at the top.

Unlike the boffin boys, the boffin girls had more insular relationships inside school. The boffin girls spent most of their time, both inside or outside school within their own group(s) or with the boffin boys. The girls did not have contact with any other grouping except other "low status" boffin groups. The girls did not speak to the criminal boys and kept out of reach of the mod boys because contact with such boys would always result in the girls' embarrassment. The boffin girls had occasional contacts with the new wave girls; however, these relations were brief and concerned only issues of schooling. The two girls groups did not share any space inside the school and they never came into contact outside the school.

The boffin girls did not have any regular boyfriends [one of the boffin girls had been out with one of the boffin boys]. The boffin girls were closely chaperoned by their parents in all of their out of school activities. The boffin girls spent a substantial amount of time in the home doing homework but

unlike the boffin boys, the girls did domestic labour chores. The parents of the boffin girls were mainly middle and lower middle class. The parents expected that their daughters would enter the sixth form and prepare to go to college or university and begin a career. The majority of the boffin girls did not have part time jobs, but some worked occasionally in shops. The only regular work the girls did was baby sitting. This was their only access to an independent income, to enable them to buy clothes and commodities without their parents' control.

The boffin girls were taking 'O' levels and a majority of them had passed from one to four 'O' levels a year early in the fourth year. Like the boffin boys, the boffin girls were in the upper band of the streaming system. The girls were academically bright and were taking both arts and sciences. Overall, the boffin girls were more accepting of school rules and values than the boffin boys.

2.6 Criminal Boys

- a. Membership
- b. Description
- c. Relations

a. Membership

Criminal boys' group contains twelve individuals L e e , Maurice, Chuck, Colin, Crusher, Stuart, Kenneth, Raymond, Ted, Charlie, Shed, Jones.

There were no close marginal members to the criminal boys group, although certain individuals from the rocker group would occasionally join their ranks.

b. Description

The criminal boys were white, below average [according to the school] non-examinees. The description "criminal" refers to the majority of their practices which involved actions contrary to the law. The range of their criminal activities

included "joy riding" motor bikes and cars, sometimes crashing them, breaking and entering peoples' homes, churches, and shops, general thieving, fighting and going on "black hunts", and selling and dealing with drugs and stolen property.

The boys' identity as the "criminal element" was well known in the school to both teachers and pupils. The criminal boys were ambivalent toward their label of "criminal"; some saw the term as evoking danger and excitement while others saw it as reinforcing their stigma and lack of a future. The criminal boys' performance and career were part of their collective image but it was rarely discussed amongst themselves as a group problem and never brought into the open when others were present.

Their illegal activities and the planning of future events took precedence over any development of a coherent youth cultural style. The criminal group was composed of a variety of youth styles, for example teds, rockers and skinheads. The social class background of the boys was mainly working class although there were middle class members.

c. Relations

The criminal boys were known for their real or rumoured illegal actions, not as members of the remedial forms. The boys spent so much time out of the school that their territorial relations were in the local community rather than in the school. When at school, the boys were continually in trouble for breaking school rules. There was an uneasy truce between the mod boys and the criminal boys. A couple of fights occurred both inside and outside the school but the mod boys always won because of their greater physical size and numbers. These two male groups very rarely came into contact outside school because they inhabited different territorial locations.

A limited number of the criminal boys had "regular" girlfriends, although there were also a number of girlfriend followers. There were probably two reasons why these boys did

not have regular girlfriends, firstly, the boys had a reputation for aggressive and irrational behaviour and secondly, some of their enterprises were dangerous.

The criminal boys did not like the new wave girls because these girls did not conform to the boys' understanding of women as passive and feminine. The boffin boys and boffin girls had almost no contact with the criminal boys. However, the five years spent together in the same year at Marshlands meant that their relation of no relationship, had been built upon some contact in the early years.

Some of the criminal boys had labour market experience of small part time employment but most did no formal work. The boys made only a relatively small amount of money from the selling of stolen property. The parents of the criminal boys were mainly working class although two had solid middle class parents. Most of the criminal boys were prevented from doing examinations because of their poor attendance record or disorderly classroom behaviour. A number of the criminal boys were able pupils but positioned themselves against both the teachers and the school. The criminal group were not a subculture formed in opposition to the boffin groups.

2.7 Marginal Group Members

The marginal members¹⁵ were not central to each of the major or smaller group because they were not allowed access to the internal relations, practices and rituals within the group.

There were a substantial number of marginal members to the five major groups in the school. There were different degrees of marginality not only in terms of the distance relation to the main groups but also in terms of numbers and variations between different types of marginal members. The marginal relations could be based upon:

- a. An individual living near members of a major group.
- b. Friendship of a boy or girl friend within a major group.
- c. Academic contact, arising out of the sharing of subjects

or of a form room.

- d. Common interest, such as a particular sport, job, type of musical artist, hobby, family relation.

The marginal members encapsulate a whole series of different relations. However, the only feature which unites these marginals is the status of marginality. They do not share a common ground to establish their own group. The marginals operate a complex arrangement of relations both within and between the different major groups. At times, marginal members may be of special importance to the members of a major group. Such a relation will not necessarily increase the marginals opportunity to enter the major group but will demonstrate the marginal's status position. Thus, certain marginals will be favoured for a period of time to "hang around", with the individuals of the major group. Certain marginals prefer to remain on the margin rather than become centrally involved because too many pressures exist within the major groups. Some marginals appeared to want only a temporary contact with the major groups rather than a permanent relation. Marginals, then used the major groups as well as being used.

In addition to the marginal members there existed other non-group relations.

- a. Singletons, were individuals who practised a youth cultural style but possessed no relation to a social group.
- b. Trend Followers, were individuals who attempted to display a youth cultural style but lacked deep knowledge of its history, practice and relationship.
- c. Loners, were individuals in the school who appeared to have no close friends as they preferred a solitary existence.
- d. Pairings of two individuals of the same sex who did not become greatly involved with other pupils, either inside or outside the school.
- e. "Loving couples", heterosexual couples who had only limited contact with others because they spent the majority of their time with each other.
- f. "Freaks", a term used by pupils to describe an individual

who remained set apart owing to a physical, social or psychological abnormality.

3. Ethnography

3.1 Introduction

The method applied in this case study of youth groups in secondary school was initially guided by previous qualitative educational studies upon youth. The overall fieldwork approach, however, was influenced by two empirical studies which applied different methods. Firstly, the method of participant observation, Whyte (1943) Street Corner Society, secondly, the method of ethnography, Agar (1980) The Professional Stranger.

The aim of the fieldwork became the collection of a thick description through learning and observing the relations, practices, positions and rituals of each different youth group.

The fieldwork technique of urban ethnography was first employed and developed by sociological researchers from the sociology department in the University of Chicago¹⁶. The Chicago School approach derives not only from the cultural anthropology of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown but also from the urban perspective of Park, who in collaboration with Burgess developed a particular understanding of the social and the methods of observing the social world (See Bulmer [1984] especially pp. 89-108).

The following section is an interpretation of the major fieldwork techniques used which both generated an ethnographic description and allowed observation of the groups in action:

- a. Biography
- b. Apprenticeship and Relations
- c. Discussions
- d. Communication.

3.2 Biography

The biography of a researcher who undertakes a qualitative study is an important facet in understanding firstly, the focus of the research, secondly the methods used to gain information and finally the type of study produced. Mungham and Pearson (1976) state " We are trying to relate our work to our personal biographic experience" [p.8]. The editors of this book suggest that they will relate to their own lives the data collected on their subject of study, namely working class male adolescents. A further feature of researcher biography in sociological studies is familiarity either with the setting/environment or with the type of people and their activities. Some of the classic Chicago School studies 16 during the 1920's and 1930's are within the latter biographical tradition, and so are more recent interactionist studies from Becker (1963) to Ball (1981).

My own biographical features which were important in the development of the field relations with the different youth groups were on the one hand a recent experience of the processes of secondary schooling and on the other hand a number of shared interests and experiences. My relevant experiences were as follows,

- A. Direct interest and engagement in youth cultural style and music.
- B. Successful progression through the education systems from sixth form to university.
- C. Beginning a managerial career in London.
- D. Experience of labouring and unemployment
- E. Previous involvement in deviant and low-life activities.

These different facets of experience were useful in communicating with the three groups of pupils, the youth cultural groups, the academic groups and the delinquent group. Such relevant biographical experiences were resources to establish rapport with the different groups. Familiarity with areas of common interest meant that I was able to build up personal and confidential relations not only with each specific

group but with individual members within the separate groups.

3.3 Apprenticeship and Relations

To gain rapport with the different groups and the individual members within each group I had to develop different modes of interaction, negotiation and exchange. This process will be called an apprenticeship. The consequence of the differences between the groups was that not only did each demand different relations but also different forms of apprenticeship. The purpose of taking an apprentice role is to learn from the groups themselves. The apprenticeship was not at the level of initiation into the groups but at the level of gaining a sensitive interpretation through extensive observation and description of the different groups' relations, practices, positions and rituals.

The biographic experience provided only an initial stepping stone in establishing access to, and contact with, each group. The three groupings made contingent attempts to locate the researcher within their own experience. Here I could mobilise the biography to support the transition, from the initial position of being an "outsider" to being an "insider", able to receive an apprenticeship in the learning and recording of each group in action.

An important element in the apprenticeship was to recognise that the youths were in a learning and growing situation both in terms of the school and the wider culture. I was sharing with members from the different groups their first experience of certain events. Through such opportunities, I was able to establish an intimate and sensitive body of shared experiences at the level of initiation, and to get "in solid" with the youth groups.

My clothes and appearance differed inside and outside the context of the school, and according to the type of impression I hoped to create and maintain. In Marshlands Comprehensive my appearance was similar to most young members of the teaching

staff even perhaps a little smarter. The clothes I wore in school were dark trousers brown or black, button down shirts, sometimes with a tie, grey jacket with narrow lapels and black or white socks. Outside the school my clothes would vary between the three youth cultural styles of punk, skinhead and mod. I did not attempt to dress as the youth cultural groups but preferred a combination of styles. However, my style management was crucial to the processes of apprenticeship within the different groups. Polsky (1967) specifies the "Danger of coming on too square, or else of coming on too hip" [p.127].

Before entering the school I also grew a light beard, so as to help teachers distinguish me from the male fifth year pupils. The other major interactional expectations from the different groups were speech, gesture, demeanour, and especially masculine and feminine relations. Jenkins (1983) suggests,

"I was able to participate in male activities in a way that I could never have done in the day-to-day life of the girls. This is quite straight forward and unavoidable; no amount of good confidential relationships with individual girls can compensate for this de facto exclusion from their shared group activities. The second reason harks back to the distinction between the public and private spheres mentioned earlier. The "bedroom culture" of many of these girls (Frith, 1978, p.66) is private and inaccessible" [p.20].

In social research no position of gender neutrality exists (Warren 1988). As a male researcher I used different means to gain access to the female worlds of the boffin and new wave girls from those I used in the case of the male worlds of the boffins, mod and criminal boys. I enjoyed a close and friendship-based relation with all members of each group. However, within each group there were certain boys and girls to whom I had a closer personal relation simply because we got on very well.

Gradually, the field relations with the girl groups became significant following a variety of different public and private

experiences. A fundamental feature of the relationship of shared experience with the girls was that it was not based on sexual relations. In different contexts the girls would expect different relations; for example, support in their anti sexist argument against certain boys or in their own sexist counter attack. On the one hand the girls would expect constructive advice¹⁷, discussion or helpful guidance, while on the other hand, they would expect acknowledgement of their sexual attractiveness and desirability. The two roles may be contradictory but were fundamental features of the field relations within both groups of adolescent girls.

During the field work with both the new wave and boffin girls I had access to the "private world of "bedroom culture"¹⁸, all-girl discussions, girls nights out, girls' parties and girls' outings. However, one reason for the increased depth and range of fieldwork with the new wave girls rather than the boffin girls is because the new wave girls were more independent. The parents of the boffin girls, were rather strict about visits, all-girl outings and especially contact with boys. Therefore, developed ethnographic fieldwork with the boffin girls as a group, was not possible because the girls were not allowed the personal independence of the new wave girls.

The three boy groups had different sets of expectations and demands. The establishment of rapport with each boy group whether on the initial grounds of style/music, academic work or deviant experience did not per se allow entrance to their internal group relations and practices. It became necessary to be seen by each male group that I was heterosexual and had a respect for particular masculine identity and an awareness of their stage of sexual assertiveness.

During the fieldwork with the boy groups I had access to dates with girlfriends as well as access to the public and private male relations in both all male and mixed gender settings; this increased sensitivity towards understanding differences within masculine identity.

The field relations with the male groups were more physically dangerous. I shared experiences with all three male groups where certain individuals or the group itself were under direct or potential physical attack. Such events and experiences helped to secure "solid" relations with the boys but were intensely threatening and frightening.

3.4 Discussions

Interviews with youth groups were carried out on the basis of discussion or conversation.

Locations of recorded discussions

Inside School

Careers room, small classroom, library, corridors, play ground, sports field,

Outside School

Parent's house, sitting room, bedroom. Walking along the street, inside shops, public houses, cafe's, parties, bus stop.

The major site for recorded discussions with all youth groups was the careers room, although other sites provided important and useful data. In the discussion situation [careers room] the length of recorded conversation was one hour. For the purpose of interviewing, the only lessons I asked permission to remove the pupils from were General Studies and Physical Education. Discussions also took place during lunchtime break. I did three individual pupil interviews. The majority of recorded discussions were on a group basis with from four to eleven pupils present. When recording the cassette player and microphone were never directly in view of the participants.

The beginning of recorded discussions as conversations did not start until a sufficient body of common experience had been established with each youth group. After this initial period I conducted discussions throughout the fieldwork. The aim of the group discussions¹⁹ was to gain an understanding of the youth groups in action. Once rapport had been established and relations developed I did not face the problem of selecting pupils for group interview, because the members of the youth

group would make their own selection: who was available at the specific time.

The discussions represent the surface data built upon a carefully constructed ethnographic base. These discussions could not have occurred unless I had made close and personal contact with each of the different groups, on their own ground and in their own time. The foundation of these discussions was friendship, namely shared experience and common interests. There was no great necessity or urgency to ask formalised questions during interviews because the conversations were not "one off" situations. Discussions took place in numerous locations both inside and outside²⁰ the school, only a limited number were recorded. The discussions represent an intensive everyday feature of the field relations where aspects of the groups practices, relations, rituals and positions were displayed. The strategy of asking questions to gain information took second place to the gaining of an understanding of the youth groups' cultural practices in action. I could always ask specific questions away from the discussion situation at a later date.

The discussions were not completely unstructured. I had an extensive list of questions, themes and topics to cover and to encourage each group to speak about. However, I did not decide beforehand the questions I would ask, because I wanted to allow each group the opportunity to direct the conversation into areas they thought important. The consequence of being with the youth groups both inside and outside the school meant that it was possible to direct tacitly the conversation to the areas of interest which I required. Through the day to day field relations, such access to shared experience gave opportunity to use different conversational strategies with the youth groups, for example,

- A. To use the body of common experiences, to get the group to analyse their own behaviour both past and present and the actions of other groups.
- B. To use the body of common experience to encourage the group to "think on their feet", through direct engagement on

fundamental issues often personal, complex and contradictory.

- C. Occasionally, to abandon the format of asking questions, and contribute myself to encourage the group to generate discussion and questioning.

In this particular case study of youth groups the discussions as conversation are social segments of relations, communications, ritual and practices in action on tape. The technique of an ethnographically based discussion not only allows for conversations on intimate issues but because of the embedding of these discussions in field relations, the discussions become a location where the group(s) discuss their problems of internal and external relations and practices (Cohen and Taylor 1977).

During the fieldwork one of the new wave girls presented me with a cassette recording which a number of the girls made themselves. I was unaware that these girls were in the process of preparing a tape. I received further documents from the new wave girls including a number of letters, some written to me, other letters written to members of the girl group and boy friends. I was also given some drawings and numerous poems.

3.5 Communication

An ethnographer is understood in this study as a person who moves in among a group of strangers to study and describe their beliefs and document their social life. A social category will be assigned to the ethnographer by group members. Further, the researcher has to provide his or her respondents with a description of him/herself and the purpose of the research. In general, I suggested the role of writer, of someone writing a book about male and female youth, more specifically if asked, I said I was focusing upon the relation between youth cultural style and schooling.

Ethnography cannot be considered as a number of technical operations²¹ because this reduces field relations to a process

of applying a set of known strategies. Ethnography is two things at the same time, a researcher method and an experience. The field relations create and sustain personal responsibility. Thrasher (1928) gives a summary on a practical level,

"Incidents of a disconcerting sort are common occurrences in doing this type of research and have to be laughed off and considered as "part of the game". The sacrifice of a piece of furniture, a box of notes, dinner, part of the finish on one's car, and so on, must be taken stoically and with good humour" [p. 252].

Quantitative research seldom requires the continuous presence of the researcher but the ethnographer remains in the field during the trouble, tensions and tedium; Patrick (1973), Plant (1975), Campbell (1984). The ethnographic approach is not unstructured: Evans-Pritchard (1937), Malinowski (1938), Wax (1952), Silverman (1985). The fieldworker will implicitly guide his or her participants to the areas of interest: Homan (1980), Bulmer (1980), Burgess (1982).

In this study, the application of one fundamental rule of communication in the field relations was not to speak about personal issues of pupils to teachers and vice versa. The strategy was not to betray the trust of one pupil group to another nor betray the trust of pupils and teachers. No source of gossip was to be traded, even when it would be an advantage to exchange confidants. This was one ethical stand which I tried to maintain.

There is always the problem of inadvertently breaking one's own rule, so revealing private information or through a verbal slip making such information public. Both have happened. In the first case I did not deny the betrayal, and perhaps in this way showed that I could be fallible. Clearly if such a breach of confidence were to happen more than once this would seriously affect all relations. Such breaches could soon be traced through the informal networks both within and between groups.

There is a converse problem where the members of the

groups, knowing the relation of the researcher with various other groups, press for information about them. During the case study it was necessary to create a relationship such that informants would not press for information that was confidential and therefore could not be given. Groups and individuals who pressed for such information concerning others were asked to accept a rule, "you would not like me to give away your confidence to others". Informants were quick to realise whether their information was relayed to others.

In the case of the verbal slip participants know whether the researcher is being malicious, indifferent or betraying confidence. Another potentially dangerous situation, is caused by the fact that the researcher's knowledge of several groups is necessarily both greater than and different from the knowledge of any one group of another. Group members soon realised the potential of this information stock and commence a series of attempts to test the level of trust.

I found that it was crucial to be aware of the information networks both within a group and between some of the groups. The rate of information exchange if unknown can lead to unexpected and unnecessary confrontations, particularly as information can become distorted. It is sometimes better to delay asking questions directly until one is aware of the tacit information network. Whyte (1955) states,

"The next day Doc explained the lesson of the previous evening. "Go easy on that 'who', 'why', 'when', 'where' stuff, Bill. You ask those questions, and people will clam up on you. If people accept you, you can just hang around, and you'll learn the answers in the long run without even having to ask the questions." I found that this was true. As I sat and listened, I learned the answers to questions that I would not even have had the sense to ask if I had been getting my information solely on an interviewing basis." (p.303).

I considered Whyte's advice really important. As I developed this tacit understanding of the groups I found it was less necessary to ask direct questions, as it was possible to see that the direction the conversation was taking would in

time provide the answer and understanding I was seeking.

Sometimes a group would adopt a strategy to prevent the intrusion of the researcher into areas which are considered confidential or private. McRobbie and Garber (1975) comment,

"The girls we have spoken to at the Birmingham Youth Centre constantly make jokes among themselves for the sole purpose of confusing or misleading the researcher who may well be infringing on their territory by asking personal questions, or whose presence at the weekly disco they resent" [p.222].

If the respondents decide not to speak about something, there is no way of gaining the information required. During the case study I came to realise that the researcher is required to do two things at once to be alert to take advantage of opportunities which may arise and to be sure not to close off sources of information which may be required to be open later during the study.

4. Contact and Access: A description of fieldwork during the initial two weeks.

Introduction

What follows is an account of seven episodes of fieldwork during the initial two weeks inside and outside the context of the school. The interpretation is based on the fieldwork diary I made at the time and is intended here to provide some narrative sense of the beginning phase of contact with and access to the different pupil groups and the teaching staff. The issues raised are then discussed in relation to the later trajectory of the fieldwork and the type of analysis it facilitated.

4.1 Episode One.

The first few days were spent becoming familiar with the school buildings, geography, timetable and the teacher hierarchy. I thought it important to meet all the subject

heads of department, not only to provide an outline of the research but to make constructive future contacts.

During the break in the morning I met Paul one of the mod boys. He talked about our previous meetings before I entered the school. He introduced me to the rest of the mod boys. I asked if they could introduce me to some girls, Paul and Rich took me to see a group of girls [new wave girls] and we spoke for about five minutes.

After break finished, Rich offered to take me around the school. I learned that he was an "individualist" in mod language. He discussed and informed me about the social and cultural relation of the fifth year pupils at Marshlands. His description was so vivid it became possible to visualise the relations within and between different groupings. Rich spoke of the different groups at a social, territorial and sexual level. We visited the secret cigarette smoking areas, the delinquent areas and he talked about those taking any form of drugs. Of particular interest, he specified the history of the different youth groups [including some who left the school years before] academic and deviant careers. He talked about the teachers, the streaming system and how he saw the sixth forms. At first I was surprised how approachable he was but I soon became aware he had a great sensitivity and understanding of relationships. During the discussion I exchanged information with Rich about London clothes shops and style in general.

Before I had entered the school Paul had supplied a social map of the relations at school, however Rich's explanation of within and between relations of groups at a concrete level was a workable if perhaps biased model to begin fieldwork.

The rest of the day was spent firstly with the Headmaster discussing the research strategy and aim, and the Head of Humanities discussing classroom observation and the organisation of the school. After school I spent an hour in discussion with the Head of Physical Education, he had a lot

to talk about especially the activities of deviant pupils and how he controls the rebellious element.

4.2 Episode Two

Teachers were to be the main focus on the first few days. I visited the different sites of school to contact all the teachers so that all could be aware of my research, and respond to the "handout" I had prepared. I was also able to learn briefly about how the teachers saw the school.

Before dinner time I visited the sixth form with the hope of discussing how they saw the fifth years. Different single and mixed sex groups of sixthforms supplied various types of information concerning different fifth year pupils. In particular, the male sixth forms were indignant that the mod boys physically ruled the school and they were affronted by the boys combination of youth cultural style and academic ability. Some of the female sixth forms were indignant that the new wave girls were going out with the "best looking" sixth year boys.

In the staffroom I received an invitation to join some young teachers for lunch outside the school. This meeting was useful, to gain further insight into the teachers formal and informal associations and assessment of staff, pupils and the school.

The first half of the afternoon I spent in the staffroom speaking with the Head of the English department and the young Maths teacher. While in the staffroom the sociology "A" level teacher asked whether I would like to sit in on the last lesson with his small group. This was a positive suggestion to start classroom observation on the upper sixth form before observation began on the fifth year.

4.3 Episode Three

In the morning Rich introduced me to members of the rocker and heavy metal groups. Whilst in conversation with these boys

and girls this grouping was joined by some others who I was told were the criminal element. The discussion centred on the difference between "old" heavy rock music and the more recent heavy metal music, also guitarists, motor bikes, heavy drinking and "birds". Further, I stated I knew a group of rockers from Essex who had gone to a Detention Centre. The criminal boys asked questions on this last topic, saying that they might end up in such an institution.

The extensive information which Rich supplied on the first day had been really useful knowledge to understand and interpret what the rocker(s) and the criminal group were both stating and claiming. Through the accumulation of different [biased] social maps it became possible later to evaluate and cross reference various sources of information.

It had been arranged the previous day that during late morning I was to have a meeting with Mr Skull, Head of fifth Year Boys. He agreed to check through the names of fifth year boys according to my three questions about:

- a. Pupils who were going to pass examinations and possibly enter the sixth form.
- b. Pupils who took a directly oppositional stand against the school.
- c. Pupils who were substantially engaged in youth cultural practices.

This pupil check proved to be of greater value than originally intended. Mr Skull not only pinpointed the names of male pupils in relation to each question but gave his personal opinion, why certain pupils were delinquent and why certain pupils were "academic high flyers".

This meeting was demanding. Before dinner I sat on my own in the fifth year area and began to write notes. After five minutes I was joined by two of the criminal boys who sat down and began to chat informally. Slowly, I introduced some of Mr. Skull's [not stating his name] opinions about different pupil group behaviour, to see what type of response there would be.

I ate school dinner with some of the criminal boys, and later during the dinner hour I played cards with two skinhead boys. Towards the end of the game of cards, three mod boys gave me an invitation to spend the afternoon with them in the local cafe The Pistol, rather than go to the timetabled lessons.

I met the mod boys just outside the school gate at the far end of the playing fields. The mod boys present were Paul, Rich and Keef but also there were three new wave girls present Clare, Debbie and Christina [later I found out Christina was a marginal member]. Before entering the cafe the girls asked "What I wanted to know and why". Walking along the street I began to explain the research aim and objective but I was quickly cut short by Rich who provided his own explanation. In the Pistol the participants were sipping tea or coffee, smoking cigarettes while cajoling and posturing in chairs round a crowded table. The main topics of the talk which they initiated were how to conduct research on youth, music, style, sexual politics, sexual activity, pupil resistance and conformity and the differences between groups in the school. During the meeting I could see that the mod boys were not as dominant in the school as they previously had led me to believe. The new wave girls stated their positions, held to their arguments, made counter-attacks and would not be sexually intimidated. The maps of social relations which I had received from the mod boys, rocker(s) and criminal group were clearly male understandings. The new wave girls' interpretation of the social relations were not so different, however, the girls provided further subtle insight into how both male and female pupils were positioning and positioned in school.

Before four o' clock these pupils left the Pistol to walk to the railway station to either travel home or say goodbye. The mod boys and the new wave girls persuaded me to go on the train, I was reluctant at first because I did not possess a pass. They stated "don't worry about that, you will be okay with us". When at the station I paid the fare and told the railway official who I was and that I would get a formal pass

from the Deputy Head tomorrow.

4.4 Episode Four

Wednesday morning began with school assembly for the fifth and sixth year pupils. I stood at the back with the teaching staff. Outside the large hall I came into contact with a grouping of mod and criminal boys, they asked whether I would like to spend the morning in the town rather than go to lessons. Unfortunately, I had to decline the invitation because I had an arrangement with the sociology teacher to begin classroom observation on a fifth year 'O' level class.

After classroom observation I spent the morning break informally talking with the mod boys and the new wave girls. At the sound of the bell I went to the sixth form common rooms to contact a few students I was told I should see. I spent about an hour in conversation with different sixth formers.

I spent the short dinner time with the mod boys. I quickly ate the school meal, because I had a meeting with Mrs. Arthurs, Head of Fifth Year Girls. I asked her the same three questions which I had put to Mr. Skull. Her views on the fifth year girls were similar to those of Mr. Skull's views on the fifth year boys. Both teachers were critical of the boys and girls moral values and argued that the youth of today were less disciplined.

After speaking with Mrs. Arthurs I went to the staffroom and had a conversation with the Head of the English Department. He made the suggestion that next week we could have a longer discussion about youth culture. I found this a positive idea and fixed a time.

The double period in the afternoon was classroom observation of a General Studies lesson taken by the school teacher leader Mr. Prett. The lesson was low key until some of the mod boys questioned the rockers about their criminal behaviour. The teacher had to intervene directly to restore

order. After this incident, participation by all pupils in the lesson was non-existent.

In the afternoon-break the mod boys took me to their locations on the sports field for a "fag break". Half way through, a couple of the new wave girls joined this gathering for a smoke and chat.

The last period of the day was spent with the Deputy Head, the visit was to pick up a pass for the railway journey but I stayed for a long time talking with Mr. Bragg. The main topics were different sociological research methods and how I was finding the different pupil groups in the school.

I walked to the railway station with Sioux, Debbie and Cathy from the new wave girls. On the train I sat with the mod boys in their carriage, Hat asked whether I could purchase Folk Devils and Moral Panics by Stan Cohen for him. He stated that last year the sociology and history teacher used part of the book in a lesson.

4.5 Episode Five

After over ten days of contact in the school I had friendly relations with the mod boys, new wave girls and the criminal boys. When these pupils had a spare moment I asked each one to write on separate sheets of paper within the field diary what examinations they were taking, who were their friends, which were their favourite musical artists and anything else they wanted to say.

In the morning I planned to concentrate on the boffin boys and boffin girls. I went to Mr. South's form room for the tutor period, here I talked to a large group of boffin. The main task was to try to identify the central and marginal boffin boys and boffin girls and to build up a stock of information on which to work including names, hobbies, interests, and social relations.

Later during that morning I had a meeting with four members of the criminal group; two skinheads from the "skin patrol", one rocker and a ted. Those pupils had been sent out of different lessons and drifted into the fifth year area. We sat and chatted and later this group was joined by two rockers who had just got to school late. I stayed speaking with these boys until dinner time, their main topics of conversation initiated, were criminal activities, future unemployment, fantasy jobs, "close situations", conflict in school and conflict with parents and the police.

I ate school dinner with the boffin boys and boffin girls, afterwards we talked, watched and played table tennis. The boffin boys were keen on speaking about the differences between groups and their own individual differences, while the boffin girls talked about firstly the boffin boys' ego's and secondly, how the girls were more "mature" and "brighter".

During the first part of the afternoon I had a very informal conversation with Rich one of the mod boys. He appeared to be somewhat under stress. He spoke about his personal problems of home, brother, family, sex life and girlfriend and his dissociation from being in a group. The concluding part of the afternoon at school I went to the cafe - The Pistol with four of the mod boys, Rich, Keef, Paul and Hat. Inside the cafe were some of the last years school leavers; in fact some of the previous years mod group. By meeting this group of older mod boys I made more contacts and was able to gain another insight into the mod boys in school. The boys argued about the lack of jobs in the local labour market and talked about old school days, scooters, fighting and sexual activities.

On returning to the school the mod boys were fifteen minutes too early; Keef's watch was wrong again. To keep out of sight of teachers the boys went straight to the sports hall and investigated what to do. They found a brief case which was open, so Paul ran off and returned with two muddy red bricks. These were placed in the case and then they left for the

railway station. The school bell rang and I went to the school gate where I walked to the railway station by Sioux and Sally of the new wave girls. I sat with the mod boys in their carriage where everybody was jostling each other for a cigarette.

4.6 Episode Six

This was my first journey to the school on the train. I sat with three of the mod boys, Paul, Hat and Hendrix.

The first lesson this morning was assembly taken by the Deputy Head. At the beginning of the week the sociology teacher asked if I would like to teach one of the fifth year 'O' level classes for a number of weeks. I felt uncertain about doing this because I would be teaching some of the pupils in my major groups. However, after the lesson the teacher Mr. Williams said they were captivated and I had taught well. During the break he made me a cup of tea and we discussed fieldwork issues in sociology and anthropology. He had undertaken anthropological research in Africa and was interested in the way I was "getting on" with the different pupils. He also spoke about different pupil abilities, increasing vocational education in the curriculum and took me on a tour of the school building to show the most interesting and what was considered the "worst" graffiti.

Dinner time was spent with new wave girls. The girls ate slowly and we talked for a long time and were the last to leave the tables. A few of the girls went off to one girl's house but I remained with Cathy and Debbie who were going to walk to the town and sit on the wall and eat fruit. The two girls were speaking about the new wave girls' different boyfriends. Debbie was arguing about the issue of her virginity, namely whether to lose it now or later, with whom, what was the purpose of making something special of it, as in a couple of years time the issues would probably seem ridiculous. Further, the girls related stories of "great farts", holidays, parents, tampax incidents and early encounters with male sexuality.

Also the girls spoke about buying records, who did tape recording and the swapping of cassettes amongst the new wave girls. On returning to the school, dinner break had not finished, the girls decided to sit on the grass and "vegetate".

A couple of the mod boys arrived and suggested that I go with them to the recreation ground for a "fart and a fag" as Keef called it. Over by the pavilion stood two rocker girls, the mod boys went over to "wind them up", Keef asked the girls what they knew about heavy rock music. When it became clear the two girls did not know in detail about rocker music, the mod boys started to humiliate them for showing an identity but knowing nothing of its basis.

The first lesson of the afternoon was General Studies, a double period of classroom observation. The teacher leader who normally taught the lesson was ill, so a supply teacher Mr. Camusse originally from Iran took his place; he usually taught 'A' level Physics. The pupils in the classroom formed into four basic groupings. At the front sat a group of "quiet" girls parallel to them was a group of "quiet" boys. At the back of the classroom were some mod boys and new wave girls. Lastly, in the far right corner sat a large group of criminal boys, rockers and skinheads.

No group took any notice of the teacher at the beginning of the lesson. Firstly, the quiet groups began to whisper, the new wave girls felt off their chairs, and the "expanded" criminal grouping began to shout sexist and racist obscenities at the teacher. Some of the boys were asking for, if not demanding a physical challenge from the teacher. The boys began to spit, throw things and laugh out loud. The teacher did not know these pupils, he asked for names [and received false ones] and threatened to send the pupils out of the class or take them to the Head. The teacher was shaking, under immense stress and when the bell rang he broke down in tears. The pupils cheered, laughed and continued shouting as they made their exit from the classroom. I went over to Mr. Camusse and helped him walk over to the Head of Humanities where other

teachers consoled him.

On the journey home on the train I sat in the new wave girls' carriage with Lynne and Collen.

Tonight was to be a celebration, Keef was sixteen and he had arranged a pub crawl in his town for the mod boys and some girlfriends. Paul and Hat said they would come to collect me, so I told them where I lived and they arrived at seven o'clock. I took my field diary and cassette recorder and began recording from the moment Paul, Hat and myself were waiting at the bus stop in the fog to travel ten miles.

Keef's parents house was only a short distance from the bus stop. At Keef's house I met his parents, I explained the purpose of the research but they seemed more concerned that I should make sure the boys did not get into trouble after too much drinking. Everyone received a cup of tea or coffee and a biscuit. Those present for the pub crawl were: Keef, his girlfriend Tracey, Rich, his girlfriend Clare [one of new wave girls] Paul, Hat, Rod, two other girls.

During the pub crawl the group were joined by two more mod boys and Keef's elder sister.

The moving party set off just after eight o'clock to the first pub "The Hound". During the evening the group went to six other public houses and all became decidedly drunk. I did attempt to record the whole evening range of activities, however, this was immensely difficult not least because of the noise but also because of the strangeness of taping in public places. On the journey between the third and fourth public house the group started singing "Saturdays Kids" by the Jam. When the party came out of the last pub they ran down a narrow road cheering and singing, first "My Generations" by the Who, followed by a sustained rendition of The Jam's version of the "Batman Theme". By the time the group reached the graveyard they had vandalised a telephone box, were leap frogging grave stones, playing dead and performing crazy dances.

Walking back along the high street Rich pulled his trousers and pants down and ran in the middle of the road shouting and making odd noises. Keef was then jumped upon by the whole group who proceeded to give him seventeen bumps in the high street. The next stop was the "chippy" before it closed at half past eleven and then the final stagger back to Keef's parents house with some of the group sick on the way. Some stayed at Keef's parents house while the others went to his girlfriends parents house for the night.

4.7 Episode Seven

On Monday morning the journey to school was low key, the mod boys discussed homework, various pieces of course work and the future examinations. The morning assembly was taken by the Headmaster, his major theme was fifth and sixth year boy and girl sexual behaviour, kissing and "canoodling" in the school; displays which had to stop. For the next two days the mod boys would hold hands and embrace one another when they saw members of the school hierarchy.

After assembly I was to teach a fifth year 'O' level sociology class for the double period. Just before the lesson finished Mr. Skull, Head of Fifth Year Boys entered the classroom and informed me that the Head required to see me.

On arrival at the Headmaster's office the secretary told me I would have to wait for about ten minutes. The Head asked first for a progress report on the research. I elaborated on the observation of the different pupil groups, how I hoped to be able to move between the various groups. The Head switched the discussion to three issues he called "the problem of rumours". He required that I answer the following questions,

- a. That I was supplying pills [drugs] to youths.
- b. That my relationship was becoming too close with the pupils and he accused me of having under age sexual intercourse with the fifth year girls.
- c. That I was biasing my research study by being a "ring leader" and taking pupils into public houses and getting

drunk myself.

Firstly, I knew some of the mod boys and new wave girls would occasionally take some soft drugs such as cannabis in small amounts, however, I did not supply the pupils with pills or any type of drugs.

Secondly, the accusation of sex with the fifth year girls was completely untrue. I did have a close relationship with the new wave girls, they would kiss me at the end of the school day or when something special, emotional or unexpected happened.

Thirdly, I did drink alcohol with each of the five groups under study but each always asked me to join them. No group needed any encouragement from myself to drink or to go to a public house. At no time did I go to a public house with any group during school hours.

I challenged the Headmaster's rumours with evidence. He seemed more reassured but argued that the observations technique required more objectivity to be scientific.

I ate school dinner with the new wave girls and spent the rest of the dinner hour with Cathy and Debbie. The two girls went for a walk in the town, around the back roads. They went to a shop to buy crisps and sweets. I walked with the girls to the graveyard where they sat for about an hour. I spoke to them about some of the issues, the Head's "rumours". The girls said "For God sake, it was to be expected. With all the small and narrow minds here, they have to have something to talk about or someone to blame". The new wave girls were reassuring and made it explicit that they would support me if there were any future problems.

The double period after the dinner hour was General Studies, classroom observations. At the beginning of the lesson the teacher leader Mr. Prett asked whether I would like to write a review of the live gig that night at the schools' youth wing for the local newspaper, The Argus. The school band

was called Alternative Signs.

During the afternoon-break I learnt that Paul one of the mod boys had been caught smoking by some sixth year prefects. He had been sent to the Head of Fifth Year Boys. Paul maintained that "He let me off because he likes me, mind you, he did take the piss out of me, the bastard". The last period of the afternoon I spent in the library, an English lesson with the mod boys and the new wave girls. I taped some of the conversations in the library but unfortunately the quality of the recording was poor.

In the evening I received a lift to the school youth wing and met some of the new wave girls outside the gate. They waited outside for a while until a few more of the new wave girls arrived and the group went inside the building. The new wave girls present were Clare, Debbie, Sally, Lynne, Cat, Steff, Collen, Sioux and Cathy, the marginal girls present were Christina, Rachel, Dianne, Pat and Jan.

The first part of the evening at the youth wing was a "Top of the Pops" competition, where the prize was an opportunity to go and see the programme. The new wave girls refused to join in this activity, instead I joined some of the girls' in a frantic game of table football. I bought lemonade drinks for the new wave girls and found out who were the members of the band Alternative Signs and which instruments they played.

Alternative Signs crashed and thrashed into their opening number and the youth wing was filled with white light, heat, noise and smoke. I tried to write some notes on what the audience were doing and how the band was received. I stood at the back of the hall with the new wave girls. All the girls gradually began to dance using unusual contortions. They were hip jiving, hopping and spinning round both fast and slow.

When the gig had finished I walked some of the new wave girls back to their parents' house and later caught a lift back to my town. The time was five to eleven and as I walked down

the High Street I saw Paul one of the mod boys. He was just going to the pub for a late drink, so I joined him. Inside the public house I had a conversation with Paul's father and other friends of his.

4.8 Some Issues Raised

The first two weeks represent only the initial stages of establishing field relations to develop rapport. As a consequence there might appear too greater emphasis on firstly, contact with certain members of each group, secondly, contact with certain groups rather than other groups. This shows two things, on the one hand the significance of initial informants, and on the other hand the time difference to establish contact, develop rapport and maintain relations with certain individuals and certain groups.

A central question with respect to this description and the fieldwork itself, is my relation within each group and between the various groups. My presence in the school was used by members of each group to enhance their public profile. A result of this, was legitimation of the different groups' principles of style, pedagogy, ritual, practice and communication. The groups exploited and tested my "in between" position to send through me different varieties of coded messages. Therefore, in one sense I became a relay for messages. After, the initial phase of fieldwork each group realised the meaning and power behind the stock of information I was collecting. Groups of individuals would ask, either about other groups and individuals. This information I was reluctant to supply, or they would ask about matters within their own group. Here, my position as a researcher develops into a resource for each group. I would speak in depth with any group or individual only about their own private and public relations and practices.

There is another side of this story. The coded messages transmitted through me, inside the closed network of groups [under study], also created a dependent relation for the

groups. Each group received high status through being studied which included the possibility to send and receive coded messages. However, if a group opted out of the network not only would high status be lost, but the excluded group might be potentially threatened because of reduced access to send or receive coded messages.

There is a political context to research. A researcher is in a privileged position with respect to the informants who might be poor, uneducated and powerless. There has been criticism of young middle class researchers who build their career upon the intellectual exploitation of powerless groups or the meanings and symbols of such groups. The study here, emphasises the ethical question, what is the borderline of complicity? To report illicit practices including sexual concerns, drinking in public houses, criminal activities, smoking cigarettes, taking drugs and truancy, exposes my role and purpose in creating a description of the behaviour I have observed. My complicity in the field relations did give me credit and made the groups trust me more but was it ethical?

A crucial issue was my ambiguous position in relation to the school authorities, especially the Headmaster, as I began to observe and be with different groups who sometimes broke school and legal regulations. The end result of the first two weeks of fieldwork was that I had to answer three allegations by the Headmaster. The pupil groups positioning of me both inside and outside school had been brought to the attention of the school authorities by certain people. The information came to the Head from three directions parents, sixth form girls and the school ancillary staff. It was possible to identify these sources of information through contact with Mrs. Strummer, key teacher informants and the youth cultural groups. In the school I was subject to strategies of collusion by the different groups. My major failure was not to realise the real potential consequences of these different strategies of collusion. For example when I was presented with an invitation to join the mod boys and the new wave girls in an act of truancy, three issues were apparent.

Firstly, what would happen if the Headmaster found out that I had joined pupils in an act of truancy.

Secondly, the groups were "trying it on" to see how far they could go before I was in trouble with the school authorities.

Thirdly, if I refused to accept the invitation, how would the groups regard me and would I receive another invitation?

My approach was both naive and realistic. I could see some of the dangers of this and other situations but also I held a perhaps unreal belief of being allowed a free reign in the school and not be liable for the consequences of pupil actions. During earlier discussion with teachers some suggested they would like to undertake the study, because access to pupils' confidential relations might improve pedagogic practice.

The teachers' encouragement held a latent consequence. At a surface level there was positive support of my investigation of the pupil world but at a deeper level their support fuelled my naive understanding of being able to move smoothly in school from observation of deviant to non-deviant actions without comprehending the dangers of that position.

The observation of truancy created two problems: firstly I did not anticipate the pressure I put on the relation between the school authorities and myself, secondly, I did not fully comprehend that the groups were subjecting me to various strategies of collusion. Further, these strategies of collusion put specific and different pressures on both the Headmaster and myself. The groups' capacity to attract attention resulted in my summons before the Headmaster to answer a number of allegations. My presence as a researcher created three issues/problems of power relations in school. One, the Head's authority, two, the pupil groups deviancy and three the researcher's status. I did not realise the true catalyst position. Standing before the Head not only was I on trial but the pupil groups, although not present were also on trial and so was the authority of school order.

This episode illustrates very dramatically the difficulty

in which I found myself; establishing rapport without a colluding consent to the various activities of the groups and maintaining the support of the school's hierarchy.

A further problem of collusion with each of the five groups was whether through group rivalry, they might attempt to compete in out-colluding each other. Consequently the action of each group would become an exaggeration of the last known act of complicity. Collusion is not just a case of deceit, whereby I was taken in by the different groups. My crucial condition of being allowed access to be with the groups during activities, was not to be expected to take an active part in events as a member of a group, but to observe in order to gain a description. The observer's paradox is that the behaviour of those under study becomes altered modified or amplified through the presence of the observer to influence the situation. The early stages of the fieldwork were marked by the different groups displays and the practices of their cultural forms. The talks and discussions were initiated by the groups and I made a contribution where I thought an appropriate remark on style, pedagogy or deviance would be seen as increasing rapport, furthering contact and to show that I understood the group.

It would be incorrect to assume from this account that I spent all my time with the pupil groups. Throughout the fieldwork I received extensive help and useful suggestions from the teaching staff. I spoke in depth with my key teacher informants on the past history of the pupils in different groups. The teacher leader who ran the youth wing and the other teachers who worked with him gave background information on pupils activities past, present, inside and outside school.

To achieve a thick description of the groups cultural forms in action, it was thought necessary to observe the groups in action in different contexts including inside and outside the school and the classroom, in both mixed and single sex groupings and in parental and youth spaces. A central danger in close qualitative studies is the emotional level and

commitment which is shared as the group and researcher build up a body of common experience. It is here that the researcher must insist on retaining his/her separation from the group(s). This refers to two elements of distance, physical and analytical. With respect to the physical, there existed spaces in the school where I could go to get away from teachers and pupils, to write up notes and think. With respect to the analytical, I never thought I was a member of the groups nor acted as if I were. The groups pointed to the classic Whyte (1943) understanding, that there was a distance between the researcher and the researchee. Without an analytical distance the researcher is only relating a biographical experience. This can be interesting, indeed valuable, however, it does not allow space for observation to develop into thick description with the intention of demonstrating a hypothesis or presenting a formal theoretical interpretation.

5. Conclusion

This chapter provides an account and discussion of the field work methods which generated the ethnographic description and also an introduction to the protagonists of the narrative. The chapter demonstrates the practical and logical problem of thesis writing. The detailed introduction to the five major groups' social relations and practices was written last, that is, its position in the temporal order of writing is different from its position in the order of presentation. It might appear inconsistent to provide a privileged level of understanding which also commits the reader to the interpretation, before the empirical grounds of the interpretation are presented. However, the short introduction was thought necessary in order to provide the reader with an initial understanding, and also a context in which to interpret the protagonists of the narrative.

The chapter provided three related accounts. First, an account of the context of the school site including social relations with the teachers and the ancillary school staff, together with the initial research intention and a description

of teacher/pupil classroom contact. Second, an account of the major fieldwork techniques used which generated the thick description. Third, an account of the fieldwork diary which records the direct power relations of the youth groups, the school authorities and the researcher during the initial two weeks. This "chronological technique" based upon the field diary attempts to involve the reader in the same sets of processes which I went through. Finally, there was a discussion of some of the issues raised by the initial field relations.

Conducting a qualitative field study on female and male youth is an experience both intimate and intense. Ethnographic research requires relationships based upon exchange. The researcher engages in a special relationship with informants, yet the researcher should never forget that she or he is not one of the group. The price of increased freedom in the research method is that the researcher becomes more vulnerable than the quantitative sociologist. Informants may push towards extreme situations from which the researcher cannot escape, and to which he/she must respond. At one level a complex game is set up, at another there is a serious exploration of intention.

In this case study the relation between theory and method is not so much an initial guiding perspective as a continuous attempt to understand. Perhaps, it is more a continuous attempt to understand as the groups studied unfold rather than initially to hypothesize. If there is any hypothesis it is the testing and comprehending of the researcher's understanding of the group and the group at some point indicate one's failures.

Notes Chapter 2

1. All clubs, places, pubs, towns and names of individuals have been changed.
2. I learnt that one of the most powerful moral sources within the school were the "dinner ladies". Mrs. Strummer explained that a number of dinner ladies had promoted stories including that I was coming back to the school in the afternoon, everyday - drunk. In fact, the Headmaster put these allegations to me and I explained they were totally without grounds. Indeed, during my Bentire period of fieldwork at Marshlands I had been to a public house only once at dinner time, and that was with young members of the teaching staff.

By having access to information including gossip and stories within the school I could prepare myself to correct fatuous exaggerations. The interesting thing was not the speed by which the "dinner ladies" gossip travelled up the school hierarchy but the manner and means through which that gossip became an official allegation.

I found the school to be a symbolic, social and moral community, where outsiders such as a researcher can become a drum upon which a problem can be sounded.

3. See Weiner (1986) for further discussion on whether option choice is in reality a free choice or not.
4. The ability to continue a professional relation with the three unresponsive teachers rested upon two sources of informal communications: firstly, the relationship with the four teacher informants, and secondly, a friendship with a member of the schools ancillary staff.
5. The interviews with the teachers were semi-structured. There was an order to the question asked but this could be changed depending upon how the interview proceeded. There were ten general areas to cover:
 1. Relations between staff and pupils.
 2. The contents of the curriculum, its relevance to pupils needs and interests.
 3. The boys and girls different relations in school and during their leisure period.
 4. The pupils respect of a teacher.
 5. Differences between boys and girls academic aspirations and directions.
 6. The advantages/disadvantages of having the youth wing on the school site.
 7. Teacher identification and understanding of youth cultural style.
 8. Teacher understanding of the music press from New Musical Express to Smash Hits.
 9. The teachers' own interests when they were adolescents.

10. General views about schooling, education and the economy.
6. See Hewitt (1985) *The BeatConcerto: authorised biography of The Jam*.
7. Herman's (1971) *The Who*, is possibly the first semiotic analysis which relates youth style, music and a pop group. Only Hebdige (1979) acknowledges the importance of this book in combining both an academic and a popular approach to youth style analysis.
8. Cohn (1970) the section 'England after the Beatles: mod'. See Gillett (1970/1983) for a comprehensive analysis of music and style during the 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's.
9. Prior to leaving school both the new wave girls and the mod boys possessed considerable experience of work in the local labour market. This supports the findings of Finn (1982), Bates et al (1984), Roberts [1984], Dale [ed] (1985) Brown and Ashton [eds.] (1987).
10. During the fieldwork all members of the new wave girls and the mod boys had boy or girlfriends but here I name only those who had stable relations.
11. On the tenth anniversary of punk the *New Musical Express* [and *The Face*] have produced a number of constructive critical interpretations on the past and present position of punk. One dangerous element of the fascination of the popular music press with nostalgia is that punk has been placed on a romantic pedestal; Not only out of reach of the people who created it but beyond analysis and criticism. Punk is becoming or has become sacred.
12. The new wave girls also experimenting with post-punk styles such as, futurist, new romantic, the cult with no name, positive punk and new psychedelia.
13. An important resource of the new wave girls were the "Jumble Sales", both as a practice and a social event.
14. See Hammersley and Turner (1980) *Conformist Pupils?*, in Woods (1980).
15. The M.A. dissertation by Farrant (1965) Exeter University also refers to aspects of marginality in relation to the nature and structure of youth group.
16. Anderson (1923), Thrasher (1927), Wirth (1928), Zorbaugh (1929) Shaw (1930), Cressey (1932).
17. During conversation and discussions each group would ask for my opinion on a particular subject or question me about a subject on which they required further information. My response to issues of a confidential nature would depend on the subject matter, who was present, in what context the

information was required and whether the information given would influence the situation. I did not pretend to be a psychoanalyst or conveyor of all social knowledge. Overall, I tried to get the individual or group to look further into themselves to provide a possible answer.

18. "Bedroom culture" refers to single sex practices and relations, usually female which are private and inaccessible to young males. Previous interpretation of "bedroom culture" Frith (1978), McRobbie (1978), specify it as a predominantly passive activity, where girls experiment with make up, talk about boys, listen to top twenty music and dream of buying clothes. For the new wave girls "bedroom culture" can be described as an active gathering where the girls drink alcohol, stay up late or see the sun rise, talk on serious matters, feast and generally "have a good time". "Bedroom culture" for the new wave girls is a symbolic practice which was socially based and reinforced collective solidarity.
19. A group discussion can proceed without the prompting of the researcher. Willis (1972) suggests that group discussions are likely to be a privileged source of evidence and provide data of an unsolicited kind. "Given the range of internal controls in the group discussion situation, preventing serious distortions, the taped discussion is one of the most profound and useful research techniques available to the participant observer [p.LXI]
20. The problems of tape recording outside the school were immense, the difficulties include the strangeness of recording in public place, audibility of participants, the noise of the passing road traffic or loudness of other events and the problem of other individuals who want to be recorded and listen to themselves. There is also a problem of batteries running out, possessing replacement blank cassettes, inadvertently keeping the pause button down, dropping the machine and finally the capacity of both tape and cassette recorder to function when receiving rough handling.
21. This should not be confused with Agar's (1986) Speaking of Ethnography, which attempts to elaborate a language for ethnographers to describe and evaluate their research.

CHAPTER 3

A THEORY OF YOUTH CULTURAL FORMS

1. Introduction

In the first and second chapters the reasons for not applying the concept of subculture in this case study were put forward. The concept was considered not particularly useful to interpret youth cultural relations, paradigms, practices, positions, rituals or styles. The two theories of subculture, namely, the psychological/psycho-analytic and the more structural analysis, do not explain the relations within or between groups. The reason for not applying the concept of subculture then, does not rest on the variations between different competing definitions, but on the capacity of the concept to explain youth cultural groups in action: both their internal and external relations. The category of subculture not only homogenises the practices of youth but fails to allow for local variation. Furthermore, the lived practices of youth are rarely the object of qualitative empirical research.

Previous theories are on the one hand, very dependent in the final instance upon psychoanalytic constructs to define youth socially, and their fundamental notions are assumptions about, rather than arising out of, observed relations and practices. On the other hand these theories do connect the study of youth to macro levels of analysis, essentially through social class. However, studies of youth adopting an inter-actionist approach necessarily it seems, disconnect youth from the wider structures of class, gender and race.

In order both to describe the internal relations within the youth cultural forms of our study, the relations between these social forms and their inter-relations with the wider social structures it was necessary to create what we call here a language of description. That is a set of concepts which generate relations capable of describing the styles, forms and practices, conflicts and tensions of the various groups. The

language of description reduces the arbitrariness of the ethnographic account by making explicit the principles of interpretation. This language was initially developed whilst in the field and, in this sense, arose out of the ethnography. However, a more rigorous development of the language took place after the field work was completed. The language of description is itself produced by sets of hypotheses developed to make sense of the ethnographic data, and acts both as a grid for interpretation and as a grid to be tested or rather explored for its power of description. From this point of view the theoretical language is not an elaboration of pre-determined categories nor a naive development of the groups' "naturalistic" practices but a complex data-informed and explored construction developed to inform and interpret the ethnographic data. In short, the language of description provides principles of analysis to interpret data. These principles of analysis do not so much distinguish between levels of analysis as produce a selective focus upon aspects or features of an emergent totality whose identity, forms, practices, semiotic and external relationships create both order and conflict.

A minimum definition of a youth cultural form is that it is a grouping of youth on the basis of a specialisation of style which creates a particular solidarity, territoriality, history, set of practices and semiotic played out in relations which are oppositional and complementary to other style specialisations. This minimum definition will be elaborated later in the chapter.

It was clear that the internal group relations of the style groups in the school were very different from friendship groups, cliques or gangs as these have been discussed in the literature. The analysis that follows is an attempt to describe the particular pattern of positions, division of labour and interaction which are considered to typify youth cultural groups. The description which follows although only based on the fieldwork is tentatively put forward as a model for describing youth cultural forms.

The theory of youth cultural forms will be divided into four major sections,

- a. Specialised positions.
- b. Social relations of the face.
- c. Specialised semiotic.
- d. Signature.

2. Group Structure: specialised positions

2.1 Introduction

The model of the specialised positions describes the positions, relations and communication within a youth cultural group. There are two forms which have two specialised positions:

Symbolic Forms: Style Leader

Cultural Ransacker

Social Forms : Peer Group Spokesperson

Peer Group Consolidator

Here I will briefly introduce the specialised positions. The symbolic forms regulate the specialised semiotic of the youth cultural group: i.e. the condition for stylistic solidarity. The style leader is predominantly concerned with the identity of the style. The cultural ransacker's priority is towards the structural relations of style, in particular the authenticity of style. The social forms operate control and regulation over the social relations of the youth cultural group: i.e. its collective solidarity. The peer group spokesperson is predominantly concerned with maintenance and assertion of collective solidarity. The peer group consolidator's priority is towards affirmation and reparation of group solidarity.

The discussion will centre on:

Firstly, the specific specialised positions.

Secondly, the relations within and between the symbolic and the social forms.

Thirdly, hierarchy within youth cultural forms.

2.2 Style Leader

The SL is dedicated to style initiation. He or she will be the first to adopt items of a new style or purchase the recognised elements of the legitimate style. The SL gives direction and regulates the dress and appearance of the youth cultural group.

The SL controls the promenading rituals and its initiation but this power must be kept within stylistic bounds. If the SL goes beyond the reality level the group has accepted, or is seen to be too willing to adopt an unacceptable variation or a variation beyond the group's resources to develop, then he/she may well become isolated and experience ego difficulties. From the point of view of the group the SL leader may be a source of threat as the SL's fundamental involvement in style might lead him/her to exhaust the possibilities of one style and turn to another. Thus the dedication of the SL to style is both a source of strength to the group and a potential danger to the order the style symbolises.

A SL must always offer competence, preparation and articulation in demonstrating the present stylistic order. The SL requires an effective material base in order to possess the money to buy merchandise. Where the youth cultural style is new, the SL's need of such a material base is reduced because there are no pre-selected items of style to purchase. A new style allows the SL an increased capacity to experiment without necessarily having to buy the accepted expensive clothes of a style. In the case of a historical youth cultural style, the SL will require money to buy the pre-selected elements signalling the style. In general, the SL requires a foundation in an economic base which allows for both choice and experimentation.

2.3 Cultural Ransacker

The CR is preoccupied with importation. He or she is concerned to look outside the existing group structure, to absorb ideas and meanings which can be introduced into the group. The CR finds pleasure and purpose in both invention and transferral. The CR monitors the stylistic relations of the youth cultural form. An important difference between the SL and the CR is that the SL's priority is the demonstration of youth cultural style, whereas the CR's priority is stylistic authenticity and how style structures work.

The CR monitors authenticity, searches out and continually questions to ensure that the group is not seduced by false elements of style. The CR not only monitors the style but attempts to develop the style through knowledge of stylistic boundaries. Inside the group the CR demands stylistic authenticity, outside the group the CR will search for both "new" and "old" items which emphasise stylistic authenticity. In a sense the CR is the bricoleur of the group. Whether the youth cultural style is contemporary or historic the CR requires an effective economic base. To be able to investigate, experiment and monitor stylistic relations and innovations, the CR needs money.

The CR can disturb the style solidarity of the youth cultural group by too great an insistence on invention, discovery and reversal. Such actions create hostility in the group and brings the CR into conflict with the peer group spokesperson whose concern is essentially with social solidarity, and with the SL whose concern is with style solidarity. The CR may become a potential threat to the youth cultural group.

The CR, then, imparts elements of styles, practices and ideas, and so invigorates the cultural form as well as acting as a guardian of its authenticity. The attraction for the CR is the investigation of other styles and the accumulation of knowledge of stylistic variation.

2.4 Peer Group Spokesperson

The PGS is the voice of the group, often loud, and always potentially domineering. He or she will claim the right to speak for the youth cultural group. The PGS requires an audience. He/she will be the first to protect and assert social solidarity. A PGS will also attempt to resolve other members' problems to ensure that a consensus exists. It is difficult for a peer group spokesperson to admit that he or she is ever wrong. Any sign of uncertainty could be a danger to social solidarity. The PGS rarely speak of their personal feelings because priority is always given to the social context of the group and its members.

The PGS can disturb rather than facilitate social solidarity through the drive to be dominant [albeit in the group interest]. Such actions not only create tension within the group but between the specialised positions. At the same time the PGS demands that other members show consideration for others and allow all to make a contribution. However, the PGS's two roles of domination and promotion of cohesion can disturb the social solidarity of the group which the peer group consolidator will need to repair. [See later discussion]. On occasions other specialised positions will join together to control the dominance of the PGS. Such actions, however, will need careful consideration in order to avoid injury to the PGS's pride. A humiliated PGS is not only a danger to group solidarity. In this case the PGS may keep a low profile for a short time and is susceptible to an occasional sulk. When the PGS is active, group social exchanges become ritualised, extrovert and rumbustious. A function of the PGS's cohesive role is the distribution of symbolic awards to ensure that everyone is "mentioned in despatches" and to facilitate internal strength and confidence.

There is a potential tension between the style leader and peer group spokesperson on the one hand and the cultural ransacker and peer group consolidator on the other hand. For the former positions [SL/PGS] may create a false self assurance

and identity, whereas the latter two positions [CR/PGC] may well have to negotiate the tendency to ritual exaggeration on the part of the PGS and the SL.

The PGS is a somewhat conservative force within these youth cultural groups, essentially affirming or rejecting ideas/practices brought into the group. The PGS is a position like each of the other positions, specialised to a particular practice. In this case the PGS is a social form and the initiating or introduction of the symbolic by a social form is not likely to be acceptable to the other specialised positions. The PGS, through the play of positions of which he/she is a part, contrives to be dominant in the practices of group solidarity.

2.5 Peer Group Consolidator

The PGC is a social form whose practice is essentially concerned with facilitating the social solidarity of the group. The PGC can therefore be regarded as a specialist in "repair" strategies. These strategies are applied to defuse actual or potential threats to the harmonious social relations of the group. These threats can come from a variety of sources, for example disputes between members, disputes over style, disputes over status, disputes between specialised positions.

In order to carry out the reparative practices the PGC has to have access to a grapevine of gossip, rumour and local histories which provide an important information base. The PGC will be likely to take all sides into account in a dispute demand honesty and insist that little remains underground to poison social relationships. He/she is likely to use three strategies and choose according to the situation:

- a. Provocation
- b. Eccentricity
- c. Humour

Whether one or any combination of these strategies is applied, the purpose will be to celebrate the group structure, friendship or culture at the expense of difference and tension.

The PGC's major concern is to deal with discrimination and injustice by monitoring and repairing social relations, practices and rituals.

As a social form the PGC¹ has a dual role, to strengthen the youth cultural group when at ritual play in its public face and to unify the group in its internal private face. The PGC is given direction and support by the PGS especially when carrying out their two social roles of strengthening the public face and facilitating unity in the private face. The PGS and PGC share a conservative face with regard to stylistic initiation or innovation. However, both social forms powerfully direct the youth cultural group's public display i.e. its promenade. The PGC is accepting of authority, as a result of their confirming and affirming roles.

There is a cross form alliance between the peer group consolidator and the cultural ransacker, as both recognise threats of symbolic and social exaggerations in creating internal divisions within the group. Although, there exists cross form alliance, it is the PGC who is more likely to realise that the CR is the most threatening of the specialised positions to the solidarity of the group. This is because the CR's concern is with the meaning and structure of stylistics not so much at the level of display of one specific style but at the level of understanding principles of authentic style itself.

2.6 Symbolic and Social Forms

The specialised positions within a youth cultural group work to strengthen and develop the social and symbolic relations of the youth cultural form. A youth cultural form has a specialised semiotic which is regulated by the two symbolic forms, the cultural ransacker and the style leader. Further, a youth cultural group has social ordering positions which are regulated by the two social forms, the peer group consolidator and the peer group spokesperson.

The symbolic forms function to introduce, develop, use and identify stylistic variations within the specific aesthetic of the youth cultural group and to revivify the practices of the youth cultural styles' aesthetic dimension. The style leader and the cultural ransacker regulate the aesthetic of the specific youth cultural signature which makes its particular form distinctive. [See later discussion of signature]. There may be relations of symbolic struggle between the CR and the SL arising out of their respective specialised practices, this however is a limited conflict not opposition between these forms.

The social forms regulate the public and private social relations of the youth cultural group. The social forms function in affirming, confirming and repairing the youth cultural group identity, social relations and practices. There may be occasional relations of social struggle between the peer group spokesperson and the peer group consolidator, however, these relations tend not to be oppositional because the priority of both social forms is collective solidarity. No stylistic variation can be legitimated and become a practice without receiving the "pass card" through the social forms.

Tension can exist where the symbolic forms attempt to seduce the social forms into accepting a particular stylistic innovation or variation. This creates space for struggles, reveals instability and the potential for clash. The specialised position a member occupies is not pre-determined or static. Unity is formed out of a constant striving towards an ideal coherence in which rupture is however, inherent. Each of the specialised positions requires different sets of skills to develop and apply. A specialised position can be understood as a range or set of specific practices which an individual will take over on the basis of a relevant skill. The person is not the position: the practices performed must be understood as demonstration of a specialised position. The specialised positions will not always operate their practice, but only when the situation demands.

In a youth cultural group can there exist non-specialised positions? Within the youth cultural group there are non specialised positions because of the existence of marginal members. At meetings or gatherings not all members of the youth group will be present. At particular events, incidents or occasions marginal members will be present. [See chapter 2 marginal members.] How is it possible to identify marginal members? Close field relations with the group lead to a body of experience which facilitates recognition of marginal members.

Within a youth cultural group there may be two or more members who occupy the same specialised position, for example two PGSs or two CRs. Two CRs can make a symbolic alliance within the group or two PGCs can form a social alliance. However, there may be also internal struggle [not opposition] between two members of the same specialised position. Further, it was found during the ethnography that where certain specialised positions were absent, another would attempt to monopolise the absent position(s). The consequence of this is not a distortion of the group structure but it reveals the potential struggle between specialised positions to make claims on other specialised positions. For example where there is no SL present, the PGS may make a symbolic claim that he/she will not be able to substantiate. The PGS may be corrected when the SL is present. The important point is that each specialised position will attempt to dominate and occupy, on occasions, additional specialised positions. But an individual cannot sustain occupancy of more than one specialised position: one person performs one specialised position. However, where a specialised position attempts to occupy more than one specialised position, the group members will react against this because they will recognise the display as a danger to both social and stylistic solidarity.

2.7 Hierarchy Within Youth Cultural Forms

Each specialised position within a youth cultural form shares with others a relation of equality. Specialised

positions are equal in the sense that each is required to contribute to the social and stylistic solidarity within the group. However, each specialised position is not equal in terms of the potential of each to specialise. Therefore, the basic division of labour between symbolic and social forms creates a dynamic but "edgy" sense of group democracy.

A. Division of labour: functions

There exists between the symbolic and the social forms a division of labour of functions creating oppositions and tension arising out of revivifying and reparation practices.

B. Division of labour: status locations

The four specialised positions [SL, CR, PGS, PGC] are prestigious forms and will themselves become objects of status and power, for competition and domination by group members.

These specialised positions do not form a hierarchy from bottom to top. The issue of hierarchy becomes one of relation, that is, every position has a status. But members might attempt to master and occupy other specialised positions than their own to increase their status and power. Where a member successfully dominates both the social and symbolic forms she or he will emerge as the leader, under these conditions the youth cultural group becomes a gang with one identifiable voice and one leader. A gang has only one division of labour [Leader/led], in contrast to the youth cultural group which has two divisions of labour one for social solidarity and the other for stylistic solidarity. Within a youth cultural group leadership is vacant. The leadership position is subject to the relations within and between the two divisions of labour. The dominant direction from within the group is not through leadership but from the relations between the two forms of social solidarity and stylistic authenticity. Leadership is not a central controlling relation inside the youth cultural group because the different specialised positions regulate, repair and control the relations rituals, practices and communications. The chair of leadership remains vacant because

of the two requirements of solidarity and authenticity which overrule the dominance of the leadership position by any one specialised position.

Having outlined the relations within the youth cultural forms it is important to show the contrasting relations between the specialised positions, especially between the social and the symbolic. The complementary forms will ensure that tension and contradiction is promoted by cross form alliance which arises out of the solidarity and fragmentation within the group. Two crucial social relations of disturbance in the youth cultural group's solidarity are, on the one hand, the capacity of the PGS to disturb the social through a too domineering presence, and on the other hand, the capacity of the CR to disturb the style through the importing of new ideas. Group solidarity can be potentially fractured at the level of style and at the level of the social. This affects the relation of the SL's position towards stylistic solidarity, and the relation of the PGS's position towards social solidarity. Therefore, to sustain and create stylistic and social solidarity there are a series of controlling, oppositional and alliance relations within and between the social and symbolic forms.

The PGC and the CR monitor and revivify the social and stylistic relations which are real and potential threats to group solidarity. This is in contrast to the SL and the PGS who promote the social and stylistic relations of ritual exaggeration which "promenade" the solidarity of the group in its public face.

The CR is primarily concerned with stylistic authenticity. This means he/she will monitor the stylistic practice and ensure that a "reality principle" on ritual exaggeration at the level of style is maintained. If a practice is not authentic to the style, the CR will insist that the danger threatening identity and solidarity is opposed.

The cross form alliance of social solidarity and stylistic

authenticity between the PGC and the CR is accomplished through the "reality principle" which sees ritual exaggeration or fantasy as an oppositional threat to group solidarity. Therefore, within the group there is potential conflict between

- A. The peer group consolidator and the style leader over social solidarity
- B. The cultural ransacker and the peer group spokesperson over stylistic authenticity.

The cross form alliance can cause conflict between the two dominant relations of social and stylistic solidarity, while at the same time the alliance both regulates and monitors dangers to group solidarity and authenticity.

3. The Social Relations of the Face

3.1 Introduction

The model of the social relations of the face describes the three different social relations of a youth cultural group;

- A. Private face
- B. Between face
- C. Public face

The three facets refer to the different levels, types and range of interaction within and between youth cultural groups. The private face describes the internal relations of the group. The between face refers to the type of interaction which occurs between rival, different, oppositional and similar youth cultural groups. The public face describes the external relations of the group.² (Dunphy 1963, Labov 1982, Kochman 1983).

In both the popular media and the previous literature on deviance and education attention has been concentrated on youth's public profile. Youth appear to have only one mode of social relation ie. revolt. McRobbie (1980) states "Few subcultural writers seem to be really interested in what happened when the mod went home after a weekend on speed"

[p.3]. She points out that previous accounts have been concerned to emphasise only one element of youth behaviour, what I have called here the "public face". This face is presented for public reading whenever there exist opportunities for recognition. A further point which reinforces McRobbie's criticism is that studies of youth are concerned only with youth as deviant stylists, ignoring the fact that youth has to engage in situations other than those strictly related by membership of a youth cultural group. A individual is also daughter, son, pupil, footballer, shop assistant, parent, apprentice, unemployed or trainee manager and so on.

The discussion will elaborate the three social relations of the face, private, between and public.

3.2 Private Face

The private face is strictly an in-group social relation. Rarely will outsiders be permitted to view this face because it may reveal internal uncertainty. The issues of hierarchy, both within and between the divisions of labour of social and stylistic solidarity are here in play. From within the private face, the youth cultural group works out its internal positions, practices and relations. Here there will be potential and actual internal promenading by group members as alliances and struggles occur between the specialised positions.

The purpose of the internal group promenade are different from those of the formal public promenade. Ritual within the internal promenade celebrates the group structure, history and potential. In contrast, the ritual of a public promenade is more flexible and allows for perhaps greater dramatic ritual-street theatre. During the private face the group is present only to itself. Discussions are not suitable for outsiders to hear. Communication in the private face is played out against a back cloth of implicit assumptions and tacit understanding, and regulated by the negotiated procedures the group has developed. This contrasts with the more formalised

ritual communications of the public face (Bernstein 1959, Douglas 1970, Labov 1972).

From the researcher's perspective access to the private face is not just difficult or time consuming but also dangerous (Thompson 1966, Patrick 1973, Blackman 1983, Campbell 1984). To gain interpretation of the inside of a group, in some senses means one has to surrender to the group because of the group's exclusive practices. Difficulties arise because the researcher necessarily has two perspectives. Firstly, to maintain and monitor internal group relations, and at the same time assess the internal group relations from an outside position. In short, to keep one's mind on two positions, the world inside and the world outside can be dangerous within a participant observation context because the hosts might interpret the researcher's behaviour as at best ambiguous or at worst threatening.

3.3 Between Face

The between face operates and is in play at a variety of levels and ranges of communication, for example,

- A. Known outside groups
 - 1. Sharing stylistic practices
 - 2. Rival or oppositional stylistic practice
- B. Unknown groups
 - 1. Sharing stylistic practice
 - 2. Rival or oppositional stylistic practice
- C. Other, groups, individuals or institutions.

Outside groups are those within the locality which are known by the members of the group but are outside their territory and stylistic practice.

Unknown groups are those which the members of the group do not know, i.e. when the group move they may meet groups in regions where the territorial domination is either unknown or not established.

Other groups and individuals, are varied groups ranging from younger children's groups to adult-work groups. Other individuals are those persons who are in contact with the youth cultural group. Institutional relations, refer to relations between the group and members of institutions where the group does not have control; control lies with the institution, eg. the Police.

I shall be dealing here predominantly with the relations between unknown and known outside groups. A youth cultural group will have a different set of procedures for meeting a known or an unknown group of the same stylistic practice, from those procedures regulating a meeting between a known group or an unknown group with a rival or an oppositional stylistic practice. For example in the case of a known or an unknown outside group sharing the same style or a variant of it, there is likely to be an agreed procedure of interaction. However, potential for negotiation or conflict between such groups is present, even though they possess an underlying similarity of style. The potential for negotiation will be less when meeting a known or unknown group with a rival or oppositional stylistic practice. The potential for negotiation will be present but if the difference between the youth cultural styles is too great conflict will result.

The difference between meeting groups with either a similar or rival/oppositional stylistic practice was revealed by one of the mod boys. He describes how he would greet an unknown mod sharing a similar stylistic practice.

Paul I would always right upon seeing a mod whether here or some other place, cross the road and ask where they were from. About the scooters - how many, whether there were any mod parties or conventions going on, you know everything mod. Sometimes it's a good laugh but occasionally, I reckon - Bullshit! I know I do it myself. But that's great, that's what it's all about being neat.

The impression.

Paul shows that when meeting groups/individuals who share a

stylistic practice, the communication is on a number of levels. The level of hostility, is very low but there exists a powerful rivalry to "out mod" through posture and front. Paul shows that the level of ritual is high and is realised through the reciprocal communication of "front". Clearly, the potential for negotiation is greater than the potential for conflict between groups who share a stylistic practice. It could be argued that a general pattern of communication exists between youth cultural groups, determined by whether the groups share either a style or a variant of it, or are in a rival or an oppositional style. However, there may be conflict between similar, styles arising out of history, territory and identity.

3.4 Public Face

The public face is the sign that the youth cultural group will offer for public reading. The public face is the face much exaggerated even distorted by the media and agencies of social control (Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973, 1975). In deviancy language, this can be described as presentation of youth as folk devil evoking moral panic (Cohen 1972). The public face is the youth cultural group's ritual promenade in its most observable form encapsulating both truth and fantasy.

The public face is the reading which appears in newspapers that defines youth as folk devil. The public face is shown when the youth cultural group display themselves for maximum public consumption. The public face is a strange mixture of reality/fantasy in ritual exaggeration, where the most important function is to feed public consumption and assumption.

All three social relations of the face are continually in flux. They can all operate within one context as at a party or social gathering. At other times there may be a movement from the private face to the public face, when a situation makes possible a ritual promenade. The regulation of the social relations of the face occurs through specialised positions within the youth cultural group.

4. Specialised Semiotic of the Youth Cultural Group

4.1 Introduction

The specialised semiotic is a specialised style system. It is not the style itself but the rules through which the style is ordered under the regulation of the specific signature. The signature is what we shall call a condensation of the position and practices of the youth cultural group holding a legitimate site within the field (Bourdieu 1984). The specialised semiotic displays the rules of order, revealing how various styles and their repertoires of meanings can vary, change and function. The specialised semiotic reveals the internal practices of the youth cultural group, the rules which supply a style with coherence, order, meaning and possibilities.

The production and reproduction of the specialised semiotic occurs within the youth cultural group but it is fundamentally "tuned" and "mixed" between both musical artists and youth cultural groups. The six relational practices between band and youth group solidify the bond between them. The musical artists project, relay and amplify the social and symbolic context between themselves and the youth cultural group through articulation and innovation of the rules and meaning of the specialised semiotic. Musical artists speak about the meanings and practices of the youth cultural groups' particular semiotic and, importantly, the artists project the groups' ideas and practices, and the relations in which they stand within and to the specialised semiotic. Two significant examples in mod youth cultural style are "Quadrophania" by The Who (1973) and "All Mod Cons" by The Jam (1978).

The youth cultural groups' specialised semiotic has three relational practices,

- A. Choreography, which has two facets, dress and appearance and techniques of the body.
- B. Narrative, which has three facets, music, literature and linguistics.
- C. Circulation, which has two facets, territorial movement

and social sites.

4.2 Choreography

4.3. Dress and Appearance

The style of a specialised youth cultural group is readily recognisable by the selection, contrast and combination of clothes worn. Dress and appearance has four working features, clothes, skin markings/hair, make-up and objects. Youth cultural groups have varying sets of practices and repertoires of meaning which are revealed by their articulation of the four aspects of dress and appearance. The difference between the take-up and combination of these items is often the critical factor which makes opposition through difference amongst rival, oppositional and complementary styles.

Youth cultural styles have substantial power to transform an object and specialise it to a style.³ An object possesses meaning only in relation to its specific use within the youth cultural style. The styles' dress and appearance contain hidden messages (Barthes 1977) which are restricted to insiders i.e. the youth cultural group. The clothes' or objects' "normal" definition becomes subordinated to the meaning imposed and developed by the youth cultural style. Hebdige (1979) suggests that style is refusal, amounting to a gesture of defiance imbued with meaning to challenge the social order. Such an interpretation raises the question of how far these new definitions and meanings imposed by the style actually represent a cultural penetration into bourgeois order. An object or item of clothing may have a new definition from the perspective of the working class youth cultural group; however, the group's position within the class structure does not necessarily threatens the stability of "respectable society".

The symbolic importance of skin marking/hair, make-up, clothes and objects are that they signify a summary of the youth cultural style's practice, position, coherence and meaning. The dress and appearance of the youth cultural style contain the repertoire of artifacts which have possibilities

and potential to be actualised. In the youth style wardrobe the meanings are multiple signifiers.⁴

The items of clothing belonging to a style are embedded within particular meanings specific to that youth cultural style. MacInnes (1961) identified the elegant silhouette of a working class stylist [girl or boy] as "sharp schmutter". Fashions change but youth cultural styles remain. There exist few items of clothing which different youth cultural styles share. Interestingly, one example is the Doctor Marten boot or shoe worn by female and male punks, mods, skins and rockabilly rebels. However, the appearance of the DM's is significantly different because each youth cultural style will adapt it to their own stylistic presentation (Knight 1982, Hebdige 1988).

4.4 Techniques of the Body

There are five proposed positionings of the body. The most central is posture which feeds gesture, walking, dancing and fighting. Sexuality is powerfully interwoven within the techniques of the body (Mauss 1936). An important question which arises is whether sexuality can possibly be separated from style or whether such an analytical separation is meaningless. The body is presented in and through posture as the carrier for promenading both style and sexuality.

4.5 Posture and Gesture

Posture has a range of possible meanings through an arrangement of bodily positioning. Posture within youth cultural style is called intentional communication (Hebdige 1979, Cashmore 1984). To pose and oppose are the dynamic features within and between youth cultural groups because of the necessity to promenade. It could be argued that all youth cultural styles have different variations of posture, as each has different varieties of dancing which derive from diverse musical styles. Differences in posture are associated with differences of clothes, meanings and objects within specific

youth cultural styles which require different positionings of the body (Parker 1974, Barnes 1979). Where a posture states a position, a gesture holds rhetorical and perhaps dramatic purpose (Birdwhistle 1970). Both posture and gesture are up front communications which are specifically non-verbal. Verbal communication which occurs through style requires no spoken word. Gestures have an immense variety but only one meaning when depicted through a specific posture. It would be difficult to argue that there could be variations of gesture between youth cultural groups but I would suggest that certain youth groups master and specialise in specific forms of gesture. Patrick (1973) points out the significance of posture in relation to style,

"During my first night out with the gang I fastened the middle button of my jacket as I am accustomed to do. Tim was quick to spot the mistake. The boys in the gang fastened only the top button, with this arrangement they can stand with their hands in their trouser pockets and their jackets buttoned 'ra gallous wae'" [p.15]

He also emphasises that this shows not only the secret language of youth cultural rules of style but is significant for movement, ability to "look sharp" and be prepared for engagement or confrontation (Hall 1959).

Both posture and gesture are significantly different according to the youth cultural group's social relations of the face. Within the private and public faces posture and gesture take on different social and symbolic meaning. In the private face there will be internal promenading to group members; here gesture and posture will be on a different level from where the public face is promenaded by the youth cultural group. Here the two specialised positions of SL and PGS concerned with ritual celebration have a larger public profile with respect to posture and gesture, but the two specialised positions of PGC and CR which check forms of ritual exaggeration will also operate to control forms of posture and gesture.

4.6 Three Facets of Mobility: walking, dancing and fighting

Walking encompasses both posture and gesture and therefore can lead to any number of situations already described. In the early 1960's it was often pointed out that mods had a particular way of walking. Mods swayed their shoulders and took short steps quickly with their feet slightly turned out. If their hands were in their pockets they would have their thumbs sticking out (Barnes 1979). The mods' way of walking, I would argue, possibly relates to their style of dress and specific clothes. Such movements attempt to ensure minimum creasing and maximum neatness. Anybody who knows mods will have heard the proverbial story about a group of mods being thrown off a train/bus or out of a cafe because they would not sit down as the action would result in creases in their clothes. Further, the fast quick movements of mod walking are significantly linked to the drug taking habit of "sniffing" or "dropping" sulphate or "bombers" which ensures pace setting.

Dancing is probably one of the most provocative communication rituals of posture through the positioning of the body. Each youth cultural style has its specialised form of dance, from bop and pogo to hip hop and acid house, which are symptomatic of the different musical styles. For example from "headbanging" rockers playing cardboard guitars or manic pogoing punks, to the enormous range and variations of mod dancing depending upon whether the music is R and B, soul or ska from the block to the hitch hike. Mungham (1976) does not focus upon the meaning of dance in relation to the meaning of musical style or youth cultural style. Instead he investigates the social and sexual encounters at the dance hall as a site for female and male courtship rituals (Leonard 1980).

Popularly it is considered that the dancefloor is where girls take a dominant role. However, it is probably more precise to argue that an equal share of the dancing specific to the dancing of youth cultural styles is done by both sexes. Disco dancing is more predominantly female and breakdancing is more predominantly male (Toop 1984). Both types of dancing

are very competitive and individually related to performance. Different types of dance within youth cultural styles can be complex and demand a tightly skilled performance such as rock and roll jive dancing by teds or northern soul dancing by mods, whereas in other youth cultural styles the dexterity of dancing is not a priority, instead group celebration overrides individual performance, as in the rockers dancing stomp or punk pogo dancing. The significance of a dance within certain youth cultural styles may be of higher status for example break dancing and hip hop are specific dance performances of electro music which have a dominant position within the enlarged category of soul music (Hebdige 1987). In contrast, dancing within the major youth cultural styles, such as ted mod, rocker, skin and punk, is only one particular facet within the specialised semiotic, not the crucial element.

McRobbie (1984) sees dance as a social experience which extends to three relations, image, fantasy and social activity. Her interpretation of dance within the youth cultural style of punk is that

"It inoculates the girls both against some danger by giving them a sense of confidence, and against the excesses of sexual discrimination by giving them a lifestyle which adamantly refuses the strictures of traditional femininity" [p.149].

Hebdige (1979) first suggested that punk dancing appeared not only to challenge the heterosexual interest and physical contact in dance but "Resembled the antidancing of the 'Leapnick's" [p.108]. (See Melly 1972, pp.64-65). The meaning within punk music both at the level of style and structure results in forms of dancing which are relevant to the meanings within punk style (Laing 1985) Further, the forms of dancing within a musical style can be masculine or feminine⁵ only by reference to the inner meaning of the youth cultural style, lyrics of songs, the social activities and context of the dance which fuse music to the social structure. Dancing is not only related to sexual display, it is designed to draw the attention of both opposite and same sex through demonstrations of dexterity and skill.

Fighting is the most dramatic and potentially most brutal technique of the body. Within deviancy literature there exist few accounts of direct social observation of fighting. There are numerous second hand descriptions of conflict and its meaning. Both Patrick (1973) and Pearson (1976)] note the practical fieldwork problems of danger, fear and lack of access. Thompson (1966) produces an insider account of how fighting is central to the posture and status of certain youth cultural groups, while Daniel and McGuire [The Paint House, 1972] provide conversations from skinheads of how they understand confrontation as a "natural" part of their culture (Poxon 1976).

4.7 Narrative

4.8 Introduction: Music and Youth

The primary narrative of the youth cultural group occurs through music. We suggest that within the musical style exist the relations and practices of the youth cultural group, inscribed through the lived practices of the bond between the band and the youth cultural group. In the last ten years there has been extensive analysis of the meaning of popular music but few of these interpretations have been linked to a qualitative empirical study of youth. Since the publications of *Resistance Through Ritual* (1975) the culturalist approach based upon secondary sources of data rather than direct observation, has dominated the interpretation of meaning between youth and music (Clarke 1974, Hebdige 1974, Hebdige 1979, Brake 1980, McRobbie 1984, Toop 1984, Chambers 1985, Laing 1985, Rimmer 1985, Hill 1985, Street 1986) Hebdige (1987, 1988). A major weakness in the studies listed above is the assumption that the relationship between the youth groups and musical artists is defined, clear and known. Frith's (1978) argument has been continually avoided, that is, "Music's presence in youth culture is established but not its purpose" [p.39].

Early attempts at a sociological⁶ understanding of the relation between youth and music (Murdock and Phelps 1972, Corrigan 1973) linked music to social class without an analysis

of the meaning of musical styles or youth culture. The purpose of music was thought to be closely tied to identity, primarily only useful to the youth group as a reference point for different background activities [See an early analysis Becker 1951].

In the late 1970's a major barrier to understanding the relation between youth and music was the diversion into the aesthetics of high culture (Shepherd, Virden, Vulliamy and Wishart 1977). For Marxists the popular music industry is based on mass produced commodities which serve to maintain the dominant relations of musical production, the meaning within popular music is to keep the working class from realisation of their class oppression. This Marxist theoretical framework forced Frith (1978) to theorise laboriously that rock music was an art form belonging to the working class, deriving from a cultural interpretation of folk music (Wicke 1982).

In the 1980's two different, if not unrelated arguments have dominated sociological analysis of the relations between youth culture and music. On the one hand is the proposition that music represents cultural and political positions. Since the Miner's Strike and Live Aid (Chambers 1985, Street 1986, Widgery 1986) musical artists have been subject to detailed academic scrutiny, and over-theorisation by academics with elitist notions of class struggle {Cohen 1980}. Here the main proposition is that punk changed the context of reception for popular music. On the other hand, there is the assertion that popular music is back in the hands of businessmen and that youth culture is dead and politically impotent, reduced to commodity selection and compromised. Here the proposition is, "it's as if punk had never happened." (Rimmer 1985, Young 1985, Hill 1986).

One of the few investigations into the relations between youth groups and music is by Willis (1972), (1978). He constructs a tripartite model of a theory of cultural forms called socio-symbolic homologues which demonstrate three relations: indexical, homological and integral. His

interpretation of musical style is as a symbol of meaning for the youth groups whose preferred music holds what he calls "objective possibilities". Willis (1972) states that this interpretation is "developed from literary criticism via cultural criticism" [p.LXXVII]. The music is understood as a symbol for a cluster of values held by the youth cultural group. His structuralist model allows the relations and practices of the youth cultural group to be newly assessed, through his modification of Levi-Strauss' concept of bricolage. Willis (1978) argues that the subordinate group, namely youth, have agency to act on objects, values and meanings within limited spaces "which have been ignored by the dominant culture except for their obvious uses" [p.201]. However, in the last analysis he is drawn back into the Marxist polemic of dominant and subordinant cultures with their respective art forms. Willis (1978) argues "The obvious potential for a meaningful relation with important cultural items will already have been exploited by the dominant culture" [p.201]. This generalised assumption surely requires substantial evidence because firstly, it withdraws original agency from working class cultural practices and secondly, it suggests a Leavisite interpretation of art, where the creative few within the working class are deemed to have the ability and potential to equal or match a pre-defined standard of bourgeois art (Middleton 1981).

In the following section I shall attempt to address Frith's original question, concerning the purpose of music in youth cultural groups. I shall set out six relations between musical artist and youth cultural group in an attempt to develop a tentative perspective.

"The Band is the Bond"

4.9 Six Relations between Youth Group and Musical Band

These six relations may provide the basis for a model to interpret the relationship in youth culture between youth cultural groups and musical bands. It is possible to separate

these relations only at an analytical level; empirically they are inter-dependent.

A. Identification: Here the band and the youth cultural group dress within the same stylistic boundary. For example, musical bands dress in the youth cultural style,

Gong	-	Hippie
The Clash	-	Punk
Stray Cats	-	Teds/rockabilly
The Jam	-	Mods
Joy Division	-	New Wave
Iron Maiden	-	Rockers
Beastie Boys	-	Hip Hop

For the band to display the same overall youth cultural style both presents and represents a symbolic relation where the items of clothing, objects and skin markings embody reciprocal values and meanings. Identification through style establishes a fundamental rule of authenticity of style and meaning. To share similar items of dress and appearance announces that both band and youth group share values, practices and meanings associated and embedded in the style the youth cultural groups display and promenade.

Forms of identical dress provide unity and support to the meanings upheld within the youth cultural style which are publicly celebrated through the band's musical style, live performance and material products, for example Lp's.

In the study here, the mod boys would dress in mod clothing both past [original] and present especially items displayed by The Jam and The Style Council. The new wave girls would not only dress within the style of the new wave and punk bands but elaborated their own creative response to and development of that style.

B. Projection Here the band is within a musical style which presents largely a cultural and sometimes a political position. Bands have the means of public representation through production of commodities to the audience, for example, records, cassettes, videos, magazines and books. It is through

such products and interviews in the music papers/daily papers that the band can project their cultural/political perspective. Chambers (1981) argues "We might say that pop music becomes also good "to think with" it participates in the construction of an effective relationship to daily life. It indicates a potential and deeply loaded mode of representation in which the active appropriation of the music - the marrying of musical styles to cultural positions - involves cultural production" [p.38].

A result of this is that the youth cultural group will actively select a band from within the musical style. The youth group's choice of band and/or musical style, will be the band whose projection and meaning within the musical style are most relevant to the youth cultural group's identity. For example, within the study here, the new wave girls' choice of musical style was punk and new wave which provides a female perspective on discrimination within patriarchy. At a structural level the girls' choice of music relates to the meanings within the lyrics of the songs and the meanings of the youth cultural style, which actively supports the girls' values and practice in everyday life. The message in the music of the band becomes more than just good to think with because the band seems to be within the youth cultural group. This is demonstrated by one of the mod boys in the study.

Gangster For Paul Weller to pick out the sort of things he does, I look through [the lyrics. SJB] and I think, yeah that is the sort of thing I think about and I mean Christ, you know, to be able to think through people's minds and pull out things like that.

C. Condensation Here the sound produced by the band is a specialised sound from within a specific musical style, which in seconds expresses to the youth cultural group the condensed meaning of their identity. The band plays within a musical style which is not arbitrary but is structurally related to the meanings of musical style, band, music, lyrics, audience and context of reception, of the youth cultural style. Musical style expresses identity, it is a territorial marker for both band and youth group. The sound becomes a carrier of meaning, particular to the youth culture, where the musical style's

meaning⁷ bores directly into the listener. The specialised sound represents a condensation of meaning.

D. Celebration Here the band through their recorded material and especially their live performances provide a means and site for ritual celebration which allows the youth cultural group a space to display identity publicly through the promenade of the youth cultural group's public face.

The gig is the most intimate relation between band and youth group. The audience collectively celebrate the unity of the youth cultural style, while the music of the band integrates the audience and band into a complex symbolic exchange and celebration ritual. Whatever the medium, record, compact disc, video, interview or photograph, where the band and youth group are captured together the medium becomes a resource for ritual. The photographic representation of the dual relation/practice of band and youth group provides an immediate context for ritual celebration of the youth group. Whether the celebration occurs in public or private it bonds both the members of the band and youth group together.

E. Production Here this refers to the material products which the band produces such as records, cassettes, videos, books and magazines; other items associated or linked with the band are reproductions such as clothes, drugs, objects, motor scooters, bikes, cars, musical instruments, etc. Musical bands within different musical styles will differ in the quantity and quality of both their productions and their reproductions. The youth cultural group has access to the bands cultural production and reproduction through interviews, papers, fanzines, magazines, records, live performances and fan clubs. The youth group may initiate the production of their own cultural items. The youth cultural group will act selectively upon the features within the youth culture.

For example in the study here some of the new wave girls would sometimes sing in punk/new wave bands and in particular Sioux would also write song lyrics. In contrast, the mod boys formed their own official scooter club with bank account,

newsletter, badges, patches, and scooter magazines with national contacts.

F. Authenticity Here this refers to the reciprocal relation between band and youth groups which bonds both in an exclusive mutual identity. The relation is based on the oppositions of "selling out"⁸ or "credibility". A band does not speak solely to a youth cultural group because the band will have to appeal to a wider audience to gain a living.

There exist two markets for the band, the symbolic and economic. Within a symbolic market the band will share a close relation with its audience based on the principle that they have not "sold out" or betrayed the youth cultural group. Few bands manage to retain the symbolic market when they transfer to an economic market because through commercial success in chart placings the band becomes directly accessible. For the youth cultural group a fundamental micro-relation is when the band is in the symbolic market, "it is their band". For in the early stages of the band's career the youth cultural group has bought the singles and attended the first gigs, which established an exclusive relation. The two markets create a dynamic tension for both the band and the youth group because both desire success and the spread of the style. Where the band exists within an economic market there may still exist relations of authenticity with the youth cultural group, depending upon the management of the band's symbolic potential, resources and history. The following of the youth group gave the band the opportunity to move from one market to another but the youth group will have difficulty in supporting the move from the symbolic to the economic. The youth cultural ownership of the musical artist is difficult to maintain and consistently invokes tension as the musical artists develop and/or when both the band and the youth group grow older.

4.10 Literature

Probably one of the most recent expanding areas in publication is the production of glossy literary and photographic texts on youth cultural styles, underground cults,

musical artists and musical styles (Polhemus and Procter 1984, Reid 1987, Stuart 1987).

An important feature of punk was literature, the fast and cheap production of the chaotic fanzines which brought information directly to the audience from those who were involved in making the music. "Sniffin' Glue" became one of the major punk fanzines, Mark P (1978) states

"All you kids out there who read Sniffin' Glue don't be satisfied with what we write. Go out and start your own fanzines or send reviews to the established papers. Let's really get on their nerves, flood the market with punk writing". [See Boston, (1978) p.9]

One similarity between the mid 1960's underground press and proliferation of punk fanzines in the latest 1970's, is the attempt to relate music to youth cultural issues, through an alternative approach to both music and youth in opposition to the traditional coverage in the established papers (Boston 1978, Frith 1983, Street 1986).

The 1960's counter cultural magazines like OZ and IT and the 1970's "punkzines"⁹ like "Sniffin' Glue" and "Ripped and Torn" gave priority to independence and diversity, by ruthlessly attacking the established mode of big business control over the music industry and youth (Frith and Horne 1987, Fountain 1988). Numerous writers who contributed to or ran their own fanzines are now journalists on the established music press, namely, N.M.E. Sounds, Melody Maker, The Face, I.D., Jamming and Smash Hits. [also The Times, The Sun, and The Observer, The Independent]. Additionally, the fan clubs of certain bands, have produced magazines, perhaps one of the best organized clubs is "The Torch Society" which issues "The Style Population" magazine for the band "The Style Council". It contains a members' letter page with replies from the band and sometimes direct assessment of political issues.

A further consequence of the literary explosion created by punk¹⁰ was that other youth cultural styles developed their own fanzines for mods, skinheads and rockabilly rebels. Punk both

revitalised and strengthened all historical and legitimate youth cultural styles. Many facets of the youth cultural groups' specialised semiotic have been documented in the massive publication of pop books, novels, films, records, videos, magazines, papers, fanzines, on "new" and "old" styles. Further, academics have entered into the published world of youth cultural literature.

Cohen S (1972) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*

Hebidge D (1979) *Subculture the Meanings of Style*, and

Willis P (1978) *Profane Culture*,

have been read by members of youth cultural groups. This presents a situation of "cultural slippage", especially where the book is basically an ethnographic study. Youths can identify previous youth cultural groups' practices, positions and relations to interpret their own practices. The immense documentation can be used as a cultural benchmark, to be invoked to validate a claim concerning the original legitimacy of a youth cultural style. Also, the literature may be produced by the youth cultural group themselves; this was the case with the study here, the mod boys published their own scooter magazines and an occasional newsletter. In addition, the availability of films and videos can be used by members of the youth cultural group to investigate visual texts for inspiration, accuracy and validation. The social event of a group of rockers watching "The Wild One" or "Easy Rider", or a group of mods watching "Quadrophenia" or "Absolute Beginners" becomes a collective celebration of symbolism. The potential resource to freeze-frame on the actions of persons, "celluloid" or "real", gives access to the modern ritual of retrospective discourse. The facility for any youth cultural group to rewind, fast forward and play the historical past within the present context is a resource previously not available (Rees 1986).

4.11 Linguistics

Linguistics refers to the youth cultural group's argot, that is the language used whereby the group can keep their

practices elusive and secret. Argot holds a contradictory position within the youth cultural group's relation to their promenade. On the one hand, argot ensures that the group's private face, its relations and identity remain hidden and out of view, but on the other hand the group's public face demands attention through display and exaggeration which prompts analysis of its secret practices (Labov 1982). The youth cultural group presents a specialised communication to outsiders who are not given access to information which explains how the group processes of communication are agreed and acted upon. The youth cultural group's possession of a secret language acts as a common backcloth of assumptions whereby meaning need never be made explicit. Each of the specialised positions within the youth cultural group has an equal capacity to "adlib" verbal exchanges, amongst only group members who know the grid of references (Dunphy 1963, Douglas 1970). The secret language enables the youth group to learn patterns of communication through the internal group structure. Items such as abbreviations, slang words or phrases, redefining of words and inversion of "normal" words amount to a subversion in language use which underlines the contradiction between the group's private secret code and the public promenade. The discovery of a youth cultural group who utilise the potential power of a secret language, bouncing ideas and meaning off one another, makes it possible to show how such groups have a developed sense of narrative (Kochman 1972).

For a researcher, the argot of a youth cultural group may be particularly troublesome. The specific problem is whether to understand certain phrases or word meanings, or wait until the meaning becomes clear.

4.12 Circulation

4.13 Social Sites

This refers to the place or location where youth cultural groups gather. In general, youth cultural groups share types of social sites, although, the practices which occur within a site will be specific to the youth cultural style. There are

significant variations in practices within social sites by youth cultural groups according to their respective signatures. For each youth cultural group the practice of listening to music will be different, the result of the different musical styles and the different meanings present within songs (Willis 1978, Middleton 1981).

Similar social sites or locations exist between youth cultural groups such as,

- A. Members' houses,
- B. Cafe,
- C. Gig, Club, Disco, Dance, The Party,
- D. Public house, bar,
- E. Youth club, Street, Beach, Shops, Corners, Parks, Football Ground,
- F. Amusement Parks, Conventions, rallies.

Each youth cultural group will have their own "territorial haunt" and specific practices. Although all groups share types of sites, certain locations can become "social institutions" and develop their own sense of history for example rocker pubs or skinhead cafes.

For every youth cultural group the party is a central social site which is both a social and symbolic event. At a party a whole host of practices are engaged in by members of the youth cultural group. The gathering represents a display of collective solidarity where symbols, values, practices and rituals are harnessed to promenade the authenticity of style. At a mod party the music played will be specific to the musical styles of mod. No rival or oppositional music will be played. The music at a party is both a rule of circulation because it regulates the flow of activity and also represents a musical celebration of the values and meanings relayed through the musical style and the song. The practice of listening or dancing to music will differ according to the youth cultural styles' specialist musical style (Willis 1978). Different musical styles both create and demand different sets of social relations and social contexts, which orchestrate the play of

interactions. The party can occur at regular and different sites but the symbolic value of the venue will differ according to its location; parents' house, hired hall or youth's flat.

Conventions and specific youth cultural club events are another significant element within the celebratory practices of a style, which include: first, style, promenade, clothes and dance, second historical roots, third, promenade machines, for example scooter and motor cycle rallies, fourth, the collection of records, magazines, cassette bootlegs, and other articles, and fifth, the music, musical artists and musical style(s) (Hebdige 1981, Blackman 1983, Walker 1984).

These occasions are organised and occur on a local and national basis, through rock and roll jive clubs, scooter or motor bike clubs and specialist fan clubs.

4.14 Territorial Movement

The members of a youth cultural group define territory through their stylistic authenticity and legitimacy. Territoriality operates within and through the youth cultural group's style because the style presents direct meanings, values and practices of territory. Owing to the mobility of youth, territory is not solely determined by those who occupy the material environment. Members of a youth cultural group "carry" territorial practices when moving from the classroom to corridor, or from street to public house. Territory involves certain forms of behaviour such as fighting and ritual insult, and a youth cultural group which occupies an area other than its own will operate its specific territorial practices.

Territorial movement refers to the symbolic and physical, construction and usage of space by individuals and groups. Territorial mobility exists because a group controls territory and through movement can occupy new or different space. It is possible to see territoriality in action. For example, in a school a youth cultural group can move inside and outside available school space and determine what occurs. Dominance

over a social space means the control of activities which occur and the meaning of such activities. Crucial to the operation of territorial practice, is that the other participants already know the extent of the territorial power possessed by the youth cultural group. Robins and Cohen (1978) maintain that the functions of territoriality are linked to the area in which one lives. In the case of youth cultural groups there are territorial practices which are operated as the group moves from and to different and changing situations.

In the study here, both the mod boys and the new wave girls possessed different territorial space but both possessed the capacity to cross boundaries where different types of territorial practices were required, in order to dominate and control the social space. The youth cultural group's ability to define and operate a set of territorial practices is more important than its physical presence as a means of holding territory. In other words, a public display by a group who holds territory which is described in terms of its end result, such as confrontation or violence, directs attention away from the internal relations of the group, its structure, resources and context in the local community. Overemphasis upon the public face of a youth cultural group's territorial clash ignores or does not allow for an understanding of how the group conducts its day to day relations.

In contrast, moments of conflict can be possibly understood as arising from, first, times of specialised rituals, for example Bank Holiday vacations at seaside resorts or derby football matches such as Tottenham Hotspur versus West Ham United, and second, from situations where territory is neutral, ill defined or has not been appropriated by a youth cultural group. Here a challenge may be offered, but this would not be a time of ritual. Such confrontations whether non-ritual or ritual are defined by the parameters of capture, flight or annihilation which are based on a three pronged presentation of identity, history and territory.

5. Signature

5.1 Introduction

The discussion of youth cultural forms has so far moved through a series of analyses of different features of the YCF: specialised positions, social relations of the face and the specialised semiotic. An inevitable consequence of this analysis has been the fragmentation of the sense of unity, coherence and identity which members of these forms experience. Further, from a more theoretical point of view, we have no means of talking about these forms other than through the features we have distinguished or the names these forms give to themselves. We shall now introduce a concept which it is hoped will integrate the different features of the analysis and at the same time point to the conditions of unity, recognition and legitimacy operating in the youth cultural forms themselves.

5.2 The Concept of Signature

The signature is a specialised multiple signifier indicating the lived practice and history of a youth cultural group. Its practices, positions, powers and relations are condensed in what I shall call the signature. We have argued that we can regard YCF's as positions in a youth cultural field and that these positions can be defined in terms of oppositions and complementaries. Signature refers to the distinctive, recognisable and legitimate realisation of the style or more formally, to the legitimate range of practices of any one position in the field or to that of an emergent challenger.

In the case of a painting, the signature enables the image to be named and placed in a historical and contemporary position with respect to other images. The signature confers legitimacy on the image as being authentic but sometimes this is not necessary for identity may be conferred by recognition of marks, quality of paint, brush strokes, texture etc. In the case of the youth cultural group there is no one author and there is no one image although there is, as in painting, a

development of style. As in the field of art so with youth cultural forms there are fierce disputes over authenticity and legitimacy and over "selling out". As in the field of art so with YCF's recognition and identity can be at the metonymic level; a social feature of dress, a gesture, movement or word. As in the field of art so with the youth cultural form signatures, became marketable commodities.

A youth cultural signature enables a style to be identified within its own history and the history of the field of youth cultural style. Such recognition is revealed by the relationship between the degree of constancy of the style and its integrity over time. Signature guarantees authenticity, legitimacy, even authority and so enables a style to be placed in its historical context as well as its contemporary positions. A signature serves as a signifier for a particular position and refers to the unity, inner coherence and speciality of the style. In the same way that the signature of a great painter by itself condenses, intensifies and focuses, so the signature of a youth cultural style condenses intensifies and focuses. In the former case there is an author but in the latter case there is no author only a collective sign written as a collective name, punk, skinhead, or mod. The signature enables both members of the group and other groups in the youth cultural field [together with singletons] to identify the inner coherence of their positions, practices and specialised semiotic.

Since the 1950's there have been a limited number of positions within the field, the teddy boys and beats to the 1980's punks and hip hoppers. What factors establish the legitimacy of a specialised group and sustain a youth cultural signature? First, a youth cultural style requires a specialised semiotic. A youth cultural style is not simply the public display of an image, it involves the development of a specialised semiotic practice and informal rules of communication and rituals. A youth cultural group develops internal specialised positions which regulate its stylistic practices and social relations to ensure both collective

equality and its authenticity. Second, the youth cultural group has a specialised musical style. The bands which typify the musical style influence the cultural style of the youth group and the band members may come to be regarded as authors of the semiotic of the youth cultural style.

The signature expresses creative potential and energy, it summarises the practices of the youth cultural group, its historical position in the field and its contemporary relations to other groups. In the earlier sections we identified the specialised positions which monitor the signature: those of the symbolic forms, the style leader and the cultural ransacker.

5.3 Three Temporal Aspects of Signature

I shall distinguish temporal aspects of the signature, in terms of whether it is an historical, a variant or an emergent signature.

5.4 Historical Signature

The historical signature refers to youth cultural styles/practices of the past such as rocker, mod, punk and others. These specialised styles were emergent signatures at the precise time of their arrival but have acquired historical legitimacy, authority and authenticity. The historical signature is relayed through a myth of origin. For youth the style has a history and within that history exist levels of heritage. It is important to assess the coherence and integrity of a style across time because the ideological basis and positions may alter or even change.

A youth cultural group will emerge as a spectacular style with multiple signifiers. That is, the style is realised through a wide range of characteristics. However, over time the elements of the style may undergo a process of selection, reduction or hardening. Thus there may well be a selective focusing of the original force and potential. Crucial factors which cause a simplification of the style, may well be a

consequence of the mass marketing of the style as a commodity.

Two processes which affect the historical signature are dilution and incorporation. Dilution refers to the gradual reduction over time in the range of the elements of the original core group, for example mod becomes reduced to, short hair, loafers, fred perry and a parka, or skinhead to just "number one" cropped hair, stained Levis and DM's. The youth cultural style begins to lose its range and subtlety. Incorporation refers to naturalisation and domestication of a style. Concretely, both processes can occur together as youth cultural style and musical style are utilised in commodity advertisements.

However, we should point out that there is often a dynamic relation between the freezing of the style over time and the bricoleur activities of the youth group members. On the one hand a youth cultural style may receive public attention, which makes it accessible but on the other hand this does not necessarily neutralise the youth cultural group's power of innovation. Public dissection of a style does not render it inert because the potential of the youth cultural group's signature does not rest on any one manifestation.

5.5 Variant Signature

The clearest empirical examples of a variant youth cultural signature can be illustrated by the mod revival of 1978/80, the rebirth and update of the Ted style by the rockabilly rebels, and the new style "oi" skinheads in the early 1980's. These signatures are variations of a historical practice generated by a specialised position in the field. A variation does not indicate that a style is "second hand" or un-authentic, only that the signature does not perfectly match the original from which it derives. The style of a variant signature is likely to be more determined because of its past historical context.

A variant signature is a reaction point between the past historical context of a style and the contemporary arena of

the local context. Variants are the means whereby signatures are revitalised and made relevant to changed conditions, practices and economies. In general a variant style is bounded by its past and there will be less local significant stylistic innovation. The variant signature is likely to be strongly regulated by commodity forms, such as musical artist products, and to be more sensitive to media direction and orientation.¹¹

This is not to say that the variant signature will not add new features to the original style but clearly its basic attributes are defined by its history and those will be dominant. The variant arises from a specific context which revivifies the style to express contemporary relevance and to relate to the changed social and economic experience of the members. The impact of youth unemployment has influenced the relations and practices of the youth cultural group. On the one hand unemployment places a barrier between stylistic consumption/display through lack of work/money. On the other hand, youth style or practices may not be halted by lack of finance. During the youth riots of the 1980's the direction of attack has not been the Town Hall, DHSS office, Police Station or Banks, but, as Hebdige (1982) points out, "The video and hifi shops, the boutiques and the record shops" [p.18].

A variant signature moves between the past and present and will be influenced by first, new technology, eg video, CD, specialised fanzines and other future development in presentation and communication of style and second, changes in socio-economic conditions such as unemployment.

5.6 Emergent Signature

An emergent youth cultural signature represents an attempt to appropriate and develop a new specialised position within the field. The condition for an emergent signature to arise is that it must be in potential opposition to positions already existing within the field. An emergent will seek and gather new varied and different objects, designs and clothes in contrast to, and as an alternative to what is already present.

In the field of youth culture there will be opposition towards an emergent position as it will be perceived as a threat by other positions. The emergent signature will have to promote its difference to establish its legitimacy and its opposition will be the basis of its authority and authenticity.

The field of youth culture is an arena of opposition and difference. An emergent signature's spectacular features become the cutting edge of its originality which "tear and rip" into existing styles to create and re-create struggle between all positions. An emergent signature scorns the historical and at the same time establishes conditions for vitality within the field. This in turn creates opportunities for a number of variant signatures to develop because there is no one dominant style.

For a position to develop and maintain itself within the field, the emergent signature requires youth cultural groups [and /or singletons] their own specialised practices, positions and rituals of communications with the development of a specific musical style. The style of an emergent will be multi contextual, have a significant local orientation and be less directed and influenced by the media than other signatures. The signature will be read by rival, oppositional and complementary youth cultural groups as a summary of meanings, practices, rituals, identity and purpose. The creation of an emergent signature establishes a condition where historical signatures have to reassert their legitimacy in the face of a change in the field of youth culture. For example since punk arrived in the late 1970's, youth cultural styles of the past have been enjoying a new lease of life. An¹² emergent signature announces its own legitimacy but also sets up the conditions for previous historical signatures to be revitalised and also develop variant signatures for a different generation of youth.

6. Order and Interpretation of Data

6.1 Introduction

The outline given here of the principles of description will be used selectively to explore certain aspects of the data essentially in Part 2 and Part 4. It may well be that the theory will require further elaboration as a consequence of its interaction with the data.

How have we applied the models to the empirical chapters? In Chapter 4 we examine the play of interaction between the two youth cultural groups. Here we shall apply in an attempt to make sense of the data the theory of the specialised positions, social relations of the face and private and public forms of communication. Chapters 5 and 6 focus upon ritual, in the context of the internal structure and group relations of the mod boys and the new wave girls. Chapters 7 to 11 will involve only a partial use of the description, as the focus in these chapters is upon the boffin groups, which is followed by comparative analysis of the pupils and youth groups.

6.2 Transcription

In the interpretation which follows all quotations will be numbered to facilitate reference. The analysis will be retrospective, that is, after the quote there is a discussion of the issues and meanings. Later, at the end of each chapter there is a discussion, where the quote numbers may be used to point out major findings and conclusions.

Interpretation of the transcript took place in the light of a depth ethnographic understanding of the social relations, rituals, communications and practices within each youth cultural group. Before an attempt was made to consider the transcriptions there had been extensive analysis of the basic fieldwork materials and experience. Therefore, the approach to the transcripts of the conversations is from the prior position of a qualitative understanding of the relationships within and between each group on the basis of shared experience

and observation. With respect to the theoretical development, the fieldwork was used as the foundation upon which to build a possible interpretation: here the transcription becomes central to the development and test of the theoretical description. However, the transcripts are also ethnographic events in themselves. In other words, the purpose of group interviewing was not to gain a specific type or category of information, although this could be achieved, but to create or experience a relationship where the groups in different situations and contexts would talk: so offering the possibility of showing group structure, relations and communications. The priority was not the recording of a discussion in order to use a transcript, but to have a relationship with each group where conversation and interaction rather than the recording of them on a cassette became the objective. In the initial stages of fieldwork more emphasis was put upon the sharing of experience than the collecting of information, although all events and experiences were recorded in the field diary. Parker (1974) says "Friendship has been the basis of the whole study" [p.16]. In the study here, friendship is a difficult problem to discuss because I could not really be a friend to or be received as a friend by such a large group of diverse people. Does friendship oppose sociological questioning? It is unreal to make such an opposition when it is clear from the transcripts and elsewhere that questioning was entailed in the type of participation. Rather than make either patronising or grand remarks about my friendship with the groups I feel that it is best left for the data to speak for itself and reveal the answer. The researcher was usually present both at the groups's original experience and at the re-presentation of that experience as an account in the discussion. Thus, the transcriptions and their interpretations are the end result of a series of strategies and fieldwork techniques applied to create a thick description.

6.3 Method of Analysis

How did the approach to the transcriptions occur? Each transcript of conversation was not immediately broken into

sections and analysed in isolation, nor was the transcript investigated and relevant pieces extracted from it. Each transcript was analysed in close relation to its ethnographic base and assessed as a whole. The interpretation of the discussions took place through an understanding of the internal group structure and relations. For the purpose of coherent analysis it was thought necessary to understand each discussion as a whole, even though not all would be used in the final write up, [although it often was]. Quotes are more often than not, of considerable length, the purpose of this is to gain the full ambience of internal group relations. Priority was given to the context of the conversation, its subject and speakers, with respect to how we understood the specific groups internal and external relations. From a basic understanding of the field data we had the beginnings of a theoretical language of description. Elements of this language had developed during the fieldwork and were applied, albeit tentatively. We approached the transcripts with the intention of further elaborating the theory of youth cultural forms through allowing the groups a voice in this theoretical construction. If there were a theoretical emphasis it was to test the validity of the analysis which was developing. In this way the culture of the groups played the dominant role in the elaboration of the theory rather than the reverse. Specifically, the approach to the transcript was determined by the concern to develop and apply a theory of cultural practices and internal group relations. This theoretical description was applied to the youth cultural groups, pupil groups [and delinquent group] but was not relevant to the two boffin groups at every level of analysis. The development of other theoretical frameworks and descriptions here became necessary in order to explain the boffin's different cultural practices and internal group relations. The limitation of the language of the theoretical description to explain or elaborate on the practices and relations of the boffin groups added to an understanding of the differences within and between the groups, both inside and outside the context of the school.

6.4 Interpretation

The basis of my role during recorded discussions was dependent on two factors; firstly, the shared experience gained with each group inside and outside school, secondly, my reaction to the type of cultural apprenticeship to each group that I experienced.

Thus, the different groups necessitated differing field roles according to their particular cultural background and expectations. The prerequisite before making a recorded discussion was some shared experience. This meant I had a sense of their lived practices and promoted an insistence on lived meanings. In practical terms being present at the original events discussed during the interviews I was able to concentrate upon the meaning and interpretation rather than ask questions on facts which would interrupt the speakers. In this sense it became possible to play a dual role to encourage or interrogate because of being "in solid" with the groups. Palmer (1928) makes clear

"The object of the interview is to secure the habitual reaction of the persons being interviewed, to slip so completely into his[her] world, into his universe of discourse, that he reacts naturally and freely and his usual and habitual views are expressed." [p.171]

The format to each interview was to engage upon the meaning and interpretations upheld within each group. The recorded discussions chosen are those where the pattern of group communication is first hand and in a naturalised context. This record of exchange within a group is a moment of action not representation [See chapter two]. For example, in chapter eleven the two transcripts of conversation are recordings of dynamic interaction between the dominant female and male groups.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. The peer group consolidator is primarily concerned with social solidarity, within the group, and will monitor the social relations in order to ensure that the 'reality principle' is maintained. From this perspective the level of the social must affirm solidarity and oppose potential threats created through exaggeration, celebration or fantasy.
2. An important aspect of the social relations of adolescents, in many different contexts and with a wide variety of people, is the tendency to 'wind up', mislead, and use both ritual and personal forms of insult.
3. Note the 14:24 British Youth Culture exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum during 1986 [See Rees 1986].
4. The objects and meanings within a youth cultural style may represent the class struggle for some but might not for all;

Cohen (1986) argues

"Life was bracketted off from 'style' and style took on a life of its own. The analysis of real relations of social reproduction and their imaginary transformation [displacement, condensation, etc] was gradually abandoned in favour of interpreting signifying practices in terms of their own internal devices of meaning. An idealist semiology replaced a positivistic sociology; the observation of 'teenage behaviour gave way to the reading of texts in which youth functioned as signifier or signified. The youth question was thus radically disconnected from young people" [p.20].

5. McRobbie and Firth (1978), Taylor and Laing (1979), Hebdige (1988).
6. See early popular texts Gillett (1970), Cohn (1970), Melly (1972).
7. Sams (1977) for extreme dislike of progressive music by punks.
8. See Street (1986). 'Selling out' continues to be a subject of much controversy, with reference to for example The Clash, Gang of Four.
9. Punk Fanzines [not exhaustive]
 1976 - Sniffin' Glue-London, Ripped and Town-Glasgow, 48 Thrills-Stevenage, Garageland-Newcastle.
 1977 - Rotten to the Core, Sound of the West Way, New Wave, London's Burning, Live Wive, Sideburns/Strangled, Shews, Skum, Cliche, Move On - London.
 Viva La Resistance-Preston, Shy Talk-Manchester, Stranded-Exeter, New Pose-Leeds, White Stuff-Scotland.

10. New Musical Express ten year anniversary of punk: February 1st 1986 - Charles Shaar Murray, Tony Parsons, February 8th - Adrian Thrills, Sean O'Hagan, February 15th - Mat Snow, Paul Morely, February 22nd - Danny Kelly, Nicola Roberts, Steven Wells.
11. The variant signature is largely based upon an historical signature. In general the items of style already exist, leaving little scope for the consumer. In this case the company dresses a group in its "outdated" clothes, but recombined with enough contemporary elements in order to work an acceptable product.
12. Since the 1980s an emergent signature has been House. This term incorporates rapping (rhymes chanted over a pre-recorded rhythm), scratch mixing (playing selected song snatches on two turntables), body popping, breadkdancing and graffiti. In hip hop the youth cultural group is usually a four person (usually male) group, although certain female artists have emerged for example, Salt and Pepper, Cookie Crew.

The music derives from America but now significant British artists have developed. Media interest in House was insignificant until the moral panic associated with the Beastie Boys tour of England in 1987 (assertive adolescent male sexuality, drugs and violence).

PART 2**STYLE, GENDER AND CONFLICT**

The style groups will be introduced initially as youth cultural forms, rather than as pedagogic groups. Later, attention will focus upon the relations of each group to education and their particular pedagogic practices will be the subject of comparative analysis. Here we take up issues essentially arising out of the relations between style and gender, mediated through the internal organisation of the groups.

CHAPTER 4

**PATRIARCHAL GAMES AND RITUAL JOUSTING:
new wave girls and mod boys**

1. Introduction to Discussion A

This chapter presents an analysis of social, sexual and cultural relations, conflict and opposition between the new wave girls and the mod boys. The aim is to provide an interpretation of the way in which patriarchy affects the relations and practices of the two groups both as members of an academic elite within school, and as members of promenading youth cultural groups.

The chapter is in four parts. Section one presents data from an informal discussion between the two groups in the careers office at school. Section two presents data from a discussion with both groups in the house of a new wave girl. Section three examines the patterns of communication and interaction in the data by applying the theory of social forms and specialised positions. Section four is a summary of how the two youth groups are differently positioned by, and have different positionings in patriarchy.

The participants and their specialised position in discussion A, are as follows.

Mod Boys	Specialised Position	New Wave Girls	Specialised Position
Paul	Style leader	Clare	Style leader
Rich	Style leader	Sally	Peer Group Spokesperson
Keef	Peer Group Spokesperson	Debbie	Cultural Ransacker
		Cathy	Peer Group Consolidator

At the outset there are two important differences to note between the groups; the girls' group is bigger by one, secondly the boys group lacks the specialised positions of CR and PGC. The presence and absence of SPs in each group may give rise to different forms of communication both within and between groups.

Context: this discussion took place after sharing a variety of experiences, both private and public, with each group. In general, the only time when these two groups were together in school, excluding lessons, was at break in the fifth year area; and then only briefly. Over a period of weeks I had observed and taken part in many of these interactions. I thought it may prove useful to bring the groups together for a longer discussion. The intention was to arrange a conversation to see relations and negotiations in action, within and between the two dominant groups in the school.

1.1 Ritual and Refusal

At the beginning of the discussion A, Rich enters the room singing lines from a song called "Hey Joe" by Jimmy Hendrix.
NWG/MBQ1

1 Rich Hey Joe. Where are you going with that gun in your hand?

The next line in the song tells why the man killed his wife for adultery. "I heard you shot your lady down because you caught her playing around with another man." It is possible to suggest that the meaning within the song points to a future development of the conversation, of the boys as an attempt to set up the girls as betrayers. In Hendrix's song the woman is killed for disobeying her husband: symbolically, the boys have made a statement of intention.

Initially, the girls and boys are shuffling round the room trying to find a suitable space. What serves to bring them together is the cigarette and its relation of exchange (Mauss 1954).

NWG/MBQ2

- 2 Debbie All right.
I've got one [cigarette. SJB].
- 3 Clare I've got one.
- 4 Cathy We have got a bigger one than you! [to the boys.
SJB].
- 5 Rich I thought somebody else would have some.
- 6 Debbie Oh great, I haven't.
- 7 Clare Fantastic!
- 8 Debbie Who has not got one?
Who wants one?
- 9 Rich Yes please.
- 10 Debbie And, a cigarette!
- 11 Clare I will have both!

The gift is a cigarette which becomes a symbolic resource for meaning and an indicator for the initiation of relations between the two groups. It is both a symbol of solidarity between the groups and a symbol of fundamental opposition to school and parents. It is a symbol of common opposition, resistance and status with respect to other groups, in the sense that it confers adult pleasure and status. However, the cigarette as a metaphor can be a resource for opposition and humiliation when it becomes a sign of sexuality. The girls are assessing the gift in the context of what Mauss [ibid] calls social deception. They open the discussion with the first body references of opposition, "We have got a bigger one than you", and follow it with "And a cigarette" and "I will have both". Here the cigarette is suggested to be firstly, superior to the penis, and then linked directly to the sex act. Earlier in chapter nine section 1.6.B, we saw an example of a tampax cast as a cigar/cigarette. In both cases for the boys such subversions of meaning can have disturbing effects because it amounts to a challenge to their masculinity.

The mod boys are having difficulties finding their own cigarettes. They do not want to "cadge" from the girls as this

will mean partly returning the favour, but more significantly this is a transaction not directly under their control.

NWG/MBQ3

- 12 Keef How many fags you had then you bastard?
- 13 Paul What?
- 14 Keef You had them all day.
- 15 Paul I don't smoke a lot now do I.
I don't!
- 16 Keef Didn't even flash walking down the high street.
You could have told me you had some you bastard.
- 17 Paul Against the rules. You never tell me when you've
got them you cunt.
- 18 Keef I've taught him too well haven't I!

The boys interrogate themselves in a promenading fashion in a tone of aggressive ritual swearing. They prefer to share rather than accept a cigarette from girls, owing to the girls' sexual reversal and use of the cigarette. The boys' masculine display is a response to the girls surrounding the gift with ambiguity ie. penis/tampax, creating power relations in the girls' control. Restlessly, the boys continue to search for another cigarette, while the girls appear to be at ease. Here, Keef throws a challenge to the girls and receives an unexpected answer.

NWG/MBQ4

- 19 Keef We can't sit like this.
They'll think we are at fucking home.
- 20 All girls WE ARE

The profanity of the mod boys seems to be an indication that proximity defines the space as familial, perhaps even domestic. However, from their point of view it is space in which their potential for violence can be even more explosive, and as a consequence there are no grounds for the girls to relax.

1.2 Potency and Parents

The beginning of the discussion shows the girls at ease, where they have twice demonstrated their own sexual assertiveness. The boys are a little unsure because they are in such close proximity to these girls; here Rich identifies an opportunity to gain some sympathy and changes the subject.

NWG/MBQ5

- 21 Rich Everybody takes the piss out of my nose. I don't understand, I don't understand what the joke is with my nose.
- 22 Debbie Oh Rich, we don't want to hear about your nose.
- 23 Rich OH SHUT UP, Debbie. It's a social gathering you OLD BIDDY.
- 24 Cathy Do you remember when we used to have bike rides and that?
- 25 Sally That party. Did you enjoy it? I thought -
- 26 Cathy It was really good. Your mum kept coming in and checking under the sheets.
- 27 All girls Laughter
- 28 Sally I was just fighting to come [orgasm. SJB] Everyone was under the blankets and mum kept coming in and lifting the blankets and looking underneath to make sure no one was doing anything.
- 29 Keef What do you mean by doing anything?
- 30 Debbie Oh! What do you think? Oh!
- 31 Rich You thick twat¹ [to Keef. SJB]
- 32 All girls/boys Laughter

Rich expects the girls to respond to his feigned feelings of insecurity about his nose.² But they do not. He becomes aggressive and makes an appeal to hierarchy, by arguing that the meeting is an important social gathering in which Debbie is merely an "old biddy". In turn, the girls exclude the boys by talking among themselves. The girls' unity is assured in their celebratory laughter and collective outrageous behaviour

which is sanctioned by the participation. They demonstrate their power and skill in using their sexuality openly as a symbolic resource of exclusion, opposition and independence.

The talk of sexual relations continues - this time the boys attempt to gain the upperhand.

NWG/MBQ6

33 Keef They all seem - parents - want to get in on it, you know, they don't want to leave you alone. Want to join in. They think you are bringing them [girlfriend. SJB] home, so they can share them and all.

34 Sally They [boyfriend. SJB] always play with my brother. He's always disturbing us, you know. He starts nattering and gets his bloody game and everything My mum just walks in through the door. Doesn't knock, that's most embarrassing.

35 Keef Because if you got someone, can't take them upstairs with you or in your bedroom. Okay it might sound a bit bad but you've got a record player you know.

36 Rich Yeah

37 Keef You want to doss up there so you have got to take them somewhere and they [parent. SJB] just go fucking mad.

38 Sally They do keep coming in even now!

39 Debbie I've been banned from taking boys into my bedroom.

40 Sally So have I!

41 Cathy Aaaaahhhh, aaaaahhhh [Sexual sounds. SJB]

42 All girls Laughter

43 Rich You think at your age, you should not be doing it at sixteen, if you get boys in your bedroom!

44 All girls/boys Laughter

The girls are asserting their equal right to take boys into their bedroom but Keef makes the context and relation ambiguously sexual ["okay it might sound a bit bad but you've got a record player, you know"].

The girls are indicating their independence from their

parents by referring to the extent their parents will go to interfere with their sexual development. They are asserting their potency in an explicit manner especially through the cinematic phrase of being "banned" from allowing boys into their bedrooms. At the end Rich concedes in irony, that girls do have the right to take boys to their bedroom.

Both groups are now playing with the theme of sexuality, each trying to surpass each other's expression of potency.

NWG/MBQ7

- 45 SJB What about taking the girl into the bedroom, upstairs?
- 46 Keef That's unheard of.
- 47 Debbie Yeah! Exactly I live in a bungalow!
- 48 SJB They don't get suspicious or anything.
- 49 Keef DON'T GET SUSPICIOUS [said in disbelief. SJB]
- 50 Clare Have you ever tried it Keef?
- 51 Keef "The old cloak!"
- 52 Clare No. Really have you ever been upstairs together?
- 53 Keef Yeah.
- 54 Clare What did your mum said?
- 55 Keef She does her NUT.
- 56 Clare What afterwards or while?
- 57 All girls Laughter
- 58 Keef The first time she goes like -
- 59 All girls/boys Laughter continues.

The girls by exposing Keef have ritually humiliated the mod boys. Keef reveals that his mother conducts routine surveillance of his sexual behaviour. Clare's insistent questioning hints at the possibility that Keef is not experiencing full sexual relations with his girlfriend which is at the core conundrum of whether Keef's mother checks on him

after they have had sex or during. Keef is unable to tell the complete story because of the girls laughter, the boys are then forced to join in.

1.3 Marriage and Employment?

A result of the girls' display of potency, and of bodily opposition, makes the boys a little unsettled. In an attempt to prevent the conversation from deteriorating I introduced the topic of marriage.

NWG/MBQ8

- 60 SJB What about marriage then?
- 61 Keef Whipping
- 62 Debbie Just there to be screwed!
- 63 Rich Shut up YOU OLD
- 64 Keef Took the words right out of my mouth.
- 65 Rich YOU SULKY COW
You really make me sick you do, you really are bad.
- 66 Debbie NO. I'M NOT FUCK OFF.
One day a week I'm usually miserable and that is usually Monday.
- 67 Rich Not it's not it's Friday, bit of Saturday and Sunday and ...
- 68 Debbie OH PISS OFF
You're not exactly like cheerfulness are you.
- 69 SJB What about women having no careers the idea that they should just get married.
- 70 Cathy CRAP
- 71 Debbie Well what do you, our age - talking about?
- 72 Cathy If it's pointed at you I don't sort of believe in it.
But if Debbie sort of turned round and said to me well you know I'm gonna get married and have children and that, then it's up to her. It's up to the individual. But if it's pointed at me I would not go out and do it.
- 73 Debbie I probably would get married in the end. But I'm going to do -

- 74 Sally There's too many opportunities for girls now anyway.
- 75 Debbie Well I think so.
- 76 Keef The depression.
You can go on the game!
Work in a massage parlour!
- 77 Paul There's not many around though.
- 78 Debbie I don't know!
- 79 Paul Because it's the depression about at the moment.
- 80 Keef The recession. It was the depression last week Paul!
- 81 Debbie I think at the moment right. It's like there is unemployment that's because there is women taking the jobs that men could take and bring in the money ...
- 82 Keef YEAH, THAT'S FUCKING RIGHT
- 83 Paul All women do at home is make cups of tea and talk all day long.
- 84 Keef That's their day duties Paul!
- 85 Debbie While there isn't men working women could bring, okay, so the women can go out to work and the men can stay at home. But it's the man ...
- 86 Keef WE ARE NOT GOING TO GET ANYWHERE IN THE CONVERSATION TALKING ABOUT EQUALITY.
- 87 Debbie SHUT UP KEEF
- 88 Rich I'm not talking about equality.
- 89 Paul The only thing's that women are good for is like ...
- 90 Keef BURNING!
- 91 Paul Is making cups of tea right, a bit of the other and someone to take your aggro out on.
- 92 Debbie Oh Godsake.
- 93 SJB Do you think that most men are chauvinist?
- 94 All girls YES, YES, YES.
- 95 Cathy I don't think they are UNDERNEATH.
- 96 Keef Ssssschhh. Shut up.

- 97 Cathy No. I think they just do it when other boys are around.
- 98 Clare He's a big softy really!
- 99 Cathy Yeah
- 100 All girls Laughter
- 101 Sally It's all show.
- 102 Debbie Yes he is!
- 103 All girls Laughter
- 104 Rich Ar, ar, ar. A big softy like that bogroll.
- 105 Keef Is there a big softy in your family!
- 106 All girls/boys Laughter
- 107 Rich I think women are impractical.
- 108 Clare No they are not. I think women are more practical.
- 109 Rich Oh rubbish.
- 110 Debbie If anyone marries Paul. I warn you. He smells.
- 111 Rich You come home with your wages and you say I want my hair done. You don't give women too much money.
- 112 Clare Yeah but that's only some, you don't.
- 113 Rich SHUT UP YOU.
- 114 Clare NO. Your mum doesn't say that does she.
- 115 Debbie No. My mum doesn't say that, my mum just hits my dad.
- 116 Clare I know. But your mum [to Rich. SJB] does not go out every week and have her hair permed.
- 117 Rich No.
- 118 Clare WELL THEN. You would go to the hairdressers if you had the money.
- 119 SJB What if women can have children and a career they
-
- 120 Keef At this age.
- 121 Debbie No at any age.

- 122 Cathy AT ANY BLOODY AGE YOUR POINT OF VIEW FOR CHRIST'S SAKE.
- 123 Keef I don't know.
- 124 Debbie Yeah, he's a male chauvinist.
- 125 Keef I don't think that it's right. All the unemployment. If all the women went out for work.
- 126 Paul They're too fanatical women though aren't they.
- 127 Keef All that burn your bra business and all this.
- 128 Paul When I got my scooter my mother wouldn't let me bring it in the house.
- 129 All girls/boys Laughter
- 130 Clare I suppose you expect her to make it a cup of tea!
- 131 All girls/boys Laughter
- 132 Rich Take it to bed with you.
- 133 Keef Check it's oil, take it's temperature.
- 134 Debbie When it overheats.
- 135 All girls/boys Laughter

The opening moments of the discussion on marriage turn into personal exchanges where Debbie is attacked by both Rich and Keef. The boys' aggression is fuelled by Debbie's parody: "just there - to be screwed"; the challenge is not lost on Rich who resorts to the stereotype, of the miserable/frigid "old cow".

Due to a tense atmosphere at this point I decided to intervene to reintroduce the topic of marriage and women's careers. Forcibly, Cathy interrupts to assert that the individual girl has the choice to marry or gain a career. Both options are seen as an equal vocation, although they give precedence to the latter owing to more "opportunities for girls now". The boys respond with rituals of violence; they deploy metaphors of pornography to deprecate the girls' aspirations: they can "go on the game" or "work in a massage parlour". Debbie uses on one level irony to combat the boys' fantasies

and secondly a formal argument against their discrimination towards women in employment. Here Keef's challenge to the girls takes the form of ritual play. He starts to shout, swear and demand that the topic of conversation on equality be changed. During this exchange Keef interrupts Debbie twice as she attempts to formulate her argument (See Dove 1983).

The full extent of the boys' promenade of violence is shown in Keef's answer to Paul's question, that the only thing women are good for is "BURNING". The boys' argument receive further support in Paul's stereotypical assumptions about women and housework. He claims that women are unqualified to enter the pre-defined male labour market because they are trapped in a triangle of female dependence; servant, sexual object and "punch bag".

In this quote and throughout the chapter it is possible to see that the girls take on the boys' language of sexual dominance and use it against them to try to defuse the basis of male dominance.

The boys cannot win [arguments] by mere assertion of their masculinity and sexuality as illustrated by the girls powerful use of ridicule. Both groups operate strategies which displace sexist attack or counter sexist attack switching to the positional to the personal (and the personal to the positional). The girls capacity to use this strategy of opposition, makes the boys redirect their strategy to formulate domestic games and traps. Here they construct "super" sex role strategies which deflect the girls from speaking about female independence. Instead they are forced to address absurd sexual stereotypes. The girls again use irony to counter the boys creation of domestic traps and the girls are able in some degree to reverse the games in their favour.

The boys combination of violent expression and sexist abuse is directly mimicked by the girls [Cathy and Clare] who maintain they are "softies". Cathy breaks the ritualism of the boys by asserting that "UNDERNEATH" they are not really as

aggressive as their public face behaviour suggests. Both Keef and Rich accept the switch. The boys response is to switch to a strategy of formal argument, asserting that women are "impractical" and "fanatical".

Cathy becomes aggressive at the boys apparent careless remarks: her shouting forces them to be quiet. Debbie labels these boys as chauvinists. The boys games are working "to wind up" the girls but this does not disturb the girls solidarity.

These formal arguments are used within the boys' wider sex game strategy of domestic traps in their attempt to confine and restrict girls to roles of dependence. However, the girls respond aggressively to the boys assessment, and this response is taken by the boys to demonstrate that women may be fanatical. Keef follows this by invoking media stereotypes and the "irrationality" of the Women's Liberation Movement i.e. "Burn your bra", to reinforce Paul's assertion of fanaticism as further evidence of the exclusion of women from the labour process. Here Paul seizes an opportunity to show the fanaticism of women by reference to his mother's reaction to him bringing his scooter in the house. Unfortunately, this explanation "back fires" and it is his behaviour which is seen by the whole group as extreme.

1.4 Private face

This conversation immediately followed on from [NWG/MBQ8]. Here we see the mods' PGS speak about babies.

NWG/MBQ9

136 Keef I don't think that baby's should be banned. I fucking hate babies now! My really young brother come in my bedroom, half past four with a mouth organ on Sunday.

137 All girls/boys Laughter

138 Keef My head nearly split.

139 Clare You would miss him though.

140 Keef Yeah, I know I really like him a lot.

What is of interest, is that both youth cultural groups momentarily pause to suspend their ritual joust and the boys most aggressive character Keef speaks about his love for his baby brother. The story is highly affectionate and suddenly displays the mod's private face as "softies".

A question raised here is whether the previous ritual joust, celebrating patriarchy and its opposition is temporarily suspended by this unexpected turn to the private face of both youth groups.

1.5 Male Dependence - Female Subordination to the Domestic

The warm exchange between the girls and boys on Keef's baby story is only a momentary pause before Paul introduces a narrative of male potency to restate the male image.

NWG/MBQ10

141 Paul I didn't get too drunk Saturday night did I. My drinking ended half way through the night.

142 Rich Ar, run out of money as usual!

143 Debbie No he got banned. Someone split on him.

144 Paul I was in the Red Lion with Dave one night and he got chucked out and I didn't, did not. Then his OLD BID [mother. SJB] blames me if there's any arguing and that. She went and grassed me up. These two women said if they see me in the pub again, that's what the landlord said to me, these two women her and Norah.

145 Debbie Nnnnoooooorrrrrraaaaahhhhhhh!

146 Paul She only lives two doors away.

147 Keef FUCKING FLIPPED

148 Paul She was feeding me stout when I was about five years old. They said if they saw me in there again, they were going to ring the police up and say there's underage drinking.

149 Keef IT'S A BASTARD THAT IS THAT'S ALL THAT WOMEN ARE GOOD FOR SEE, SNIDY GRASSING UP WHEN THEY CAN'T FACE IT.

150 Paul FANATICAL

- 151 Keef PROVES THE POINT. END OF CONVERSATION.
Another subject.
- 152 Clare No. They would not know, they are just a couple.
- 153 Keef They base a couple on the majority.
- 154 Debbie You can't judge one person by everyone else.
- 155 Keef No. Everyone is different.
- 156 Rich NO. Statistically there are more car crashes
involving women.
- 157 All girls Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha,
ha, [forced laughter. SJB]
- 158 Debbie My mum is an excellent driver. My mum to get to
London ...
- 159 Cathy So is my mum.
- 160 Paul My sister took a driving lesson and the bloke who
was taking her jumped out of the car.
- 161 All girls/boys Laughter
- 162 Keef My mum's the best one. The instructor goes to her
you are wasting your time and your money, and my
time - she hit another car at Lewes a pig
[police. SJB] she reversed into him. Women just
can't drive.
- 163 Paul They're too highly strung aren't they.
- 164 Clare NO. Don't be silly.
- 165 Debbie Everyone is highly strung. I'm not!
- 166 Rich Ar, ar, ar, no, you old biddy you really are.
- 167 Debbie No. I'm not. Sioux is highly strung. [Conversation
stops for a moment as the telephone rings. I
answer the call which is for the careers officer
who is out of school this afternoon. The
conversation begins again.]
- 168 Keef Inequality!
- 169 Rich What are we talking about that for?
- 170 Keef That's what our conversation is based round.
- 171 Rich Yeah let's change it.
- 172 Paul Yeah. Well they're not for a start are they -
equal?

- 173 Keef What
- 174 Rich Let's talk about BOOTS and WHIPS.
- 175 Keef You're not exactly weight lifters.
- 176 Sally IT'S A LOT OF BALL CRAP. WE ARE THE SAME SHIT.
BLOODY BODIES FOUR LIMBS AREN'T WE. THERE'S
NOTHING DIFFERENT BETWEEN US.
- 177 Keef Yeah, But there's strength.
- 178 Rich Yes there is.
- 179 Sally There is not.
- 180 Rich I've got a willy and you have not.
- 181 Cathy Ar, ar, mine broke off when I was three!
- 182 All girls Laughter
- 183 Debbie But some girls are brainer than you aren't they
- Rose, Kerry etc.
- 184 Keef Are they're hippies.
- 185 Debbie Yeah but they're more brainer than you aren't
they.
- 186 Keef They work.
- 187 Debbie Yeah.
- 188 Rich Who's that?
- 189 All girls Well, well.
- 190 Debbie She wants to get something with her life.
- 191 Rich Who does?
- 192 Keef But she can't because there are not equal
opportunities for women.
- 193 Clare Of course there is.
- 194 Paul Everybody realises don't take on a woman I mean
bloody hell [exaggerated voice. SJB].
- 195 Clare Would you ever get married Paul? Would you expect
your wife to sit at home and make you a cup of
tea and get your slippers?
- 196 Paul But that's all they do anyway housewives.
- 197 Clare I bet she wouldn't.

- 198 Debbie My mum does not. My mum goes out to work.
- 199 Sally NO.
- 200 Clare NO.
- 201 Cathy NO.
- 202 Debbie NO.
- 203 Sally If you look at my mum and dad. My dad don't let anybody else do the washing up because he's scared my mum is going to leave, you know, bits on the place. He does the washing up, the hoovering and everything.
- 204 Paul She don't do her job properly does she.
- 205 Clare OH NO.
- 206 Debbie My mum is not houseproud at all. She couldn't give a fuck about her house.
- 207 Rich It's her job though.
- 208 Debbie If the Queen came she would say fuck it, let ...
- 209 Cathy It's your dad that is houseproud.
- 210 Rich If the Queen came round she'd - cup of tea ma-lady and all that.
- 211 Debbie My mum would offer her a cup of tea, but she, if my mum knew a week in advance that she was coming.
- 212 Paul Not even a sherry!
- 213 Debbie Oh no she does drink sherry. My mum wouldn't clean the house up at all. I mean she never goes into my bedroom, she's frightened what she might find, see.
- 214 Rich I bet she would clean the house up.
- 215 Debbie I bet you she would not.
- 216 Keef I bet. Right, I'll phone her up and say
- 217 Cathy She does do it.
- 218 Debbie I've seen my mum hoover about three times. But our house is a mess but it is not dirty.
- 219 Sally My dad does it all.

In this episode the boys change their strategy but maintain the attack on the basic inadequacy of women. Here they attempt to show women as betrayers and seducers incapable of honesty, trust and loyalty the qualities of "mates".

Paul argues that his drinking in the public house was terminated by two old women. The boys assume the pub is masculine territory and this example reinforces their argument against women. Paul asserts that one of the women is both betrayer and seducer. He says, how she gave him stout when he was a young boy but now that he is a young man, independent of her control she betrays him. Paul reproduces the essential quality of women in patriarchy as madonna and whore. Keef demonstrates when he assesses Paul's evidence becomes abusive and demands the boys have won the argument.

It may be significant to note that Debbie introduces the betrayal as "someone split on him". Could it be that the girls did not come in earlier because they disapprove of the betrayal but could not say so as this would appear to be disloyal to women? As a consequence they argue against generalising from a specific case and here Keef agrees: both groups accept the importance of individual difference.

The boys now employ a more formal argument to support their position; this time the subject is driving. They again try to establish female dependence arising out of their inability to drive, which they define as a male skill. The girls manage to combat this argument by using their mothers as model drivers. But here the boys introduce elements of a game strategy, exaggerating the failure of a mother and a sister as examples of women being "highly strung", thus incapable of driving. Here the girls unity is weakened when Debbie discredits Sioux by stating she is "highly strung" in contrast to herself. This potential moment of lost integrity dissolves as the conversation is halted by a telephone call. The call for the Careers Officer reminds everyone where they are.

They boys attempt to change the subject of conversation.

Rich switches to the use of pornographic images and Keef speaks about strength. The girls point out that strength is an ideological concept: Sally says that biologically girls and boys possess the same capacity for strength. [Holland 1985].

Here Rich introduces the penis as the final element to support the argument about male strength. However, Cathy challenges the male symbol of authority through her absurd comment that her penis "broke off when I was three". This joke serves to cut down the boys to size. Her humour is an attack on male control. [Douglas 1968] The subversive effect of the comment permits the girls to shift the conversation from a privileging of the body to a privileging of the mind. Debbie invokes some of the boffin girls to support her argument that girls are more intelligent than boys. Keef does not counter at the level of ability but at the level of youth cultural style. He discredits the boffin girls because "They're Hippies". Debbie admits this, although Keef's comment does not lessen the weight of her argument because his attack is on style not on academic ability. His second response asserts that it is irrelevant whether girls are more intelligent because there are not equal opportunities for women. The boys ridicule the girls social aspirations, and suggest it is futile to demand liberation.

The girls response to this is to reverse the argument against boys, by demonstrating that men are dependent on the domestic. "It is your dad that is houseproud". The girls use their own family experience to point out the active domestic role of the father/husband in the household. The girls reverse the boys' game of domestic traps to capture men as dependent in the home. It is important to note that the frequency with which the boys demand that the subject of discussion ie. equality, should be changed is significant itself.

2. Introduction to Discussion B

The basic difference between the first and the discussion which follows is location. The second talk is at Cathy's

mother's house. The new wave girls and mod boys sit in the lounge on large soft chairs or stretch comfortably on the carpet floor. Everyone is reasonably close and appear relaxed. The participants at discussion B were as follows:

New Wave Girls	Specialised Positions	Mod Boys	Specialised Positions
Clare	Style leader	Rich	Style leader
Sally	Peer group Spokesperson	Keef	Peer group Spokesperson
Sioux	Peer group Spokesperson	Hat	Cultural Ransacker
Debbie	Cultural Ransacker		
Cathy	Peer group consolidator		

There are two important differences in terms of the people present at discussion B. The new wave girls are joined by Sioux PGS. In the mod boys group Hat CR has replaced Paul SL, this means that they have three SP's present whereas in discussion A there were only two SP's. As in the first talk the girls outnumber the boys but this time by two.

Context: in the morning I arranged with the PE teacher for the pupils to be released from that lesson in the afternoon. Generally, interviews occurred in the careers office, however, just before the last afternoon session I received information from the Head of Fifth Year, that the office was occupied by educational visitors. On these occasions interviews then took place in a free classroom. This time I could not find a free room and was reluctant to conduct the interview in the open plan fifth year area or Humanities Block.

At this moment Clare stepped in and offered the use of her house about a half mile outside school. Everyone agreed and set off. I spoke to the teacher leader just before leaving school.

2.1 The Gift Ritual

The discussion opens with the gift ritual, it fulfils a different function than in discussion A. In the first talk cigarettes were not exchanged and the refusal to exchange signified the basic oppositional nature of the encounter.

Here inside Cathy's house, Debbie CR selects a record to play, it is 'Three Imaginary Boys' by the Cure. At the outset the mod boys are being subjected to the new wave girls' music. The gift ritual begins.

NWG/MBQ11

220 Debbie Has anyone got any cigarettes?

221 Sally No, ooohh, oh [cough twice. SJB]

222 Sioux We've got two haven't we.

223 Debbie Yeah How many of you smoke here?

224 Keef Four

225 Sally Too many

226 Debbie Do you smoke?

227 Hat Yeah I do.

228 Cathy Who wants coffee and who wants tea?

229 Sioux Coffee please.

230 Debbie Two, four, six we'll flash out.

231 Cathy Do you want coffee Shane?

232 SJB If it's made with milk?

233 Rich If it's made with milk!

234 Cathy You're such a pain in the anus!

235 SJB No a cup of tea do me.

236 Cathy No coffee or coffee, no you're not having that.

237 SJB Okay

238 Sioux Any matches.

239 Keef One lump or two? [Suggests female breast. SJB]

- 240 Debbie Do you mind?
- 241 Rich Pass!
- 242 Keef So when's your mum coming home then Cathy?
- 243 Cathy Don't know. The time she gets here.
- 244 Keef That'll be funny and she walks in and we're here.
- 245 Cathy I think she'd laugh actually, she'd probably sit down, and then make you all another cup of coffee.
- 246 Sioux My brother nicked the cigarettes as well.
- 247 Hat Me and Keef will share one.
- 248 Debbie Yeah all right. We will all share one
- 249 Sioux Hat pass us the ashtray please?
Could I have the ashtray please Hat?
- 250 Hat Oh, you want it?
- 251 Sioux You're supposed to share with Keef.
- 252 Keef Urrrrr, this coffee ain't got no sugar in it.
[spits a little out. SJB]
- 253 Sioux HOLD ON FOR THE SUGAR SIR!
- 254 All girls/boys Laughter

At the start of the second discussion there is an exchange and sharing of cigarettes in a context where the girls are serving the boys refreshments [tea, coffee, milk, sugar]. A central theme of the first talk from the perspective of the boys was the placing of the girls in traditional positions of domestic and economic dependency. But in the second discussion the girls actively occupy the serving role and appear to relish its irony by exaggerating the markers of female courtesy: this is the boys' first group visit to the house, a foreign territory⁴.

Debbie is organising the cigarette smoking and Cathy the choice of drinks. It is apparent that both girls are enjoying their control of the situation. Debbie suggests "We will all

share" cigarettes and the girls will "flash out" for the boys. Keef senses the lack of security the boys have in this location and attempts to undermine the girls by transforming the sugar by a metaphor into a sexual signifier. He is stopped by Debbie's challenge and he switches to question Cathy about her mother. Cathy's reply shows that the girls have different parental expectations. It is clear from the tone of Keef's enquiry, that his mother would be alarmed to find this gathering in her house. Cathy relates that her mother would be as open and friendly to everyone as she is herself. In contrast, the boys share a more oppositional relation with their parents, determined to be separate rather than cooperative; the latter relation is viewed by the boys with suspicion.

Keef's recognition of the girls' doubletake in serving and his attempt to challenge by transferring a civility into a sexuality shows that the gift ritual is precarious. Mauss [1954] explains

"The gift is thus something that must be given that must be received and that, at the same time is dangerous to accept" [P.58]

The gift ritual between rivals, of gender and style carries relations of superiority and humiliation. The final attempt by Keef to extend his control over the gift relation occurs when he is out-manouvered by Sioux, who inverts the meaning of the servicing routine. This inversion and laughter indicates the girls' serving role is no longer implicit; their doubletake is now explicit. The relations of the gift ritual conclude. The boys have not been humiliated but they recognise the ability of the girls to exploit the situation.

2.2 Sexual Fantasies

The early part of the talk took the form of a ritual play and dramatic irony. The conversation between the two groups is yet to begin proper. It is clear from the boys reluctance to speak that they feel themselves to be in an uncomfortable location. They are subject to the girls' control, so in order

to provide a basis of security, firstly, we see them engage in boy talk [on crash hats] and then Keef initiates the discussion proper. Meanwhile, there was a sense that the girls were conducting an experiment upon the boys to see how they would react at close quarters with them.

NWG/MBQ12

- 255 Hat I got four crash helmets.
- 256 Rich Keef do you want to buy my green crash hat for ten pounds?
- 257 Keef No I'm getting a new one for ten pounds, that's my old man, he has asked someone. I'm not being funny.
- 258 Rich They're great for parties, great for discos, wear your own crash hat.
- 259 Hat I got a fibre glass helmet one the other day.
- 260 Debbie Oh really!
- 261 Hat Full face one.
- 262 Keef Now he'll be a right speed king won't he who saw the film last night?
- 263 Clare Oh we kept talking about that.
- 264 Sally Where he sucked her tit.
Oh it was gross! It grossed me out man!
[thrilled. SJB]
- 265 Keef What about the pig. The pig in the bed, urgh, urgh, urgh.
- 266 Cathy Oh I thought it was brilliant.
- 267 Keef I thought it was Paul [mod boy. SJB] quivering weren't it like he was having an orgasm.
- 268 Debbie Yeah.
- 269 Sally How much did they pay you? [to Keef. SJB] I saw Friday night, Saturday morning [TV programme. SJB]. It was when Toyah was doing it.
- 270 Keef STOP er. Friday Night, Saturday Morning. They got some Deep Throat, some clips of the film.
- 271 Sally What's that?
- 272 Keef It's been banned by Linda Lovelace.

- 273 Sally What's it about?
- 274 All girls/boys Laughter
- 275 Hat Sex.
- 276 Keef What does it sound like? DEEP THROAT
- 277 All girls/boys Laughter
- 278 Debbie Oh Sally!
- 279 Keef Gobbling [oral sex. SJB]
- 280 Sioux Conversation's REALLY gripping [bored tone. SJB]
- 281 Keef Has the Humanities teacher split up with his wife?
- 282 Sioux No.
- 283 Debbie Yeah
- 284 Cathy She hasn't left but they're split up.
- 285 Sally Are they getting a divorce?
- 286 Sioux Well he hasn't left, he hasn't left the terrace house either.
- 287 Cathy Nor has she I know, I mean but they're split up. They are getting a divorce.
- 288 Sioux I was going to say because ...
- 289 Keef How do you know?
- 290 Sioux Because with what Phil told me they weren't living together.
- 291 SJB Who told me that?
- 292 Sioux Yeah, we went past and another teacher's car was round there.
- 293 Debbie What the Physics teacher?
- 294 Sally No
- 295 Keef No, he wouldn't be fucking stupid enough to knock her off. She'd talk all the way through it.
- 296 Rich She's nice! The only thing I don't like about her is she's got smelly armpits - that smell and she scratches her crotch.
- 297 Sally Urrrrr. Mr. Checkland he's a lecher.

- 298 Sioux Urrrr, Mr. Smith smells of BO
- 299 Sally Oh I like him. He's really nice.
- 300 Cathy Mr. Smith!
- 301 Sioux Oh I hate him.
- 302 Keef He's a FUCKING GAY.
- 303 Sally SOD OFF. He's really nice I think so.
- 304 Keef He's still gay.
- 305 Rich Adam Ant is gay
- 306 Debbie Yeah of course he's gay, Rich.
- 307 Keef It's just a farce in it, that is a put on, cover about these girlfriends - a Brighton drag queen!
- 308 SJB Do you think that that's true about Adam Ant didn't get any real help from Malcolm McLaren.
- 309 Rich He did, he got a hell of a lot.
- 310 Clare All that trivial stuff.
- 311 Rich Really he wouldn't have made it. I reckon 90% of it came from Malcolm McLaren. He started him off. He never knew anything about it at all. He was just interested in the part. Then he suddenly puts on a Hippie coat and he's so great. I'm sorry but I just can't stand him.
- 312 Cathy Well so are you! But we don't all say that you are horrible do we.
- 313 Keef Yeah we keep it to ourselves.
- 314 All boys Laughter

The boys conversation on crash helmets has successfully excluded the girls. The item, being part of their dress, is a signifier of their specialised semiotic. Part of its potency is the ability to transform the wearer into a "right speed king".

The conversation starts properly when Keef raises the subject of last night's film in an attempt to capture the discursive space by challenging the girls to discuss openly the

sexual theme of the film. The girls show this is no matter for embarrassment. They are very explicit whereas Keef who initiated this episode hides behind metaphors. Furthermore, Clare states that the girls have already discussed the film, suggesting that they are not naive on matters of sexuality. Keef takes up Sally's challenge, making more direct sexual references, interrupting her and explicitly raising the subject of pornography; this can be understood as a demonstration of the boys' sexual display techniques. He continues, specifying the oral sex in another film, but Sioux's response is to humiliate the boys by the deflating criticism that their "conversation's REALLY gripping". In her "bored" tone of voice, she suggests that the boys lack potency and are inadequate; unlike them she is not seduced by such pornographic fantasies.

The boys' body reference of opposition ie. male sexual pleasure receives no further elaboration as the girls fail to respond; they seem unimpressed. The boys have been silenced. Under pressure Keef drops the conversation on the display of male potency and is forced to offer the girls an opportunity to speak about a real sexual relationship not a fantasised one.

In the ensuing discussion both Rich and Keef attack two female teachers, denying their sexuality; one fails to enjoy sexual intercourse (she is frigid) and the other fails in personal hygiene. Sally and Sioux retaliate by referring equally disparagingly to two male teachers. Keef deflects the symbolic criticism of the male group; the teacher is a homosexual, and for the purpose of this argument "not a real man".

In this episode the girls begin to use homosexuality as a weapon to deflect threatening heterosexual relations. We see a difference in the definition of homosexuality between the two groups. The boys interest is in developing the homosexuality theme to accomplish a dual attack on the girls; by identifying Adam Ant (an originator of early new wave music and style) as "homosexual" a personal attack is automatically delivered to

the sexuality of one of the girls who had been a director of an early Adam Ant fan club, when the band were on the independent "Do it" label.

At the end of this passage I suggest that Keef's comment "we keep it to ourselves" is an expression of solidarity rather than one of agreement with Cathy. Indeed, it can be seen as a subtle transformation of her attack, a suggestion that the girls' criticism is neutralised by solidarity. The boys regain strength and their laughter is an expression of this. They are now in a position to reassert their male potency through an oppositional stand to male homosexuality as equated with impotence.

2.3 Masturbation

In the previous section the rigid masculine character of the mod boy group defined gay men as not "real" men, by definition lacking heterosexual potency. In contrast the new wave girls did not share the boys' definition of homosexuals. In the following section the boys try again to display their heterosexual potency to the girls, this time by their elaboration of a particular boy's toilet behaviour which is seen as sexually ambiguous.

NWG/MBQ13

- 315 Keef Hat said to me this morning that he was just standing there you know and DIRTY GREAT PRICK.
- 316 Debbie He stands there and what?
- 317 Hat I told him the other day about Frank Wilson. When he has a piss in the toilet, he stands there right for about ten minutes and he's just standing there, pissing.
- 318 Keef He's not pissing.
- 319 Hat And Keef went in there today right and goes you know you told me about Wilson. He goes, he stands there and he's not pissing. It's hanging there. He's standing there holding it right and he's just standing there and nothing's coming out.

- 320 SJB Who is it? [This boy was unknown to me. SJB]
- 321 Keef He's in our class.
- 322 Sally He's is a bit weird though anyway.
- 323 Keef He's urrrrrr. I'll break his head.
- 324 Sioux He is a weird. He's mum's weird.
- 325 SJB He's in the upper ability band isn't he?
- 326 Sioux Yes, he's really weird.
- 327 Hat I'M TELLING YOU RIGHT. HE'S JUST STANDING THERE.
- 328 Keef Hat asked me.
- 329 Hat NOTHING COMING OUT
He's sort of standing there.
- 330 Rich I think that all relates back to you kept taking the micky out of him for having a circumcised willy.
- 331 Sally Has he?
- 332 Debbie That's not his fault.
- 333 Sally In circumcise what does circumcise.
- 334 Sioux It's supposed to be cleaner isn't it.
- 335 Debbie Yeah
- 336 SJB It's also where the skin starts to grow too large.
- 337 Rich Sioux said it's much cleaner and much nicer, that was in the restaurant that was.
- 338 Hat Shane this is a good subject of conversation. Do boys wank? [slightly threatened. SJB]
- 339 Debbie Do they? All of them?
- 340 Sioux I reckon all boys do!
- 341 Sally Like my brother today. When I went home, mum she was talking about my brother he had a hard on. I said, "Oh yeah". She said "he has one every time in the morning".
- 342 Rich Who?
- 343 Sioux When he wakes up in the morning.
- 344 Rich Who said that? What was you trying to say?

- 345 Sally Nothing.
- 346 Rich That every boy gets a hard on in the morning.
- 347 Sally No.
- 348 Rich I never do.
- 349 Sally No not!
- 350 Sioux Well there must be something wrong with you then.
- 351 All girls Laughter
- 352 Debbie Do you think there's anything wrong with self
masturbation then?
- 353 Cathy I don't think there is.
- 354 Keef Not if you're locked up in prison.
- 355 Sioux NO. There is nothing wrong with it.
- 356 Keef In prison though there's gays or thinking about
his woman.
- 357 Rich Just that I wouldn't do it and I wouldn't do it,
and I wouldn't do it, and I wouldn't do it and
I wouldn't do it and I can do it [Almost sung.
SJB]
- 358 All girls/boys Laughter.
- 359 Sioux You enticing little sod.
- 360 Keef Getting personal now.
- 361 Cathy Between boys, when boys sort of talk about it,
it is accepted. But if a girl said that she did
it.
- 362 Sally It's not is it.
[Cathy's dog comes running into the lounge after
being shut in a bedroom.]
- 363 SJB Winston.
- 364 Keef Is it a male?
- 365 Debbie Yeah! It's got a willy.
- 366 Sioux He had it out the other day. I goes "Put it away,
you're not coming near me!"

The theme is images of male sexuality explored through the topics of masturbation, homosexuality and genitals. In the

previous quote we identified how the boys were aggressive towards homosexuals eg. teacher, pop star, and the girls did not agree. This opposition causes the boys problems because their shared assumptions lead to a ridiculing of aberrant homosexual behaviour.

In NWG/MBQ13 the boys speak of the "uncertain" behaviour by a square boffin boy when he stands at a urinal. The suggestion is that his behaviour is not correct in this location; such behaviour might be homosexual. The story is told by Hat in a tone which expresses fear, he shouts and feels threatened.

He gets caught up in his account of the square boffin boy and his penis by the implicit suggestion that he and other mods are involved in voyeurism perhaps with homosexual intent. Do the mod boys stand in the toilet and gaze at this boy's penis? Is the mod boys' behaviour homosexual? The boys [Hat] appear to have failed to draw attention to their own potency in contrast to homosexual practices, despite a second more explicit repeat of the square boffin boy's apparent passivity. The boys seem to have fallen into a trap of their own making. The girls fail to see the behaviour as passive or homosexual, instead it is described in terms of "weirdness", the boy's mother is weird and the added evidence that he is in the upper ability band at school means that he is "really weird". Rich rescues the boys from the "dangers" of homosexuality by changing the focus of the discussion to the circumcised penis. Then Hat makes a further switch in the conversation to the potent subject of "Do boys wank?" Here the boys display their sexual aggression. However, the girls reveal that they know much about the male body. They have information on the penis, circumcision and male masturbation. The boys are threatened [and surprised] by the girls' ready facility to talk seriously about masturbation. The girls focus upon "self masturbation" as a fact of life, whereas the boys see masturbation as a weakness. Keef argues that a man only masturbates when he cannot have sex with a woman. The boys' definition of masculine potency is having heterosexual intercourse.

From the boys' perspective, Sally raises a taboo subject when she states she talks with her mother about male masturbation. This is a threatening relation: where mother and daughter are seen as in collusion.

In general, the conversation of the new wave girls is not a game: it grows out of their ideology of feminism. It is this which provides the serious basis for their arguments and their refusal to take the discussion at the level of a game. The girls [Cathy] assert that boys can talk about masturbation but it is not appropriate for girls, as this will indicate that girls are sexually active, and therefore a threat to patriarchy, within the terms of which only men express sexual ambition and activity: it is this which lies behind the boys equation of potency with heterosexual intercourse. [Caldwell, Leonard, Nava and Rance 1978]

The mod boys are caught in a dilemma: they are unwilling to admit to masturbation. But why? Because in terms of their potency, masturbation would appear unmanly, weak, perhaps homosexual or even virginal. According to their definition of potency, to engage in self-masturbation suggests an absence of normal sexual relations. The mod boys' dilemma can be shown in the following oppositions:

Boys in general

1. Do masturbate
2. Normal
3. Impotent
4. No sexual relations
with girls

Mod boys

1. Do not masturbate
2. Not normal
3. Potent
4. Sexual relation
with girls.

The question presents itself: Is masturbation normal? The penis [whether homosexual or heterosexual] is a sexual signifier which Sioux by analogy [to the dog] can refuse. Further, the girls suggest that they know that boys masturbate even if the mod boys will not admit to it. Just like the dog their penis is always "out" and it is normal to masturbate.

2.4 Heterosexual relations and oppositions

This conversation follows directly on from the previous quote. The girls have been questioning the boys about male masturbation so in an attempt to maintain a balance I ask Keef what he knows of female masturbation.

NWG/MBQ14

367 SJB What do you know about girls masturbation then Keef?

368 Keef Ur. I heard two girls talking about it. In fact I had it on tape.

369 Rich No. A third year girl.

370 Keef No. A fourth year girl mate.

371 Rich Oh right! What do you think of the fifteen/sixteen year old boy who is having it off with a thirteen year old girl?

372 Sally I think thirteen year old girls are stupid.

373 Sioux Yeah so do I.

374 Rich Yeah so do I.

375 All boys/girls Laughter

376 Sioux Hat you look EMBARRASSED.

377 All girls Laughter

378 Sioux Who is the thirteen year old girl then?

379 Keef What Sioux? Then Hat tell them who you're going out with.

380 Sioux Who is the thirteen year old girl?

381 All girls Laughter

382 Hat Keef layed out a second year girl.
A second year!

383 Sioux Who's that?

384 Debbie What's her name?

385 Hat What's up with that.

386 Keef No, who?

- 387 Debbie IT'S ABOUT YOUR SIZE Keef!
- 388 All girls Laughter
- 389 Hat She might have been a very mature young girl.
- 390 Sioux Who?
- 391 Sally It can damage you through if you have it off though at thirteen
- 392 Hat Why?
- 393 Keef I ain't damaged!
Is this where the party was?
- 394 Sioux Yeah it was great, we pushed the table here, we had the chairs across there. That chair was over here as well. We didn't have the telly in here. It was in the bedroom and all the ornaments were put into the cupboard.
- 395 Cathy How many were in that bedroom?
- 396 Sioux There was-what?- about nine of us. There was Steff and Gaz on the bed Gaz was being really funny he was jumping up and down really high. He was going come on steff you're not usually this shy. You like it like this, he was going.
- 397 Debbie It was really funny.
- 398 Keef She's getting really exited, she's pushing my leg.
- 399 Sioux There was Steff, Gaz, Collen, Tom, Denise, Slim, Robert and Ian.
- 400 Cathy There was six in the other bedroom and the rest out here.
- 401 Sally I remember waking Shane, then Paul up at five o'clock in the morning.
- 402 SJB What are you two [Cathy and Debbie. SJB] going to get up to on holiday?
- 403 Debbie We're going to get up to everything!
- 404 Keef What's the legal age for lesbians?
- 405 Debbie Twenty one.
- 406 Sioux Twenty one.
- 407 Debbie I'm not a lesbian, I'm bisexual.
- 408 Keef Oh ur who is?

409 Sioux No I think you'll have to be a pure lesbian.
410 Debbie YEAH!
 [Keef leaves to catch a school bus to go
 home.SJB]

The main issue here is an oppositional practice of "sexual maturity". In the first half of the quote the girls interrogate the boys on their sexual relations and in the second half the boys [Keef] ask the girls about theirs (bringing up the subject of their recent all night party). Throughout this quote both groups promenade the body with competing and opposing claims, and definitions of potency.

What is the difference between the mod boys' and the new wave girls' sexual status displays? From the mod boys' perspective sexual status does not derive from long term relationships: it rests upon a boy's ability to seduce a younger and preferably inexperienced girl. Thus sexual maturity is understood in terms of a boy's success with virgins, as an enhancement of his public potency and the potency of his group.

The boys deliver their account of male potency within a framework of bravado, exaggeration and jousting. However, they are unable to pursue their claims of sexual success and dominate the argument because the new wave girls hold a different understanding of sexual status. Rather than congratulate the boys on their sexual conquests the girls reverse the boys claims. Sally states that young girls who have sex are "stupid" and immature. Also there is a suggestion that if mod boys choose younger partners, it must be because they too are immature. There now follows a struggle over the status of appropriate age levels and sexual regulations, in which the boys are caught within the contradiction of their own promenade of potency.

The boys struggle to maintain group unity; this never fragments, but their performance is weakened by the girls'

constant questioning, ritual humiliation and laughter. However, the boys are far from defeated. They do not give the names of their young girlfriends and secrecy is maintained and with it solidarity conferred by a shared knowledge.

Significantly, the boys suddenly switch the topic away from the investigation of themselves, to one of the girl's parties. This gives an opportunity for the girls to promenade their own behaviour. [See chapter nine. An ethnography of two adolescent girl parties]. A new wave girls' party would usually continue through the night and all guests would stay and sleep in various rooms. The chances for promiscuity and myth-building are obvious. However, the girls' relationships with boyfriends were generally long-standing. These boys would in general be two or more years older than them. For the girls, sexual status does not rest upon a succession of inexperienced young boys but on the development of sexual relations within a stable relationship.

In an attempt to dislodge the girls from their promenade of heterosexual confidence the boys [Keef] tries to humiliate the girls by suggesting that two of them are lesbians. However, the remark has the reverse effect. The girls speak about lesbianism casually as they did about masturbation. The girls' public display of moving from heterosexual assertion to this acceptance of lesbianism, effectively draws to an end the boys' interest in the discussion of sexual maturity.⁵

The boys' display of male potency has not altogether failed, but it has been unsuccessful in placing the girls in traditional positions of sexual subordinacy. It is the combination of the girls' ability to show group solidarity, to promenade and to privilege the female body which enables them to preserve their integrity and to present their ideology of feminism.

3. Position and communication

Here I shall present an analysis of the specialised positions [SP] from the theory of youth cultural forms initially applied in chapter ten. In that chapter the focus was upon the functions of the SP's within an in-group context. In contrast, this chapter brings together the two youth cultural groups in order to examine the data to see whether the theory can possibly explain the patterns of communication which occurred. The data from two informal conversations has been presented almost in full. This provides a context within which to understand the individual parts and to understand more fully the ritual engagement.

A crucial determinant of interaction is whether a group is playing a defensive or an offensive strategy. The drama between the two youth groups takes the form of ritual insults, jousting and games of humiliation. What factors other than sex and style regulate or influence interaction? The SP's act according to three rules depending upon the social forms present, (social/symbolic), the setting (or location) and the context (occasion).

I shall refer to the first discussion as (a) and the second as (b). Next I will specify the discussion quote number, for example NWG/MBQ1, and then to the specific line or lines in that quote. A specimen will look as follows: A.NWG/MBQ8.52-55,57-59. Later I shall look at the more general relationships between the SP's in terms of offence/ defence, jousting, exaggeration, games and solidarity.

In the transcript we see the specialised positions play out three major roles of communication: joust, challenge and opposition. Parallel positions in competing groups are often in ritual combat, for example female against male style leader. We can also expect to see the style leader and peer group spokesperson challenge group solidarity, or to oppose any attempt to dominate the talk. Both positions will themselves try to either direct or dominate the subject under discussion.

These are all promenading rituals of exaggeration. The cultural ransacker is preoccupied with intellectual strategies of communication, such as reversing meanings in an argument, or making factual assertions which widen the context of the argument or introduce new concepts. Finally, the primary role of the peer group consolidator is to unite the group, and this may be achieved by rituals of humiliation designed to elicit laughter. Some of these examples show cross alliances between social and symbolic forms. On the one hand the alliance of the style leader and the peer group spokesperson, and the other alliance between the cultural ransacker and the peer group consolidator. There is tension between the pairs of alliance. The cultural ransacker and the peer group consolidator have to cope with the exaggeration of the style leader and peer group spokesperson and to support them when their domination is threatened.

3.1 Style Leader

This selection shows the way in which the SL will attempt initially to direct, then try to gain control of the promenading rituals by directing conversation around issues relating to style. In general, the style leaders joust over control of the stylistic order and reference is made to scooters, music and perceived images of women.

1. A.NWG/MBQ1.1 Rich SL enters the room singing a song from the repertoire of the mod boys' specialised semiotic.
2. A.NWG/MBQ8.111-114, 116-118. Rich SL and Clare SL joust on whether women have the right to spend their or their husbands wages on a new hair style.
3. A.NWG/MBQ8.128-131. Paul SL selects an element from the mods' specialised semiotic ie. scooter, to argue for the irrationality of women. However, rather than Paul's mother being illuminated as a fanatic the girls reverse the situation so that it is Paul who is the fanatic. Clare SL challenges him by forcing an image of domesticity on the male scooter. When the scooter enters the household by the boys own definition it comes under the control of women.

When the scooter is offered tea, Paul and the mod boys are ritually insulted.

4. A.NWG/MBQ10.141,144,146,148,150. Paul SL is prevented from promenading in his local pub an insult to himself and the public face of the mod group.
5. A.NWG/MBQ10.156. Rich SL uses a formal argument about car accident statistics to support an argument that women's style of driving is dangerous.
6. B.NWG/MBQ12.256-258. Rich SL offers to sell his crash helmet to Keef at a reduced price. Keef PGS is careful to apologise to the SL for being unable to accept this bargain.
7. B.NWG/MBQ12.308-311. I ask a question about initiation of punk and new wave style. The two SLs supply information about contemporary stylistic elements within the music scene. Rich SL speaks at length on this subjects asserting Malcolm McLaren's cultural superiority over Adam Ant who he claims is a "hippie". Clare SL specifies a post punk style developed by McLaren.
8. B.NWG/MBQ13.330. Rich SL finally manages to move the conversation away from the subject of the square boffin boys passivity by raising the subject of penis style ie. circumcision.
9. B.NWG/MBQ13.357. Throughout the two discussions we have seen Rich SL promenade and practice exaggeration, here he delivers almost in song form his ritual wind-up.

3.2 Peer Group Spokesperson

This selection shows the PGS as a powerful and domineering force within both groups. Whereas the Style Leader will try to direct conversation, it is the PGS who tries to dominate by acting in a loud, challenging and aggressive way.

1. A.NWG/MBW3.18. Keef PGS announces with heavy irony the dominant role of the PGS; he has instructed Paul "too well".
2. A.NWG/MBQ6.33-35,37-38. Sally PGS and Keef PGS initiate stories on parental surveillance of sexual behaviour. They

- become the voice of the group on this matters.
3. A.NWG/MBQ8.82,86. Keef PGS dominates the conversation by shouting and asserts it is fruitless to proceed any further on the topic of equality.
 4. A.NWG/MBQ10.147,149,151. Keef PGS tries to control the conversation by shouting and becoming abusive. His aggression is directed towards a blanket condemnation of women. As the SL has been prevented from promenading in a public house, this is a challenge to the PGS social authority and the mod boys public face.
 5. A.NWG/MBQ10.175-177. Sally PGS and Keef PGS joust on issues of physical strength and gender. Sally dominates by shouting.
 6. A.NWG/MBQ10.203,219. Sally PGS introduces the narrative of her father as an active participant in the domestic realm to challenge the boys stereotype.
 7. B.NWG/MBQ11.239,251-254. Keef PGS senses insecurity and challenges the girls' dominance through ritual exaggeration. He overacts to show that he understands their game. He suggests they failed to serve properly. Sioux PGS provides an equally strong exaggeration in a loud hilarious voice in which she vehemently overplays the master-servant role.
 8. B.NWG/MBQ12.262,264-265,267,269-274,276,279-280. Keef PGS and Sally PGS joust and attempt to dominate the narrative on sexual explicitness in two films. Keef develops the sexual references with respect to the boys' metaphors of pornography. He dominates here but he is quickly challenged by Sioux PGS who delivers a ritual insult. Her challenge is to the boys' right to promote pornographic fantasy.
 9. B.NWG/MBQ13.340-351. Sally PGS and Sioux PGS unite to challenge the boys and dominate them by showing "forbidden" knowledge of male masturbation.
 - 10 B.NWG/MBQ14.394,396. Sioux PGS dominates the conversation and speaks at length on the girls' all-night party. Similar to Keef's PGS praise for those involved in the fight [chapter ten].

3.3 Cultural Ransacker

This selection shows the CRs ability to use and develop formal arguments as a means of breaking ritual exaggeration. In particular, the CRs strength is shown by their skill in transferral of meaning, for example from the 'body to the mind' or from 'heterosexuality to lesbianism'. However, story-telling is not a strength of the CR as is shown by Simon's inability to join in an exaggerating narrative.

1. A.NWG/MBQ2.8,10. Debbie CR transforms the cigarette into a sexual metaphor.
2. A.NWG/MBQ8.78,81,85. Debbie CR uses the reality principle in an attempt to break the boys sexist ritual exaggerations. She applies a formal argument in defence of women's employment and economic independence to support the girls claims for equality of opportunity.
3. A.NWG/MBQ10.183-190. Debbie CR shifts the discourse from the body to the mind. Through this successful transferral she argues that academically minded girls have more scope for employment.
4. B.NWG/MBQ11.220,223,226,230,248. Debbie CR organises the symbolic function of smoking cigarettes.
5. B.NWG/MBQ12.255,259,261. Hat CR specifies the necessary material base of the CR to possess scooter helmets'. He focuses upon the facts: number, type and range of protective crash helmets he owns.
6. B.NWG/MBQ12.275. Hat CR states the reality principle of the film, its subject is solely sexual.
7. B.NWG/MBQ13.338-339,352. Debbie CR and Hat CR joust upon the facts of male masturbation. Both put questions. Hat experiments and colludes with me by offering masturbation for discussion. He transforms the talk about circumcision to masturbation. Finally, Debbie demands that the conversation remain at a serious rather than an exaggerated level. She asserts the reality principle by putting forward that it is normal to masturbate.
8. B.NWG/MBQ14.384,387. Debbie CR does not receive an answer to her question and follows up with a heavy ritual insult

to Keef. Her actions break the force of the boys ritual exaggeration.

9. B.NWG/MBQ14.402-403,405,407,410. Debbie CR, in response to my ingenuous question shifts the context to a directly sexual one. She breaks the boys' masculine promenade by transferral of her sexual potency, from a previous concern with heterosexuality to one of lesbianism.

3.4 Peer Group Consolidator

This selection shows the Peer Group Consolidator's ability to break social exaggeration through assertion of a reality principle. Cathy is the only PGC present in both discussions. She concentrates upon development and use of repair strategies. She is most successful in uniting the group through a combination of humour and ritual insult; this not only affirms but also celebrates solidarity.

1. A.NWG/MBQ2.4. Cathy PGC makes the first sexual reference in opposition to the boys by invoking the unity of the group. "We have got a bigger one than you".
2. A.NWG/MBQ5.24. After Rich has been aggressive towards one of the girls, Cathy PGC draws the girls together by beginning a conversation whose subject matter excludes the boys.
3. A.NWG/MBQ8.70,72. Cathy PGC intervenes in an aggressive manner casting aside the boys' games and opens the way for Debbie to legitimise individual choice of marriage or career. In this way Cathy preserves solidarity by justifying difference based upon personal choice.
4. A.NWG/MBQ8.95,97. Cathy PGC uses the reality principle to break the boys' ritual exaggeration. She asserts that the boys are not really as aggressive as their public face behaviour suggests. Her intervention provides a base for unity and the girls go on to argue against the masculine promenade.
5. A.NWG/MBQ10.181. Cathy PGC applies the reality principle to deny the boys' potency and ritual exaggeration by refusing to accept the terms of opposition. The girls laugh

triumphantly in celebration of her wit.

6. A.NWG/MBQ10.209. Cathy PGC intervenes with the use of the reality principle which the boys choose to ignore. Her observation of the houseproud father goes unchallenged by the boys who prefer to stay with the game developed by Debbie.
7. B.NWG/MBQ11.228,234-237. Cathy ironically takes the orders and serves the drinks to girls and boys alike.
8. B.NWG/MBQ11.242-245. Cathy PGC responds to the challenge from Keef PGS by explaining that there is no need to worry if her mother returns home.
9. B.NWG/MBQ13.361. Cathy PGC unites the girls in a generally upheld statement about female masturbation.

3.5 Forms and Specialised Positions

I have attempted to understand the pattern of interaction and form of communication on the basis of forms and specialised positions [SP]. At the outset it is important to note that an individual within a youth cultural group will not solely perform their SP functions all the time; they have other roles to play in school, family etc. The forms tend to be triggered or elicited by different stages of an interaction. In certain instances a particular SP will control or try to control the whole interaction. Thus there is a need to understand the context for and occasion of an interaction, especially in relation to which SPs are present and who is on the offensive or defensive.

Important differences between the two groups influence the shape of the discussion. Firstly, the girls always outnumber the boys by a least one. Secondly, all SPs in the new wave girl group are present for both talks: they are balanced. Thirdly, for the boys neither discussion sees them with a full quota of SPs: they are unbalanced. In the first talk only SL and PGS are present, in the second talk these positions are joined by a CR. Fourthly, the latter talk is at the house of a new wave girl - this gives them a significant territorial advantage.

When explaining the pattern of communication we must note that the boys have an unbalanced formation for interaction. The first talk reveals an excess of exaggerating forms. The second talk reveals they are still missing a PGC and have gained a CR or a non-exaggerating position. This has important consequences for their offensive strategy and solidarity.

In the first talk the mod boys are in a dynamically offensive mode, moving rapidly from one ritualised exaggeration to another on a variety of controversial subjects: employment, marriage, drinking, sexual behaviour, parents and driving. They use rhetoric, ritual and personal insults, game strategy, teasing traps, 'wind up' and aggression in their attack on the girls, to which the girls SPs play and develop a more subtle defensive response. The boys' constant sexist exaggerations force the girls to challenge joust and break this ritual. The girls have to specify local areas of experience such as mothers in employment, mothers driving skills, fathers enthusiasm in the household or mothers lack of concern with the housework, to confound the boys' promotion of sexist misinformation.

In the first discussion the boys' two SL's and the girl SL are in conflict over style, scooter and images of women. It may be significant that Clare SL takes on a minor role in the second talk because only one mod boy SL is present.

In the first talk Keef PGS takes a dominant role in promoting exaggeration. In the second talk his authority is more effectively challenged because the girls have two PGSS which furnishes them with additional resources in moments of ritual attack and defence. Occasionally, in discussion (b) when one girl PGS is humiliated the other will intervene, always with the intention of maintaining group structure.

During the second talk the girls begin to move out from a defensive and into an aggressive mode, for example the two PGSS challenge and tease the boys about male masturbation. The PGSS promote their "forbidden knowledge" and Sally also stresses collusion with her mother on the matter. Here we see the boys'

offensive strategy in decline; without a PGC they find it difficult to retain unity.

Neither in discussion (a) nor (b) is there a PGC present in the boys group. Whereas, for the girls Cathy PGC plays an extremely active role in ensuring that group structure remains intact. The PGC is at the centre of both attack and defence strategies. In general, throughout talk (a) the girls operate a defensive mode; it is here that Cathy PGC shows how she unites the girls through humour. Her wit is the sole property of the girls' solidarity in the following examples, lines 26,41,99,181. In talk (b) she plays a slightly less significant role, which may be due to the additional presence of the two girl PGSs or that this talk occurs in the safety of her home. Throughout, she is sensitive to the boys' ritual exaggeration and will confront it if it has not been successfully dealt with by the other SPs.

There are relatively few moments of weakened solidarity in either group as we hear the SPs joust both within and between the groups to dominate the narrative of body references and sexual innuendo. The SL or PGS do not weaken significantly because they are the dominant and exaggerating forms. Weakened solidarity is not a result of failure of the forms but due to specialised position under pressure. For example in A.NWG/MBQ10.165,167. Debbie CR weakens the unity of the girls by criticising Sioux PGS calling her "highly strung". This exposed division cannot receive further elaboration as the discussion was interrupted at this point by a phone call for the careers teacher. Another example is in A.NWG/MBQ10.217 where Cathy PGC damages group unity by admitting that Debbie's mother did do housework. A final example occurs in B.NWG/MBQ13.317,319,327,329. Hat CR reveals the inability to join the promenade without weakening the offensive strategy and exaggeration promoted by the SL and PGS. Hat constructs a dangerously ambiguous message. He is not able to play as important a role as the other SPs. He is reduced to telling a story to engage in the male promenade. However, it is the PGSs function to use narrative and indeed it is Keef PGS who sets

up Hat CR to elaborate upon a story. The CRs problem is to make a contribution without weakening the promenade he is joining. However, Hat is "hoisted by his own petard", revealing the inability of a CR to promenade alone successfully for any length of time. Meanwhile, Debbie CR sees her opposite number in a weak position and defuses the exaggeration by jousting and asking questions. Her advantage is that in the girl group all the SPs are interacting. There is no need for opposition within the girl group between SPs because all others interact at given moments. Ultimately, Debbie CR succeeds in breaking the ritual exaggeration of male potency by transferring female potency from heterosexuality to lesbianism.

4. Conclusion

I have tried to show at the level of interaction how two youth cultural groups [from the pedagogic elite], hold different positions on patriarchy.

In this discussion gender issues lead the way. If social class relations are significant it is probably the way in which they are manifestly embedded in patriarchy. For youth, gender and patriarchy are two fundamental locations of dependence and independence owing to their position in the household.

The basic tenor of the first discussion is the boys attempt to place the girls in traditional positions of domestic and economic dependency. The boys present images of masculine hegemony, job, wage packet, public house, driving, strength and so on, as both material and ideological factors which demonstrate female submissiveness and subordination. Discriminatory barriers and hurdles are put before the girls as a means both to control and to inhibit their social aspirations. Women are to be kept out of a predefined male labour market and their educational chances are restricted due to a naturalised unequal opportunity.

The boys attempt to exercise their control over the girls through three propositions. Firstly, housewives, tied to the

home; secondly, authority over female sexuality and fertility in marriage; and thirdly, through the potential threat of violence. These restrict female autonomy, where women sacrifice independence and control over their occupational destinations to support the male system of domination. The dynamic feature of the boys' argument is their capacity to move from "serious" argument to "wind-up". This ability to switch rapidly the terms of the conversation to suit their purpose enables them to present the madonna/whore duality, a cornerstone of patriarchal mythology. [Barratt 1980].

At the start of the conversation the girls reverse the image of the cigarette to ridicule and challenge the boys. Further, the girls capacity to talk openly about their body and to ritually insult the boys on sexual issues, is the trigger for the boys own aggressive response and their attempted domination of the discussion and its contents of discrimination and stereotypes.

The new wave girls show their power and use their sexuality openly as a resource of exclusion, opposition and independence, thus challenging the boys' patriarchal use of violence and their metaphors of pornography. Firstly, the girls succeed in revealing the boys' sensitivity by using a game strategy which has the outcome of the boys being labelled "softies". Secondly, the girls demonstrate the boys' male dependence upon domestic life by referring to their fathers domestic function.

The boys' ritual play of creating stereotypes protects their public masculine identity. Their belief in the myths of masculinity is bound up with their reputations of violence.

The conclusion of the second discussion shows that boys have problems when attempting to demonstrate their potency to the girls who have a different understanding of sexual maturity. The talk is about who can dominate the narrative using explicit sexual statements. There are three relations between the two groups in the battle over the body. The first relation is that of similarity; both groups recognise their

heterosexual potency, although this is directed towards different age categories and distinctly differing goals. The sexual gaze of the mod boys is thrown backwards towards girls two or three years younger than themselves, whilst with the new wave girls the reverse is true. In general, we can suggest that the mod boys' sexual desire is for girls over whom they can control and initiate into their sexual power. The new wave girls' desire is for boys who are more mature and who are more likely to realise their sexual needs within a developing relationship.

Within the pupil community of Marshlands (fourth, fifth and sixth years), both groups have a public reputation for sexual promiscuity [see chapter 11]. Such "sexual myths" were exaggerated, contradicted and fantasised both by outsiders who did not share such practices and by members of the group themselves, as a way of enhancing their own public heterosexual potency.

Thus when the new wave girls speak openly on topics such as masturbation, male erection, sexual intercourse and so on, their expressive command of this subject matter is disturbing, not only as a direct challenge to masculinity, but also indirectly as a possible threat to the boys' patriarchal power relations over younger girls.

The second relation is that of opposition. Each group here has a different understanding of male homosexuality. The new wave girls do not view male homosexual practice as a threat of any kind. In contrast, the mod boys consider any and all male sexual behaviour that is not strictly and demonstrably heterosexual as ambiguous and therefore probably homosexual. The boys promotion of this fear provides them with an assumed legitimacy to quash their identified danger through use of violence [Keef "I break his head"].

Throughout the second discussion the boys play with fantasy and reality is not a demonstration but an exploration of heterosexuality and by implication, of homosexuality. This show

of male aggression against homosexual passivity is the message of their sexual promenade. However, the new wave girls deny them this pleasing potency by refusing the terms of the opposition between homosexuality and heterosexuality. This is most clearly seen when the boys attempt to contrast their potency with that of the square boffin boy but their demonstrations remain ambiguous and they are caught within their own voyeuristic presentation of evidence.

The third relation is conflict. The groups have conflicting views on lesbianism. Earlier we saw how the girls use 'lesbian' displays, and here they openly legitimise lesbian behaviour. The boys try to deny the girls their heterosexual potency by suggesting that some of the girls are lesbians. However, the accusation fails because the girls actively use lesbian displays as a weapon to deflect threatening heterosexual relations.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Twat is slang for the female genitalia.
2. See Fliess (1897) for further analysis of the symbolic relationship between the nose and the sexual organs.
3. See Dove (1983).
4. With the exception that both Paul and Rich went to the new wave girl party at Cathy's house.
5. See Allen 1982, Nava 1982, Roman, Christian-Smith and Ellsworth [eds] 1988, Holly [ed] 1989.

CHAPTER 5

RITUALS OF VIOLENCE: mod boys

1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections. In part one there is an ethnographic description of one of the mods' outings. This account derives from my field diary. The purpose here is to document in detail the types of activities which the mod boys engaged in when they visited the nearest large town. In part two I present the entire transcript of the mod boys' discussion of the outing which took place in the early evening of that day, at a party. The intention here is to show the whole re-presentation of the mod boys' account of the fight which took place. In part three I put forward an interpretation of the successive phases of the talk in terms of the theory of social and symbolic forms, [the specialised positions and the social relations of the face] to demonstrate how the discussion moves from the private to the public face. Part four gives and interpretation of the mod boys' fracas with the rockers in terms of the oppositions, of style and generation.

2. Ethnographic description of a Mod outing

The previous night had been a celebration, as it was Keef's sixteenth birthday. The mods had decided to go on a "pub crawl". In the morning Paul, Keef and Hat had hangovers, so scooters were abandoned for safety reasons and the group waited for a bus to take them to the nearest large town. It was ten to nine on that frosty morning, as spirits began to be revived while talking about last night's drunken adventure.¹

The mods ascended to the top deck of the bus and sat at the back and began talking about the clothes they would buy before they went skating in the afternoon. The bus journey was almost thirty miles, slow and bumpy. About half way, the mods curled up in their seats and prepared to "stake it out" by

sleeping until the destination was reached, which was a large town not unlike Brighton or Eastbourne, a traditional south coast English town with a good range of clothes shops.

On arrival in the busy town they rushed along the pavement in search of the first clothes shop. As a matter of course they went into every male shop. The first shop they entered seemed the opposite of anything that could be called mod. They asked a few questions about ties and berets, laughed and moved off. At the second clothes shop Keef purchased a fish-tail parka. Once outside on the street the pace of walking quickened. The next two unisex clothes shops and two modern male clothes shops proved useless for their specific requirements. Paul cried out that his headache had not disappeared, so he purchased some "drugs, yeah disprins". Outside the shop all the mods joked

MBQ1

"Hey, what happened to the purple hearts the pill- popping youngsters of today".

Although, taken for medicinal reasons, each mod "knocked back" a couple of disprins to make an imaginary connection with the symbolic.² The mods decided they would walk towards the older part of town, as the route is via a scooter shop. Another two clothes shops here were tried, one of which was particularly expensive]. Here, they began lifting up jackets, trying them on, gazing at themselves in mirrors, checking over the shirts, "where are the ties? are those the only selection?" The mods were like ants, investigating every item; no clothes peg was left unturned Paul managed to buy some Levi jeans, Hat a button down shirt and Keef a tie.

The boys combined promenading with relaxation at the amusements. They played a few computer games and "space invaders" and looked around "checking out" rival youth cultural fractions. Hat challenged me to a game of pool. Paul [SL] selected the music from the juke box: "Strange Town" and "Eton Rifles" by The Jam and "My Generation" and "Happy Jack" by The

Who. The three mods reminisced about the other times they had been to the arcade amusements and also spoke about the party they were going in the evening.. They found the next three clothes shops not to their liking and were now approaching the scooter shop. Paul [SL] asked me,

MBQ2.

Paul Did you see that, last night the scooter shop was on the local news, with all the mod Lambrettas and Vespas lined up outside?

SJB No.

Paul Well it was some article on something about street lighting and they passed by the scooter shop. I was just sitting watching the TV and there, right in front of me was the scooter shop.

All boys - Laughter -

At the scooter shop Paul inquired about collecting the log book of his scooter as it was under guarantee. Inside the shop all three mods were explaining that next year they would be buying new scooters which would be more powerful than their restricted 50cc machines³. They were manipulating the new scooters, looking through scooter brochures and calculating the cost of all additional necessary accessories and possible conversions.

It was almost half past twelve and Keef kept making references to food and the "lacking of ability to contain himself from eating the nearest person who walked by". They decided to make their way to the "mod cafe". The short step pace quickened, then Hat said "Hey look that old rocker over there, has a mod patch on his jacket": indeed he had a "Who" patch on his leather jacket. Intensely, the three mods debated the complexity of this contradiction as they entered a market. The market was considered as "absolutely boring", apart from the record stall "some old soul classics". They joked about flared trousers "Kipper ties" and large lapels on jackets. About a hundred yards before the cafe they considered it was time to "wind up" somebody.

The three mods prepared themselves and entered a travel agency, with the idea of gaining information about a holiday in Afghanistan. The man and woman behind the counter were extremely perplexed, as the media coverage of the revolt against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had recently dominated the news. Paul, appearing very neat in his suit, asked for details, stating "It is very important" While Keef added "You see it is to do with our special Geography field trip." Straight faces were kept and grins held back until they were outside, when they burst out laughing. Once in the street, Keef surveyed the brochure he had been given on the Middle East. The walking pace was stepped up by Keef but one more clothes shop was entered. At this small shop Hat purchased some trousers in the "Prince of Wales" check, while Keef protested about the urgent need for food. Every time one of the mods bought an item of clothing it was examined carefully for faults.

Inside the cafe they ordered their meals while fighting mock battles, singing, and chanting and "chatting up" the two girls who served. They played only one record on the juke box, "Start" by The Jam possibly five or six times; nothing else was considered suitable. When the food arrived on the tables, although knives and forks were sometimes used, their specific use was for defending the territory of one's own plate rather than for placing the food into the mouth. There was a lot of noise, much shouting and barging as the next chorus in The Jam song was reached [again]. The mods managed to persuade the two girls to turn up the music, to the annoyance of other people in the cafe.

Refreshed, the mods left the cafe and began the afternoon session by a confrontation with a "Bible Puncher" in the street. At once Keef actively played the role of a heretic and argued on specific points about interpretation of the bible, the role of Jesus and whether he "made things up". They moved away rapidly when the religious advocate asked them to contribute some money. After this brief interlude of excitement the mods found themselves in Boots, and set about

their first challenge. It was to visit the record department, but first they lit their cigarettes and walked from the ground floor to the top floor where the records were. Although smoking is prohibited in Boots they were not reprimanded. It took the three mods approximately ten minutes to go through all the Lp's and singles, occasionally stopping at ones they owned or mod classics like Quadrophenia by The Who. Overall, they considered the record selection at Boots to be "pretty poor" as there were "practically zero old singles". When the three mods stepped outside the department store they were almost immediately met by a group of seven comprising Hendrix and Header, who had with them two fourth year marginal members of the mod group, a skinhead from the criminal boys and two other marginal members from the fifth year.

The mod group now numbered ten, eight wearing parkas and two wearing crombies. They hastily made a move towards the seafront, firstly, to play on the amusement machines and then to go skating. At the "amusements" most of the mods caught up with their girlfriends who decided it was time to join the queue for the skating rink.

I had never been skating before and I was extremely reluctant to make a complete fool of myself on a pair of roller skates, but I was persuaded as neither Paul nor Keef had been on skates before. Inside the activities at first appeared entirely chaotic. One of the mods and his girlfriend took Paul and I round the ring about three or four times, then I decided to retire for a few minutes. The mods who could skate grouped around those mods who could not and tried to teach them the basic skills.

While taking my short rest I began speaking with a man aged about forty and probably the oldest person skating. I noticed a group of seven rockers towards the canteen end of the building. The rockers moved on to the rink. They were good skaters, quickly manoeuvring in and out of the children and teenagers. I rolled away from the older man and started to go round with some of the unsteady mods precariously balanced on

roller skates. Suddenly one of the rockers crashed into two of the mods in front of me. Everybody apologised and got up off the floor. But then this happened three times more in quick succession. The mods were beginning to become unsettled, as most were not good roller skaters and felt in a weak position as the rockers were obviously "showing off - trying it on".

At this particular moment I considered my presence might become too involved as a researcher, so I sat down with a couple of the mods' girlfriends.

Tension suddenly returned because on the other side of the rink an incident began. One of the rockers ran into Header but then also punched him when he was on the ground. The mods were galvanised into action and ready for confrontation. Header, who was hit, explained what happened, as the mods gathered round him. I could anticipate what was going to take place. They had decided they had been challenged. Meanwhile, the rockers continued circling round the skating rink. Header was upset but Keef was outraged. Header decided to telephone his father. They went to a telephone box, contacted Header's father and explained the situation of the forthcoming confrontation with the rockers who were slightly older than the mods boys.

Inside the skating rink the mods were firstly worried whether they could "beat-up" these older rockers, and secondly, what would happen after the incident.

The researcher was caught within a very hostile situation: the mods questioned me.

MBQ3

"If it starts, you are with us aren't you?"

I said

"If anyone of you appears to be getting physically damaged, badly, I will step in".

On reflection, this remark now seems very "cool" but it can be stated that my stomach felt extremely unsettled. The impending fight was impossible to stop and in any case my position as a researcher meant that I could not attempt either to join in the fight or stop its occurrence. Although I could perhaps have persuaded the mods to withdraw from the confrontation my task was to understand, rather than to manipulate, their behaviour.⁴

It was signalled that Header's father had arrived. He was just over six feet tall. The rockers were already outside the skating rink. The mods slowly moved out of the doors and I inquired from the caretaker whether I could have my cassette recorder from the cloakroom.

I stepped outside and within a second the fight began. The mod boys and rocker youths fought head on. Hat was hit in the face, Paul and Keef went charging in attacking the ring leaders. The rockers were lashing out, kicking the girlfriends of the mods as the embattled youths swayed to and fro delivering punches almost it seemed in slow motion. The conflict was over in about eight seconds. Header's father stood behind the mods as they fought, apparently playing no great physical role, but he was there. The two fighting forces separated. The rockers had been punched to the floor and were beaten physically and symbolically. Heavy insult was hurled from both sides. The rockers made more threatening gestures of violence, but Header's father then interposed and pushed one of the rockers away - his only significant physical action. The two groups moved about three yards back to reveal the injuries of blood, broken teeth and ripped clothes.

The mods sustained no great injuries except for a few bruises and the badly cut leg of one of the girlfriends. As a group they moved away from the seafront, slightly numb, presenting their immediate recollection and personal role in the fight. The narrative was spontaneous and breathless. They were shaking, nervous, agitated: it had indeed, been a shared dramatic experience. It was decided to leave the street

because it would be over twenty five minutes before the bus would arrive. The mods went into a large departmental store, straight to the top floor for a coffee and a short rest. After this the group divided into those who were going to catch the first and the second bus. It was considered better to split up as the police were roaming round the town. By half past five everybody was away from the area and its potential problems.⁵

Once away from the fight location, and moving towards their own territory, the fear of the fight developed into its celebration. Two hours later Keef, Paul, Hat and Header were together at a party given by a sixth form girl. They arrived early, so they grouped around a large oval table in the dining room and began to recount the shared fight experience. The transcript which follows is the entire conversation, until more guests arrived, when the discussion broke into smaller units and too much noise made recording an impossibility.

3. Celebration and Mythologising

Participants: Mod boys: Keef, Paul, Hat, Header and other party guests.

Transcript: one recorded discussion.

Location: private house in the country, small reception/dining room next to the kitchen.

Time: early Saturday evening around 7.30 pm.

Arrangement: consultation with party host and mod boys.

Context: recent shared experience of fight with the rockers on the beach that afternoon. This was the first opportunity for discussion of the event.

Beginning of the discussion.

[Phase one of the talk]

MBQ4

Header Hat was hit by that bloke first, see him run over.

Paul He hit Hat and he shouted Paul

Keef Paul goes oh, ur, Keef. Looked round I see this kid, so we just steamed straight in both together didn't we. Who hit him first you or I? Don't know.

Paul I went at him but I missed him and he came up.

Keef When Paul came over I thought he was dead.

Paul I hit him straight on the nose, he when urrrr.

Keef Because we must of hit'em about four or five times each really.

Paul That is when they were standing up.

Keef I was really wading in with both fists and then

Paul And then he crashed, and everyone was going to jump on his head.

Header My old man reckons their tea is going to be cheaper tonight as they won't be able to drink.

Keef I was on the ground with him and I thought fucking hell I ain't gonna stay down here. Because you [Paul SJB] were doing a mental (6) on him. So I jumped up a bit quick and started kicking. See all the blood on his coat. He was getting his head smashed in against the ground.

Paul I fell over his head.

All mod boys - Laughter -

Keef Did you fall on the ground then?

Paul Yeah, I fell over his head.

Keef Because there was a big mass of bodies.

Paul Because I jumped on his head with my knees like and kicked him in the head, right and jumped down on my knees and as I landed I fell over like.

Keef I was just going, I remember when he got up, I got him straight in the kidneys really hard because all his shirt was up, really hard. That couldn't have done him much good.

Header You wouldn't have thought we'd have won, though they had enough.

SJB I think they realised, they just did not have it together.

Header My father goes I only joined in, he said you were making a good meal of it and he goes I was only waiting in case if any broke off on to one of you.

Keef I really enjoyed it.

Paul Yeah, I did, it was a great laugh.

Keef It might sound funny but I did enjoy it. Paul, you were doing a mental on him, kicking him in the head when he went down you were kicking everywhere weren't you. Did you quarter him on his spine? Should have.

Paul Yeah, I did.

Keef I was just stamping on him. It was that good.

Header When he hit me it really hurt. I really lost my temper.

Keef Don't want to lose your temper. I was just kicking for pleasure.

All mod boys - Laughter -

Header Did you see him when he came back again he stuck his head. Did you see part of his tooth break? All white stuff on the ground.

Keef Spit his teeth out. Kick him in the teeth, arrr arrh that really was orgasmic stuff weren't it. Lucky they weren't killed. If you look at it, you could think three kickers.

Header It was great though we didn't take a beating.

Paul Yeah it makes a change. I thought we were going to get killed.

Header So did I, you think when we really started I thought oh God that crowd there.

SJB Why you could see they had had enough was when your dad got in the car. We were about two hundred yards up the road and they just stood back there, they didn't move. I thought they were going to make a run for us then.

Paul Yes so did I.
That's why I wanted to run along the sea front because I mean, you can get outside in that mist, you're virtually all right.

Keef Because the old bill [police. SJB] came along, right.

Header The old man [father SJB] I said when you going to get a new car then. He goes this week I hope. They took me number. Telephone rings, he is in gaol next week. He's got to explain how he got his face on the front page of the local Argus.

- Keef One of them was trying to push your old man about and your old man goes "Leave it out", "You've had your fun." He goes ur ur, so your old man starts swinging at him, bang, bang.
I felt like jumping then but it did not seem worth it. It seemed all over.
- Header Yeah I was gonna say, when he leapt in at my dad. We had - and my dad had his face like that [gives demonstration. SJB] and his face was just going, he hit him then. It was over weren't it.
- Keef I don't know how long it lasted.
- SJB It did not last very long because by the time I got the cassette recorder, put it down on the pavement looked to see what was happening, these two [Keef and Paul. SJB] were on the ground doing something.
- Keef Did you see us steam in? you missed me steam in.
- SJB Well I saw you steam in because I saw everyone fall on the floor.
- Keef We massacred them didn't we. You've got to admit. He went urrrr, I don't know. Paul sort of stunned him, he went back like that, I went on dear what have I done and he has lashed out first and caught me in the eye. Then we just kept punching his head. Then he went down and we got him.
- Paul It was a good job I didn't have my scooter.

[Phase two of the talk]

- Girl This party he [her father. SJB] will kill me if this place gets wrecked. It is early yet.
- Paul It's got to start, a night like this a lot of people.
- Girl That's not a cue to start any trouble. Would Keef start trouble. Yes.
- Keef We don't look for trouble. We finish it.
- Header Harmless as a fly!
- Paul I was gonna dive in front of him but he kept getting out the way, when he was going round. I was - I slipped over in front of him.
- Keef He sort of kicked you then.
- Header When I got him though, he went mad. I really did hit him.

Keef He caught you a lovely punch first though didn't he. Yeah, he caught you with a swinger didn't he.

Header Well, he was coming straight at me. I can't stand up on skates.

Keef No outside, he hit you first.

Header No he didn't.

Keef He did.

Header I hit him first, I hit him didn't I, then stood back waiting for him to come back forward again. Girl
THERE'S STILL FOUR HOURS TO GO WOULD YOU BELIEVE.
Remember that. FOUR HOURS.

Header Don't you remember he came, I stood there.

Keef I was kicking and pushing.

Header Kick him in the head, then he goes that's enough.

Keef Hat he's all right. He was in there. Did you see Lee? He was doing a mental on him, even his little brother was in there kicking away. All the girls were kicking. At least we all stuck together - the mods - hard - no doubts. Once Paul was going in I could not believe it. So I went in and that was the end.

SJB Everyone was together.

Keef You think there was skins and mods there.

Paul There was one skin there and the rest were mods.

Keef Must send Concrete a picture of five parkas kicking shit out of one bloke. One crombie.

Paul The "face"?

SJB Two crombies.

Paul Oh yeah, Lee.
You see the "face" stand out from the parka's.
Stamping on some kids head.

Keef You see me kicking, the face and kicking ...

Girl Were the girlfriends and that lot allowed in?

Paul Yeah they were all allowed in because they were inside when we had the big bundle. I think anyway. Annette [Paul's girlfriend. SJB] when ever there's a fight or anything. She goes let's go inside or something like that.

Keef You would have loved it. Hendrix was straight in there. He gets really tired out Hendrix. He was knackered.

Paul He just fights on the quiet.

Girl Er, Keef what did your dad say last night when you got home?

Paul He was crashed out.

Girl What did your dad say? he didn't seem very pleased.

Paul No he didn't did he.

Girl He weren't very pleased but he didn't say anything.

Girl Yeah my dad was not very pleased but he didn't say much.

Keef Who is going roller skating next Saturday?

Header I reckon we'll get in free.

Paul I got in for half as well.

Header When you said about going back for your fifty pence.

SJB That was a wind-up.

Keef I got mine.

Paul I needed that to get home!

Header You cracked me up when you said I got to wait for the girlfriend. My dad goes ur - well chose the way you want to die then.

[Phase three of the talk]

Keef I want a guided tour of the house in a minute. See what it looks like, see what I can see.

Paul I thought it was a mansion. It has a low ceiling, as it is in The Red Lion [local pub. SJB]

Girl There's cats upstairs.

Header Keef kills cats.

Paul Go in for a bit of the old buggery

Header He pulls their heads off.

SJB What were you doing this afternoon Phil?

Phil Sod all.

Paul Masturbating.

Hat Did you get up at six.?

Girl The dog started barking.

Hat So Shane said

Paul Which one!

Girl Bardon. Look Paul, one more sarky remark out of you.

Hat That blouse is see-through, that is.

Paul Is that the girl from school?

Girl Yes.

Hat Yeah she is in my class.
Vanessa meet Shane. Shane meet Vanessa

SJB I have seen her - already.

Keef Let's talk about worms - the cats - I'm fucking
starving. These cunts [mod boys. SJB] walking round
all the shops. Ha, ha,ha - the travel agents.

Paul We went in this travel agents asked them to go to
Afghanistan.

Keef We got a big pamphlet on it. That was really pissing
them off, we went in and wind-up this bloke. Then this
bloke in the street selling these pictures - religious
notes - load of old bollocks and all this. We had a
perfectly riotous day didn't we. In the cafe we were
like animals. We were all picking the food up with our
fingers -stuffin' it in.

Hat Some of us that had some food.

Paul I got one or two chips for lunch!

Keef Yeah I had chips for lunch, the Jewish bastards.

Header Which cafe did you go in?

Keef The mod cafe, we stormed it, like a zoo weren't it

Header What after you had been there?

Keef We were all talking, swearing ...

Paul That will be the talk at the school, now for about a
week, now that will.

[Phase four of the talk]

- Keef Right, we're beginning the party. This is called operation get Header smashed. We're gonna spike his drinks with disprins okay.
- Header You've got a big mouth Keef.
- Keef Header is gonna be fucking smashed
- Paul Here's Church⁸ the shaven headed youth. You should have been there Churchy
- Keef We were all stamping on their heads. We're going to Eastbourne soon.
- Paul There's so many skins in Eastbourne.
- Header They hate mods as well.
- Keef Bollocks do they. There's loads of mods in Eastbourne.
- Paul There's about seven or more mods along at Eastbourne with scooters because I've been round with them.

4. Positions and Communication

The transcript has been divided into four phases for the purpose of analysis, although the conversation is continuous and unedited. The reason for the division is to allow an assessment of the discussion in each phase and between phases which might also offer an insight into the talk as a whole. Overall, the structure of the conversation can be understood in terms of the mod boys' social relations of the face. There is a movement from the private to the public face, as an audience gathers round them it presented an opportunity to promenade. In this section I shall apply the theory of social and symbolic forms in an attempt to see how the specialised positions interact and communicate within this youth cultural group. The participants and positions are as follows;

Symbolic forms: Style leader-Paul, Cultural ransacker- Hat.

Social forms: Peer group spokesperson - Keef, Peer group consolidator - Header.

4.1 Phase one

During phase one the mod boys are alone sitting around a table, there are only a few guests at the party and they are moving from the kitchen into the main room, not staying to listen to the mods. Here the two specialised positions of the SL and the PGS heighten and promote ritual exaggeration. Both specialised positions demonstrate the solidarity of the group through their individual contributions. Paul [SL] and Keef [PGS] are concerned to document in detail their particular aggressive acts. They outline the immediacy of the fight and how both were united, in causing damage. Neither social nor symbolic form was dominant, each contributed equally. In contrast Header [PGC] acts as a catalyst: he stresses the consequences of collective action and breaks the flow of ritual exaggeration by such comments as "Hat was hit" and "would not have thought we'd have won". The PGC is challenging the ritual promenade of the SL and PGS. Header seizes the opportunity to play his winning card ie. the role of his father during the incident. He attempts to steer the talk round to his own role and that of his father but fails to initiate an expansion of the story. Header falters and provokes the theme of doubt. One reason perhaps why Paul and Keef do not mention the role of Header's father, is that to overstate the contribution of an outsider so early in the assessment of the fight might reduce the group's claim to victory. Paul and Keef carry on elaborating the rituals of violence and are conducting the battle at a leisurely pace, Paul is falling over and Keef has time to stamp: ease of victory is assured in their slow motion accounts. The PGC makes another insertion of doubt by drawing attention to the reality of the conflict. Header shows emotion, he is hurt. He appears to weaken the strength of the group by pointing out that one only feels pleasure but not pain until one is hurt. The PGS responds to this in a manner that intensifies the promenade of violence. Keef has two points to put to Header, first the context of enjoyment of the fight and second control during the fracas. The PGS states "Don't want to lose your temper. I was just kicking for pleasure" [Laughter]. Keef suggests that lack of concentration through

losing one's temper could bring unexpected consequences. The PGS refuses to allow uncertainty to enter the evaluation of the conflict during the private face. At this point Header offers Keef an opportunity of power, by introducing a sexual metaphor of climax "all the white stuff on the ground". Keef uses the opportunity to celebrate the sexual connotation of conquest by asserting that the experience was "orgasmic".

Header manages to gain a momentary alliance with Paul about the reality of the fight. Header and Paul acknowledge the possible consequences and doubts, namely that they could have been "beaten" or "killed". Here the ritual display becomes slightly displaced and Header grasps the opportunity to place the spotlight on his father who will have to get a new car, have his face on the front page of the local paper - or even be put in gaol. Here, Keef aligns himself with the socially important position of the father within the fight. As the dominant social form Keef [PGS] can announce when the fight is over and credits suspension of the attack firstly to the father, then to himself. Significantly, Keef argues that the actions of Header's father are at the end [after the fight] this means that group prowess remains intact, free from outside help. The private face discussion of the fight now over, a number of girls are gathered around the mods and Keef asks for an outside assessment of how long the fight lasted. I answer, but suggest that I did not fully see the beginning of the fight. Keef is flabbergasted, so I respond in more precise terms which leads him on to the triumphant summary that "we massacred them".

Peter SL introduces two stylistic elements in phase one of the discussion. Firstly, he invoked the symbolic romanticism of the mod's last stand on the beaches. We can see images of the film *Quadrophenia* in Paul's statement "run along the seafront" and "get out in the mist" which is supported by Keef's point that the police were close behind. Secondly, Paul notes another element from the film that "it was a good job I didn't have my scooter with me".

4.2 Phase Two

During phase two of the conversation the mods are joined by five girls who are listening and making occasional comments. The girl who is holding the party becomes concerned about the discussion of violence and whether the mods might cause further violence. The interruption by the girl marks the first change in the discussion, where the mod boys move from the private to the public face.⁹ The girl's fear of the boys' violence fuels the mods' desire to promenade. Paul responds with a ritual exaggeration that a fight at the party is a certainty, "It's got to start." Another girl asserts that the boys must show more control and she points out that Keef's behaviour is unpredictable. Keef PGS sees his opportunity to combine his reply with an assertion of their ritual victory. He states "We don't look for trouble. We finish it." Then Paul begins the fight sequence again. Immediately, there is a disagreement between the two social forms of PGS and PGC. Keef and Header take part in a joust about the interpretation of the battle. It is possible to explain the difference of opinion between the two social forms as, firstly, an issue between the PGS and PGC about dominance, and secondly the play for dominance strengthens the youth cultural group when promenading in its public face, for it maintains the level of tension and keeps the fight at the centre of the discussion.

One of the girls intervenes shouting at the mods, pointing out that "THERE'S STILL FOUR HOURS TO GO WOULD YOU BELIEVE". The mod boys' public face has dominated the discussion. Then Header drops his disagreement with Keef and the latter [PGS] begins to award praise. He distributes symbolic medals for bravery and concludes by confirming the social solidarity of the group "The mods-hard - no doubts". Everyone has made a contribution to the victory. Keef is slightly over-zealous in his account and makes an incorrect style assessment. Paul SL corrects Keef's statement, they are not in disagreement and the PGS goes on to secure his social dominance by making the link with the elder mod. Concrete by suggesting sending him a picture of their battle. The SL here invokes mod hierarchy by

arguing that he is "the face" and the other mods are "parka's". Keef does not challenge the SL's symbolic order, but continues to document the violence of the fight.

The public face of the mod boys' display of violence is interrupted by the girls, who try to redirect the boys to the non-violent subject of their girlfriends. Keef is asked questions but he refuses to be distracted from keeping the fight at the centre of the discussion. Paul answers for him. After further interruptions the mods find it difficult to maintain their audience and begin to joust amongst themselves.

4.3 Phase Three

As we reach phase three of the conversation more guests have arrived at the party. Some are standing next to the mods at the oval table while others move between the kitchen and the main room where music is beginning to be played.

Discussion of the fight is dropped. Keef and Paul speak about the site of the party and assess what they might possibly do here. One of the girls tells the boys that there are animals upstairs; her statement is both advice and a warning.

However, the girls' comment about cats leads to a series of sexual innuendoes, and a "wind-up". It is a clear example of the mod boys' public face in action. Header PGC affirms the "wildness" of the PGS's behaviour. Header states that Keef "kill cats". Paul alters the level of ritual insult to assert sexual deviance with animals, "go in for a bit of the old buggery", then he suggests that one of the girls present is a "dog" [ie. slag]. Furthermore, a boy arrives in the room and stands next to Paul who aims a powerful sexual insult at him by maintaining that the boy spent the afternoon "masturbating". Hat enters the conversation he and I both ask factual questions which begin to dismantle the play of ritual in the group.

In the room the noise level is rising and the space is

becoming crowded: people are surrounding the mod boys as if they are holding a news conference. Keef PGS seizes the opportunity to maintain the epic by addressing the assembled crowd with a summary of incidents throughout the day. Keef's narrative of the adventures leads to a brief exchange during which the public face of the mods speaks about their behaviour at the mod cafe which they "stormed" and where they were like "animals" in a "zoo"¹⁰. Finally, Paul asserts the importance of the fight, by claiming that it will be the talking point at the school for a week.

4.4 Phase Four

At phase four it is nearly nine o'clock in the evening, the kitchen is full of people and in the main room people are dancing. In the dining room the mod boys are extremely crowded by other guests and communication between them is becoming difficult. The PGS announces he has the power to start the party. Keef decides to turn the party into an event, to get "Header smashed" [i.e. out of control]. This creates a final ritual joust between the social forms in their attempt to keep the air of violence apparent. Could the mod boys fight amongst themselves? The mod boys' SL announces the arrival of the SL of the anarchist punk group, "Here's Church the shaven headed youth". Keef addresses the anarchist punk, makes a summary of the fight and states the next challenge. Paul SL asserts that the problem in that town is a complementary but rival youth cultural style. Header argues it is too dangerous to challenge them because "they hate mods". In response, the SL argues he knows the mods who have scooters and Keef affirms that numbers are available. There are "loads".

5. Oppositions: style and generation

Here we are going to change the level of analysis in order to focus upon how the oppositions of style and generation regulated the interaction of the fight and its celebration. There are four generations at play in the account of the fight.

A. Mods boys aged 14-16 : boys

- B. Rockers aged 18-19 : young men
- C. Father aged 39 : domestic adult
- D. Elder mod "Concrete" aged 29: style young adult.

It was the young men, the rockers who provoked the fight at the skating rink. They deliberately crashed into the mods boys who were knocked over and one of the rockers punched Header a couple of times after he had pushed him to the floor. The rockers were very skilful roller skaters whereas the mod boys were precariously balanced and held on to each other for support. The mods offered no immediate challenge, so from the rockers' perspective the mod boys appeared "easy".

They identified the mod boys as invaders of their territory and took steps to point this out to them. From the positions of strength and territory the rockers understood the situation as one where they were slightly older and would win.

The rockers' physical challenge was initially directed at the level of style; as the mod boy was punched the rockers shouted "fucking mods". The second insult was directed at both the person and the style; they screamed "fucking mod wankers". The combination of heavy verbal insult and an initial physical challenge set the scene for a fight.

As the rockers were older than the mods, this gave the mods the right to bring in an older generation i.e. the father. Header's father was telephoned and came to the seafront by car. The call was made by the PGC [Header] and the PGS [Keef]. The two social forms combined to ensure that the fight would not be lost. During the confrontation Header's father did not play a directly physical role, although towards the end of the fight he appeared like an "anchorman", holding back but ready to act if required. However, the father was not needed to take part in the actual fighting. The key to the call for the father is perhaps based on the fact that he is older than the rockers. The style of the father is irrelevant. This opposes the initial age opposition of the rockers as young men to the youth of the mod boys. The mods successfully out-maneuvred the

rockers in this subtle game of age oppositions.

In the transcript the mods refer to the young men - the rockers - as "kids". This represents infantilism: it is a reversal and a denial of the rockers male potency in terms of style and age. The style label of rockers is never applied. The mods concentrate on a ritual display of violence and it is the PGS who announces the victory of their solidarity "the mods-hard-no doubts". By referring to the young men as "kids", the mod boys have successfully introduced an age reversal to their credit: here the reversal is potency versus infantilism.

From the mods boys' perspective the fight is a celebration of masculinity. The episode is held together by the contradictory relationship of dependence and independence. The mod boys celebrate their independence through the youth cultural group; the public fight is a good example of such independence. The youth cultural group is out on its own and here regards any dependence on the family as threatening their own independence. However, because of the potential danger of the conflict inherent in the imbalance of age, a link is made via the male line to contact the father. This represents a line of male potency, where the mod boys require physical support. They sacrifice a degree of independence by enlisting a parent. The father joins with the boys in their romance of violence. This links the two male generations of boy/men and son/father. The father has momentarily been released from adult dependence to become a guardian of the young warriors, the mod boys.

The second line of male potency is revealed by the mod boys call for recognition of their prowess from the elder mod "Concrete". The elder mod joins the boys' fracas through the PGS's proposal to send a photograph that captures and celebrates their violence and secondly, celebrates the social hierarchy and strength of the "parkas" within the mod group. The mod boys' victory is passed upwards to the elder mod, illustrating the way in which each generation has to revitalise and develop its own "myth". In the transcript Keef speaks of

the elder mod in order to validate their response. "Concrete" is pictured by the mod boys as someone who has seen it before. Keef asserts that the elder mod must give respect to the young mods because they too have been "blooded". The mod boys have made the grade, they fought and blooded the rockers on the beach.

The oppositions and differences then are as follows: firstly, the age differences are transformed by style(s) into oppositions, and secondly, the age differences and style oppositions are transformed into oppositions of potency. In reality the mod boys [the warriors] maintain potency opposition with the domestic father [Guardian], whilst they remain domestically dependent. In fantasy the mod boys maintain potency opposition with the elder mod Concrete [stylistic guardian] whilst they remain stylistically dependent. The mod boys' independence is only challenged by their own initiative to call for a guardian [domestic or stylistic]. Their independence is a measure of the distance between the mod boys and the two adults. Distance is defined as the shortening or lengthening of potency oppositions of (A) the Domestic and (B) the Stylistic. The mods were in a relation of domestic dependency with respect to the father and stylistic dependency with respect to the older mod Concrete. However, the terms of domestic dependency is reduced by the mods own prowess and the same prowess both links the mods to Concrete and demonstrates their independent claim to be the 'new mods'.

6. Conclusion.

It is possible to identify four repetitive themes in the mods boys' rituals of violence : victory, death, violence and potency. Victory is presented as "we massacred them". Death is ever present as "going to get killed". Violence is explicit in statements such as "kick him in the head" and also in particular action like "quarter him on the spine". Potency is present at two levels, firstly, style - the mods hard no doubts" and secondly sexual pleasure "it was orgasmic stuff".

Throughout the fieldwork I observed the mod boys in a number of different confrontations but none were as important or as symbolic, as the fight with the rockers at the seafront. News of this fracas spread rapidly. In their own territory the mod boys went on a promenade, they were "king" even the local older rockers acknowledged this as a victory. From the mod boys' perspective the unexpected occurrence of this conflict brought them together in terms of both solidarity and style. They had played out their own version of the film "Quadrophenia". Paul [SL] who bought the book "Mods" [1979] by Richard Barnes remarked "Well Shane we did it by the book". And when the mod boys had accomplished their own "myth" by blooding the rockers on the beach, they had an elder mod with whom to celebrate.

The presentation of two accounts, the ethnographic description and the transcript allow an insight into the promenading relations within the youth cultural group. The data details the relations, practices and communications of the youth cultural form in private and in public. In applying the theory of social and symbolic forms, the specialised positions, we arrive at an interpretation of the description and the transcript. The style leader and peer group spokesperson celebrate and engage in the ritual exaggeration of violence and "front". The PGC attempts to bring reality back to the conversation by stressing consequences and doubts.

Header does not receive help from Hat CR to dismantle ritual exaggeration, as Hat is too busy eating and talking to girls. Throughout the day the cultural ransacker gave support to the promenade but did not take part in the collective celebration¹¹.

At the party the boys try to maintain tension and an aggressive atmosphere. After exhausting the descriptions of their fight they either "wind up" the audience or ritually joust amongst themselves. The mod boys put on a performance.

Finally, the analysis of the oppositions and differences of style and generation provide an interpretation of how masculine potency is a central and dynamic element of both the physical fight and its symbolic representation.

Notes Chapter 5

1. Throughout the day I made cassette recordings of the mod boys activities, such as when walking along the street, inside shops and so on.
2. Melly 1972, The Who 1973, Barnes 1979, Hebidge 1988.
3. When the mod boys advanced to increased capacity scooters, they began to travel long distances and go to scooter rallies.
4. On the problem of conducting fieldwork and violent respondents see, Downes 1966, Thompson 1966, Monod 1967, Daniel and McGuire 1972, Patrick 1973, Parker 1974, Robbins and Cohen 1978, Willis 1978, Walker 1981, Blackman 1983, Campbell 1984.
5. What was my role during the fight? Clearly, I could have done little to prevent it, as there was no room for negotiation. Similarly, I could neither have joined in, nor run away without compromising my position as a researcher. In fact I played no physical role in the fight, but stood on the left hand side of the pavement, close to the mod boys but not so close as to be involved in the violence. When the two groups separated I rejoined the mod boys and walked with them up the hill and into the town.
6. To do a "mental on him": to attack someone with furious intent as though you had lost conscious control over how much damage you inflict.
7. Paul regarded himself as the 'ace face' within the mod boy group as Gangster confirms:

SJB Why does everybody reckon you're the ace face.

Gangster Don't be modest Paul!

Paul No. When I first started right, you know, everyone used to rip it out of me. Everyone used to go that 'crude' over there a mod, on a scooter fucking hell. Everyone going ha, ha, ha. I mean Hat, he is a prime example isn't he, that used to really rip it out of me something chronic about the 'Jam shoes' and all this-ska. They copied me, what I done before.

SJB What makes him the ace face?

Gangster What makes him the 'ace face' is he knows more about it than the others. Because he's the 'ace face' he started being - the mod. Then all the rest went mod, therefore he had a head start on all of us, buying the clothes and getting all the gear.

8. Church is the style leader of a local anarchist punk youth group. Paul who is a style leader of the mod boy group introduces his equivalent specialised position.
9. During the initial phase of the discussion in the private face only one swear word is used, but when the boys play to the audience, swearing becomes part of the promenade of the public face, emphasizing aggression and tension. Perhaps swearing is not used in the private face because it might pollute the preparation and play of ritual.
10. See Geertz [1973] Chapter 15 Deep play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight.
11. During the fieldwork cultural ransacker Hat asked me to buy from a bookshop in London Cohen [1972] Folk Devils and Moral Panics: creation of the mods and rockers, and Hebdige [1979] Subculture: the meaning of style.

CHAPTER 6

RITUALS OF INTEGRITY: new wave girls

1. Introduction

The data in this chapter is a transcript of a conversation from a cassette which four new wave girls made one evening alone. The girls are Sioux, Sally Lynne and Cat. The note in the field diary states that one morning Sally gave me a cassette saying

NWQQ1.

"We made this tape the other night. We thought you would like it because as you're studying us and doing tapes. So we did one for you. Can we have it back sometime, we thought we'd help you, suppose. You coming for the walk?"

The girls often made tape recordings of their "gatherings", indeed they were much involved in documenting events and feelings. They wrote long letters, poems and songs to each other, drew and painted pictures and photographed certain occasions [For further discussion of the cassette, see chapter 12, Researcher and researched].

The girls who made this cassette reveal in their talk a combination of specialised positions within their youth cultural form. Not all specialised positions are present and the breakdown is as follows:-

Sally	Peer Group Spokesperson	Social form
Sioux	Peer Group Spokesperson	Social form
Lynne	Cultural Ransacker	Symbolic form
Cat	Cultural Ransacker	Symbolic form

The presence of the two PGSSs should ensure they they dominate the discussion; it is their perspective which is being put forward. Both the PGS's and the CR's are without their respective complementary social and symbolic forms, the PGC

and the SL. This exclusion is important because when all four positions are present, alliances and oppositions should occur and contradictions of interpretation arise. The question arises that by excluding or limiting the participants in this conversation did the PGSs deliberately structure the event to their advantage.

The venue for the discussion is Cat's parents' house. The site of the recording is Cat's bedroom, and the time is late evening before the girls go to sleep. She has assembled the girls together to the recording but it is the PGS who announced the intention to give me the cassette.

NWGQ2

Lynne You going to play this tape to him?

Sally Yeah.

Context: an important issue is what the girls were telling me by making the tape. A partial explanation may be that they were already heavily involved in documenting personal/group history and that the arrival of a sociological researcher gave a new dimension to this work. Throughout the fieldwork I collected a whole series of letters, poems and pictures from the girls. I was permitted access to old letters and they frequently discussed the historical changes that had taken place in the group. Other groups in the study did not share such an interest.

What was their motive? The message on the tape is predominantly that of the girls' two PGSs. Perhaps, as the cominant voices in the group, they wanted to express their feelings and attitude towards the resesarch and the researcher. In this respect the tape merits attention because of the investment put in it - an attempt to influence the collection of data on themselves.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In part one I shall look at "conversational choreography", five elements of the girls interaction and conversational style. In part two I present an interpretation of the girls' rituals of integrity and attempt to show how the meaning of such practices are culturally related. In part three I shall look at the girls' understanding of what I have called pollution, in this case their notions of sexual danger or defilement.

2. The choreography of conversation

This refers to the way in which a conversational style is brought off. Choreography is used to highlight the significance of shape and design, the role of participants in contributing to the shape and the elements of which it is composed. In the case of this conversation the style is narrative in the context of the private face of the group. The choreographical elements we shall distinguish are onomatopoeia, banter, epic stories, jokes and chorusing. During conversation or story telling all or some features of the choreography may be present. Conversational choreography is a ritual format of expression within the girl group, it reinforces group ties, positions, is a declaration of the bond of friendship and offers opportunity for creativity.

2.1 Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia refers to words which phonetically are associated with the referent that is signified. The use of onomatopoeia in the conversation may be considered an attempt to recapture the excitement, absurdity, humour and pleasure in the present by recalling the 'soundtrack' of the original event.

NWGQ3

Sioux Is that my coffee Cat?

Cat Yeah.

Sally It was really funny today Sioux
Hilarious.

- Sally There was this sewing machine here okay. Then there's this plug to pull out here and there's all Cat's assessment here, Sioux.
- Cat And you know what happens.
- Sally Yeah I pulled this plug out boompp and the coffee went sttuuummm.
- Sioux Sttuuummm
- All girls - Laughter -
- Sally Went sttuuummm all over Cat's assessment and everything and all over her Basement 5 words.

Here the sounds of "boompp" and "sttuuummm" become signifiers of pleasure giving the story zest, action and immediacy. On the tape the coffee story is the first subject of discussion. It is about Cat and it is in her bedroom that the talk is taking place.

Sally relates the account of her clumsiness as a humorous event. There is no malice in Sally's damage to Cat's assessment. Sally also indicates that the spilt coffee went over Cat's words to an Lp by the cult reggae/punk band called Basement 5. Here we see that the CR is studying the words to the music during a classroom lesson. This was frequently done by other cultural ransackers¹ in the girl group. Debbie would carry around the words to songs which would be learnt collectively and reproduced by the whole group at moments of ritual significance.

2.2 Banter

Banter is a form of hierarchical play where power relations may be tested between those holding equal relations and between those holding unequal relations. Banter² directed upwards in the authority line, is more dangerous and so a little more unusual than between equals or directed downwards in the line of authority. Such verbal communication is highly competitive and can be understood as a series of quick-fire improvised

soundings, where individuals attempt to out-do each other in wit and absurdity. Elements in banter are puns, voice impersonation and rhyming couplets.

NWGQ4

Sally Now I've gone all anaemic. Not anaemic what's the word. I've got stomach ache.

Sioux I've gone insipid, he, ha, ha.

Sally I've got a bit of shrapnel in my leg.

Sioux I've got a bit of nut in my teeth.

Sally Remember my hip, Cat. I got a bad hip.

[impersonation of Benny from soap opera, Crossroads. SJB]

All girls - Laughter -

Sioux That means I can't walk down the stairs.

Sally Yeah. That will be all right. I can't walk down the stairs.

Sioux Ah, have you got that beetroot?

[voice impersonation again. SJB]

Sally I can't remember what bloody beetroot you on about.

Sioux I dug it up from the garden the other day.

Lynne No. They were potatoes.

Sally Were they potatoes

Sioux They were beetroot, they were purple.

Sally You sure it was potatoes.

Sioux You don't get purple potatoes unless they're really cold. Tatters in the mould, cold. Ha [clap of hands. SJB] Get the pun. Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, One lump of coal or two. Oh doesn't matter. That's what you have with a cup of char, hi, he, ha, he, he, ha, ha.

Sally Does anybody get these jokes

Lynne No ...

Sally You know that apple I ate. All the bad bit. I think it must have had a magot in it, it's just come back up my throat.

All girls Laughter and screaming.

The two PGS's engage in ritual jousting. The pitch and flow of the voice is manipulated to give the impression of hesitation, then of excessive urgency. The performance is filled out with onomatopoeia and extra sounds such as slurping, tooth sucking and absurd laughter. There is voice impersonation of a character called "Benny" from the soap opera "Crosswards" and also non-verbal communication. This type of narrative style which the group has developed gives rise to its own brand of humour; such conversations were common within this group.

The parody of domesticity was frequently played out by the new wave girls. These interactions were sometimes developed into small dramas, for example they would put on make-up and conventional female dress and walk to the high street to buy an ordinary household item, such as jam or sugar. On these occasions the girls would adopt "bingo accents" of women and screech in a ferocious manner about the price of food.

In NWGQ4 there is a momentary disagreement between the two PGSs as they battle for dominance of the narrative. Sally questions Sioux about her absurd jokes and ridiculous laughter. The function of Sioux's laughter is a part of the girls chorsing: she is trying to sustain the level of competitive banter. Sioux's capacity for laughter and her repertoire³ of different forms of laughter within the girl group was legendary especially her impersonations from the film "Carry on Camping" and her impression of the "dirty old man".

There is little contribution by the CR's in the competitive bantering. They have great difficulty in initiating the social discourse of the group. The continuous flow of the PGS's prevent Cat and Lynne from speaking, they are reduced to interruptions rather than elaborations. Cat makes no comment. Lynne makes two factual comments which are both negative. Firstly, she states the vegetable was a beetroot not a potatoe and secondly, she states "no", that Sioux's jokes are not

understood. Here, Sally cleverly uses the CRs desire to introduce reality to stop Sioux's banter. This makes room for her to tell an amusing tale which ends in laughter.

2.3 Jokes

Jokes were a regular feature of relations within the new wave girl group. In general, jokes were told inside rather than outside the group, although there were exceptions to this rule. The jokes which we will consider should not be evaluated in themselves but as a further mode of self expression.

I shall present four jokes told by the girls, the first three came from this tape, the fourth was told during another discussion.

NWGQ5

Joke 1 Sioux I got a really good joke right. There's two "Hippie"hippies. One goes "Hey man turn on the radio". He goes "Radio I love you".

All girls - Laughter -

Joke 2 Sally It's really good. You heard the one about "Princess" three Irishmen. Three Irishmen screwing a Princess. One comes to draw it out. But got it stuck in the exhaust. Ha, ha, ha, ha. [coughing. SJB]

All girls - Laughter -

Joke 3 Sally Have you heard this other joke? You've "Durex" probably heard it. About the durex and three men working round a hole. He drops the china tea pot. He goes "Go and get a new one and make sure it's pyrex because they last longer.

Sioux Yeah. He, ar goes pyrex, pyrex.

Sally/Sioux Pyrex, pyrex, pyrex

Sally Durex

Sally/Sioux Durex, durex, durex

Sally So he goes into the. If we've all heard it, it's not worth telling it is it.

Sioux Tell it to the tape recorder.

Sally He goes to the oh where/what do you call it.?

Sioux Hardwear thing.

Sally That's it hardwear. He goes "Can I have a durex please" [change of voice to man.SJB] He goes "Sorry mate I think you need, um in the chemist".

So he goes to the chemist. "Can I have a durex please and the chemist goes "What size do you want?"

All girls Laughter and giggling

Sioux Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha.
How do we do it?
Haa, haa, haa, aaa, aaa, aa, aa, haa, aaa.
Haa, haa, haa, aaa, aaa, aa, aa, haa, aaa.

Sally Ne he, he, he, he, he, he, he, he, he, he
na, na, na ner ner ner ner er er.
It's a lorry!

Joke 4
"Convict"

NWGQ6 ..

Debbie There's these two convicts and they've just escaped from where they were in jail and they're walking down the road, and this girl comes along on her bike. She's a quite a nice girl - schoolgirl [ironic tone. SJB] And she goes to one of the blokes. "Oh can you mend my puncher for me? One of them goes, "Yeah, all right then." He goes on "I'll catch you up." One of the blokes goes off and one of them stays behind and mends her puncher.

He mends it for her and she lies on the grass and takes her shorts off and says "All right you can have anything you want for mending my puncher."

Ten minutes later this bloke catches up with the other guy and he's pushing a bike. The other goes "Did you mend the puncher?" and he goes "Yeah". And he goes "What did you get in return?" He goes "She took her shorts off and said I could have anything I wanted. So as the shorts wouldn't fit. So I had the bike!"

Sioux Oh Christ [Laughter. SJB]

All girls - Laughter -

Each of the four jokes embed racist and sexist attitudes, very much like the functioning of stereotypes jokes short-circuit critical thinking. [Perkins 1979, Mac an Ghaill 1988]. Jokes can reinforce and support stereotypical understanding. A crucial element in the target of these jokes is that the subject does not have a legitimate position or social role. Thus, in each joke the major categories are hippie, immigrant [Irish], roadworker and convict, which represent low status positions in society. The categories can function as terms of abuse because they are from subordinate and oppressed groups.

However, there is another category which is common to these jokes, that is men. From this different perspective the significance of these jokes is their possible potential to challenge views of male omnipotence. These jokes make fun of men, making them fallible. The essence of the joke is that something formal is attacked by something informal. What is formal is male sexual control, what is informal is male sexual control which is "out of control". What is the symbolic meaning for the girl group in telling such jokes? Douglas [1968] offers an insight,

"The one social condition necessary for a joke to be enjoyed is that the social group in which it is received should develop the formal characteristics of a 'told' joke: that is, a dominant pattern of relations is challenged by another. If there is no joke in the social structure, no other joking can appear! [p.366]

The dominant pattern which is attacked in these jokes is male control of sexual meaning. The girls jokes portray the male as sexually absurd. A man sticks his penis in the exhaust of a car, a man fails to buy a durex and is uncertain about the size of his penis, and a man fails to have sex when it is offered directly to him. These jokes follow Freud's [1916] definition of the joke in terms of the weakening of conscious control in favour of the subconscious; the juxtaposition of control against that which is controlled. In Douglas' terms the girls do not propose another set of relations, although their attitude to boys, boyfriends and men is clearly spelt out

in chapter nine. The new wave girls anti-patriarchal practice, close physicality and lesbian displays are a challenge to men which follows Douglas' thesis that a joke is told when it offers a symbolic pattern of a social pattern. The girls collection of jokes, puns and stories tended towards showing the foolishness of men.⁴ They were the only female group in the fifth year to tell jokes of this type which had a sexual meaning.

It would be an exaggeration to argue that these jokes represent a challenge to male sexual dominance because I heard similar jokes told between boys within the school. However, the same or similar jokes could and did have a different meaning when told by girls.

2.4 Epic narrative

One type of conversational style particularly associated with the PGS is the epic story or narrative. An epic story is a long tale which combines both a humorous and a serious element. In the example below we see the gradual build up to an epic story told by Sally concerning embarrassment and one of the boffin girls.

NWGQ7

Sally Have you ever seen any of Shane's work?

Sioux I can't read his writing.

Lynne He won't let anybody else see it because he's written about us lot.

Sioux Yeah. I think he wrote about one of the boys showing his bollocks off at the party.

Lynne I know he has written something horrible about Ellen Smith [boffin girls. SJB]

Sally Yeah he said that in French.
Right we was coming into the lesson on Monday. Oh you have French with us. He came in and he's yacking on about Ellen Smith.

Sioux And we was really laughing and somebody goes "Shane, Shane"

Sally It was me. I was going "Shane, Shane, there is Ellen Smith going bright red."

Lynne Oh no!

All girls - Laughter -

Sioux And I really laughed.

Sally It's the same in English Literature. Right we are doing Chaucer. Anyway Ellen Smith is reading and she goes "Chaula clit" [Chauntecleer. SJB] she goes "was a cunt". And we all pissed ourselves laughing. She goes "cunt-cu-countryman [stutters. SJB] like that, it was really funny at the time.

Actually, it's really randy because they're saying that you know, that the Nun's Priest tale, it is a priest and the olde inn keeper, because they're all telling stories and that. The inn keeper goes, "um, well if you weren't a holy man. If you were a worldly man i.e. you weren't a priest. I bet you'd be sexually potent, you'd be a right little raver". It's really explicit and Chauntecleer rides Pertelote twenty times every morning. And Mrs. Holland [teacher. SJB] is going all into it. She is going all like this, "oh, ol, ol". I can't keep from laughing.

The girls are talking about the social relations of fieldwork. Lynne CR asserts the reality principle when she maintains the researcher will not let outsiders read the field diary. Their personal and private information is secure. This leads them to speculate about what I may have written. She interrupts, to state that she "knows" the researcher has written something horrible about a boffin girl. This leads Sally to develop and expand upon the theme of embarrassment.

The central point about the story is amusement at someone else's expense and therefore superiority of the new wave girl group. The boffin girl is embarrassed according to Sally by me talking about her in the classroom and she becomes embarrassed when she mentions female genitals.

We can also suggest that Sally has read Chaucer in terms of its sexual meanings. The book is not just an academic text it offers insight into sexual behaviour.

This epic has an autobiographic format, the narrator is both participant and observer. [See Mod boys rituals of violence, in particular Keef's account]

The delivery of the story is crucial because it must be exciting so as not to be subject to interruption. The epic story is part of the PGS's repertoire for social dominance of group interaction. It is also a marker of their vocal competence and their ability to capture and hold the group's attention.

2.5 Chorusing

Chorusing is produced when the girls together sing, shout, vocalise or make a variety of noises. Chorusing usually occurs at the end of a comment, discussion or an accident, it acts to celebrate, castigate, humiliate or purify a meaning or an action. If a statement by one of the girls is ambiguous, creates vulnerabilities or weakens solidarity, chorusing will occur to remove the negative reverberation and return the group to its original position of strength. Chorusing can also be seen as territorial, when the girls sing or chant songs of their chosen musical style. This cassette signs off with a burst of the new wave girls chorusing.

NWGQ8

Sally I keep wanting to sing something.

Sioux Yeah come on what shall we sing

Sally 'Christine, the strawberry girl'.

Sioux What about the 'Red Light'.
 "She falls into frame without the fashion of doubt.
 But the polaroids ignited upon seeing their subject.
 Boomp and the aperture shuts too much exposure". I
 really like this bit when it goes "wur, wr wu ways,
 into focus, flat lips glossy kiss."

Sally It's horrible isn't it glossy kiss ur, ur.

Sioux "But emotion drips down the sleepy young doorstep"
 Yeah I like that one as well.
 "Nocturnal habits are surveyed with interest, so crawl
 into cars. Ignore any colours and in our radiance.

It's time for our neighbours".
I think that's a really good song.

Cat It's good yeah.

Sally I tell you what I've got the hang of now
F-I-R-E-I-N-C-A-I-R-O, F-I-R-E-N-C-R-O,
[letters enunciated in a song. SJB] Oh God I said it
wrong.

Sioux F-I-R-E-I-N-C-A-I-R-O, F-I-R-E-I-N-C-A-I-R-O,
F-I-R-E-I-N-C-A-I-R-O. And the heat disappears and
the mirror fades away.
Hey, we are going to see The Cure.
What the hell are you doing?

Sally Taking my socks off. God I'm slowly becoming more
naked and naked.

Sioux Oh Sally!.

Sally Perhaps not.

Sioux Oh Christ!

Sally They don't smell, just drifting down the side.

Sioux Don't be so disgusting!

Sally We seem to be the only two people in this
conversation. The rest have gone to sleep.

Sioux How now you brown cow? Talk to me you silly slag!

Sally Oh I know what we can sing.
Um "I called you yesterday"
I can't sing. I need somebody else to sing with me.

Sioux [Coughing noises. SJB]
Clear me throat.

All girls "Tried to call you yesterday. You were at the
Monday Club or a communist demonstration. Who
cares? You're going somewhere everyday.

Vegetarians against the clan, every woman against
every man. Never one to one, what's wrong, what's
wrong with one to one. Just once, just me and you.
Cause one to one is real and you can't hide, just for
you that three's a crowd".

Sally Da, da, da, da, da, da, da, da, da.

Sioux I like the next bit though about waving a banner.

All girls "I agree with that you say. But I don't want to
wear a badge. I don't want to wave a banner like
you. I don't mind it, if you do.

You're beautiful when you get mad.
Or is that a sexist observation
Oh one to one."

Sioux Oh I know what we can sing Sally.
"Mother of Mine".

All girls - Laughter -

Sally "You gave to me".

Sioux Fuck this and fuck that.
I don't want a baby that looks like that.

Sally Oh baby [End of cassette. SJB]

The girls consider four songs to sing, 'Christine' and 'Red Light' by Siouxsie and the Banshees, 'Fire in Cairo' by the Cure and finally they decide to sing 'One to One' by Joe Jackson. Why did they sing this song? Because the song fits their sentiments and present an understanding of the relationship between categories as distinct from persons. In the song the categories are firstly, political, secondly, gender and thirdly symbolic. The girls sense of integrity is realised at the level of the song's discrimination ie. people are "beautiful" and categories are "ugly". The words of the song are "good to think with", in that the meanings coincide with their cultural relations and practices (Krige 1968). [See chapter Three "Band is the Bond".]

In the conversation Sioux mentions that the girls as a group are going to a forthcoming concert⁵ by The Cure. She makes a claim that a particular song by "Siouxsie and the Banshees" is "really good", this is acknowledged by Cat CR. When the girls stop singing Sioux shouts 'Mother of Mine', which was one of their night-time walking songs, it was often sung when they were drunk and in good humour. Sioux PGS signs off the tape with ferocious delivery from one of her own songs called "The Baby"⁶. It is clear that the girls are tired when Sally states "the rest have gone to sleep". The songs are performed as a collective goodnight both to themselves and to me.

3. Integrity

The new wave girls' rituals of integrity are a concentrated and focused marshalling of symbols, practice and pollution rules. The rituals amount to a kind of economy in expressing personal affection, feelings and meaning. These rituals are a carefully developed means of communication constructed within the private face and extended to public face interaction. In chapter four we identified, firstly, the girls close physicality, that is, their intimate private and public bodily contact, and secondly, their use of the female body, its representations and its signifiers to challenge male power relationships through an anti-patriarchal practice. In order to develop the analysis further the use of the term integrity, here, refers to the proposition by Daly [1978] that radical feminism "is affirming our original birth, our original source, movement, surge of living. The finding of our original integrity as re-membering our Selves" [p.39].

Integrity refers to the essentially genderised female physicality, the integrity of the female body is seen not in terms of an addition or an exclusion of parts or functions, it is an integral whole. A unity from which no part may be taken.

For the new wave girls the body is power whether in reference to the sexual or the physical. Their rituals of integrity are expressions and actions which use physicality and sexuality openly as a symbolic resource; as part of their whole cultural practice and relations.

On a metaphorical level the girls operate a cultural positioning of their bodies. They celebrate the positional structure of their group, whereby the group makes it possible to speak of the body, to think with it and through it. Integrity then is the use of the body as a means to create a code independent of the dominant gender code [MacDonald 1980].

The girls speak about their legs.

NWGQ9

Sioux Oh look at those legs [To Sally. SJB]

Sally They're classic.
They'll go down in the history books.

Lynne We ought to start a rugby team because we all have fat legs.

All girls YEAH.

All girls - Laughter -

This is a spontaneous group joke which plays on the conventional expectation that "nice" girls should have "nice" legs. They are highly amused by the contradictions which they perceive here and indulge in a heavy irony. It is Lynne CR who has introduced reality by pointing out that the girls have "fat legs" but she also brings in a reversal. They could take part in rugby, an essential male context of competitive physical violence.

The new wave girls create a collective identity through individual experience, assessment and interpretation of bodily problems. In terms of conversational choreography this means that bodily tales may come in a variety of forms; stories, jokes, themes, puns or ordinary conversation.

NWGQ10

Sally When I'm in the toilet having a fag [at home. SJB] and I'm flicking the ash when I'm having a cigarette. I'm flicking the ash when it goes sssch, sssch, schsssch.

I go [cough twice. SJB] or something. I try to time my shits to land at the same time as the ash goes down. But my shit velocity sometimes is greater than the ash.

All girls - Laughter -

Sally And I miss - close

All girls [Burping noises. SJB]

Sioux All you've got to do is fart now.

Cat That will be no problem.

Sally Oh do you remember that night you stayed at my house, we went down to the beach that night? Do you remember with Cathy and Peter as well as Mick? When we came back to my house do you remember? I was doing one after the other. I had a whole tin of baked beans.

Lynne What about when were at camp then?

All girls - Laughter -

Lynne Sitting there burping having saverloys.

All girls [burping and fart noises. SJB]

Sally There's all these farts

Sioux You should have taped it.

Sally We're sitting there, all got our sleeping bag flaps out, five of us are all there like drunks slurping away at this cider.

The girls are in a humorous and nostalgic mood, relating stories about ritual bodily behaviour. Collectively they celebrate the dramas of bodily functions, suggesting that the body may be out of control; hence the "shit velocity" farting and burping. The stories of the body, whether in control or out of control, reveal how the girls share the body as a practice; it becomes socialised within the group. The mutual appreciation of the "body out of control" not only binds them together, it shows their capacity to promenade. Paradoxically, the ability to apply this idea actually shows their control and use of the female body to deal with sexual contradictions. All the girls accept that they have the same bodily problems and functions - there is no differentiation.

The social significance of passing wind is usually given over to the male. Women who fart whether in private or public are usually looked upon as not conforming to the stereotype of feminine behaviour. The girls' ritual capacity to fart in a group situation expresses solidarity, and is part of their integral voice. However, it seems that within the youth cultural group, the CR has to introduce or point out their farts.⁷

NWGQ11

Lynne Arrr you missed it I just farted.

Sally All together arrrrr.

NWGQ12

Lynne Oh, they missed it.
Cat just passed wind.

Sioux Oh God!

Sally Was it really Cat?
We're getting into all
recriminating things here!

The PGSs Sally and Sioux will fart decisively, without warning and it will be greeted with the gesture of laughter and possibly a story of "greatest farts". Here Lynne states that her own fart went unnoticed. The social significance of farting is honoured only by the social form; hence, Sally's cynical joking response. Indeed, Cat's fart has to be remarked by the other CR. This results in Sioux's comment of "Oh God!" Cat is exposed and gently reprimanded by Sally PGS. The distance of the CR from the social practice of farting is further shown by the fact that Cat's fart is disguised by Lynne as "passing wind". It can be argued that farting is a gesture of the position within the group and can only be credibly authorised by the social forms.

In this section these examples of their flatulence could show how they have become colonised by male bodily practices rather than freed of them. However, from a different perspective, their rituals allow them the "socially unpermitted": that which pollutes the expression of the feminine becomes the expression of the feminist.

The girls commonly recall past events of "outrageous" party behaviour.

NWGQ13

Sally I have been sick in the sink

Sioux Right I'm on the queue, right till it was my turn and I thought "I can't wait any longer" because it was my turn. I went into the bathroom and I got some toilet roll.

Sally Oh no!

Sioux And I went to toilet in the garden.

All girls - Laughter -

This story is a celebration of nonconformity to traditional feminine toilet behaviour. It is men who go to toilet in the garden not women. Sioux's tale is an announcement that their behaviour is expressive, it is a summary of their integrity. Her actions are not only individual but also an integral part of group ritual.

Rituals of integrity also involve physical touch and suggestion.

NWGQ14

Sally That's nice let's turn the light out. Then I can masturbate without anybody watching me

Sioux I could just eat.
I could just eat, um, marsh-mellow.

Cat We haven't got any sorry. No.

Sioux Now let me think

Sally I could suck a marsh-mellow

Sioux I could suck something else!
He, he, he, he.

Sally Cat's - tit Not even funny.

Sioux I'd have to suck Cat's because neither of you two have got anything to suck, so, ha, ha, ha, ...
What do you clean your navel out with?

Sally Fingernail

Sioux What do you clean yours with Cat?

Cat Fingernail.

Sioux I do mine with a cotton bud.

Sally Oh I just let it clean itself.

Sioux I don't I bet if you stick your finger in your belly button and smell your finger it will stink.

Lynne Urrrr.

Sally Urrr.
I'm going to try it.
Oh God!
It's lovely!
Haa, ha, ha, [screeching. SJB]

Sioux I didn't hear a word of that Sally. What did you say?

Sally I goes it's sending all pains. I think I got.

Sioux Oh God! She's got rheumatism in her stomach.

Sally I think I'm turning into a hypochondriac.

Sioux Yeah, my stepfather is a hypochondriac. I swear it.

Sally It doesn't smell.

Sioux I like picking my belly button.

Sally I like picking my nose better.

Sioux I like picking spots, great big yellowy ones.

Sally Oh I haven't got any.

Sioux Well you're all right.

Sally Lovely!

Sioux I like getting big juicy spots, especially on the back of my neck

Sally Oh Sioux that's really disgusting.

Sioux It's horrible. They really hurt.

Sally Just think wake up in a pool of puss in the morning.

All girls Urrrrlah.

Sioux Puss drops keep falling on my head.
Puss drops keep running down my neck [singing. SJB]

Sally Puss drops keep rolling down my back [singing. SJB]

Here we see the new wave girls playing with taboos in a competitive style. The PGSSs engage in banter and ritual jousting. Sally invokes female masturbation and the idea of sucking "Cat's tit", while Sioux raises the stakes by remarking " I could suck something else!" In general, they deal with aspects of the body which are beyond their control such as illness, fear, dirt and spots. The dangers of pollution and uncleanness are taken up within the girls' rituals of integrity and dealt with in play and humour. Choreography, in particular, the chorusing at the end washes clean any impurity by offering a unity of experience. Danger has been minimised and collective action demonstrates solidarity.

4. Pollution

The previous section on the girls' rituals of integrity showed their self conscious celebration of the female body as natural. They actively speak about bodily functions and are not embarrassed by issues of dirt. This was also shown in chapter nine where the girls demonstrate their power and skill in using the gendered female body and their sexuality openly as a symbolic resource of exclusion, opposition and independence. New wave girls understand farting or menstruation as a natural expression of their female body. Such bodily functions were not assessed as unclean, separate or even "un-feminine" but understood in terms of integrity - an original unity from which no part may be taken. This position of integrity indicates a system or an area of ideas which are regulated by rules of pollution. As Douglas [1975] points out

"We would expect to find that pollution beliefs of a culture are related to its moral values, since these form part of the structure of ideas for which pollution behaviour is a protective device ... Pollution beliefs not only reinforce the cultural and social structure, but they can actively reduce ambiguity in the moral sphere" [p.54].

In this section I shall present the girls conversation about their social/sexual transition from girlhood to young

womanhood. The analysis will use Douglas' definition of pollution beliefs which operates as a protective device for their integrity, against sexual and bodily vulnerabilities.

NWGQ15

Sioux I remember, once I was sitting in the bath

Sally Those were the days!

All girls - Laughter -

Sioux Yeah, I had one today actually. Right, I was splashing around singing away talking to my rubber ducks and everything. And my mum taped it. Christ it was hilarious. I didn't even know she was outside the door. She had the microphone sticking through the top of the door. It was just hanging over the top. I was splashing away you could hear all this water going when she played it back.

Sally We got a photograph of me and my brother in the bath. My brother is standing up showing his dinkle [penis. SJB]

Lynne We got one of us in the bath, me, my brother, his friend and my sister and I'm about twelve or thirteen [shocked tone. SJB]

Sally I remember when I was about eleven. My dad used to sit in the bath. He had all these hairy legs. I used to get the back brush and brush all his legs like this and brush them the other way. It probably turned them on actually.

Sioux There's a picture of Pat and I in the bath at my nan's house when we used to live there. And we're sitting in the bath. I look like the "wild man from Borneo" because my hair is soaking wet and it's all pushed back and I got a great big brush of it still dry. And my step father came in with a camera and goes "cooeee" and Pat's going like this, she's got a bit of boob sticking out the side and he's going like this and I'm going [attempt to hide her breasts. SJB]

There's a great big bottle of Vossen on the side it's really bad. It's an awful photo.

The girls are looking back to when they were approaching puberty. The former stories concern childhood and the latter ones concern the girls as young women. As they examine the past, the narrative suggests that the girls were in a state of "innocence".

The first story of the mother recording Sioux bathing sets the scene for other accounts. The first suggestion of pollution of the girls' state of "innocence" is where Sally explains that her younger brother shows his penis in the bath. It is an expression of male culture to thrust, exhibit and advertise one's sexuality. However, Sally who is older does not thrust her sexuality towards her brother. This imbalance in sexual aggressiveness between the sexes is now perceived as a danger of pollution of integrity, made more poignant by the innocence, whose image is captured in the 'bath time snapshot'. The threat of danger is picked up by Lynne who implies by her "shocked tone" that at her age she should not have been in the bath with her brother, let alone with his friend. Her story heightens the feeling and threat of sexual pollution, although embarrassment is the major point rather than physical violation. It is in Sally's second bath story, in the way her narrative is presented, that we see the father as a polluting agent. Sally's story is laced with both fact and with fiction. On the surface, it is the daughter scrubbing the legs of her father who is in the bath. At a deep level Sally now perceives the situation as both dangerous and exiting. Her father had the potential to pollute owing to "all these hairy legs". Her actions are regarded as that of a potential stimulator. Sally's thought that this was unclean apparently contradicts what she once saw as the rite of washing the father.

In Sioux's second story she is in the bath with her friend Pat, and both girls are forced to hide their sexual parts from the step father who enters the bathroom by surprise and takes a photograph. The older man is seen as being in pursuit and pollution occurs through the medium of technology. [camera] Sioux describes their vulnerability by having to "cover up" from being captured on film and also by their growing awareness of the dangers implicit in their position increasingly as 'objects of desire'. They hide themselves in a gesture of rejection of the objectified role.

A further example of pollution with respect to older men again invoking photography is expressed:

NWGQ16

Sioux Oh I've got to have my oral [English Language exam. SJB]

Lynne So have I Mrs. Mullery

Sioux Mrs. Mullery and Mrs. Holland.

Sally She really slags you down Mrs. Holland She really knows how to humiliate somebody. She says you've got to have eight best English literature essays and she goes, and she looks at one person usually me. Some of you have not even got eight best essays, some of you haven't even got one like that it's really bad.

Sioux What a cow!

Sally I got Mr. Paddock for mine. He's going to really mark, mark them down though because he is a really tight marker isn't he.

Lynne He's nice though, he's sensible.

Sally I'd probably puke up at him.

Sioux I hate him he's a right pervert

Sally He's really insipid.

Lynne He was quite nice when we have him for lessons isn't he.

Sioux He's all right.
But I think he looks like a placid pervert.

Lynne He always looks ill doesn't he

All girls Yeah.

Sally He looks though his going to collapse and die.

All girls Yeah die.

All girls - Laughter -

Sioux God!
He's married as well How can? Just imagine aaah, ahh, ahh [orgasmic sighs. SJB]
What about the other teachers We were sitting in the library looking at him and her. He was there, he was taking out his Kodak. And we go, oh he's giving her the film now with all those dirty photos. I felt, oh Christ. How could anybody want to jump into bed - with that teacher.
Oh. God!

Sally I bet he's, so ...

Lynne She don't though. How do you know?

Sioux But how can he turn you on. Oh. God!

The start of the girls' conversation concerns the marking by teachers of their essays and how strictly these teachers grade. Lynne states she considers one male teacher to be "sensible", her comment is immediately refuted by Sally who suggests she might "puke up at him" and Sioux who says "I hate him". Lynne tries to argue her point about the teacher but finally agrees with the other girls, to conclude that "he always looks ill". The girls' hostile responses toward this male teacher are based upon two assertions: firstly, the teacher is a "pervert", even "a placid pervert"; and secondly he is "ill", "insipid" and "going to collapse and die". They set up the teacher as a polluting agent by asserting that he is a "pervert", then they cut him down with group chorusing of "Yeah die", followed by celebratory laughter. However, the girls assert their own power to view the male as a potential sexual object, and to fantasise (negatively) about his sexual prowess in a way which traditionally is a part of the male code of behaviour. Sioux says "He's married as well. How can? Just imagine aaah, ahh, ahh."

From here, Sioux goes on to speculate about an affair between a male and a female teacher. The male teacher is defined as polluter. Sioux states he is an agent of pornography. "He was taking out his Kodak", "with all these dirty photos". The male teachers in both stories are seen as polluters but not in terms of pursuing young girls; these men are no direct threat to them. It is through the girls' fantasy that they initiate their potency drive towards older men. The imagined sexual encounter stays at the level of fantasy, where the girls are in control and can define pollution.

Do the girls assess all men as polluters? How do they interpret their boyfriends' flattery? [See also chapter 11]

NWGQ17

Sioux Actually, I'll tell you one thing about Phil, which really pisses me off. The fact that he's so flattering, it gets on your nerves.

Sally Oh I don't know, it goes to my head. Actually, I don't really like people

Lynne It is not so bad anymore anyway is it.

Sally No But I, flattery

Sioux He is to me.

Sally Flattery, it does, you know, it means a lot to me when somebody flatters me. But at the time I wish they wouldn't say it because it really embarrasses me. I don't think there's anything more - it's funny - I never know what to say. I think "God, I should say something back but I can't", I just burying my head in the shoulder or go red or something. But, you know, I say "Oh don't" and I act stupid but afterwards it's really nice because it means something to me. But I find it really difficult to flatter somebody.

Lynne You don't know if someone means it though do you.

Sioux No, as that boy says it so often.

Sally I don't mean him, I mean

Sioux Peter [Sally's boyfriend. SJB]

Sally No sometimes I feel like saying something really nice to him but I never know how to take him. I just think any minute, if I say something nice, he's going to turn round and laugh at me.

Sioux Yeah like me. We were talking and Peter said something about you know, when people say I love you. It really makes me laugh and things like that. Why are you going red Sally? and laughing Sally?

Lynne You don't seem to be worried about Slim [Sioux's boyfriend. SJB] now Sioux have you gone off him or what?

Sally That's what I keep saying.

Sioux No I still like him, but.

Lynne Not as much.

Sioux Oh yeah. But there's no point in brooding over lost chickens and eggs, whatever they are.

Sally WHAT CAME FIRST THE CHICKEN OR THE EGG?

The girls are uncertain about the depth of their boyfriends' feelings toward them. Both Sioux and Sally show a vulnerability of affection in their open accounts. The conversation is a ritual declaration of the friendship bond. It is talk in the private face which expresses group unity in the commonality of experience. At the end we see an example of chorusing with Sally's loud and cynical comment which returns the group to their position of dominance. This example of chorusing is the only feature of conversational choreography in the discussion on flattery. The crucial significance of this section is that it is unmarked by male sex/symbolic violence, swearing, jokes and physical displays. This is the personal face of the private face not the public face within the private face.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have applied the theory of social and symbolic forms, the specialised positions and the social relations of the face, in order to analyse the girls' conversational choreography and rituals of integrity.

I have tried to show how the elements of the new wave girls' narrative style of interaction functions in the private face. Choreography is central to the girls communication when promenading as a youth cultural group.

The language of ritual arises out of a combination of elements. To sing as a group, to provide enjoyment together, gives the girls a strong sense of belonging. Chorusing and free association expresses and reinforces group ties and shared assumptions. Joke telling and singing have a comforting, almost religious function, offering consensus and solidarity. Their choreographic practice is different in the private and public face. The conversational style realised through the specialised positions carries their rituals of integrity.

The social basis of the girls' integrity is group relations and practices in the private face. The group's social

relations create a space for individuals to engage in practices which can be considered as anti-patriarchal. The girls' celebration of their own sexuality as natural becomes the communal responsibility of the group, and it is through this wholeness that they begin to collectivise the female body and thereby re-member themselves towards a position of integrity.

However, outside the context of the private face of this girls' group, the context of patriarchal culture forces them into a position where they are made to respond to and challenge masculinity. The collective action taken by the girls allows them to confront the contradictions they meet daily, although the ground rules of this confrontation remain on male terms.

The section on pollution attempts to understand how the girls perceive their own sexuality. It would be incorrect to see the polluters as only male for example, in the bath tape recorder story the mother is the intruder. But the threat here I would hypothesize is not from the mother's listening to the daughter bathing, but in her recording it to play to others and perhaps the possibility that it will be played to men. Thus if the danger of pollution is perceived as coming from other women, it is as agents of male threat, and not from the women themselves. Indeed the group made no reference to fear of female advances and even exploited images of lesbianism as a further challenge to patriarchy [see chapter nine]

Throughout the stories of pollution the girls switch roles; they move between girl and womanhood, fantasy and reality and seducer and seduced. Additionally, from within the private face they are able to move back and forth from positions of innocence and experience. The capacity of the girls to move within and between these categories points to their own powers to challenge male power relations and assert their separate integrity.

Notes Chapter 6

1. Hat and Tosh, the two CRs of the mod boy group would also study the lyrics to song both inside and outside school.
2. For other assessments of adolescent peer group communication see Durphy 1963, Furfey 1940, Hewitt 1984, 1986b, Kochman 1972, 1983, Labov 1972, Labov 1982.
3. I have a selection of different laughs by Sioux on cassette tape.
4. See Radcliffe-Brown 1940, 1949, on joking relationships especially in relation to ritual pollution, whereas Douglas 1966, 1968 distinguishes jokes from pollution in terms of humour.
5. All the new wave girls went to The Cure concert at Brighton. Throughout the gig I remained at the front standing with the girls.
6. See Sioux's song "Baby".

Baby

To kill a baby in its cradle
 Crush its head and cry with pain
 Then roll and roll with ecstasy.
 Do you think I'm sane

Left to rot the baby cries
 Screams of shame and anger
 Did it smile before it died?
 Did it think of danger

Just like a little rat
 Strewn across the floor
 Brains stuck to the ceiling
 Gut splat on the door

A table in the corner
 A chair across the hall
 I dig a grave for baby
 I thought I heard him call

No-one will find out my crime
 I will not tell a soul
 And baby won't tell anyone
 He's in a little hole!

7. In chapter 10 Debbie CR introduces her fart BG/NWQQ22.

PART 3

ISSUES OF CLASS, CAREERS AND CONFORMITY

The ethnography shows clear differences between the youth cultural groups and the friendship groups of the boffin boys and girls, although in both forms an underlying theme of patriarchy has its effects; individuals are both united and divided within and between the gender groups. Patriarchal experiences vary however between the groups as do the strategies of the girl groups to counter such expressions.

Whereas, style dominates pedagogic practice for both the mod and new wave groups, in the case of the boffin groups it is the pedagogic focus which dominates and penetrates their interests, practices, aspirations and leisure activities. In the case of the youth cultural groups the interrelation between class and style is especially visible in their gender relations and as will be seen in Part 4 in their contacts with the boffin groups. The boffin groups position themselves explicitly in class relations, aspirations and modes of conduct. The description of the boffins will therefore focus upon the rationale which informs their pedagogic practice and aspirations and the constraints the latter creates on their personal relations both inside and outside of the school.

CHAPTER 7

BOFFIN BOYS' CULTURE: Pedagogic Practice and Sexual Vulnerabilities

Introduction

The boffin boys cannot be adequately described by the term conformist, although certain youth groups within Marshlands defined them as such. There is little discussion in the sociology of education about the cultures of conformity (Hammersley and Turner 1980, Turner 1983, McLaren 1986, Brown 1987) in contrast to the discussion of so called cultures of resistance (Willis 1977, McRobbie 1980 Giroux 1983b, Aggleton 1987, Mac an Ghaill 1988).

This chapter tries to provide insight into the cultural practices, relations, rules and communication within an upper ability male pupil group. The three sections in this chapter offer an interpretation of the boffin boys' culture in action. Later chapters, dealing with the boffin girls, the boffin boys and the mod boys will provide further details of the boffin boys' practices and relations both inside and outside school.

The first section examines the boffin boys' friendship group, with particular attention to their rule-based framework of interaction, practices of masculine intimacy, together with their ideology of individualism. The second section builds on this analysis which identifies the importance of the bonds created by their shared attitude towards schooling and achievement. There is a description of the boffin boys' seminar form of discussion followed by an analysis of their efforts to gain social mobility and the implication of these efforts for their class of origin.

The third section presents the boffin boys' feelings and experience as they attempt to move from the safety of their all-male group to establish relations with girls. Here I shall

concentrate on the consequences of the proposed rule-bound behaviour of the boffin boys with respect to, their relations with girls, their sexual realities and fantasies of that reality and their strategies for dealing with rejection.

2. Boffin Boy Pupil Friendship Group

Participants: Howard, Gary, James, Davey and Paul.

Transcripts : two recorded discussions with the boffin boys.

Location : school careers office.

Time : a) dinner hour, b) double period afternoon.

Arrangement : Liaison with Careers teacher, release of pupils from PE lesson by senior teacher.

Context : discussion of recent shared experience with the boffin boys in leisure spaces and in the school/classroom.

The membership relations and description of the boffin boy group was given in chapter 2. Here I shall provide an interpretation of how relations are managed inside the pupil friendship group. Firstly, I shall suggest that the boffin boys' group relations can be understood in terms of three relations; internal, rival and external. Secondly, I will look at their close masculine friendships, and thirdly, I shall outline what I will call the boffin boys' ideology of individualism.

The three core members of the boffin boys' group, Howard, Gary and James, are a closed male friendship group. In school it is essential for all aspiring boffins [male] to be known or in some way associated with these three individual pupils, or the eight marginal members who are in close proximity with their core group. In the fifth year at Marshlands there were many pupils who claimed friendship with the overall boffin boy group of eleven. However, the three core members maintain an aloof independence primarily through their out of school contact. Inside school all the boffin boys share a common pedagogic position but it is through their shared social identity outside school that Howard, Gary and James keep the

[close] marginal members at a distance, and other boffins at a further distance.

We can distinguish three basic features of the boffin boy friendship group. The first refers to the basis of identity. The second refers to male rivalries. The third refers to their vulnerability.

A. Identity: the boffin boys deny that they are a collective type or a group which possesses an expressive identity, and affirm the contrary through the presentation of an individualistic pedagogic identity. Howard's specialism within the group is as the controller of pedagogic status, he orders, allocates esteem, and reinterprets other boys' contribution. He is the senior friend within the pupil group and there is internal group competition among boys for his time and friendship. Howard is the person to whom love is addressed and he occasionally takes on a teacher role.

B. Rivalry: inside the boffin boy group there are a number of boys who are style singletons i.e. they possess a youth cultural style but are not members of a group, and so do not share the social relations of the style. Thus, within the boffin group there are individual spaces for style satellite specialities.¹ These different styles, however, only reflect the individualism of the member, not the group, and do not infringe the rule that they are not a type.

An important opposition within the boffin boy identity is on the one hand the denial of being a type(s), and on the other hand, the forging of an identity in the form of a pedagogic instrumental solidarity, as the basis for their interactions in school. Inside the group the boys acknowledge rivalry but outside the group the boys do not enter into forms of social competition with the expressive groups, for example the mod boys or the new wave girls, because the boffins' form of solidarity is individual/instrumental not collective/expressive. Therefore, if the mod boys challenge the boffin boys at the level of school success, sexual experience or sport

the boffin boys try to defuse the challenge.² [See chapter seven Boffin boys and mod boys, in particular section on adolescent male sexuality]. The boffin boys refuse to enter relations of rivalry with expressive groups because this might adversely affect their aims in school. To be identified as in competition with an expressive group might mean that the boffin boys would be typed unfavourably by both pupils and teachers.

C. Vulnerability: there are two external relations which endanger the boffin group's instrumental relation to education, the source of their identity. First, James introduced ambiguities and uncertainty into the all male group through his relationship with his girlfriend(s). He brings information into the group about the issues and difficulties of establishing and maintaining an intimate relation with girls. This creates individual and group vulnerabilities, if this personal relationship becomes dominant over the pedagogic relation. Second, Gary is upper working class unlike most other of the boffin boys who are middle and lower middle class. The other boys consider that any boffin boy, in this case Gary who displays "unsavoury" working class attitudes or behaviour, militates against the boffin boys' aspirations to social mobility. Gary's class traits are assessed as being inappropriate especially within an external group setting. Thus boffin boys present two types of tension and vulnerability firstly, with respect to their social class peer group relations and secondly with respect to their sexual relations³; both threaten their pedagogic instrumentalism.

2.1 An ideology of individualism: "not types" but "individuals"

A "type" is understood by the boffin boys as an identity which is expressive and might be in opposition to the school. The boffin boys' assertion of not being a "type" points out positively to their behaviour as largely pro-school. The boys are seen to identify with the school, and thus are not a "type". The criminal boys used to say of the boffin boys, "They don't do nothing" which means that they do homework and have no social identity outside the school and home. The

boffin boys possessed an invisible social identity which other pupils were ignorant of and which only became visible to me after a number of months, when I was allowed to accompany the boffin boys to parties and discos. However, where features of their invisible social identity surfaced and became defined as a "type" the boffin boys would either deny or reject this interpretation, for example Gary's disco dancing. [Here the boffin boys are joined by two mod boys]

BBQ2

Keef Gary used to make a right embarrassment of himself, his disco dancing.

Gary That was yonks [years SJB] ago, weren't it.

Hat You still disco dancing!

Keef Jiving!

Gary Not really disco

Keef Used to do head over heels and all that, didn't you.

Gary No I don't think, not to quite that extreme.

Keef Full twist up in the air!

Gary Not, not like that

James He used to really ^{feak}feak out

Gary I used to be a right idiot, I know that.

Gary receives no support from the other boffin boys to overcome this ritual humiliation. He asserts that this type of behaviour is of the past, and he accepts it as a mistake, which he has now corrected.

Underlying the boffin boys' understanding of a "type" is also the assumption that this entails a lack of individualism, for example, as Howard put it "I just like single songs, I do not like types". James states "I do not go dressed out with hair all sticking up, I do not look too extreme". "Types" are associated with practices which could restrict the boffin boys mobility project. It is on the premise of not being a "type"

and the promotion of an image of being a pro-school pupil, that the boffin boys' ideology of individualism rests. Their individualism is maintained firstly, by their instrumental detachment; they see themselves as having no specialised identity and are not in competition with other pupil groups; and secondly by the rules, boffin boys use as basic principles of their practice. [See chapter 9 Boffin boys and Mod boys, in particular Pedagogy and Deviance]. They evaluate their actions according to a careful consideration of possible consequences to their aim of social mobility: this prudential practice is the means to this end.

3. Boffin Boys' Pedagogic Practice and Class Vulnerabilities

This section will focus upon the boffin boys' pedagogic practice, which in general, refers to their approach to education. Here, I want to concentrate on a particular feature of their approach to learning in school which we have termed the "seminar form". They are in the upper ability band and are recognised by the teaching staff to possess the ability to be successful in examinations. The data presented will attempt to show their intellectual practice in action. There are two sections, firstly, the boffin boys' seminar form, and secondly the implications of their social class vulnerabilities for their pedagogic practice.

3.1 The Seminar Form.

The seminar form is a term used here to describe the boffin boys' pedagogic relations; in this group it is Howard who, as the senior friend takes on the guiding role of a professor. Participation in the boffin boys' seminar form is in terms of assertion and counter assertion and involves the development of, or the raising of more and more complex factors of a topic.

In the early afternoon I went with the boys to an informal "entering the sixth form" talk. In the late afternoon in a discussion they began to speak about their feelings on the values held by some members of the sixth form at Marshlands.

BBQ3

SJB The sixth form.

Gary They reckon they are right boffins. The ones that go to CND benefits. They go round, oh, oh, oh.

James Checkland [Sixth form pupil. SJB]

Gary Yeah.
People like that you know, they really think because they are bright, that they are superior to you because they are taking their 'A' levels.

SJB Do you think that?

Howard Because they are. But I do not think they know enough about it to. See, I don't know enough about it. They do not know enough about it to make up other people's minds.

Gary They are just into this peace thing, you know.

Howard You can have your sort of ideas of peace, world peace. That is not practical because in the sixties they found that out. But nuclear war is something difficult to determine, if good or bad. The actual war, you know, just shit really, but determines
... .

Gary In effect, because if one country has got it, you have got to have it as well.

Howard See if you're a dictatorship or anything like that, and Russia is really a dictatorship, and um - if they get.
If there was not nuclear arms, they [USSR. SJB] are bound just to knock them up. You cannot take the technology away

James The communists are not against nuclear power, are they.

Howard The idea of communism is all right, but it is just in practical terms that I think it is not.

James It is the idea that the Government gets all the wealth.

Howard That is not the idea. The ideas of communism are all right. But after that, you cannot have it, with, it is just human nature to want and to get more for yourself....

James I think they [USSR. SJB] have got all the facts wrong.

Howard It is impossible now, you cannot do it [drop the bomb.SJB] because it would be a good thing to have nuclear disarmament. No threat of holocaust. But then you get minor wars that can run longer and cause just as much damage, where you do not get the inherited stuff.

James You talking about power stations as well.

SJB Well that can come into it.

James Yeah, well when everyone talks of nuclear power being dangerous right. Yeah, may be it is. But all the examples of disaster and everything have been in America. They are a different designed reactors than what we have got here, they are not half as safe.

Gary I don't think they will ever use nuclear weapons, not in our life time.

James No.
I think you do not need nuclear disarmament as long as you have got it there.
It is a deterrent.
I do not think it will ever come to anybody using it.

SJB What do you think Britain's policy...

Gary Thatcher, she has got to say that she has, hasn't she.

James Keep it up. Keep it up.

Gary She has got to say that, she is now in line with America.

James I mean the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, it has only got one country to say right, I am not going nuke, you know, you say right. Everyone says right. Get rid of nuclear power, and Russia just keeps one blinking, atomb bomb back. They jump it on Britain, Bang. And we were good, we disarmed ourselves.

Gary Without nuclear weapons nobody can do it. So if you are going to have deterrents, so I think...

Howard There could be a nuclear war because you know they can get away it.

James It is states that cause nuclear war.

Howard Some people, there will be some people that will survive. See in a land mass like Russia - like that you will get some out laying parts where there would be cover. I think in the future they could work it out that there will be a way that some will survive and I think you will get a government that is prepared to take the sort of risks involved.

The boffin boys' seminar form is a discursive site for the display of their underlying pedagogic competence. Initially, the talk is ritualised and jocular but it soon changes to a discussion on the different issues of nuclear war. Firstly, I shall identify the number and complexity of the assertions and counter-assertions, and secondly, I will make an interpretation of their seminar form. The number of assertions raised were:

1. Gary asserts that the sixth form are pedagogically conceited, James agrees and Howard argues they are inordinately vain in their assessment of other persons' opinions.
2. Gary raises the political point of CND, Howard adds a historical reference and he goes onto differentiate between peace in terms of theory and practice.
3. Howard increases the complexity of the argument by speaking of moral issues and Gary notes the apparent logic within escalation of nuclear weapons.
4. Howard widens the discussion to the type of government and technological factors.
5. James introduces the idea of communism, but it is Howard who elaborates the difference between theory and practice of communism: the two boys disagree.
6. James and Howard also disagree on the value of disarmament. James suggests incorrect estimation, and Howard asserts the positive development of CND and security for the human race.
7. Howard notes the difference between major wars [with nuclear bombs] and minor wars which continue indefinitely, in relation to suffering.
8. James adds to the discussion the issue of nuclear power, different types of reactor systems and potential for disaster.
9. Gary brings the discussion back to use of nuclear weapons. Initially, James disagrees with Gary and asserts the necessity for a deterrent but finally agrees with Gary's forecast.
10. I ask them what they thought of Britain's nuclear policy. First; Gary argues that Britain does not have a policy but has to be in line with America, and second, James asserts his support for Britain's nuclear policy.

11. James argues against CND with a hypothetical example where the world disarms and a country retains one bomb. Gary disagrees with this model but is interrupted by James who asserts that it is states that cause war not people.

12. Finally, Howard evaluates the context for potential limited nuclear war, he argues that scientific estimates will be available in the future and depending on the type of government, this will determine whether a limited nuclear conflict could be of value.

In the interpretation of the boffin boys' educational practice as a seminar form, we can identify how the boys develop an aggressive male academic style of debate and practice their secondary habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The seminar form operates as a site where the boys display competence through articulation of different and contending arguments. The contribution by any boy occurs in a competitive environment, in accordance with rules and standards which apply to statements and conduct. The seminar form shows the ordered approach that the boys use to achieve success in school. In an all boffin boy situation the seminar form presents a site of available strategies and resources: here they can cooperate, and evaluate themselves in an exclusive context. The competitive rule bound environment allows individuals to monitor their own and others progression, to develop confidence and check the unity of the group. Thus, the seminar forms can operate as a site for the boys to inspect, practice and monitor pedagogic practices necessary to fulfil their social class aspirations.

In conclusion, there is a similarity between boffin boys and girls with respect to their sharing of a "seminar" form of communication and interaction based upon official pedagogic practice. Presumably, this seminar form has similar functions for both groups. However, the boys seminar form is not only a site for rehearsing, developing their pedagogic competence but is also a site for rehearsing, monitoring developing conduct appropriate to their class aspirations. This function arises out of the mixed social class membership of the boffin

boys and is not found in the boffin girl group, as the girls all share an established middle class background.

3.2 Social Class Vulnerabilities

In a discussion on the daily newspapers, Gary's social class vulnerabilities become an apparent problem for the boffin group.

BBQ4

Howard The Sun!

James What do you have?

Gary No we don't we have [parents SJB] the Daily Express. We have the Express.

Howard Just because you have a couple of big tits on the second or third page.⁴

Gary No we do not have The Sun anymore. On Tuesday I get The Sun.

Howard I know, you sit there with the old paper [Dirty looks to Gary. SJB]

It is established that Gary's parents used to purchase The Sun but also that he still buys the paper himself. The other boffin boys regard this particular daily paper as inferior and not consistent with their pedagogic endeavours in school. But Gary has another argument, he asserts he buys the paper for entertainment.

BBQ5

Gary That is all I want to read. I do not want to read about politics all day. Oh, the government have just put out a new proposal to raise interest two percent. I don't want to know that crap, I want to know who's got beaten up.

Unfortunately, Gary's line of thinking goes against the pedagogic practice and aspirations of the boffin boys. His argument reflects a preference for the expressive, it is too close to working class culture and associated with types from

which the boffins are attempting to distance themselves. To prefer entertainment to education is not acceptable to the boffin boys. Gary's assertion has revealed his class vulnerabilities at a deep level and tension and emotion begin to create cracks in the seminar form.

BBQ6

Gary You are going on about your paper. But because you get a better paper, that means you are higher class.

Howard No

Gary That is when you kept takin the mickey out of me because we used to get The Sun. WHAT IS THE BIG DEAL ABOUT THE SUN?

Howard You read The Sun. Now this is a true statement. If you read The Sun, it is you know, the writing in it.

Gary It's one of the most common papers, isn't it.

Howard But it is not a very good paper, it is easy to, okay.

Gary That is why it is for the majority. I only get it for the sport.

Howard If you read sort of a normal paper.

Davey Yeah, but you do not get it. It's up to your Dad.

James Mail or Express.

Howard A moderate one like the Daily Express or Mail. So you get used to a certain type of writing. I think the Mail.

Gary You cannot take the piss out of me just because I get a paper.

James I am not taking the pin out of you.

Howard It is a figure of speech. Sorry.

James In other words, he is calling him a dimbell [stupid SJB].

Gary Because I get The Sun.

Howard Do you read The Sun?

Gary No. We used to.

Howard Do you read The Sun? Do you read The Sun?

- Gary I just look through, if there is anything I want to read I will look at it.
- Howard Then it does not matter. It does not affect you does it.
- Gary You get The Sun! You are taking the mickey out of me again.
- SJB My parents used to buy the Daily Mail and The Sun.

The boffin boys' pedagogic unity shows signs of being fragmented under the threat of Gary's class vulnerability. Gary dislikes the manner in which he has been singled out for attack. He asserts, it is a social class argument but Howard denies that the force of his criticism is based upon class. In fact, Howard uses social class masked as pedagogy to illuminate the inconsistency of Gary's behaviour with the group mobility project. Unfortunately, Gary refuses to acknowledge this criticism of himself and his parents. He understands the criticism as a personal insult. Davey does attempt to repair the damage, but as a marginal member his comment receives no further elaboration by other boys.

Howard's specific pedagogic point is that the style of writing in The Sun newspaper is not good practice for their educational pursuit. Gary continues to argue that it is a paper for the working class masses; however, this is exactly Howard's point, it is not for him as he is going to rise out of that social class. Gary presents a pedagogic argument that Howard accepts, that is, he only "looks" at The Sun, he does not read it.

I had to intervene in the boys' discussion because of its mounting tension. The talk had become highly charged with emotion aroused by class conflict. I assessed that it would be better to try to move the talk away from Gary's inappropriate class practice to what the boffin considered as the attractions of reading The Sun.

BBQ7

SJB Why do you think that people really like the contents of The Sun?

Gary Well. There is quite a lot of simple people in the world.

James Yeah I think, you know it is er- simple. The ones that - they are not kind of interested in what Mrs Thatcher proposed yesterday. They just want to find out , you know, about a boy who was found tossing himself off to a kid.

Davey Or what the girl looks like on page three, whether she has got big tits or not.

James And what's on telly.

SJB Do you think they're [The Sun. SJB] trying to divert people's interests away from ...

James Well. The Sun is aimed at that type of people isn't it.

Howard It is easy reading, that is all like a comic. It is easy reading that sort of thing. James It is just an adult comic, anyway.

Howard No. It is not an adult comic. It does not, sort of try to point the reader. The writers do not seem to try and give their opinions that much.

James I am not classifying. I am saying it is aimed at people who just want to find out that type of thing.

Gary I do not think so. They just want to sell it, that is why they put that stuff in it ...

Howard That is, because it is a popular paper. They want people to read it. Some people cannot be bothered to read say the longer articles.

James and Howard are explicitly trying to distance themselves from "that type" of reader, of that "social class", in contrast to Gary who does not express such a distancing view of class. Gary's statements [BBQ4,5,6,7] throughout express the feeling and tension involved in social mobility, in rising out of one class to another, whereas, for the other boffins it is better if past class background is left alone. Gary suggests that the reason for the type of content within the popular press is to sell papers. This comment is developed by

Howard who concludes it is not solely a financial matter because he insists it is a fact of class and education; other persons will read "the longer articles".

These social class vulnerabilities show how far Howard and James direct the group towards their goal of social mobility: to the extent of possible friendship sacrifice. Through Gary's position in the boffin group the remaining members [core and marginal] have a yardstick to measure and maintain their future project. Throughout the fieldwork they were relentless in highlighting social class threats to their academic achievement. The successful elimination of what are assessed as working class cultural traits further reinforces the boffins' position that they are not an expressive group, that is, their behaviour does not attract unfavourable attention.

This example of the discussion on the popular press demonstrates the disintegration of the boffin boys' seminar form and pedagogic unity in the face of an inappropriate social class practice. The priority becomes the eradication of any improper class attitude and pedagogic practice, rather than the development of solidarity. Thus individuals within the groups can be left brutally exposed because as a group, the boffins' social solidarity is not collective but instrumental and individually based upon pedagogic competence and class aspiration. The principles of the boffin boys' friendship group are organised through rules, regulating, progressions and sequences. They know how to operate the rules of the school and can in fact work these regulations to support their status position within the school. It could be argued that the boffin boys possess few insulation devices within their group to protect individuals from structural relations, such as social class, which create oppositions and contradictions in their group identity and project. An insulation device can be defined as a strategy to prevent external structural factors from creating tension within an informal group.

On one occasion I was with them when their behaviour during break time became oppositional and by an "unfortunate accident"

the Headteacher caught them and cautioned the three major members not only for misbehaviour but for their incorrect school uniform. When the Headteacher delivered his warning, in front of other pupils, the boys were somewhat ill at ease. Further, Howard, James and Gary were required to visit the Head's office, later in the day.

In boffin circles such a public reprimand was not only unknown but raised the boys' status to that of the "rebel" boffins. In contrast the other major pupil groups considered this issue of boffin deviance a non-exciting event.

The Head's warning to the boffin boys was a significant problem causing momentary damage to their pedagogic goal and their public identity in school as the conforming pupils. However, from the boffin boys' perspective, because it affected the core group rather than highlighting an individual's class impropriety, they were able to redefine their vulnerability in terms of the success of the group in negotiating with the Head.

4. Sexual Vulnerabilities

4.1 Introduction

This section is going to examine some of the problems the boffin boys describe as they attempt to move from the security of an all-male group to establish female intimacy. The issues of which the boys speak derive from events leading to, during and after a boffin boy and girl party on a Saturday evening. I arrived at that venue with three of the boffin girls, helped to set things up with them and was one of the last to leave.⁵

Here I will be concerned with:

Firstly, male sexual vulnerability: three kinds of relations with girls.

Secondly, violation, dance and vulnerability.

Thirdly, interpersonal relations.

Fourthly, public and private bodily contact.

Fifthly, scapegoating: an insulation device.

4.2 Three Kinds of Relations with Girls

In order to understand what is meant by female intimacy it is necessary to construct more precise terms so as to grasp how the boys conduct their relations with girls. We can do this through the elaboration of three different forms of contact, social relations, sexual relations and love relations; together these are to be understood as sources of vulnerabilities for the boffin boys. We can distinguish as follows:

Social Relations: this refers to how the boffin boys address girls in public, this includes inter boffin group relations, ritual and personal insults, forms of address and intellectual discussion through the "seminar form" in the classroom.

Sexual Relations: this refers to heterosexual relations with girls. The boffin boys divide this into, public bodily contact for example dancing, kissing and holding hands, and private bodily contact for example foreplay to sex.

Interpersonal/love Relations: this refers to the boffin boys' everyday relations with the boffin girls which can be divided into friendship relations which includes informal talk on school work, leisure issues and common pursuits and love relations which includes idealisation, romantic advances and caring.

Each of these relations with girls have rules regulating the appropriate sequence of behaviour for proper conduct. These rules allow us to identify and understand how vulnerabilities arise and to identify rules governing forms of violation with respect to sequence, form and contact.

4.3 Violation, Dance and Vulnerability

Pupils who begin a heterosexual relationship gain considerable formal and informal status, both inside and outside school. From within the pupil community, to establish

a relationship confers a degree of maturity on the partners, and functions to curtail the use of certain abusive sexual stereotypes which flourish in school (Blackman 1987). In a discussion, Gary is singled out by the others for his inappropriate mode of address to one of the boffin girls at the party.

BBQ8

Davey Yeah. I talked to Sarah about you, she goes you always go up there and take the micky or something.

Gary Yeah

James She said you are always saying nasty things. Yeah. She goes Howard was all right because he comes up and asked me to dance. I do not, something ...

Gary I went up to her and called her nasty things! [Denial SJB].

James YEAH

Davey No. That you always ...

James No. She said when ever Gary sees me, he is always saying nasty things about ...

Gary BULLSHIT I don't ever talk to her.

Davey Bullshit!

Gary I did not even talk to her. Honestly, all I said was ...

Davey No. It weren't just - was not just on Saturday night. She meant all the time.

Gary I'm never nasty to her.

James You are.

Gary The last time - I do not hardly talk to her. When you started talking about, you remember. I do not talk to her now unless she talks to you.

James It is probably because you were doing this [Body movement of sexual intercourse. SJB] when we were dancing.

Gary Well that is not taking the piss is it really, that is not being nasty to her.

Howard You should have seen him on the way home, right, because these two [Gary and James SJB] were having a go at each other.

We shall infer here a boffin boy rule to establish the first stage of bodily contact, the dance is recognition of public bodily contact. Not every dance will lead from public to private bodily contact but the possibility may be present. James explains that Howard obeyed the accepted rules of approach in his social contact, thus when he asked Sarah for a dance she accepted.

However, why does Gary receive a reprimand from the group? Firstly, the boffin boys suggest that Gary lacks skill in social contact with girls. They assert that he is inconsistent and from the girls' perspective he appears to act nastily. The boys maintain that this incident is merely the final instance of Gary's habitually inappropriate behaviour and it results in a violation of the rules of address.

James argues that when Gary asked Sarah for a dance he broke the rules of address because of his inappropriate social contact. The assertion is that Gary's desire to dance, that is for public bodily contact, became too dominant. Sarah disliked Gary's approach, she refuses him and he acts badly towards her. The inference is that Gary's behaviour is also similar to other girls, and it threatens the boffin boys' attempts to move from successful social contact to establish public bodily contact. They conclude that because Gary does not follow the rules of address in his social contact with girls, he will always be refused, which will exacerbate his abuse of girls.

Secondly, they now go on to argue that Gary's behaviour at the party was damaging to boffin boys. James claims that when he was dancing with Sarah, they both saw Gary make gestures of sexual intercourse. Here, Gary has not violated a rule of sequence himself, but through a fantasy display of private bodily contact his behaviour is inappropriate to James and

Sarah who are engaging only in public bodily contact.

The boys focus the discussion upon the reason why there was so little bodily contact at the party. James suggests that this was because so few couples were dancing together.

BBQ9

James Too much drink and not enough people dancing, because there was drink there.

Howard I think the drink was all right, you need some drink.

James But not so ...

Gary If it had been dry it would have been pathetic, would have been boring, all would, just sat around.

James Too many people were drinking not enough dancing that is the problem.

Gary Get sweaty and that, and start smelling.

James Oh! Oh!

Gary You do. You get all sweaty don't you.

SJB You had a deodorant or didn't you?

Gary Yeah. But you still get sweaty.

James who brings bodily information about girls into the group, argues that if more persons were dancing this would have increased the opportunities to establish bodily contact. The inference is that if a girl is dancing or standing by the dance floor it is easy to ask her for a dance rather than make oneself vulnerable by going directly to where the girls are sitting and drinking. For a boffin boy to enter the territorial space of an all-girl group could produce further vulnerabilities. In fact no boffin boy during the party did venture over to the all-girl corner to ask a girl to dance and only a few boys would risk taking over a message from another boy.

James is also critical of the amount of alcohol present which he assesses as an obstacle to dancing with a girl.

Howard disagrees and maintains that drink is a crucial agent in the development of smooth social contact with the girls. Gary suggests that without drink there would have been no social contact, possibly because the interpersonal contact might have been too open. He also asserts a deep fear, that if one dances there is the chance of increasing perspiration which heightens the male fear of rejection. If a boy smells, the girl will obviously reject him. Moreover, the girl might also tell other girls and possibly other boys which would totally humiliate the boy.

At the party the boffin boys tended to favour the security of drinking within an all-male group. I observed that the boys would dance in an all-male group for short periods of time, then return to drinking to summon enough courage to face asking a girl to dance or to be prepared for rejection.

James spells out his interpretation of the relation between dance, drink and bodily contact.

BBQ10

James There was so much drink, right, when a dance came up. Oh, I have started this can [of beer SJB] I will have to finish it. I am not going to leave that or somebody will pinch it I did not dance with Monica at the party, she did not dance with me. So nothing.

At the party, the three core boffin boys were gathered in one corner and were surrounded by other members of the group; Davey, Russ, Will, Nick and Paul. The male grouping possessed a supply of full beer cans, but when a boy danced with a girl, two of the more immature boffin boys would consume the beer left behind. This activity continued throughout the evening and James' remarks show that it clearly annoyed him.

The relation between drinking alcohol [beer] and masculinity is well documented (Plant 1979). Here, James specifies the problem of combining alcohol consumption with the willingness to dance. Clearly, in the all-male drinking group

there is security but if a boy dances he does not drink [image of masculinity] but if he drinks he will lose out on dancing [with a girl] if he becomes drunk.

The aim of the dance is public bodily contact. This does not necessarily mean that every dance could lead to further bodily contact such as a kiss, although James' terse remark "so nothing" suggests that his aim was to establish further bodily contact.

4.4 Inter-personal Relations

I shall now focus upon the boffin boys' interpersonal contact with girls. Primarily, I will deal with their relation to the love object, Monica, in an attempt to see how interpersonal contact is understood by the boys, how it affects their internal group relations, pedagogic practice and social mobility project.

James is the only boffin boy to have successfully sustained a relationship with a girl [for over eight months]. He is seen as being able to provide support and elaborate rules of how to engage, establish and maintain a steady relation with a girl. However, this is at the cost of introducing further sexual vulnerabilities into the boy group. They discuss the girls who are most attractive.

BBQ11

Gary I don't like many of the girls there [at the party. SJB] anyway.

James I like Madeleine, and I like Sarah and I like Mandy.

Gary Huh! Huh!

Howard Some of them really get stroppey.

Both Howard and Gary secure themselves firmly within the male group. Whereas, James mentions a minimum of three boffin girls who he would possibly like to go out with. James shows

he can cope with inter-personal vulnerabilities, whilst Howard and Gary perhaps prefer not to display any feelings that would reveal vulnerabilities. In general, the other boffin boys consider that James is too soft, too susceptible to romantic sway as they think he wants to fall in love. James is prepared for a relationship with a range of girls; and Gary regards James' many love aspirations as inappropriate to the boffin boys' concept of a single relation. He is not selecting his love, this means he is not in full control of his behaviour. The easy access James has in social contact with girls, could endanger the boffin boys' pedagogic unity and project. They question James to assess his reliability.

BBQ12

Howard Do you still fancy her James?

James No

Gary You DON'T [Denial to James. SJB]

James No

Howard YOU DO.

Howard and Gary refuse to accept James' word, he is not telling the truth. James has introduced further tension into the male group because they are uncertain whether they can trust him.

At the party James failed in his attempt to re-establish his love relation with Monica. His confidence in social contact with girls and experience of bodily contact were of no value. The group begin an inquest to understand why James was unsuccessful.

BBQ13

Howard I think that she is in just the same situation as you though, because you did not really know if you were going out with her, right, she thought that you weren't.

Gary She thought that you did not want to and you thought she did not want to.

James Yeah. All right. So I tried to make up to her at the party, right, I goes come on then let's have a dance. I said can I have the next one.

Howard Yeah. You asked me first, if you thought ...

James Can I have the next one. She goes I do not feel like dancing. Sat down. Davey came up, asked her and she got up, so I mean what am I supposed to gather from that.

Howard and Gary supply James with their interpretation of events but the tensions are not resolved. From the boys' perspective the correct approach and rules of address were employed but the girl's actions seem incomprehensible. Their unsuccessful social contact with girls is becoming exposed within the group. To combat their partially acknowledged rejection, the boys try again to resolve their apparent failure.

BBQ14

James No, I had every intention of trying her at the party but when she turned me down, and danced with Davey or you [the researcher.SJB].

Howard I think you left it too late in the evening because she's almost gone, you weren't sure because you said to me, was it you?

James I could not be bothered to though then...

Howard Do you think she would have danced with me?⁶

James Monica was partially, partially was, she was only drunk when she was dancing. Monica was only drunk when she was dancing with me.

All boys - Laughter -

James Everybody else she was serious with.

In BBQ13 and 14 they discuss their failure with girls at the discoe, and James and Howard weigh up the factors for or against Monica accepting the invitation to dance. The boffin boys' rational acceptance of the rules of social contact is disturbed by Monica's behaviour which they understand as irrational. James accuses Monica of operating a dual attitude

to dance through drink. James offers to dance with Monica, she pretends to be drunk and he is refused. Another person offers to dance with her, James asserts that she shows she is really sober for the invitation is accepted.

In the conversation James lets slip, that he did dance with Monica. He argues, that when she did dance with him she acted as drunk, therefore, he could not propose further bodily contact because this would not have been honourable. He stands by the rules of social conduct and does not attempt to take advantage of her by suggesting bodily contact. Meanwhile, both Howard and Gary attempt to repair the uncertainties [BBQ13/14] caused by Monica's action by considering possible excuses which weigh in their favour for example, "She's almost gone". The boys are beginning to close ranks in the group, James expresses a ritual insult to Monica and the boys conclude with laughter to emphasize that he took the right approach and that her behaviour was absurd.

Inside the group there is a growing acknowledgement of their failure to establish public bodily contact with girls, and even to achieve adequate social contact. The boys return to the discussion to seek a rational explanation for their failure.

BBQ15

James She kind of right ignored all week. Do not take any notice of this lot right.
[Giggling, funny noises, laughter and "wacky" expressions from other boffin boys. SJB]
I went round [her house SJB], she says I have got too much homework tonight, so I went home. And I thought if she has got too much homework tonight, you know, she might have it tomorrow night. So I am not going round.

Davey Might have what tomorrow night?

James OH, SHUT YOUR MOUTH, RIGHT.
And so, ur,ur,you Yeah.
Because she did not want to see me for the rest of the week. Well I went round on Wednesday and she said, oh, she has got too much homework. I mean Wednesday night. You can always leave it till next

week, the homework, you know.
If she is that enthusiastic she might as well stay
in for the night.

To retain dignity James publicly admits he has been rejected and he invokes a rational pedagogic argument to minimise vulnerability; competition of homework for Monica's time. The boys accept the priority of homework over social and personal relationship. Thus, if a girl had asked them to go out, they would have said the same thing, too much homework. The boffin boys' vulnerability is reduced and the assertion of pedagogic unity prevails over the establishment of a female relationship.

At the same time, some of the boys deride James because even though he has greater social contact with girls, he was unable to be more successful. Davey makes a ritual insult to James, which implies James' inability to move from a public to a private bodily contact. James spontaneously responds to Davey's "sound" as a personal insult and makes a verbal attack. This conflict and tension forces James to elucidate further and this time reveals the danger which the boffin boys possibly thought existed. Namely, to establish and to maintain a female relationship might prove harmful to their pedagogical practices. James is caught by this emotional statement. He is not consistent with their rules when he argues that Monica should push her homework to one side rather than refuse him, as he would do the same for her. By openly stating that homework should be ignored or delayed James is in direct opposition to the practices of the boffin boys.

4.5 Public and Private Bodily Contact

Here I hope to show that the boys have an ambiguous relation to sexual reality and fantasy.

To summarise, we have argued that Monica is considered a love object by the boffin boys. This causes tension in their management of interpersonal contact with her [or another love

object] in terms of either love or friendship. After many conversations with the boys I understood Monica to represent a contradiction to these boys between their present education and sexual state, and their future occupational and sexual state. Their problem was that she seemed to be their ideal partner, now in the present: this gave rise to difficulties in how they could resolve their ambiguities about her.

However, at the party Monica played a highly complex and subtle role as a rejector, which had in point of fact begun before the specific event. She used strategies which lessened the boffin boys' chance of establishing public bodily contact, first, talking and drinking within an all-girl context and space, and second, reducing her dance floor availability by dancing in an all-girl group, or dancing with only those boffin boys who would not propose private bodily contact.

I shall now deal with the boys' understanding of another boffin girl, Rose, who is considered a sexual object by the group. Here, in the conversation the boys inject fantasy about Rose to displace their failure in sexual reality with Monica.

BBQ16

James Anyone dance with Rose?

Paul There is only one person I know who danced with Rose.

James I danced with Rose. Did you dance with Rose?

Howard Yeah. Holding her up.

James Right. You have got to dance with this bird, and pulled along, arm out of a socket, you know. Okay then, did you kiss her?

Here, again it is James who makes explicit the sequencing rule of sexual intimacy, that is, public bodily contact - the dance, can lead to the next stage - the kiss. The fantasy is that the boys are being sexually dominated by the demands of a girl "you have got to dance" with this girl and you are "pulled along".

BBQ17

James Rose was getting off with everybody.

Howard I think she loves you (To James SJB)

SJB Did anybody kiss Rose?

Gary Oh I do not think so. Huh, I was not that far gone.

Both BBQ16 and 17 shows how they position Rose in both reality and fantasy, to suit their purpose of minimising their vulnerabilities with girls. Some of the boys begin to admit to dancing with her, they maintain she is sexually assertive but it is the boffin boys who are in control. James and I [in that order] attempt to draw out the real extent of the boffin boys bodily contact with Rose. In fantasy, their sequencing rule for private bodily contact was advanced because the boys when dancing with Rose had to hold her up, she was available for explicit public bodily contact "getting off with everyone". Howard introduces a further ambiguity within the group's assessment of Rose when he conflates bodily contact and interpersonal contact. Howard, states that Rose is in love with James, but James [and Howard] have already said that she is sexually wanton.

Three points can be made: firstly, the boffin boys fantasise that Rose is a sexual object, she is out of control and available for bodily contact, unlike Monica; secondly, the boys are unable to deal with this fantasy as a reality, as they cannot deal with the threat of a girl's overt sexuality. "Huh, I was not that far gone"; and thirdly, by fantasising Rose as a whore they can reject her and explain their relation to her in the reality of the party.

For the boffin boys Rose takes on an active role in their fantasy of formulating sexual relations.

BBQ18

Howard I was just saying she is really nice, and we all quite like her SOMETIMES!

- James No we. I hate her guts. BLOODY, putting on being drunk. What did she think, she was stimulating, you know, we are all going to be sexually madly in love with her, because she drinks.
- Howard Well, not exactly. I think she ...
- Gary I do not like her a lot.
- Howard I think that she needs to go out with someone myself.
- Davey Oh - Oh, well. Who is going to be the brave fellow?
- Howard She has been out with Francis.
- SJB Do you think that's what she needs?
- James She said, she did not fancy him but she went out with him.
- Howard Because I reckon that she would go out with anyone who asked her out.
- James She is desperate.

The boys' understanding of Rose's behaviour shows that there is an ambiguous relation between sexual reality and their fantasy about it: in reality Rose has not been out with a boy but through fantasy Rose is pictured as a "slag". It is only through fantasy that the boys can ground this view of female promiscuity because in reality she has not begun her sexual career.

James claim that Rose is "sexually madly in love", heightens the ambiguity within the group, because he conflates sex [private bodily contact] and love [interpersonal contact] a division which the boys created in order to reduce their vulnerability with girls. James goes on to suggest that Rose was using drink to establish public bodily contact, not only was her behaviour false i.e. pretending to be drunk when she was sober, but in reality the boys recognise that she threatens to break their sequencing rules. In fantasy the boys are seduced by their interpretation of her behaviour and this leads them on to fantasise how best they can service Rose's sexual demands.

Do the boffin boys break their own sequencing rules to establish bodily contact? This depends upon who they select for Rose, for example a non-member of the group, to displace the problem of her apparent and alleged sexuality on to another. They argue that she would go out with anyone, this allows the boffin boys to define her as a "slag" and reject her. At the same time this resolves their own insecurities.

From the boys' perspective, the two girls Rose and Monica create ambiguities of sexual reality and fantasy in their sequencing rules of public and private bodily contact. Firstly Rose's, action increase the boffin boys' uncertainties both about their sexuality and about the sequencing rules they have developed to cope with these. Secondly Monica, by using pedagogic practice [homework] as an excuse for sexually rejecting James makes the boffins uneasily aware of the tension involved in foregoing present pleasure for the sake of future career success. In this way the boffin boys' pedagogic unity and project are threatened.

4.6 Scapegoating: an insulation device

Girls are limited to two positions; a love object and a sex object. The fundamental problem for the boffin boys is their perceived failure with respect to both of these two positions and so how they relate to and understand girls.

What follows is an analysis of how the boffin boys try to escape the problem of their vulnerabilities by positioning a scapegoat to deal with what they were denied [Monica] and what they could not accept [Rose].

The boffin boys' group scapegoat is Paul, who appears to the boys as a small, rather weak and childlike boy in the upper ability band. Paul is a square boffin but he also maintains a marginal relation to the boffin boy group. He continually aspires to be one of the group but is largely unsuccessful because they take it in turns to ridicule and denigrate him. To a limited extent I thought Paul realised the function he

served for the group and thereby could regard himself as partially accepted within this status group at Marshlands.

In the discussion below the boys highlight the fact that Paul danced with the love object [Monica] more than any other boffin boy.

BBQ19

Howard Monica did not dance with me.

James Especially Paul, she danced five times with Paul.

Gary SIX. It was seven yesterday though.

Davey Randy little sod!

James Twice.

Howard Imagination works wonders doesn't it.

Gary He is telling us seven dances.

All boys - Laughter -
except Paul

James She had half a dozen with you [Davey SJB] and half a dozen with Cyril.

Davey Six, you know, counting eh.

Paul So it was seven. It was six definitely.

Paul perceived that at the party there was an opportunity for him by dancing with the love object Monica, to gain acceptance within the boffin boy group. Later, he also attempts to reinforce this by exaggerating the times he did dance with her.

The boys are negative to Paul, as it appears from his account of the party that he has been successful in establishing public bodily contact. In order to restore their esteem they humiliate Paul in two ways, firstly, he is insulted with sexual innuendo, "randy little sod", and secondly, the boys laugh at his impotence and marginality, because he did not follow their sequencing rules to gain private bodily contact.

After seven dances he gained not one kiss. Here we can infer that Paul regarded success in terms of the times he danced with Monica, not as a step in the boffin boys' sequencing rules to establish female intimacy. As a result of Monica spending most of the evening dancing with square boffins, the boffin boys are able to argue that Monica was unavailable for intimacy and therefore they can solve the problem of their rejection.

The boys appear to have successfully transferred their fear of rejection by the love object, on to Paul when they use him as a sexually impotent scapegoat, that is, he can not achieve intimacy. However, the problem still remains of how they can resolve their vulnerability with respect to their interpretation of Rose's behaviour as promiscuous, the sex object.

BBQ20

Howard [To Paul SJB] I think she is in love with you.

James She is really desperate.

Gary Like Paul. I think she fancies Paul.

Davey Yeah. I do, she kept looking at you.

The boys displace their earlier vulnerability in not being able to accept what they interpreted as Rose's availability, by the offer to set up Paul not in reality but in fantasy. Here, the boys do not break their sequencing rules in establishing bodily contact because they select a non-member of the group [BBQ 18].

During the informal moments of the school day I observed how they would frequently subject Paul to various insults to belittle his masculinity. The boys placed him outside their status group and defined him as sexually uninitiated. BBQ20 is one instance of how the boys exploit Paul so as to transfer their own failure to initiate bodily contact through fantasising Paul as an acknowledged virgin to meet their

fantasy of Rose as sexual wanton.

What effect did the boffin boys' ambiguous sexual reality and fantasy have upon Paul and Rose? In discussion Paul said he considered this was yet another form of "micky taking" he had to endure but it also meant he was almost inside the group as a centre piece of conversation. However, he did believe the boys' assessment of Rose's behaviour to be correct. Thus, through this fantasy he was able to join the group and resolve their collective group problem of sexual vulnerability. Rose was aware of the boffin boys' plans [see chapter 10 and 11] and understood their behaviour as rather nasty. The boffin girls assessed the boys' behaviour, in general, as "prattish" and immature, although they were unaware of the extent of the boffin boys' sexual fantasy.

The significance of this discussion is that it is an everyday feature of the boys' method of controlling relations inside and outside their group. Superficially, Rose identified the boys' plan for her and Paul to go out as a bad joke, but as we have proposed, this plan was an expression of the more general issue of the boffin boys' sexual vulnerabilities.

5. Conclusions

The chapter attempts an initial exploration of the boffin boys' class and sexual vulnerabilities and its relation to their pedagogic practice.

Wood (1984) notes that there have been few ethnographic studies on conformist male pupils in school, more particularly, there has been no exploration of the effects of the masculine identity of pro-school boy groups upon their school work and upon their relation to girl groups. In this study the boffin boys could be described as a potentially socially mobile group, located in the upper ability band of the school. Their acknowledged aim is educational success - the gaining of certificates. Through the realisation of their educational goals the boffin boys experience and attempt to resolve the

vulnerabilities of social class and sexuality, which can affect their pedagogic practice.

The boffin boys' unity is embodied and celebrated in their pedagogic instrumental solidarity. This allows these boys to enforce the correct type of approach to learning based upon a regulative framework, where rules are applied to indicate improper or inconsistent social class practices on the part of any boy. The boffin boy must respect the pedagogic project and its future objective if he wishes to retain the status of belonging to the group.

The boffin boys' movement away from working class images of masculinity, towards a more middle class masculine identity, based upon responsibility and individualism, supports the groups' perspective on social mobility. However, this movement is in opposition to their boffin boys' expressed decision to experience intimacy with girls.

The boffin boys encounter a variety of problems in trying to deal with and resolve their sexual and bodily vulnerabilities. First, pedagogy has priority over pleasure, school homework comes before the opportunity to go out and meet girls. The social dominance of school work serves to make the boffin boys' masculine identity more uneasy because of the importance they [and other male groups] attach to female intimacy which their studies preclude. Their middle class practice of deferred gratification supports their middle class form of masculinity which leads away from spending time or forming relations with girls. The boffin boys are the leading male students of the fifth year at the cost of their heterosexual relationships and understanding. This generates as we have seen significant problems for them. Accusations of inappropriate social class practices threaten the unity and mutual pedagogic assistance of the group, and are individually wounding. The conflict generated by giving future career priority over present pleasure is resolved by insisting that girls are secondary, but it is a resolution fraught with tension and contradiction. This gives rise to fantasies in

which love objects are split off from sex objects. The latter may be rejected and through such rejection their threat is neutralised. A group scapegoat is used to displace their own fears of inadequacy in meeting their fantasised sex object.

This chapter has tried to draw attention to the struggle of the boffin boys to control both their social class vulnerabilities and their male sexual vulnerabilities, as they pursue the middle class goal of educational success.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. James adopted the youth cultural style of the "rude boy", related in many aspects to both mod and skinhead styles.

Gary was a 'soul boy', interested in 'Black' music such as jazz, soul, motown, disco and electro.

2. Hat, one of the mod boys would occasionally challenge a boffin boy at tennis. Hat would win usually and this created unrest amongst the boffin boy group because the mod boys approach to recreation was that of anti-sport.
3. See chapter seven, section 4.
4. By appearing unsure whether the topless woman is on page two or page three, Howard distances himself from The Sun newspaper, making it clear that he is both unfamiliar with and uninterested in that paper.
5. This analysis is of pro-school pupils' out-of-school leisure activities; it attempts to show a close relationship between their pedagogic practice and their sexual vulnerabilities.
6. Howard thinks he may have missed an opportunity to dance with the love object Monica.

CHAPTER 8

BOFFIN GIRLS' CULTURE: Pedagogic Practice and Sexual Vulnerabilities

1. Introduction

The boffin girls were a pro-school pupil group, usually known by others as "conformists". However, the assumptions that conformity can be associated simply with academic achievement depends on the acceptance of the definition of the dominance of the deviant pupils. In chapter eight I shall compare and contrast the different styles of pupil deviance displayed by the boffin girls and the new wave girls.

This chapter is organised in four sections:

1. Boffin girl pupil friendship group: here I shall discuss the different sets of relations within the group and try to clarify how the internal group dynamics affect the girls' pedagogic successes and bodily vulnerabilities.
2. Boffin girls' work ethic: here I initially outline the principles of action of the girls' work ethic, choice, discipline and competition, to identify the rules which the girls use to maintain their future middle class status.
3. Official pedagogic practice: here I shall build upon the basis of the work ethic in order to describe more fully a possible model of conformist group relation and practice.
4. The boffin girls' structured pedagogic practice: here I am going to discuss these girls' interpretation of how they employ their particular pedagogic practice, the difficulties they encounter and the attitude they expect the teachers to have towards them. I will focus upon the girls' understanding of examinations as "ordinary", and present the girls' view of sexual discrimination within the curriculum. Finally, I show what the boffin girls understand as their weaknesses, and in particular their experience of sexual vulnerabilities.

The concern here will be to outline how the boffin girls' pedagogic practice is put into operation in the context of the school. I hope to show, that the boffin girls' relations, practices and communication work within a structured pedagogy which has three features, first, principles of action, second, a site of resources, and third, an outward display of academic status and style.

Participants: Mary, Rose, Kerry, Monica and Ellen.

Transcript : two recorded discussions with boffin girls.

Location : school careers office.

Arrangements: liaison with careers teacher, free period for boffin girls.

Context : discussion of recent shared experience with the boffin girls in leisure spaces and in the school/classroom.

1.1 Boffin girl friendship group

The membership, relations and description of the boffin girls was given in chapter two. Here I shall provide an interpretation of how relations are managed within the boffin girl group. There were thirteen girls in the overall boffin group, which was divided into three smaller groups, the core group of five and two other groups of four respectively. I choose to focus upon the core group of boffin girls because, unlike the two other groups, it did not suffer from fragmentation. The two other groups often consisted of pairs and girls who changed their friends (Meyenn 1980).

The core boffin girl group had been able to create a space within school which the members of the two other boffin girl groups could occupy. The creation by the core group of a territorial location in the fifth year made possible a social geography by means of which all other members of the boffin girl group could either be found or traced. Owing to its size the group was readily identifiable and could also provide sanctuary from sexist attacks by boys. This territorial space was often utilised by the marginal members of the boffin girl

group, in an attempt to gain acceptance into the group.

In terms of their friendship relations the boffin girls were far less competitive with regard to peer love, than the boffin boys. This was probably a result of the difference in the size of the group, and possibly also because of their different social class origin. The mixed social class nature of the boffin boy group [working class and lower middle class] meant that the boys were continually asserting their potential for educational success through display of appropriate class manners. In contrast, the middle class boffin girls not only belonged to the same social class but also importantly, regarded one another as intellectual equals. What was the relation of the boffin girl group to other groups of girls? They did not share one single space outside the school with the new wave girls, and rarely made contact within the school, other than on issues relating to school or homework. However, there was much resentment towards them from girls lower down the streaming system. Such bad feelings did not become explicit for two reasons, first, the girls in the top and bottom of the banding system rarely had an opportunity to meet and second, the lower streamed girls, who were largely working class, regarded the boffin girls as weak and feeble, "not worth the effort". The boffin girls' only close contact came from "low status" square boffin girls and marginal members of the boffin group, but as these girls were not their academic equals they tended to be ignored. The outcome of these relations with other girls was that the boffin girls had a relatively isolated and insular position within Marshlands Comprehensive. This situation did not prove too much of a problem for them as there were sufficient numbers in the group to provide friendship, they were able to maintain their position at the top of the pupil hierarchy.

There was a general pattern of peer love relations within the boffin girl group, where friendly contact was always possible. There were of course arguments, disagreements and quarrels which took a considerable amount of time to manage, but hostility between boffin girls was very rare. There were

certain girls who were the objects of peer love and courted for a period of time but favoured friends would always spend time within the core group. The major factor which sustained this pupil friendship group was the fact that the girls were academic equals in the upper ability band.

The boffin girls' recognised aim was to achieve formal qualifications, and all the girls were prepared to sacrifice pleasure to ensure pedagogic success. The girls' explicit marker of deferred gratification was their special parties to celebrate passes of 'O'level examinations. When a boffin girl was successful in taking an examination early, the group would organise a party.¹ Here, we can see that the boffin girls have clear rules which not only divide work from pleasure, but prescribe that success at school should be rewarded by pleasure outside school.

There were no divisions inside the group arising from educational aims, about which there was a consensus. The basis of division within the pupil friendship group was their acknowledged weakness, that is their sexual vulnerability. This refers to their lack of information and experience in heterosexual relations. This division within the female friendship group was based on arbitrary judgements of other girls concerning their physical maturity and attractiveness.

The common phrase used by the boffin girls to refer to this internal division was "she is more mature" or "she is more immature". Information, news, stories, jokes and gossip on bodily and sexual issues were high status within the female group and this information appeared to be divided into either "body" or "rumour" news. The operation of the division meant that only those girls assessed as mature would receive body and rumour news, whilst boffin girls understood to be immature would have access only to rumour news.

It only became apparent that the internal division was significant after, first, the boffin girls discussed their problem of bodily vulnerability, and second, after closer field

relations were built up with them and I could observe the girls during their limited leisure time and see them in contact with the boffin boys outside the school.

An important difference between the boffin girl and boy groups was that within the girl group there existed an internal group, cutting across the three groupings of boffin girls, called the "Hippie" group. Only these particular boffin girls actually proclaimed themselves to be hippies, although many of their ideas and interests resonated throughout other members of the group. The girls within the hippie group were concerned with hippie clothes, music and ideas, in particular the development of consciousness on issues such as peace and love, nature, animals, nuclear power and weapons. The musical artists the hippie group preferred were largely pre-punk; this shows that the records had been made when they were either infants or children. The remaining boffin girls preferred music which was largely "top forty" in origin.

There were no internal group hostilities towards those girls who claimed to be hippies, even from the two boffin girls who were style singletons. Rose was a rockabilly rebel and Donna was a modette. Neither the hippie group members nor the two style singletons infringed the collective identity of the boffin girls as the school's pedagogic elite. There was a large grouping of rockabilly boys in the fifth year although Rose was the only female to take up this style.² The male rockabilly group was fragmented as its members were placed in different locations across the streaming system. Rockabillys who were in the remedial forms carried the burden of their stigma. The label of being unintelligent was however successfully applied to all other pupils of this style. Status and intelligence were associated with being a mod because all mod boys were in the upper/middle ability bands. A consequence of Rose's adoption of a youth cultural style was that she had to constantly assert her ability because of the power of the label rockabilly within the pupil community. Throughout the chapter Rose demonstrates her capacity to see both sides of different arguments and to take a more egalitarian perspective.

2. Boffin girls' work ethic

In a discussion on jobs in the local labour market and school examinations the girls display their pedagogic expertise and middle class values.

BGQ1

Rose Higher your qualifications better chance you have got of getting a job.

Kerry And what area you want to work in.

Rose Depends because I mean I know some people. My dad does interviews down the power station. He said some people with degrees have been on the dole for two years or more. But that is only because they, a lot of people do try to get higher jobs than they should and it depends generally on what you want to go into. Because a lot of people think I want to do this job, go and get a degree and then there are not any jobs for it. And because they have got the degree they will not go for lower jobs. The more qualifications you have got the best chance of a job. I mean around here, if you have got no qualifications, I would say you would probably get a job, but not the sort - probably would in the end.

Monica Would be! This area!

Rose You would probably get a job as a farm labourer or something, but I would not class that as a good job.

Kerry It is not good money.

Rose It is not good money that is what I mean. But you have to have qualifications.

SJB What do you think of the people who don't want to do any exams, they just want to get out.

Ellen STUPID

Rose I think it is stupid. But it is their choice is it not. It is their choice.

Kerry They have made their choice, that they are not going to do any exams, so they are going to leave school. So they probably will not be able to get a job, they will be walking into the state. And so they are affecting everyone because they are going to have to support them later on.

It is their choice not to do any exams but they will sort of say, "Well I don't want to do any exams, so

I'm just gonna depend on the state". And you have to support them.

Here we can begin to see aspects of the boffin girls work ethic, especially in relation to one of their principles of action, choice. In the following discussion they elaborate their social class based distinctions, in terms of education as a preparation for mental and manual labour.

BGQ2

Rose I think everybody is given the same chance in life. I mean we all go to school, we all go to, you know, we all get the chance of a long education. You have got some people can do manual labour and some people at the top inventing things or running the country.

Mary That is the principle though, everyone does, sort of their best.

Rose Yeah I know but somebody who is just lifting things and putting them in one place, you cannot give them as much money as some people who are really using their brain, really thinking and taxing themselves.

Mary You could say that people were taxing themselves doing manual labour, just as much as mental.

Rose You could, but you have got to have some rules.

Mary Some people have to be more equal than others.

Rose I mean those people who are running the country got a heck of a lot more responsibility, do you know what I mean.

Mary Yeah.
I mean people are always saying that there is not any class distinctions now a days.
You do not have the upper crust.

Ellen You do.

Mary You do and you have to.

Rose But some people work hard and get their money. I think good luck to them. But some people just inherit it and that and I do not.
I suppose I am jealous. But you know, I do not like things like that where people have got all the money.

Mary But the thing is now a days a lot of the sort of class discrimination - is intelligence, as well because we

are in the upper band and top class and we are doing 'O' levels and things like that. Other people tend to think we are snobs just because we are clever.

In BGQ1, the girls discuss future types and chances of employment in terms of status, money and qualifications. In BGQ2, they speak of social class divisions in education and work through an analysis of opposition, for example, mental/manual or meritocracy/inheritance. Here it is possible to identify what we shall call the boffin girls' work ethic, that is, their three principles of action: choice, competition and discipline, which the girls apply in learning environments inside and outside the school. These explicit rules of learning are applied by the girls not only to their own approach, attitude and ability in school but also to their assessment of other pupils. I shall now briefly specify the elements of the boffin girls' work ethic, with respect to BGQ1 and BGQ2.

First, in terms of choice, we can see that the girls regard it as the right of every individual; they suggest that pupils should have the right to choose whether or not to take an examination. The school seems to be understood as a site of resources to gain qualifications, where pupils have an equal opportunity to learn. The boffin girls perceive school as a neutral institution. As Rose states, "We all get the chance of a long education" or are "Given the same chance in life". For them the combination of being middle class and also the school's top pupils, has made them somewhat blind to their own advantages, when they assess how rational their decisions are in contrast to other pupils without such advantages. They maintain that working hard in school to achieve success is a rational decision based upon choice which is equally available to all.

Second, in terms of discipline the boffin girls throughout the fieldwork expressed the view that to pass examinations one requires self discipline; this results in more qualifications,

hence increased opportunities. The girls understand the operation of the labour market as being responsive to their acknowledged ability, because they already possess qualifications, they will earn more. They believe that their disciplined approach to school subjects will create parallel results and opportunities when they enter the labour market. The points mentioned by Rose [at the beginning of BGQ1] concerning the type of degree and work available, reveal that the girls' principles of action are subtle and sensitive to potential change. They state that qualifications are central to finding good jobs, with good money and responsibility. Those pupils who do not want to take examinations are assessed as being "stupid". Such pupils are also considered as not accepting responsibility for their actions. Kerry points out that ultimately such persons will be supported by social services. The two conversations [BGQ1 and BGQ2] show the strength of the influence of order and rules on the boffin girls' behaviour; it is within this regulative framework that the girls learn.

Third, with respect to competition the boffin girls celebrate their pedagogic achievement of passing school examinations. They identify the world of work and the world of school through two different models, first, in terms of the mental manual labour division, and second, in terms of the two systems of meritocracy and inheritance.

In the world of work the girls give higher status to mental labour with its responsibility and high wages, than to manual labour with its skilled basis of "just lifting things". They argue that mental labour should receive more rewards than manual labour. But their liberal principle of choice creates a momentary opposition between equality and competition when Mary suggest equality of the two types of labour. They are caught within the classic sociological division between achievement and ascription. They support the notion of mental labour, because of their position in the school pupil hierarchy but they cannot accept a system of inequality which may operate against the criterion of intellect Rose and Mary argue that

elites in society are acceptable only if they owe their position to the rules of competition and hard work which permit those with most mental capacity to be at the top. During the discussion I noticed that all the boffin girls smile and nod in agreement with Mary's assessment as she successfully transfers the model of work, mental labour and meritocracy to the world of school. Here, the elite in the fifth year of secondary school is the boffin girl group, who assert that they owe their dominant position not to wealth or social class but to their intelligence and work ethic.

3. Official pedagogic practice

3.1 A model of conformist group relations

This section will attempt to draw on the principles of action outlined earlier and to elaborate the boffin girls' site of resources, that is, their official pedagogic practices which we shall see is of a classic seminar form. Here I shall briefly summarise the theoretical formulation which will be developed in this chapter, and in a later chapter, which compares and contrasts the two female groups: boffin girls and new wave girls.

The boffin girls' within-group relations can be described as a site of celebration, resource and exploration of the structured pedagogic principles [SPP] of the school supported by the class position of their families. Their [SPP] condenses into a work ethic whose essential components are individual choice, competition and discipline, and it is this ethic which is both dominant and dominates these girls' practices. However, as we shall see, this ethic is both the condition of their resentful subordination to their family and their subordination to teachers yet the conditions for their release from both. We can summarise diagrammatically the boffin girls' group practice as follows:

Figure 1 Model of Conformist Behaviour

1. Principles of Action
choice discipline competition
 (Work Ethic)
2. Pedagogic Practice
 seminar form
 (Resource Site)
3. Style
 Pedagogic promenade
 (Status Display)

During the fieldwork there arose many opportunities for discussion with the boffin girls because a number of them possessed free periods; a consequence of their passing examinations and completing courses early. Below is an example of a type of issue frequently discussed. It illustrates how the boffin girls employ a classic seminar form in this discussion of nuclear weapons.

BGQ3

- Kerry The thing is people only have got to use nuclear weapons now because they are frightened that everyone has got nuclear weapons, so we have got to keep up otherwise, everyone's going to come in and invade.
- Monica Take advantage of us, it's stupid because no one will come off best.
- Kerry Say if you get rid of them, perhaps say England gets rid of its weapons then what about other countries who haven't got many weapons and they are frightened, really, they have only got these weapons. Because America's got some, Russia's got some and then they think ah they are not frightened so neither are we, we will get rid of ours and then if people invade us then, it's like shooting a sitting duck or whatever.
- Rose Yeah but if you got them, Russia and America and may be China are never going to disarm themselves. And if you have got everybody with them, they will not attack anybody because they know automatically they will come off worst.
So, I do not think you should need the balance but it is what has happened.

- Kerry I mean look what America did in the last war, they dropped those two bombs on Japan. They gave no warning what so ever. The effects, people are still dying now because of that.
- Rose Yeah.
But I read somewhere that if they realised what would have happened years later they would not have done it. But they were the only ones with nuclear bombs then anyway. Now everybody has got them.
- Ellen That caused everybody to get them I should think.
- Monica Yeah.
- Rose Well, anyway, right, they would have found out sometime. Would find out in the next few years if they have not been a war anyway. But if everybody has got them people think twice about it.
- SJB Do you think it's right for the Conservative government to have these defence policies which a lot of people are against.
- Kerry I don't think we should, sort of have, housing American missiles in this country.
- Rose No.
- Kerry Then that means that America and Russia are going to fight their war in England, which is wrong. Okay, so we are part of NATO but if they are just going to plant all their weapons here, so we, you know, America or Russia whatever can attack here.
If they do attack, then we are going to come off worst.
- Ellen They are spending all this money on weapons and that and yet look at the number of unemployed and everything.
- Rose Yeah.
- Ellen And they keep putting more money into defence, surely we have got enough defence.
- Rose They are cutting everything else but they are putting more money, you know.
- Monica In a few years everything's going to be so depressing.
- Ellen It is not worth having a defence if you have got nobody employed in the country.
- Kerry Yeah.
But on the other hand, then you are going to come in and say you can get someone invading you. If you have

got no defence what so ever, someone is going to come in and invade you, like we all turn communist or something.

Rose The thing is, I don't think if Russia did invade England, Britain. It wouldn't make any difference. I don't think whether we had America's nuclear bombs or not, because Russia are just against all capitalist countries or non-communist or socialist countries.

Kerry Yeah.
But I am not talking, about nuclear weapons, just talking about Western relations I mean look if we hadn't had those weapons before in the last war we would probably be under Hitler or someone.

Rose Yeah.

The discussion on nuclear weapons shows that the boffin girls' seminar form is a site for display and articulation of different and contending arguments. They present their pedagogic competence to talk on a complex and highly emotional subject. The number of arguments and counter arguments raised were:

1. Escalation of arms supply and fear of unilateralism.
2. Nuclear balance; every country has the bomb as a deterrent against its use.
3. The only time the bomb was used in warfare was by America on Japan.
4. Housing American warheads in Britain.
5. The problem of being in NATO.
6. The controversial issue of a restricted nuclear war. Where would it be fought?
7. The defence policy is linked to the crisis in the British economy, namely unemployment.
8. Invasions is noted.
9. The two different types of ideology behind the super powers are contrasted.
10. Nuclear weapons are considered as one aspect of Western relations.
11. The second world war shows that it is possible to maintain security by the use of conventional weapons.

In the interpretation of the boffin girls' practices as a seminar form we can identify that the girls are not attempting simply to demonstrate a convincing argument for or against nuclear disarmament. If there is a priority, it is to show that they can articulate the different and opposing arguments rather than merely asserting their individual opinions. What is important is not so much the contents of the argument but its structure and complexity.

The seminar form is a site of available strategies and resources where the girls can rise above the grubbiness of personal assertions, and enter into debate on important issues. Throughout the fieldwork I took part in and observed many instances of the boffin girls' official pedagogic practice in action. The subject under discussion would vary but the seminar form would remain the same; arguments for and arguments against to show the differences within and between competing opinions.

An important feature of the seminar form is that the girls' personal opinion has a tendency to become displaced by the assessment of argument and counter argument. The operation of this official pedagogic practice permits the girls to stand back from the subjectivity of their response to the issues involved and from the necessity to formulate their own opinion on these matters. The seminar form allows for discussion on important problems to which they can contribute within the safety of their pedagogic competence. They can remove themselves from the vulgarity of personal statements and instead display their ability. The seminar form operates by articulating the grounds for and in so doing creates the boffin girls' pedagogic promenade, that is display of status, style and speech. In general, the boffin girls have accepted the ideological message of pedagogy i.e. the appearance of neutrality, and it is upon this basis that they display their pedagogic competence.

3.2 Pedagogic promenade

The boffin girls' pedagogic promenade is the highest form of their official pedagogic practice. The seminar form is the basic relay for the promenade but before it can occur the girls set a high standard on contribution, in fact, it represents a rehearsal for the examination room. During the pedagogic promenade, the simple statement of an opinion would operate against its logic, which is to display the articulation of different, oppositional and contradictory levels of argument. The structural format of this display of competence, style and status means that priority is given to the abstract level of argument.

The rule is to support each side and try to resolve the problem by suggesting a possible balance. The girls remove themselves from assertion of an opinion and concentrate upon the validity of one scheme against another.

This boffin girls' pedagogic promenade begins with the topic of competition within capitalism.

BGQ4.

Rose No, the nationalised industries are [running the country down. SJB] because people don't tend to work so hard as much because there is not so much...

Kerry Output.

Rose There is no competition.

Kerry Because they have got the Government to support them...

Rose No. Competition, so they do not need...

Mary I think we ought to have a certain amount of each though, don't you.

Rose No. But I mean, perhaps we have a lot of nationalised industries, there's rail, the coal board is nationalised...

Kerry British Leyland is...

- Rose British Leyland is a nationalised company. But I mean a lot of firms, more than half the people...
- Kerry There is no incentive now because, you know that if you do not make a profit, then, you are going to get the money anyway.
- Rose Yeah.
 If they didn't know.
 If they [the workers SJB] know that they have not got any competition, they think we are the only ones in this country making this; so we don't need to work as hard because they are the leaders.
 But if they had competition, they would work hard, people would work harder. Because they'd think well this firm next door is making the same thing and if we make twice as much as them, well it is better, we are going to sell more if we are going to keep our jobs.
- Kerry Apart from that if you are not nationalised you have got to work and you have got to make a profit to keep the company there.
- Rose But when you have got say, like British Leyland, I mean they would have been much better just keeping their companies on their own. Because you would have competition, a lot more competition.
- SJB Why do you think competition is better?
- Ellen Because they are going to say if we are nationalised, they are going to need, the country needs us. And if we want more money we will go on strike, we have got to pay it because we are all depending on it.
 So they are more likely to go on strike, if they are nationalised.
- Rose But the thing is it depends, because you can't have ur. If you have too much nationalisation people do not work. If you have got too much private industry then the owners get the upper hand because they know that people have to work to survive. Therefore, the bosses just exploit them. They do not pay, much money and things; you have got to...
- Mary Have a balance.
- Rose I mean not all the time but sometimes I think unions are right to strike because some people are poorly paid. And they are right.
 But some people are not prepared and say no we can't afford to strike we have to go back to work, we need the money. But then when it comes to the union pay, they expect to get the pay as well which I don't think is right.

- Mary I think sometimes when companies sort of go on strike for a reason, it is a good reason. And then other people think oh well they got away with going on strike. And then they go on strike, just simply to say they want the pay rise that they don't really need. So I think there are too many people who are trying to cash in on the Government through strikes and things. It is not doing any good at all to those people who really need it.
- Rose I think when Labour was in Government, they suggested that wage increases of 5% or 6%, and the Tories had a right go at them. Now the Tories are in they are suggesting wage increases of 5% or 6% and Labour...
- Kerry But the thing is to pay for the extra wages that everyone is paying out to the Government. They have got to rise the taxes or the prices or something to get more revenue to pay the excessive wages. That is a vicious circle.
- Mary The Government are cutting back and people are complaining about it. It is better than borrowing more.
- Rose Yeah.
That is what I am saying Government's, just sort of, they do the same thing if they are in power. But both of them are sort of contradicting each other. Whatever they, they have said it once, they have done it, they have tried to do it themselves. But when the other wants to do it, they just say no, you should not.
It is all wrong.
- SJB Do you think that is the main problem?
- Rose They do tend to run each other down rather than...
- Mary What we just said about industry, there has got to be competition I think there has got to be competition in Government as well.
- Kerry Only at the moment I think they should get together.
- Rose No you are never going to get them working together, because they have got no, they have got different ideals.
- Kerry Yeah.
But at the moment they are just, they are working for themselves. I don't think either of them are really working for the country. They are trying to get one up on the other, using the country as a, ur. Apart from that, you cannot deal with the situation, what is it four years you get in power usually isn't it.

You cannot deal with the situation if it is pretty bad in four years because then say the Government is going to be changed, and if you are left you are going to go over to the right.

You are going to use a totally different set of ideas and methods and it is just not going to do anything, it is only going to make it worse.

Rose That's just it because I mean Labour get in, but I'm not saying I'm Labour but I'm not Tory. I mean if they had carried on Labour could have probably got us out of this recession. But then if you leave the Tories, they probably could as well.

Mary Whatever one is in, they will use their own method.

Rose If they are left for a long enough time they will get you out, both of them.

Mary But the thing is people get upset about all the cut backs and everything, which ever Government is in power, that people will vote the other way to stop them doing it.

Rose I mean I don't think the Tories did better or any worse than the Labour Government.

Mary They are just doing it their own way.

Rose Yeah.

Mary I don't think that really we know until it has sort of worked.

Kerry I mean like France they have got seven years with their President don't they, which is better, that's if it is a good President.

Mary But if it is a bad one, I don't know, that's ...

Rose But the thing is in this country if there is a pretty bad Government they do tend to sort of get a lot of stick and they do get out earlier.

Kerry That is, because it is a democracy.

The pedagogic promenade is hesitant at first but once the girls move into their display of status and style the strategy of argument and counter argument becomes increasingly complex. They construct a discussion through competitive contributions by building up assertions and perhaps also bringing in other relevant issues to widen the debate.

First, I shall identify the four arguments, counter arguments and the proposed balance and second, I will make an interpretation of the boffin girls' pedagogic promenade:

The first argument is that workers in nationalised industries have little incentive to work hard because there is a lack of competition. The first counter argument put forward is that private industry exploits workers by paying low wages because employers know that the workers have to sell their labour to survive.

The first balance is that there should be a combination of each type of industry, public and private sectors.

The second argument is that employees strike because their wages are below subsistence, inadequate pay forces the worker to take industrial action.

The second counter argument put forward is that other employees strike for wage rises which they do not require as they are not poor.

The second balance is that the Government deals with pay increases through taxation, it is a "vicious circle", nobody wins.

The third argument is that Labour and Conservative Governments have different, if not oppositional methods, ideals and policies.

The third counter argument put forward is that whatever Government is in power, it is only interested in retaining power, not in the people who voted for it.

The third balance is that possibly the different political parties could work together or Mary's proposal of introducing "competition into government".

The fourth argument is that whichever political party is in

government it could overcome the problems of the economic recession.

The fourth counter argument put forward is that the Government's time in office is not long enough for its policies to have an effect.

The fourth balance is that at an election the population can vote for or against the Government because Britain is a democratic society.

This pedagogic promenade displays the boffin girls' underlying competence. From their perspective they have presented the factors involved, giving more significance to the development of the argument and its structure than to the content or personal experience. It was only as a result of extensive fieldwork with the boffin girls both within the formal and informal spaces of the school, and outside the school, that I realised that the pedagogic promenade was a general model of analysis applied by the girls and could be readily activated. In general, the same structure is employed time and time again by any number of the boffin girls as markers of their position.

If we look at the pedagogic promenade from another angle we could suggest that it is of the same form as an examination essay. The candidate does not give a personal opinion but writes about the issues and problems relating to the question from a number of accepted different sides. In BGQ3 and BGQ4, the girls distance themselves from the arguments under discussion through their position in pedagogy; personal feelings are not relevant. The neutrality of discourse has priority, they acceptance and application of the ideology of pedagogy shows that their assessment of an issue is both rational and ordered.

The pedagogic promenade is the high point in the display of the boffin girls' competence but it also shows that the girls are dominated by a pedagogic form. This is the

intellectual relation which they have acquired from their parents, from the school and from their peer group (Delamont 1983). The outcome of this intellectual relation is that the boffin girls are subordinate to pedagogy. These points will receive attention in the following section.

4. The boffin girls' pedagogic control

4.1 A self generating practice

I shall now examine certain features of the boffin girls' structured pedagogy, in an attempt to show how the girls are dominant in, and dominated by school processes. The essential proposition will be twofold, firstly, the girls are subordinated to pedagogy, and secondly, their pedagogic practice is also a self generating form by means of which the girls process any subject and articulate its relation and meaning.

We shall give here an example of how the girls deal with what they consider to be a bad teacher. This will throw light on their work ethic and their independence of the teacher. In what follows a teacher is not employing in the classroom the structured pedagogy which the girls demand.

BGQ5

Rose I think English, I mean if the teacher is bad I mean I am not saying it does not make a difference. But it doesn't make as much difference as with a lot of subjects.

Kerry You don't need to understand it.

Rose You don't need to understand it. It is the sciences mainly that...

Ellen And Maths.

Rose Maths is a science. Yuk! It is a science. I mean some arts subjects, I think Sociology, you need some understanding don't you or is it all learning. A lot the arts subjects are just learning and even if a teacher cannot teach you, you can get a book and sit down and learn it, you could pass.

Kerry Just churn it out in the exam.

Rose Yeah, because if you are brainy enough to do 'O' levels anyway, you could pass. I am not saying, you could get and A or B but you would pass the 'O' level. But the sciences I think the teacher has to be able to get it over to you because you have to understand it. That is it, in sciences the teachers are not very good, they tend to be not that good teachers.

The girls are confident of their ability to learn and understand any school subject, to pass examinations and gain certificates. They here display distributive rules of learning, they make a division between the arts and the science subjects which require different pupil strategies. They say that pupils require a teacher, in order to understand science subjects, whereas pupils do not have to rely on the teacher in arts subjects because these can be learned, for exam purposes, without being understood. The girls assert that as a result of this, individuals can learn arts subjects by teaching themselves assuming that the pupil is "brainy enough to do 'O' levels anyway". In science subjects this strategy of self teaching becomes an essential aid to pass the examinations, owing to the more difficult nature of science and the increased likelihood of teachers not being able to teach it well. This is a clear example of the strength of their work ethic; through its principles of action the girls maintain that it is possible to pass examinations without teachers.

They go on to discuss further the issues of understanding science, in relation to their work ethic and teachers.

BGQ6

Rose Well I had two Physics teachers which I did not think were very good. Because we were in the third year. All the time we thought may be. I thought well, may be it is just because I didn't work hard enough and I did, but. I mean I did sort of work. I thought well may be it was me, that I wasn't working hard enough. And when I got into the fourth year I didn't work as hard as I did in the third year, and I got much better marks. My marks were twice as good weren't they Kerry.

- Kerry Yes.
- Rose My marks were twice as good and I didn't. Now in the fifth year my marks in Physics, I know all my third and fourth year work because we did a lot with Mr. Poplar. He went over the third year and fourth year work, so we did that. It is our fifth year work, which, you know...
- Kerry They are more difficult topics and we have got a lousy teacher, so it makes it...
- Ellen With Mr. Tall though, you think I came top in the last fungus test. I got about fifty in the exam.
- Rose Yeah. But we were in B group.
- Kerry Fifty six or something.
- Rose We were in B group and this was out of the whole top band, and our highest was about fifty or just above.
- Ellen And we went up.
- Rose And we should have been getting in the sixties and may be a few in the seventies.
- Ellen Yeah. You notice when I went up I immediately got sixty odd in the next exam and you think that is just one teacher for a few weeks.

The girls are attempting to understand how the application of their work ethic relates to the differing quality of teachers, and also to their movement from the third to the fifth year to become the top pupils. Both Rose and Ellen seem slightly unsure about how far they had to employ their work ethic. First Rose: she considers that a better teacher, and her location in the top class influenced and improved her grades but also she casts doubt in her conclusion by arguing that she did not work as hard. However, Rose reasserts her confidence in the argument concerning membership in the top class and states that the upper band pupil on show should achieve the highest grades. Second Ellen: in terms of membership of the upper band she suggests that the streaming system has more effect on exam results than that of pupil's ability. She argues, that she achieved the highest mark for an examination while in the second from top class. Once she moved into the top class her grades became higher still, even

within a matter of weeks. The argument is that the lower down the streaming system the individual pupil is placed the less is the opportunity to gain a high mark. However, although Ellen signals her ability to be a boffin she also shows she is able to challenge the school grading system, which did not place her in the upper band at the outset.

The boffin girls have identified a number of factors which contribute to the consolidation of their status in school, although they appear uncertain as to whether one single factor is of greater significance. Three determinant points are put forward, first, to be taught by a teacher of acknowledged merit, second, application of their work ethic, and finally, movement into the top class ensures overall higher grades.

4.2 Subordination and recognition

This section will concentrate upon the boffin girls' perspective on teachers, with special attention given to the manner in which the girls are subordinate to pedagogic demands. However, I shall also focus upon their demand for an adult teacher-pupil reciprocal interaction.

The boffin girls maintain that where reciprocal relations are not developed between teacher and taught, there will be no space for potential praise and reward, and this will result in a less effective educational setting.

BGQ7

Rose I was saying some of the teachers cannot get it over to the pupil Now we have got another teacher because the other one left.
He is no good, he's good at his subject but he just cannot get it over to the class because he sort of...

Kerry He just goes on, if you ask him to explain something he will explain it a different way.

Rose He goes on and on, on, he spends about fifteen minutes on something that would take a couple of minutes. He just goes on and on. A lot of the teachers are a bit like that, they rabbit on and just go over everything two or three [times SJB].

The girls are critical of certain teachers' methods, particularly those who do not follow the girls' explicit rules of learning. Such teachers are seen by the girls as not developing a reciprocal relation in classroom teaching. The teacher wastes precious time first, by the explanation of a problem in a number of different ways [the implication is that they initially understood it], and second, the teacher who speaks for too long is breaking the rules of teacher-pupil interaction. In this sense, the boffin girls perhaps have a rather inflexible approach to learning. Consequently, where they do not receive the appropriate method of teaching they may become disruptive. [See chapter 10] During classroom observation of the boffin girls it was possible to see a number of different strategies which they would employ to manoeuvre the teacher back to structured learning. First, the girls would move on to the next section themselves, second, they would ask questions about what was coming up in the future and finally they would start to display deviant behaviour and wait for the teacher to notice that they were not paying attention.

However, they were prepared to accept that teachers cannot always make the lesson interesting and that they may have to learn boring facts.

BGQ8

Kerry The teacher can't always make it interesting because you have got to do what is on the curriculum. And if that is boring well that is tough. It is just the way the teacher teaches it that makes it interesting. It is up to them. But you can't do interesting subjects if the class finds one bit interesting you just cannot do that all the time, because you have got to do the other stuff.

Kerry argues that her interest in a subject and the learning of the subject, do not always coincide. She shows total acceptance of the school's structured pedagogy. In general, for the boffin girls pedagogy comes before pleasure, to the extent that Kerry suggests it is up to the teacher to make the subject enjoyable.

Superficially, their acceptance of the structure of schooling appears to be almost one-sided, the school system dictates to the girls. But at a deep level, their acceptance of the school structure is based upon the spaces it gives for their acknowledged status and skill to be won and celebrated. The girls are able to position themselves as observers and assess the structure of schooling in a manner not available to most pupils.

Their approach to education demands that the teachers conform to their needs as the school's top examinees.

BGQ9

Rose The teachers should be strict, you have to give your homework in, you have to do this.

Kerry A lot of teachers say well it's your exam, if you don't do the homework. Then that's your hard cheese, you do not get a good mark "It is nothing to do with me." But that's not the attitude they should take. Because they are teachers, they are trying to get you through the exam with a good mark.
Yeah, it is up to them.
It is up to the kid as well to do the work on time because they should think, well it is my examination.

The girls emphasize that it is encouragement rather than direction that is needed from teachers, although Kerry does suggest that it is also the pupil's choice to complete the work. At times it seems that the girls are subservient to the teachers but the girls also demand a relationship based upon equality.

BGQ10

Rose Some of the teachers treat you like adults, don't they...

Kerry You have to be able to relate to the teacher because you have got to respect a teacher as well.

Rose They teach you, Mr. Willis teaches you as an adult doesn't he.

Kerry Yeah

Rose As equals because you know, you have got lessons, lessons comes first but if you have finished it or you have finished the experiment. They talk to you about other things, it is not just all lessons you know, your subject all the time. But other teachers, they sort of look down on you, they teach you as children rather than as equals.

Kerry Other teachers are good, Mr. Willis, if you have got break or something, you finish an experiment and other people have not. He will come up and say did you watch such and such on telly last night. They have got a relationship with kids outside the lesson as well as inside it.

Rose and Kerry analyse the processes of their own classroom relations and make a number of important observations.

It is clear that pro-school pupils like the boffin girls do not simply conform to the school values and norms: "It's not just your subject all the time." The girls use their ability to win time in the lesson which gives them status as achievers. Then they use this time to gain further status as adults by engaging in conversation with teachers on equal terms about matters unrelated to school, for example television programmes.

They use their intellectual position in the school to create a social relation within classroom time. The girls expect the teacher to contribute as much as they are willing to do, whereby the girls are given a reward for their performance by the creation of an adult relationship with the teacher inside and outside the classroom.

Where the boffin girls' pre-conditions of effective teaching are not met they increase their application. Teachers who do not offer an adult relation and who treat the girls like children do not receive full cooperation from the school's top examinees. For example during my classroom observation of one History lesson the teacher continually refused to acknowledge the girls' demands for an equal/adult pedagogic relation. To cite another lesson, one of the boffin girls was dismissed from the classroom, something completely unheard of and told to sit

outside. In this case the boffin girls decided to do other work which they considered more urgent, during the lesson, and displayed their disapproval by sustaining a persistent murmur. This teacher failed to establish the correct learning environment and this resulted in forms of deviance by the school's top examinees.

4.3 Ordinariness of Examinations

The boffin girls who had already passed a number of 'O' levels a year early in the fourth year, were familiar with examination processes and procedures. They are confident, perhaps slightly arrogant, about revision and examinations. They have reduced considerably the fears usually associated with sitting formal examinations.

BGQ11

Rose When you have got other examinations you cannot spend ages working on one exam, you've got other examinations.

Kerry Like the mocks we have just done. We had all the subjects in a week.

SJB Did you do much revision?

Kerry You couldn't, you could do about two or three hours on each examination.

Rose Unless of course you revised before.

Ellen On all 'O' levels they want to give this extra homework to get us ready.

Kerry You have got to have a Biology weekend or something, this weekend. And then everyone [teachers SJB] says that, so you have got piles of homework.

Ellen We have got three Sociology essays [this weekend SJB].

Kerry It just depends which subject you put as your most important, that you do the work first and spend the most time on.

Rose It tends to be the ones you like. I mean I spend all my time doing History because it is assessed, because some of it is assessed. I spend all my time doing History and all other just goes.

For the boffin girls revision is just a process of preparation for the examination, they suggest that there is a considerable amount of work to do but that they just divide the time by the number of exam subjects and work out a schedule. They point out that there are favourite subjects and priorities ie assessment, but subjects for examination are simply there to be taken. The girls can be rather dismissive of an examination, as one girls shows.

BGQ12

Rose I cannot stand it [Statistics SJB]
I mean I could pass it if I work.
But it is just so boring, I cannot bother working.
It does not bother me whether, if I get it because it
is just sort of to me, it is an extra 'O' level.

For the boffin girls the "speciality" of taking examinations has been inverted into an ordinariness. However, they do not underestimate the importance of passing examinations. The crucial difference between their approach and other pupils' approaches to examinations was that the boffin girls were able to define the whole process as mundane, and each stage had been rationalised.

Their common concerns and rather insular position in the school provide them with maximum opportunity to share their resources.

BGQ13

SJB Do you swap your homework?

Rose Shall we answer that one [Joke SJB].

- Laughter -

All girls We do

Rose We do copy.

Kerry I have not done my homework today can I copy yours.

Ellen We do copy.

- SJB I saw some of Sarah's homework round Alison's house that was being copied out.
- Monica Oh yes.
- Ellen You need to copy alone in the fifth year [When doing just 'O' levels. SJB]. Because it is more important than somebody who is doing both 'O' level and CSE. And I am just doing 'O' levels so I help her [Monica, who is doing a number of combined examinations. SJB] with her examinations because it is assessment.
- Rose We do not copy. We pool our resources that is how I put it.
- Kerry Yes.
- Rose But I tend when we have tests and things. I tend not to revise because I think then you can work out what you know and what you don't know. A week later you have forgotten it all, because you have just learnt it the night before and I, it is just stuff you remember for a couple of days and not much longer. For the mocks I revised some but not much because I wanted to see what I knew.

Here we learn that the girls swap their homework, or rather pool their academic resources. The right to swap homework within the group was based on one principle, which was that each girl was expected to conform to the group work ethic; otherwise there would be no access to the group's intellectual resources. Ellen notes that the boffin girls must help only one another, not outsiders who would be taking 'O' level and CSE [Monica is the one exception allowed].

Rose describes in detail the boffin girl approach to tests, revision and examinations. This process is understood as a method whereby the pupil gains access to as much knowledge as is required to pass an examination. The test is interpreted as a test for the pupil which allows her to evaluate her ability. The test is not defined as an imposition by the school upon the pupil. Rose employs the boffin girls' pedagogic practice to understand critically the meaning of the examination. She argues that the subjects are learnt, revised and then mostly forgotten, as the boffin girls move on to her next pedagogic challenge. Even though they are dominated by

formal schooling, they exploit it instrumentally to achieve their own aims.

5. Sex and Pedagogy

5.1 Genderised Subjects

Sexual divisions within school are well documented³ at a variety of levels, teachers, pupils, curriculum, decision making and extra curricular activities. Genderised subjects refer to assumptions which operate within school subjects and subject contents concerning modes of appropriate sexual behaviour. Sexual assumptions are both structurally and culturally played out in school by both the transmitters and the receivers of knowledge. These assumptions of the school and of its teachers, tend to create relations of opposition and subordination between boys and girls which leads to further sexist discrimination between pupils. Pupils' notions and stereotypes of appropriate self and opposite sex behaviour become important means of assessing which subjects to choose. This is because the pupils' position in school will be partially understood, according to the subjects selected by their peers.

Here the girls point out that in male defined areas of the curriculum, they are given low status because they are not male.

BGQ14

Kerry Because we did Home Economics, Needlework and Three D, which was sort of metalwork and woodwork. Because they sort of had boys and girls together, I. They [teachers. SJB] did not think we were capable of doing anything too difficult. So they used to make really SIMPLE things in all of it and EVERYTHING.

Rose I don't know. In Three D we made quite good things.

Kerry I mean I made a clothes rest and it is still working.

Mary But they were really simple things.

Rose Yeah I know.

- Mary We didn't ever make things like pokers or anything like that did we.
- Ellen No. It was nice getting a lump of wood and sawing it into a certain shape and you know ...
- Rose Yeah, but you had to learn ...
- Ellen Drilling, you had a piece of wood and you had to drill certain sizes of holes.
- Kerry Those pendent things we made in metal.
- Rose I enjoyed making those ...
- Mary Yes, doing ...
- Kerry Yes I enjoyed making them but they were ...
- Ellen USELESS.

The boffin girls display enthusiasm about the lessons within the male preserve of a technical subject.

At first they appear reticent to acknowledge that they were placed in a subordinate position but then the girls argue that they were permitted to make only "simple things". The girls realise that they suffer discrimination, their stay within this male preserve was only temporary. The subject contents made available to them reflected the girls' low status which reinforced their marginal position. The girls made "useless" things for decoration rather than for practical use. In contrast, it was the boys who were allowed to make more complicated things, for example pokers, just because they were boys; the tasks of the subject were genderised (Measor 1984). For the boffin girls the school's top examinees in both arts and science subjects, such sexual discrimination is illogical because as they can use their skill and apply it to any subject.

The boffin girls here face a contradiction of their patriarchal relations. No matter how intelligent they are or how many qualifications they may have, some things will be beyond their grasp because they are girls. The school in which

the boffin girls have so heavily invested, is now seen as actually withdrawing potential credit from them (Whyld 1983).

Where one of the boffin girls takes seriously an element of the "male curriculum", she explains that the organisational structure of the school operates to reinforce the already prevalent gender assumptions by denying her access to the examination.

BGQ15

Kerry Because I wanted to do Technical Drawing. It did not fit into my options, and it was a waste of a subject as far as I was concerned. But I enjoyed it and was good at it.

Kerry worked hard on Technical Drawing up to the fifth year. But in that year when the examination came she was excluded from taking the subject because it clashed with her other options. Kerry argues that the consistent application of her work ethic had been a waste. In addition, as one of the top pupils, Kerry was very good at the subject and would have achieved a high grade.

Even where they are permitted entrance to the so called male curriculum, Rose explains how she had to enlist the help of her father to explain certain problem areas within Physics.

BGQ16

Rose I really worked hard for the last examination in third year Physics.
I was lucky because all the stuff I revised, we had dynamo's we had 25% of that was dynamo. And I really worked hard because I did not understand it at first. My dad I got him on the business and he tries to explain it to me. I really worked hard and learnt that and a few other things and most of that stuff I learnt was in the examination, and there wasn't much else.
And I got sixty odd because I mean honestly I spent ages working for that examination.

Rose explains at length the application of her work ethic to ensure she passed the examination. Girls are said to dislike science, in particular because they are usually taught by men and have male based examples (Harding 1980, Kelly 1981, Whyte 1986), but here Rose points out, the help of her father was crucial to her high score in the Physics exam.

How do the boffin girls interpret the school's role in sexual discrimination? The boffin girls below employ their seminar format to discuss the different arguments and arrive at a balance.

BGQ17

Mary I don't think it's really fair. Because we have got a boy who does Home Economics with us and because he was not allowed to it in the third year he has missed a whole load of work which he had to catch [up on. SJB]. because we had already done it.

Kerry Yeah.
Helen does metal work or woodwork doesn't she, and she missed ...

Mary I think we should make everyone do either, make a choice or do both.

SJB Do you think they have set ideas about girls, how they should be treated when you grow up from the second year to the fifth year.

Mary YEAH I think maybe they say. I suppose we are better off aren't we in a mixed school.
We have got a wider choice.

Rose We are through. I mean even in the third year we still, girls still have the choice of doing it [male subjects SJB] in the fourth and fifth year.
I mean if you went to the local Girls Grammar School you would not even have the choice of doing it.

Mary Yes. That is true.

The boffin girls discuss equal opportunities in their "seminar form", with the result that they have virtually removed themselves from the topic, namely the issue of the discrimination they themselves experience within the school. The girls do not take the opportunity to demand direct action,

instead Mary states one of the girls' principles of action, that is, the individual should have the opportunity to choose. This leads the girls to contextualise the problems of inequality rather than to emphasize their own experience of gender barriers. Their official pedagogic practice enables them to distance themselves from acknowledgment of their own experience of sexual discrimination, but in the final analysis it also shows their acceptance of the school's authority. The girls pedagogic practice rationalises and so defuses the sexist attitudes they meet.

The girls made a comparison between Marshlands Comprehensive and the nearest Girls' Grammar school; they consider that they are better placed in a mixed school because greater access to resources. Given the choice of either attending a single sex or co-educational secondary school, the boffin girls do not see what difference this would make. As the school's top pupils in both Sciences and Arts, these girls have achieved far more passes at 'O' level than any of their rival boffin boys. The boffin girls were under no threat educationally from the boys.

5.2 Sexual vulnerabilities

The boffin girls' sexual vulnerabilities are a consequence of their lack of information and experience of love and sexual relationships [heterosexual]. The girls' uncertainty is understood by them as an important gap in their knowledge. In this section I shall concentrate upon, first, the boffin girls' problem concerning sex education, and second, the official sex education talks given separately to the female pupils and their effect upon the boffin girls.

Here they outline the crux of the problem, which is access to two different types of sex education.

BGQ18

Ellen We do not do General Studies.

- Kerry We did not get the choice.
- Ellen I think we ought to learn it though.
- SJB Do you think that?
- Ellen Yes
I think so everyone has got a right to learn...
- Mary There is so many people sort of making their, forming their own opinions and that, and then they say you are brainy, you should know all about it.
But a lot of people do not, because we do English Literature we do not have any sex education.
No, we do in, sort of Biology ...
- Kerry I mean you do in Biology, but ...
- Rose We don't really do it in Biology though.
- Ellen In Biology you do a lot about your genes ...
- Mary No. We have been doing contraception.
- Rose We are going into that this weekend as well Ellen.
- Mary He said, we will spend a little while longer on it, but it is nothing really.
- Kerry It is better than NOTHING.
- Mary I think it is nothing you don't really know already I know about, you know.
We do sex education every year drawings, pictures and things like that ...
- Ellen My life. Sex education was so sickening, ur,ur....
- Mary But you don't really know anything much about it.
- Rose They don't teach, you know.
They learn all about, sort of what, I don't know.
- Mary Biological value of sex.
- Rose Yeah. We learn that. They sort of, no, also they learn other things [in General Studies. SJB] as well as sex education.
- Monica If you have it rammed down your throat every twenty minutes.
- Mary Yes but, um, not in, but Biology things like that you sort of ...
- Rose We should ...

- SJB Do you think they [teachers SJB] look upon it as purely biological?
- Mary Yes. I think we ought to ...
- Rose It is not in Biology.
- Mary It is only with Mr. French.
He is a little better because he is sort of blunt, he gets to the point and he is draft.
- Rose The Head of the Science department is a bit like that, as well, isn't he Ellen.
- Ellen Yes. Everybody ...
- Kerry You should be taught about the emotional side of it as well.
- Mary Yes.
- Kerry What to expect.
- Rose They do learn a lot of other things in General Studies as well as that.
- Mary About not to be pressurised into doing something that you think you might, if you think it is right.
- SJB Um.
- Rose But we did not get the choice to do General Studies.
- Mary No.
- Kerry No.
- Rose We just had to do English Literature.
- Mary I don't know that it's better to do General Studies but I think we ought to know more.

It is clear that the sex education the girls receive in Biology is not the type of information they want. Mary introduces the problem of their vulnerability, she also states that they receive sex education every year in special school talks but these are also dismissed as inappropriate to their needs. Furthermore, the girls consider that in Biology, spending additional time on a certain aspect such as contraception is no more than a token gesture.

This discussion brings to light two important internal divisions within the boffin girl group. First, the division between those girls defined as immature or mature and second, the difference between those boffin girls who receive "body" or "rumour" news. The mature boffin girls would have access to both body and rumour news, whereas the immature boffin girls would receive only rumour news. Body news refers to first hand information, gossip and stories concerning girls' experience of relationships with boys. Rumour news refers to second hand information about girls' experiences with boys in general.

The mature/immature division applies throughout the boffin girls group; here the mature boffin girls are Kerry, Monica and Mary, and the immature boffin girls are Ellen and Rose. In BGQ18 on sex education Ellen is negative towards the discussion "so sickening", while Rose attempts to close down the conversation by side tracking the subject under discussion. In general, the boffin girls find it very difficult to speak on the subject of sexuality and it was only after their initiation of the topic that I felt at ease to speak on the subject of personal vulnerability. This can be further shown by the boffin girls' avoidance of naming the topic, they consistently use the word "it".

These differences within the group were quite divisive because they were not related to educational achievement but had their basis in an arbitrary concept of maturity.⁴

At the level of the curriculum, the girls explain that the timetable option allows English Literature or General Studies. As the school's top pupils they were forced to take Literature than General Studies, as the latter was unexamined, but the latter subject offers informal discussion on the physical and emotional features of sexual relations. The form of sex education that the boffin girls required, rather than the sex education in Biology which concentrates on the mechanics of reproduction at the expense of the emotional side of social relations. The girls interpret the pedagogic position of sex education within the two subjects as follows:-

Biology	General Studies
1. Structured pedagogy	1. Loose structured pedagogy.
2. Contents ruled by external examination	2. Content negotiable.
3. Formal pedagogic subject.	3. Informal Pedagogic subject.
4. Subject content depersonalised	4. Subject content personalised.
5. Sex education curricular led.	5. Sex education classroom led.
6. Streamed class-disciplined context.	6. Unstreamed open context

Sex education within General Studies represents the type of approach and the type of content which the boffin girls want. However, General Studies has a low status position in the curriculum and a combination of different pupil ability levels in the classroom; in such a situation the boffin girls would be more, rather than less vulnerable. The contents of General Studies can be developed, according to the wishes of the teacher and the taught, and also, at Marshlands General Studies is taught by the leader of the Youth Wing who has an established relationship with pupils based on informality and friendly contact. Thus, the boffin girls said on numerous occasions that sex education, as taught in General Studies, was what they wanted, made personal and related to feelings and problems.

A major obstacle for the boffin girls access to General Studies, was that, independent from the subject being non-examined, the class contained lower band pupils. Sex education in this context could possibly become a battle ground, because in such lessons the personal would be emphasized and the boffin girls' vulnerabilities here would be close to the surface (Jackson 1978b). In discussions with the boffin girls they acknowledged that other pupils disliked them because of their high status. Thus, from the perspective of

the low status pupil this classroom situation could present an ideal opportunity to attack the boffin girls.

5.3 Girls' official sex education talks

The female pupils' separate official sex education talks occurred quite frequently from the first to the fifth year, and usually took place after assembly or registration. All the girls were subjected to these regular programmes which presented the school's position on female sexuality. Boys were not present during these sex education talks, nor did boys receive a similar separate talk.

Here I shall deal with the boffin girls' interpretation of the school sex talks.

During one of the discussions the girls elaborate their feelings on how the school had framed female sexuality in these "talks".

BGQ19

Mary So in the Lower School, in the Lower School, um, sort of, the girls were sort of taken away at registration and things like that and after assemblies and given a GOOD TALK.

Kerry TALK

Ellen TALK

Rose TALK

SJB What was the talk?

Mary All about growing up and how we were different.

Rose They, the boys were not allowed to hear.
But they always found out about it, didn't they.

Mary Yes. But they sort of never ...

Rose They talk to you in general.

Mary They mention.
They might have told the boys as well!
They sort of kept it separate.
They made you think of it as something to be hushed

up and kept quiet.

Ellen I REMEMBER. What they talk about urr.

Mary I think it should come out into the open.
You should be able to talk about it between boys and girls and not get embarrassed about it.

Their perception of female sexuality as covered in these talks is as follows, firstly, girls should cover up their body and hide their sexuality, second, a girl's bodily functions are not to be made public or spoken about with boys, such matters are strictly for females, and thirdly, the girl's body is not her own because it relates to other things, it is better to deny any feelings, especially desires. Rocheron and Whyld (1983), Wolpe (1988).

The boffin girls appear to have been asked to accept that there is something shameful about the female body; discussion of the female body has to occur in a separate all girls setting. The formal exclusion of boys from these talks [and lack of equivalent male sex education talks] is assessed by the boffin girls as one factor which promotes the boys' "horror show attitude", towards the female body: privacy is seen as increasing stigma. The boys' nastiness was thought to be partly a result of their having been excluded from these talks. The separation appears to make the girls think of their bodies as unnatural, not a proper or a worthwhile subject of conversation.⁵

As one of the mature boffin girls, Mary, argues the only way to overcome these problems is to bring discussion of sex education and the body into the open for both girls and boys. Statements such as "the boys always found out" or "the boys were not allowed to hear", suggest to the girls that boys should be kept at a distance from learning about female feelings or that female sexuality is something unpleasant, perhaps even bad (Scales and Kirby 1983).

The school presents an attitude and the boffin girls have largely internalised a particular idea of their body as "something to be hushed up and kept quiet". It could be suggested that the school has induced in some of the girls a fear of female sexuality which prolongs their immaturity (Jackson 1978a).

Do the boffin girls have any other ways of gaining access to information about female and male sexual behaviour? In the previous section the boffin girls complained that in school they were denied access to the kind of sex education they wanted.

Inside and outside the home the boffin girls' activities came under detailed surveillance from parents. For example, to go to a party or a discoe, a girl had to tell her parents which boys [and girls] would be present. Then the parents decided whether such male company would be suitable and whether they would allow their daughter to attend.

The boffin girls were restricted in terms of the range and type of sex information to which they had access. The school's formal position in the "talks" presented one perspective, the girls' parents enforced a moral regime of a similar nature, which left their peer group as the only other available source for alternative views upon female and male sexuality (Kallen, Stephenson and Doughty 1983). As we have seen, the boffin girls' peer group relations were at their most divisive with respect to sexual and bodily information because access was not open to all. The basis of access to peer group knowledge on female and male relationships was a function of the mature/immature divisions inside the boffin girl group. The mature boffin girl had access to high status body news, while the immature boffin girl received only low status rumour news.

These three sites [school, parents and peer group] of sexual and bodily knowledge provided the boffin girls with their resources with which they were either able or unable to deal with the sexist behaviour of different male pupil groups.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented firstly, an interpretation of the boffin girls' pedagogic practice, and secondly, an account of their relations and practices in action.

We can identify three sites of the origin and continuity of the boffin girls' official pedagogic practice, first, the school, second, the peer group and third the family; each site shows the girl's social class relation to education. These relations to education, acquired in the school and in the family are mediated through the expressive interpersonal peer group love relations. The school and the family combine in the promotion of middle class individualism with competitive relations and explicit rules for achievement, but in the peer group these relations also become relations of support, collaboration and affirmation. The clarity of the structured pedagogic practice of the school and the family, denies and attempts to exclude the ambiguities, contradictions and tensions which the boffin girls have to face as a consequence of the normative definition of their age and gender relations, social class position and contact with other pupil groups, in particular sexist male groups.

The boffin girls exploit schooling for their own requirements but at the same time they accept the neutrality of pedagogy and the authority of the school. Thus, it may appear that they are subordinate to the school. Such a simple conclusion would be misleading because it fails to investigate the means whereby the girls work within the school processes.

In the second and the third sections of this chapter we outlined a theoretical model of the boffin girls' practice of structured pedagogy. The boffin girls' intra-group relations can be described as a site of celebration, resource and exploration of the structured pedagogic principles of the school, embedded in the class principles of their families. The requirements of the boffin girls pedagogic practice in

classroom action are as follows: the topic under discussion and its contents are required to be explicit, together with rules based upon hierarchy for both the transmitters and receivers of knowledge. Successful learning is the result of competition in a disciplined environment where the individual has both autonomy and guidance. A space is required during the lesson for the successful pupil to win reward, and to talk openly and equally with teachers on any issues. Finally pedagogy dominates pleasure.

The structured pedagogic practice of the boffin girls condenses into a work ethic whose essential components are individual choice, discipline and competition; and it is this ethic which is dominant in the school and dominates these girls' practices. The girls' pedagogic promenade displays their underlying competence, order and consensus; indeed it is a rehearsal for the essays to be written in the examination room. We interpreted this work ethic as the condition both of their resentful subordination to their family, and of their instrumental subordination to teachers, however, it is also the condition for their release from both. Their acknowledged aim is to gain educational credit which will give them an opportunity to enter college or university. Thus, success in school allows these girls to escape from local pressures of parents and boys.

Chapters 10 and 11 will focus on the boffin girls' relations with parents and also discuss at length the varied relations the girls have with different male pupil groups.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. The boffin girls talk about parties.

SJB In whose house do you have the parties?

Rose If we have a party it is usually at my house.

Monica Depends how big the house is.

Ellen Depends whose birthday it is.

Rose I have had three at my house haven't I. One at Mary's and one in the hall.

Monica There is a hall in Lewes as well. We have had two in the hall.

Rose Louise's. Mainly birthday parties.

Kerry Or when you pass examinations or something.

Rose I had two parties didn't I there.
I had one to celebrate the examination didn't I.

2. The boffin girls would often tease Rose about being a 'rockabilly'. Here is a typical example:

Monica Is she a rockabilly or a ted?

Kerry Have you decided?
Are you a rockabilly or a ted, at the moment?

Rose Well, I don't know!

Kerry She keeps changing her mind!

3. Byrne 1975, Delamont 1980, Spender and Sarah 1980, Walden and Walkerdine 1982, Lees 1986, Wolpe 1988, Holly 1989.
4. Not all girls in the group had equal access to (body and rumour) news concerning sexual information about boys. Such news would only be passed on to any girls if she was assessed as 'mature'. Aspects of maturity were tacitly understood within the group and could be analysed only when labels were applied. Thus one measure of maturity for a boffin girl might be that she would not be embarrassed by any discussion of sexuality.
5. Davies 1984, argues that her girls "expect the institution to give them a lead" [p.30] on matters of sex education. Also see Lees (1986) pp.148-152.

PART 4**OPPOSITIONS: GENDER, STYLE AND SCHOOLING**

Here the focus is upon the relationship between the friendship groups of the boffins and the youth cultural groups. In chapter 10 there is a description of a meeting between the boffin boys and mod boys in which the individualism of the boffin boys contrasts with the collectivism of the style group. The confrontation is played out against issues of school commitments and concepts of masculinity. In the case of chapters 11 and 12 the comparison made between the boffin and new wave girls is not based upon meetings between them because these rarely took place except in a classroom context. Transcripts discussions and field work with each group have been selected in order to reveal differences between these groups in similar contexts; classroom, celebrations and personal relations.

Part 4 addresses oppositions, differences and acceptances between the groups. The theory outlined in chapter 3 is here implicit in the description and analysis of the oppositions produced by gender, style and schooling.

CHAPTER 9**MASCULINE DISPLAYS AND SCHOOL PERFORMANCE:****boffin boys and mod boys**Introduction

This chapter compares and contrasts the cultural practices and relations of the boffin boys and the mod boys. The aim of the analysis is to describe the two male groups and to suggest that they can be understood in terms of differences, opposition and acceptances.

All the quotes in this chapter are from one talk with certain members of both male groups. The purpose of this is to demonstrate similarities and differences between the boffin and mod boys at the level of interaction.

Participants : Boffin boys; Howard, Gary, James.
Mod boys; Keef, Hat.

Transcript : One recorded discussion with some members from both groups.

Location : school careers office.

Time : dinner hour.

Arrangement : liaison with careers teacher.

Context : originally the discussion was intended to be with the boffin boys but soon after the interview two mod boys entered the room and asked whether they could take part. The boffins agreed to this and a joint discussion took place.

This detailed focus upon the two groups attempts to enlarge the rather narrow empirical accounts of pupil conformity and resistance. There are three sections to this chapter, firstly, pedagogy and deviance, secondly, issues of the transition from school, and thirdly, adolescent male sexuality.

2. Pedagogy and Deviance

2.1 Intelligence and status

Success in either pedagogy or deviance provides an individual with one type of status or another. Both the boffin boys and the mod boys, in general, are amongst the pedagogic elite of the school taking formal examinations. These two male groups accept the high status which derives from the school's evaluation of their intelligence. In contrast, for the criminal boys there was little available status based upon examination success. Both the mod and the boffin boys judge the criminal boys in terms of their perceived lack of intelligence.

BB/MBQ1

- Keef Because they [criminal boys SJB] are wankers, they have not got the intelligence to realise not to do it.
- Gary Because their leader he has got the mentality to crime, hasn't he.
- James They have got nothing better to do, they cannot get enjoyment from things that do not involve risk.

The boffin and the mod boys share many subjects in the curriculum and are together within the same classroom. However, the mod boys are not dependent on pedagogic status in school, as are the boffin boys, in order to gain esteem. As a pupil friendship formation the boffin boys' group has its meeting place in the secondary school. Although they visit friends' houses and engage in a variety of peer group activities¹ as a group they do not possess territorial space outside the school. The mod boys' set of territorial practices are played out both inside and outside Marshlands. Their reputation outside the school is based on being tough, smart, outrageous and streetwise. At the beginning of a joint discussion the boffin boys acknowledge the mods' physical strength and joke about their reputation in order to defuse any possible tension.

BB/MBQ2

- Gary As long as you do not hit us, I am not very hard, you just slap us around a bit that is all right....
- Howard They just like giving everyone the shits. No not really, no they do not cause aggro in the school or anything.
- Gary They are all right.
- James It is out of school, in it.
- Keef It is the local pub disco tonight.
- Gary I don't mind providing they do not pick on me.

The boffin boys here show respect for the mod boys, and they go on to state that the mod boys' aggression occurs outside school. Herein exists an advantage for the mod boys. The mod boys' territorial dominance inside school will not be questioned owing to their record of violent behaviour out of the school. The mods need only to assert rather than practise authority in school to ensure their influence.

As a group the mod boys' coherence and strength lies in the practices of their unifying youth cultural style. They apply their pedagogic status and resources acquired inside school to further their symbolic status as a promenading youth cultural group. The mods are not dependent on their school status or banding but use it to articulate the complexity of their style and solidarity.

However, the two male groups differ about the means to achieve success in school.

BB/MBQ3

- Howard [To Keef and Hat. SJB]
You are not really bright.
- Gary They could do.
- Keef Hat ain't bright!
He could do, if he worked.

Hat So!

Keef If I worked, if.
 No point is there.

The two boffin boys are in disagreement about whether the mod boys are intelligent enough to pass examinations, but there is agreement on what the mod boys lack, namely the ability to work hard. In general, the mod boys do homework, occasionally considerable amounts, but little in comparison to the overall efforts by the boffin boys.

The following discussion shows the competition between the boffin and the mod boys over their pedagogic status.

BB/MBQ4

James I got an A for English Language

Hat You got an A for Language.
 What percentage did you get?

James Seventy.

Hat Beat you.

James What did you get?

Hat Seventy one.

James Joint Board?

Hat Um - got my results this morning.

Gary Fifty eight.

James You didn't.

Hat I got seventy one, some of the new wave girls got
 higher, one got seventy nine.
 There was four people in our class that passed.

James Was it. Everyone in our class passed, the lowest pass
 was fifty two.

Hat What did you get Howard?

Howard Did not do it.

Gary He has already passed it.

James's celebratory announcement of his high mark provides Hat with an opportunity to demonstrate to the boffin boys that, he, a mod is more intelligent because he received a higher grade. Hat goes on to point out that some of the new wave girls received even higher marks. He has emphasized the collective and provides the proof that the two youth cultural groups have the capacity to gain status inside the school through academic work. Hat's argument is in terms of the success of the youth cultural group, not the pupils or the class; indeed he goes on to further separate the other pupils in his class by stating that they did not do as well. In response, James reaffirms the boffins' school based relations by arguing that all the pupils in the class passed [not only types].

James notes the lowest score of the class passes, to show that Gary's apparently low grade is inside the pass requirement. Gary's boffin status is recovered and it is he who answers for Howard, that he has already passed the examination to restore the boffin boys' superior academic position.

2.2 Schoolwork and "going out"

There is an acceptance by both groups of the problem of either completing school work or "going out" in the evening. The boffin boys are prepared to spend more time on homework.

BB/MBQ5

Howard You have to do your homework.

When they go out in the evening they meet with fellow pupils in the environment of the home rather than on the street.

BB/MBQ6

James You see we, what we do a lot is we go round people's houses for cups of tea and that. We play a lot of snooker as well.

The home is an important leisure space which also functions as a site where the boffin boys can discuss school relations and exchange homework. In contrast, for the mod boys, Keef argues that the home is the place to escape from rather than to go for leisure.

Keef Only time I spend in is Sunday night, that is when I work. That is because you are not allowed to go out on Sunday night because when I go out, I don't come back until you know late, it is eleven, after twelve.

He explains that for the mod boys "going out" takes precedence over completion of school work, but he does admit to doing some homework. As a group, the mod boys although 15/16 years old had developed a significant drinking culture in public houses. Throughout the fieldwork I usually saw the mod boys on at least two evenings during the weekend at a pub in one of the villages near the school. The boffin boys did not take part in under age alcoholic drinking in local pubs or discos.

BB/MBQ8

Gary It is not as though we go up the pub or anything.

James See we do not go up the pub, we ...

Howard If you go to someone's house you use their stuff.

This is not to say that the boffin boys do not drink their alcohol consumption took place sometimes in the home but usually at boffin boy/girl parties. Unlike the mod boys, the boffin boys did not possess extensive territorial relations in the local community. The mod boys had to be seen and known to be on the street because they had a reputation to maintain. Consequently, they have less time to devote to school homework. The time spent "on location" by the mod boys - "going out", the street, pub, disco, sea-front - and the practices they engage in, promenading, drinking, dancing, fighting and courting, did not accommodate school work or school values. When considering

school work there is a degree of acceptance.

BB/MBQ9

SJB Do you circulate your homework?

Keef Copy

James Oh no.

Howard I sometimes do copy.

James If you are late with your homework or given some in late and may be do it.

Gary Howard, we are going to start doing that in Geography aren't we because we are so many units behind. We are going to kind of give each other units and things.

Howard Because we have got a lot of work in that.

Keef That's what I do. But, I tell you. You may think it is doing a trick right, but with Miss Wilde I got the mark book; all the marks on it and that is all you have to do.

Hat Pencil them in, she has got the mark book and she is really strict with marks. But when she went out after the marks were written in, we nicked the book and got all the marks down.

Keef They [boffin boys] could do that, you know.

SJB You were taking the mark look ...

Hat Yeah Like a unit, a unit takes up to two weeks don't it each one, a lot of them. You think we probably put down about seven weeks work that we didn't do.

Howard You don't have to do the work that is the stupid thing, you get these sheets ...

Keef And you know it anyway when you do it. You do not have to do the work, just as long as you have got the sheets and when you come to revision, if you want to, you do.

Initially, James is reluctant to acknowledge that the boffin boys exchange school work. It takes the senior friend of the pupil friendship group, Howard to admit that the top boy examinees circulate work amongst themselves. The boffin boys, like the boffin girls, have an extensive operation of school

work exchange, based upon the principle that each pupil is required to fill their quota of "good work".

For the mod boys, Keef is prepared to state that they do copy homework and also engage in the deviant school practice of falsifying results in the mark book.

Howard directs the boffin boys' response, he attempts to undermine the significance of the mod boys' deviance by suggesting that the work itself is not obligatory. Keef agrees with Howard's criticism of the course, indeed he goes on to show that the mod and boffin boys have an equally instrumental approach to learning. However, Keef states that revision is an option, whereas for the boffin boys such an option does not exist. Keef's comments reveal to the boffin boys that the mod boys understand how to achieve examination success through revision. In school, the mod boys complete sufficient work to retain their position in the upper ability bands, to demonstrate their intelligence to pupils and teachers, but in the final instance the mod boys present a somewhat resistant attitude towards school based academic learning. Thus, the mod boys carefully balance the status deriving from their deviant activities both inside and outside the school, with the completion of the minimal amount of school work necessary to gain academic status.

It would be incorrect to assume that the pro-school pupils, the boffin boys, are never deviant, either in school practices or attitudes.

BB/MBQ10

SJB What are some of the main things you find interesting in some of the subjects?

James I don't find anything, I find it is too boring. I can not find anything interesting.

Howard I mean certain subjects are just boring but you have to do it because it is the subject you chose.

James I cannot, I don't mind doing Photography on Wednesday afternoon. I do not like doing PE.

- Gary I fucking hate PE.
- James The rest of them, I am not interested in any of the subjects I do, but I am not disinterested in them.
- SJB Gary
- Gary Chemistry, Physics, Maths are interesting but History and Geography are just -- they are the rest to pick because it widens your qualifications.
- SJB What?
- James They give - they do not try and make it interesting.
- Gary You know some of it I find interesting.
- James With certain teachers of subjects. One teacher does not mark anything, I mean he had about how many units have we done, about sixty.
- Gary I don't know.
- James He marked only the first one you think, there is no incentive to do more. He is not going to mark it, so why should I finish it on time.
And it is at your own loss when it comes to revision.

Here they manifest attitudes which are not usually associated with pro-school pupils. The top male school pupils have a rather instrumental approach to school subjects. The assumption that conformist pupils show a "genuine interest" in school subjects is not borne out.² They are not presenting an attitude of acceptance towards the school but are discussing their experience of resentment and the problems of sustaining an active interest in learning. James suggests that the boffin boys are dependent on the teachers to make the subjects interesting, to provide incentives and to develop motivation. However, the boffin boys' general conception of schooling is that it is up to the pupils to identify their own interests, and come to terms with the means available to achieve success in the face of, firstly, school subjects which are inevitably uninteresting, secondly, the inability of some teachers to teach, and thirdly, a general lack of encouragement.

The boffin boys' commitment is not to school but to school work: not to school values but to an ideology of individualism upheld in the family and at the school. An essential part of the boys' identity and behaviour towards other pupils is their apparent detachment, and ability to use rules and "see through" the process of schooling. The boffin boys, like the boffin girls, demand a set of relations from teachers which we have described as a structured pedagogy. When this pupil requirement is not met the boffin boys motivation is reduced and this possibly affects their preparation for revision. The boffin boys do not take part in explicitly deviant behaviour against the school rules. They have acquired an ideology of individualism, "bought" from the school, supported by the family and developed within the friendship group, which supports their social class aspirations.

2.3 School rules and resistance

I shall attempt to build upon the initial identified differences between the two male groups, and here describe firstly, the boffin boys' individualism and rule bound behaviour, and secondly, the mod boys' collective and resistant attitude. Examination of these difference do not exclude shared acceptances by both groups of the rules of the "intellectual game" of acquiring certificates, nor of the sharing of the informal pupil criteria of fun.

The boffin and the mod boys discuss the issue of smoking as an example of resistance to school rules, and as an exemplar of informal pupil status.

BB/MBQ11

Keef I think the attitude towards people in school is just stupid, like smoking.

James Smoking over sixteen, when you are sixteen but not before that.

SJB Do any of you three smoke? [Boffin boys SJB]

James I have, I do not buy - go out and buy. I get given them a lot. But I would not go out and buy them. I would not disrespect the school rules because I would be frightened about what would happen when you get caught.

Howard I think smoking is all right. But I think in enclosed areas it is not really.

Keef No [In agreement. SJB]

Howard Because even then it affects other people, you know, because it does affect your health.

Keef It is different from taking ...

Howard You know passive smoking, that is a little bit on the side in the street, that is almost as bad as proper smoking because it causes cancer in certain people.

Keef In certain people.

Howard See, but I reckon when you are outside

James It doesn't matter

Howard In the school grounds, I think you can just smoke outside, most of them [mod boys. SJB] get away with it anyway. Teachers are pretty lax.

Keef I enjoy smoking, it is up to us isn't it.

James Age limit is a pretty good idea.

Howard If you should do it just because there ...

Keef I think over ten years of age [joke. SJB]

SJB What do you think about the people who do go smoking and some of them get caught?

Howard When they get caught they don't get punished.

James See the thing is I only smoke, - I don't see the point in risk getting caught and getting done for something that does not give you any stimulation.

Keef It does give you.

James Does it?

Howard I think it is funny though. You see some of them they pile round the back and they see the teachers and they run all about.

Keef I think it is fun.
Classic, third year. I used to go and play football, we used to go and run with us and get caught smoking.

It is exhilarating, being, the thought that we can get caught smoking. That is the thrill really in school, thinking, I'm breaking the rules, you BASTARDS will not catch us.

You know, just run about with them [cigarettes. SJB] to the limit. Everybody loves it, just creased up.

All boys - Laughter -

Schoolboy smoking is understood as one of the major ways to identify anti-school behaviour (Willis, 1982). Here I shall propose that smoking is not a distinguishing characteristic of the mod boys as opposed to the boffin boys. James admits to smoking and I witnessed other boffin boys smoking at parties or discos. If there is an identifiable feature about smoking between the two boy groups, it is in terms of rules.

The boffin boys' behaviour is shown in terms of the acceptance of the legal age for smoking and the unwillingness to disobey school rules. When the boffin boys do smoke, it is away from the school site and the gaze of authority figures. In contrast, the mod boys peer group spokesperson Keef, delights in his narrative of anti-school activities. To be seen to smoke is important but "getting away with it" has priority over "getting caught"; it is the excitement of resistance in thought and in action, which offers status rather than being identified or caught. It is possible to argue that the mod boys' reluctance to be caught and their complex strategies devised to evade capture, are closely related to their acceptance of the intellectual game, which provides them with intellectual status.

Keef is concerned to show that smoking is a high status deviant act of expressive value, whilst James stresses that smoking is an individual act of deviance, which breaks rules and laws. It could also cause problems for a boffin boy's position in the pupil hierarchy; their emphasis is on caution, sequence and consequences of action.

In general, the discussion shows the boffin boys' seminar format, illustrated by their ability to shift from the personal level of argument to the objective consequences for the individual in terms of health and reprimand. They move the conversation away from Keef's initial dislike of the school rule.

Howard attempts to diminish the mod's deviant reputation by arguing that when the mod boys are caught for smoking they do not receive punishment. He insists that the teachers do not enforce the rule rigorously. The discussion also shows that the boffin boys lack a definite group position on this issue because, at the same time as Howard points out that in practice there is no penalty, James is fearful of smoking because of the possible punishment.

The mod boys do not spend a great deal of time working out and planning the next smoke because their pattern is largely fixed. The first cigarette is smoked on the train journey to school, the second, in the town recreation ground before entrance through the school gates, the third at breaktime behind the mobile classrooms, the fourth at lunch time in the town, cafe, sportsground or at someone's house, the fifth at breaktime in the afternoon behind the mobiles, sports hall or at the local cafe, and finally they have a last cigarette during the train journey home. The wide variety of sites for smoking meant that at least during the fieldwork, on relatively few occasions were the boys caught. One afternoon Paul and Keef explained they were caught by two prefects and sent to the Head of Fifth Year. They stated that they were let off because the Head liked them, and they were told that as they were in the upper ability bands, "they would have more brains not to do it in the future". This is evidence to prove Howard's point concerning the absence of punishment. There are important factors however to consider, such as who is the pupil, his/her reputation, history and ability. To be caught for smoking is a serious offence for pupils who are not in the upper ability band.

Keef enjoys promenading and his delivery of an epic tale to the boffin boys has them in fits of laughter. Keef changes the discussion from a talk about an issue of schooling, to one where he is demonstrating the public face of the youth cultural group. A final, but crucial, point is that Howard further decreases the distance between supposedly conformist and resistant pupils when he explicitly states to the mod boys that their tactics to elude capture are extremely amusing. The mod boys' activities are "publicly celebrated" within the pupil community, whether or not they are caught by the teaching staff. Howard, the senior friend of the boffin boys, gives status to the mod boys group and provided Keef with the opportunity to start his promenading story.

2.4 Pupil power relations

In this next section I want to examine an acceptance by both male groups which is a consequence of their shared positions in school as part of the pedagogic elite. The boffin boys' senior friend and the mod boys' peer group spokesperson, assess how power relations operate in school at the pupil level.

BB/MBQ12

Keef Okay you are [boffin boys. SJB] fairly good, bright, quiet people aren't you, and Mr Shaw [teacher. SJB] he don't say nothing to you does he. Treats you nicely. I am sort of bigger than the rest, you know but I ain't frightened of Mr Shaw. He shows off all the time did you see him when he hit

SJB Do you think it is contempt for leadership?

Howard No, they, like

Keef Good pupils, you know. Howard Um, see I

Keef To be quiet, give them easy lessons.

Howard Mr Shaw does not like it, and Rich, [mod boy. SJB], sometimes would not last, and he just sort of gets really short tempered.

Keef He does.

- Howard See if I said the same thing that they did, he would not say anything though, he would just say oh!
- Gary We get away with it, with Miss Wilde. She says it a lot
- Howard Because I can just say it. But they get it.
- Keef Because that is all we were talking about, I got sent out because we were messing about.
She got up, I was just sitting there, she told him [Howard. SJB] four times for messing about but he did not get sent out.
It is just that Miss Wilde hates me, she told me she never wants to see me again.
- Hat What about that discussion in Geography with her, she wants me to take her to the pictures.
- All boys - Laughter -

Keef asserts that the mod boys suffer discrimination as a result of labelling. They are reprimanded for marginal infringements, whilst the boffin boys' deviant behaviour is not punished. Keef speaks in terms of resentment, although he perceptively sees through, firstly, the teachers ideal type characterisation of teacher/pupil relations and secondly, the boffin boys' pro-school image which in reality is sometimes deviant.

The boffin boys do not fit the stereotype of the conformist pupil because, as Keef argues, they have learnt how to operate the resources of their own power relations. First, Gary states "We get away with it", and second, Howard concludes "Because I can just say it. But they get it."

In general, the mod boys try to counteract the imposition of the teacher's deviant characterisation of them by completing homework, dressing smart, working hard in class, giving correct or interesting responses to questions, doing well in tests/examinations and talking with teachers in a mature manner. However, Hat introduces a problem, by suggesting that a female member of the teaching staff is attracted to him. The sexual proposition from a female teacher to a boy pupil, strips

the teacher of her official status. The teacher is now placed outside a disciplinary relationship to the mod group. This is a highly charged statement because it is known that the teacher has already sent Hat a birthday card, the remark results in a ritual celebration of laughter by all the boys.

3. Transition from School

Here the boffin and mod boys discuss the transition from school and reveal differences in aspirations and occupational routes.³ Their discussion brings up issues of social class, qualifications, education, wages, masculinity and independence.

BB/MBQ13

James I don't know if I am leaving, depends if I stay I get my qualification I will go straight in my job. If I do not I will stay on.

Keef What are you going to do?

James I am going in the merchant navy.

Keef What in as an officer

James Cadet officer, yes.

Keef Yeah.
It is not bad that, get all over the world but I just could not handle it, because you cannot get a bird or nothing, or settled down, really. No it is true though.

James Yeah but ...

Keef Okay you reckon you are going to bunk up everybody, you will catch everything won't you, there - all this disease pox ridden.

Howard You don't want to settle down yet though do you.

James When I am thirty I'll retire and get a desk job. And then I will prepare for it.

SJB What about you Howard, what is the main reason for staying on?

Keef Parent and teacher pressure

Howard No I want to go to university, that is what I want, I've heard it is quite good fun.

- Gary They reckon it is a laugh.
- SJB It is a laugh.
- Howard I reckon, I cannot stick work. I wouldn't mind doing work but I think it is pretty boring at the moment, unless you have got a good job to do.
I am not exactly, I would not be an engineer or something like that because I am going into computers.
- Keef I would fuck it, money in it.
- All boys - Laughter -
- Gary Er, I want to stay on because the job you are going to get is not going to be very good, if you have just got 'O' levels is it. So if you are going to get ...
- Keef All depends, if you know - I'm going to Seeboard with three 'O' levels and I will be getting paid for taking my 'A' levels. But you need to take them to go to university.
- Gary But I know I could get higher than just 'O' levels or an apprenticeship, couldn't I.
- Keef So, I am getting paid while I'm doing it.
- James Yeah so, when you are on about thirteen he is on fifteen thousand a year, and you are under.
- Keef Yeah But I will have enjoyed myself by working, while you are still at school doing homework.
- Howard Going to university you are not under pressure in terms of money, you are under pressure, you know, to live because you have to pay for your room.
- Hat But you get a grant though don't you.
- Howard Yeah, but is it not very much.
- James Parent's pay.
- Keef My old man couldn't afford it
- Howard You have the pressures but at the same time it is an experience isn't it. You think, if you want a good job you have to go to university.

The conversation on transitions reveals further differences between the two male groups. Keef who is both working class and the mod boys peer group spokesperson, finds himself in disagreement with the boffin boys' career

aspirations. Throughout the discussion the classic sociological opposition of working class hedonism and middle class deferred gratification is visible. The boffin boys continually assert the necessity to gain more qualifications. Gary argues "I could get higher than just 'O' levels or an apprenticeship." James stresses the higher rewards of a career with status and money "a desk job" and "on fifteen thousand a year". Howard suggests that he does not want any job as a consequence of the high youth unemployment. "It's pretty boring at the moment." He is looking towards employment in an expansion area, namely new technology "I am going into computers." The boffin boys are firmly located in a vocational field moving towards a "career" rather than a "job". Entrance to the Services or university is upheld as an aim which in turn will provide the means for a career structure and middle class status. Their commitment to deferred gratification is revealed in their assessment of the correct stages.

In terms of masculinity Keef identifies sexual status in James's career choice of an officer in the merchant navy. The opportunity exists to "bunk up everybody" however, Keef also argues against this with his reference to sexual disease and the inability of the job to allow you to "settle down": double standards are explicit. Both Howard and James seem to be in favour of settling down later in life and do not respond to Keef's sexual fantasies.

In terms of employment Keef's argument refers to the present unlike he is unable to afford the luxury of waiting for the appropriate job. Keef states he would take any employment for economic reasons "money in it". Being in the upper ability band he knows the value of qualifications, even if he is unwilling to accept the meanings associated with his streaming position. However, as the strongest boy in the fifth year, if not the school, he also has a public reputation for physical aggression and masculinity to maintain. Keef claims that he wants an electric apprenticeship with SEEBOARD but he also reveals his social ambitions in his assessment "and I will be getting paid for taking my 'A' levels". The suggestion is he

will study while also working. In this argument Keef shows he wants to increase his qualifications, like the boffins and become socially mobile but he refuses to accept the career/university route outlined by them. Independence is a key element within this discussion. Keef identifies school and homework with university and homework to ridicule the aims of the boffin boys. He asserts "I will have enjoyed myself by working" and "getting paid". Here, Howard interjects with a reasoned argument that promotes both the boffin boys independence and individualism. His argument is that as an individual moves away from home and learns to cope with the world, independent of parental influence: "You are under pressure to live". Hat attacks the formulation by explicitly stating that a student does not have to work to earn a wage but receives a grant. Howard partially agrees with this point but he returns to the importance of gaining a university education to have access to what he calls "a good job". The unity of the boffin boy group stems from their pedagogic practice i.e. completion of school work and their mobility aspirations. The combination of their present practice and future project sustains friendship within the pupil group.

4. Adolescent Male Sexuality

4.1 Introduction

In the present discussion I will concentrate upon how the boys in the two groups negotiate elements of the male sexual experience.⁴ The purpose is to move beyond the simple reading of boys' statements as expressively sexist, to show how these different boys enter the realm of sexual practices in order to assess the importance of such relations in the development of adolescent male sexuality. There will be two sections to this discussion, firstly, the boys' discussion of problems of parental surveillance of their sexual behaviour, and secondly, their discussion of the condom.

4.2 Parental surveillance

Both boffin boys and the mod boys object to parental attempts to control their sexual development. This can be

illustrated by the boys' discussion about going on holiday with the family.

BB/MBQ14

James I hate going round. The holidays they [parents. SJB] like, seeing all those beautiful nice houses, chateau's in the South of France. All I want is to lay on the beach.

Keef We went up, because my brother went to Bognor Regis last year at Butlins Holiday Camp like, that was a fucking real laugh.
I remember the first day. I saw these, you know mods and punks and things, got off with birds. My mum wanted me to go round with the family, with my sister, fucking good ain't it.

James That is right.
I got off [with a girl. SJB] there are loads of people.
In France, in this old holiday camp, you know, we were just talking, walking round the park. Better than going out visiting.

Keef They [family. SJB] were going round, you know, thinking they are fucking enjoying themselves, and sit there watching shows.
I was going out, getting pissed coming home one o'clock in the morning. She [mother. SJB] is doing her nut. This is supposed to be a family holiday thing and all that, treat you like when you were eight.

The two holiday stories show social class differences; Keef's family have opted for a traditional working class vacation at a Bullin's Holiday Camp, whereas James's family have chosen a middle class holiday in the South of France.

Different social class holidays, but for the two boys a shared experience of resentment towards the family's imposed restrictions on their behaviour. On holiday the boys both identify the opportunity to break away from parental control and establish relations with girls. The boys' grievance against the family is that they are taken round and made to participate in family activities, which do not interest them. James wants to lie on the beach, to walk and talk in the park with girls. Keef identifies with other youths dressed in a

similar style to him, and considers that he should be part of this action, namely drinking and going out with girls. Both boys have momentarily stepped outside the family, they analyse its control and relations as in opposition to them. Here, we can suggest that the family is still a major regulator of boys' sexual development and this results in considerable control problems for the parents.⁵

The boys' problem of parental control on holiday leads the boffin boys to assert their notions of individualism.

BB/MBQ15

SJB On holiday with your parents?

James I did last year but I am not this year, I am going on my own.

Howard I am going on my own as well.

James Put camp out the back garden or something like that!

- Laughter -

Gary You going with your brother

Howard No
I have been on my own to Germany to stay with friends and I might get some work out there. I do not like going with the family.

Keef Everybody seems to be in my position with my old girl [mother. SJB] with people on holiday. Everybody just feels the same way, you know, young people.

The boffin boys' basis for a holiday reflects their preoccupations with individualism. Howard and James are strongly against the family holiday, and even consider that the family might be on opposition to the boffin boys' individualism. It appears that the family is seen as infringing on the boffin boys' individualistic principles because they argue that the family tries to dominate them. They are in disagreement with the family. This illustrates the close relation between independence and individualism. Keef concludes that all young people face such difficulties within

the family.

The boffin and mod boys go on to discuss further issues of parental surveillance of their sexual behaviour, this time in relation to "lovebites" and girlfriends.

BB/MBQ16

Keef You haven't taken Janet [Hat's girlfriend. SJB] home have you.

Hat What, yes I have.

Keef When no one is in.

Hat I have fucking taken her home, she came in my bedroom.

Keef Yeah but who was in?

Hat No one

James My mum said, if she comes down our house again, she will kick her out, Monica.

Keef Who said that?

James My mum.

Keef Don't they like her?

James No not now.

Howard Because she is leading him astray.

Gary She has ...

James No. Because it is not that she is leading me astray, just that you know, one minute she is going out with me the next minute she is not, she is always having arguments.

Hat What is she like?

James What do you mean?

Keef Shut up Hat.

Hat Exciting.

James She is all right like that.

Hat She is all right like that.

James Yeah. But she is not like some.

Gary I would not talk about it.

Hat Pardon!

Keef Another thing if she [girlfriend. SJB] is covered in lovebites and that ...

James YEAH My Dad did his NUT.

Hat What such a - a lovebite looks nice.

Keef Ooooh, ooh, slap, anyone think they had never seen it before. It makes you sick.

James Makes you look, my mum says, do not do that, it makes you look cheap.

Keef They always say that you know, who gave you that, and when. What have you got those for? Okay, so they think you are fucking someone because you got a lovebite on your neck, you cannot just be going out with someone.

At the start the two mod boys clash over whether they and their girlfriends have been together in the home without their parents being present. It is Hat who lays the symbolic groundwork for this discussion with his profane statement that his girlfriend has been in his bedroom. For the boffin boys the sex talk of girlfriends is heavy with hesitancy and Gary intervenes to warn the boffin boys that the information the mod boys are getting might be used at a later date as ammunition in a humiliation ritual.

In general, there are three important elements in this conversation, firstly, Howard's contentious point combining a sexual innuendo with an implied reference to the boffin boys' pedagogic solidarity namely, his remark that James's girlfriend has been leading him astray. Howard's accusation is ambiguous because it can refer to James's sexual relations with his girlfriend which has changed him, or to the fact that because of the relationship he has less time to spend on school work, and this is leading him astray. Here, James's answer is that his girlfriend has been unreliable, because she continually changes her mind about the relationship. He argues that it is this confusion which has led him astray. It is Howard's

ambiguous question which presents Hat with an opportunity to pose his sexual question to James. Secondly, in the face of Hat's inquiry James protects his (ex) girlfriend's reputation, even though he admits his parents no longer like her. Hat tries to obtain intimate information from James about his sexual relations with his girlfriend. However, James reply is subtle and minimal, for he not only defends his girlfriend's sexual reputation "she is not like others", but asserts his own status by suggesting knowledge of her that "she is all right like that."

Thirdly, Keef introduces the subject of lovebites, he does not exaggerate his sexual conquest but goes on to indicate the importance of the sexual behaviour, namely lovebites within a relationship. In this argument Keef presents his parents' attitude towards adolescent sexual behaviour as mistaken, for they always assume that bites on the neck mean love making (Lewis 1973). The sign is acceptable to Keef, but his point is that his parents misread the meaning of adolescent sexual behaviour, "you cannot just be going out."

As with the boys' discussion about holidays, the subject of lovebites shows that the boys' experience of sexual relations are strongly subject to parental influence and control. Here, the boys discuss intimate sexual matters and questions within an atmosphere of seriousness rather than bravado or exaggeration. This discussion shows that different types of boys can engage in sex talk without being directly sexist. Finally, it is Hat who continually provokes James within the discussion but it is not a conflict between mods and boffins.

4.3 The Condom

In the late 1980's the condom has become synonymous with protection from AIDS, especially if the participants are relative strangers. The use of the durex as a contraceptive device for males, has received little empirical investigation, surprising when we consider the meaning it has for adolescent

boys. (Spencer 1984). The sheath is a ritual marker of adult status, an indication to its possessor that he is no longer a child. For male youth the purchasing of the first contraceptive device is a major element in the rite de passage (Farrall 1978). The durex and other means of birth control, such as withdrawal, are bathed in "mythology" and are a permanent feature of popular comedy. Here, I shall concentrate upon how the boffin and the mod boys attempt to deal with the condom in terms of four rules regulating, first, acquiring and hiding the contraceptive, second, its use, third, markers of its use, and fourth, successful use.

BB/MBQ17

SJB When did you first go out and buy a packet of three, then James?

Keef He didn't buy them.

James I did not buy them, I got them off some kid at school.

SJB How about you Gary?

Gary I don't buy them.

All boys - Laughter -

Keef It is just embarrassing.

Howard He is not sixteen yet.

Gary I am not really into that.

Keef I'm shy! [Joke. SJB]
I wouldn't be able to go in a fucking chemist or Boots.

James I could not buy, I could not buy one. I got them from a mailing address.

Keef I had to go to a machine

Hat [To James. SJB] Did you use it?

James No I got them at home.

Keef Out the back. [Red Lion public house, gents toilet. SJB] Where you put your money in it goes.

GLANG

All boys - Laughter -

Keef Sorting of waiting
 Fucking shit scared if a bloke is going to come in,
 you know. I'm just saying shit you up.

The first point is that the sheath is still a problem. The question is why are both groups frightened? The indication is that acquiring the condom brings the boys that much closer to sexual initiation. Keef articulates his embarrassment about obtaining a condom in a story. The communicative form operates at two levels. Firstly, the story transforms the boffin boys into a passive audience witnessing the mods' promenade, and secondly, the story is a means of sidestepping Keef's own vulnerability (Bostock and Leather 1982).

It is possible to argue that in acquiring the contraceptive, James and Keef present the two different forms of social solidarity in each male group. For the boffin boys, James writes to a mailing address to order his durex individually, to receive them impersonally in an unmarked envelope through the post; this displays an instrumental detachment. For the mod boys, Keef enters the crowded and enclosed social space of a gentlemen's toilet in a public house. Although he chooses a time when no adult is present, this shows the mod boys territorial and public presence. Interestingly, in his study Schofield (1968) states "No one in the sample got their contraceptive from a slot machine." [p.92].

The boffin boys' approach to the contraceptive is based on official rules. Gary states he is not into such an acquisition, while Howard specifies the legal age for sex. They emphasise the regulation of sexual experience and its place in the life sequence.

BB/MBQ18

James On my sixteenth birthday, she [mother. SJB] said you know what you are legal to do now don't you. And she said take precautions, so if she found them she would know I'd been taking them

Howard I do not know, I do not have any serious girlfriends or anything. But I do go out at parties. I do not dash into things.

The boffin boys are concerned with conditions of appropriateness rather than conditions of performance. Their framework for action here is based on official rules with a proper regard for sequence and is similar to their approach to smoking. [see section 2.3] The condom is clearly a dangerous device more so than soft pornography.

BB/MBQ19

James I have hidden them, I tell you. They are inside the radio speaker of an old radio.

Keef Did I tell you she found them.

James If she found them.

Hat They will probably be out of use when you come to use them.

James Not now, she would not mind, now I'm sixteen.

Storage of the sheath is no longer a problem for Keef because his mother found them but for James, storage is still a problem. He says that difficulties about the legality of sex no longer exist.

We will now consider step two. The boffin boys have access to the contraceptive but have not yet used it, whereas the mod boys say that they are using the condom.

BB/MBQ20

Hat What do you fucking want johnny's for, if you aren't going to use them.

James Saves me going in the chemist and buying them doesn't it.

Hat Saving them for two years time.

James That's right!

Gary Do you use them then Hat?

Hat What?

Gary Do you use them? no, do you use them?

Hat I do not usually take a precaution.

Gary You don't.

Hat No

Gary Have you done it then?

Hat What?

Gary You know.

Hat Have I fucked

Gary Yeah

Hat YEAH

Gary You have. Right

Howard Fucking 'viduals

Keef Something to be pleased about really isn't it.
 You have got to do it sometime.

Gary Yeah

Here pride and masculinity are at stake, Hat humiliates James for owning and not using a sheath, and goes on to answer Gary's primary question of whether he has had a sexual experience. Hat announces that the mod boys know the markers of successful use of the condom. Furthermore, he creates ambiguity for the boffin boys because he introduces another sign of sexual experience; sex without using a sheath (Byrne 1983). Among adolescents the first experience of sexual intercourse is often not successful (Schofield 1968, Spencer 1984). Here it could be suggested that the mod boys who say they are "early starters" have increased the anxiety of the boffin boys. This is achieved firstly, by Hat's explicit acknowledgement of a sexual experience, and secondly, by Keef's expression of his sexual experience in terms of pleasure, success and satisfaction.

In order to retrieve their masculine status the boffin boys try to assert their reasons for not beginning their sexual career early.

BB/MBQ21

James Why do it early?

Keef Why do it early! Fucking hell you will find out.

Howard Yeah, if you do it with somebody sort of - this age, usually the person you do it to is a dog [slag. SJB], usually isn't it.

Keef What does it matter?

Howard You just want

Gary I want someone to get to know

Howard It's all right in it!

Hat I's usually a younger person isn't it Keef.

Keef What do you call a dog?

SJB I mean ...

James Goers and

Keef Because okay, you are saying don't do it but what if you get off with a bird you really do like her.

Howard Yeah then it is different.

Keef And you ain't got a fucking clue. It is going to make you look a right idiot. You should practice on a dog.

All boys - Laughter -

The boffin boys assert the importance of sequence and stages in order to gain an experience of sex. They do not wish to rush into things or just have sex, they are looking for an individual relationship. The mod boys have begun their sexual careers and understand as irrational the sexual reluctance of the boffin boys. In an attempt to defend the boffin boys' position Howard maintains that the girls who are available for sex are of a low moral standard. He protects the masculinity of the groups by operating the madonna/whore dualism. To

engage in sex with a "dog" is unfeeling sex and wrong whereas to engage in sex with someone "you really like" is all right. Keef is dissatisfied with the boffin boys' position, firstly, he questions the boffin boys, definition of a "dog", and secondly, he elaborates a hypothetical situation to demonstrate that the boffin boys' sexual strategy of waiting is flawed.

The conversation is intense as the two male groups explore further their different understandings of sexual practice.

BB/MBQ22

Keef You going to answer it Shane

James No, just stay with it.

SJB I remember I had a girlfriend in the fifth year.

Hat Here in this village you just sort of wait

SJB Um

Hat Round here though you just sort of wait for the holiday makers don't you

Howard You do?

James There is that second year you reckon her is a real goer.

Keef No she looked

Howard He likes well proportioned young girls [gestures. SJB]

Keef And she was about knickerless, a bit smaller than that, lovely tits.

Gary You know the trouble, you can get, get away with that, but where you know, we look, you know they are disgusting, kind of thing. I would not touch it with a BARGE POLE

Howard It is just that most of the girls we know

Hat I know, but what do you define as a dog.

Keef Someone [girl. SJB] who has got a black moustache [on her face. SJB]

James Screwing around.

SJB You said, most of the girls you know Howard are like what?

Howard Well, you know them Shane [boffin girls. SJB]
 Gary They are out and out, you know.
 Hat They wouldn't
 Keef I don't think they know what one looks like. [penis. SJB]
 Gary Probably.

The boffin boys assert that they are not in competition with the mod boys, but they keep getting drawn into the male sexual competition of "boasting". James asks Keef about a second year girl who is considered to be sexually available "a real goer". Howard is fantasising about Keef's girlfriends who, as he indicates by gestures have large breasts, and Gary is shouting and becoming "wound up" about the territorial sexual success of the mod boys. The discussion has moved out from the strategy of counter argument, the boffin boys' seminar form, to become an arena where the mod boys can display and celebrate their public face to an audience (Heilbrun and Loftus 1986).

The boffin boys' senior friend, Howard, attempts to repair their masculine profile by building on Gary's statement, to argue that they do not have access to the range of girls available to the mod boys. Howard tries to place the blame for the boffin boys' lack of sexual experience upon the boffin girls because they are not willing to go out with boffin boys. To add further legitimacy to this assertion about the boffin girls' attitude to sex, Howard calls on my experience of knowing these girls. Gary confirms Howard's assessment with the claim that the boffin girls are "out and out" virgins; they are unapproachable for a sexual relationship. The two male groups conclude on an acceptance of their superiority over the boffin girls.

4.4 Male virginity

Virginity is thought of as a female category, it is the man who soils the purity of a woman. In anthropology the study

of female virginity has been very much in terms of its meaning for the young woman, her family, the tribe or even the entire society. (Yalman 1963, Leach 1966, Levi-Strauss 1969, Ardener 1978, Hewitt 1986a). In sociology and anthropology the subject of male virginity has received much less attention, possibly because men are regarded as being the generalised sex. Hastrup (1978) argues that

"Male virginity exists in a biological sense, of course and the transition from "virginity" to manhood may be extremely important to the individual man, but as it is not biologically conspicuous it is not used as a social symbol to the same extent as female virginity." [p.64]

Here, it would seem that virginity applied to men derives from the use of the term in relation to women. I am not trying to suggest that the identity of virgin men is tied up with their sexuality to the same extent as it is for women, but male sexual stages do exist and are important at the time of adolescent male sexual initiation.

The boffin boys' and mod boys' discussion of sexuality shows the considerable influence of parents on their early sexual practices. The boys are subject to parental control but they differ in their acceptance of parental authority and parent attitudes towards their sexual behaviour. The subject of "lovebites" is an example of a control problem between son and parents, because a lovebite functions as a sign of sexual experience. The boffin boys identify the reason for their parents objection as "lovebites are improper conduct". This is a social class conception of appropriate sexual behaviour. As such this would allow the boffin boys to accept their parents' view, as it fits their project of social mobility. By contrast, the mod boys understand the value of this sexual sign of sexual transition as a male peer group status symbol (Oakley 1972).

The issue which underscores the talk between the two boy groups is that of male virginity. This is brought to the surface by Gary's question to Hat "Have you done it?". As a result of Hat's reply there now exists a division; the boffin boys are male virgins and the mod boys have sexual experience.

It is at this point in the sex talk that the boffin boys introduce a direct sexist sexual practice, through the use of a double standard, which claims that girls who have sex early are "dogs". It appears that the boffin boys need to protect their masculinity, because their male virginity presents an ambiguous area of classification (Douglas 1966) in relation to how masculine behaviour is understood in society. Hershman (1977, see pp 273-4) points out that in the Punjab a young man cannot consider himself a man until he has had intercourse with a woman.

The boffin boys suggest that sex with a girl whom they define as a "dog" does not represent a proper sexual initiation, because they stress that sex is only proper in a love relationship. The assertion by them is that the mod boys are still "male virgins" because sex with such girls does not count. The boffin boys' masculinity is channelled into an aggressive sexist discourse which describes the girls as being of low moral standards and hence, polluters.

This discussion between the boys shows clearly the opposition between male virginity and its legitimation and male promiscuity and its legitimation. The boffin boys are the first to use sexually abusive language with reference to girls [BB/MBQ21], in an effort to defend their notion of masculinity in the context of the mod boys' sexual success. The introduction of sexist categories by the boffin boys directs the conversation away from their sexual vulnerability, to allow the mod boys an opportunity to display sexist bravado and exaggeration.

5. Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to show how the two different forms of social solidarity and aspirations of the boffin and the mod boys, affects and influences their social relations, practices and communication. The boffin boys are a pupil friendship group who have an instrumental approach to schooling based upon a regulative framework of action, in terms of an

ideology of individualism operating with a long term Weberian means-ends chain. The mod boys are a youth cultural group, who also have an instrumental approach to schooling, which is used to support the boys' collective social solidarity and stylistic authenticity. These fundamental social differences should not prevent us from identifying the features which both boy groups have in common.

At a superficial level, and in terms of the dominant model of pupil relations in school, we could argue that the boffin boys are a conformist pro-school group and the mod boys are a resistant anti-school group. However, such an explanation does not inform, elaborate or reveal the complexity of relations and practices in each male group. The purpose of presenting the groups in action is that it allows us to identify at the level of practice the different forms of social solidarity and aspirations and to show the two groups' relations of difference, opposition and acceptance.

Both boy groups share an acceptance of the "intellectual game", that is, as part of the pedagogic elite in school they are taking numerous formal examinations. The school's criteria of intelligence, in terms of grades and exam success are accepted and pursued by both groups. Admittedly, they employ different strategies and have different relations with the teaching staff to achieve their aims but recognition in the school community as being intelligent is a central element of each group's identity. Thus, both groups recognise the value of education for their own needs. This is in contrast to the "criminal" boys who regard the teachers as "a bunch of cunts" and one of them maintains that

"It's about a month now, I reckon that I have got away with not writing anything at school. I'm going for the record."

Does this attitude amount to resistance? Can it be defined as oppositional behaviour? or is it merely oppositional behaviour which reproduces social class inequality? The "criminal" boys do not see the school as providing any

emancipatory potential, in contrast to the boffin boys and the mod boys who seize the opportunity available in school to gain individual social mobility.

With respect to deviance the mod boys are willing to accept some school rules but essentially on their terms. They engaged in cigarette smoking, drinking, non-wearing of school uniform and skiving, but those activities take place in an atmosphere of selectivity not random or chance. The mod boys possessed elaborate strategies to accommodate being caught and they carefully exploit their academic position as a resource to draw upon and support their excuses. Clearly, the boffin boys do not engage in quite such deviance inside or outside the school, although it would be inappropriate to see the boffin boys' behaviour as entirely supportive of the school. They do not fit the stereotype of the conformist pupil (Fuller 1980, Turner 1983, Brown 1987, Mac an Ghail 1988).

Part of the two groups' oppositional behaviour derives from their ability to see through the power relations of the school and perceive how such relations affect each group respectively. The skill of the boffin boys in applying rules, means that they are able to engage in deviant school activities for which other groups or individuals would be reprimanded. Can we understand the boffin boys' relation in school in terms of resistance? As the boffin boys explicitly aspire to be socially mobile, perhaps the concept of resistance is inapplicable. The concept does not help us to understand their behaviour. The term resistance seem to have more relevance when applied to the mod boys who are more working class and who use the collective values of their youth cultural group as a weapon and a site to support oppositional behaviour. However, although the collective dominates their activities they pursue the emancipatory potential of school, aiming, individually at some form of social mobility. Is there a theoretical problem within the notion of resistance in that it contains at the empirical level the hidden concept of social mobility?

In the discussion on occupational destiny, Keef argues against the individualistic route of social mobility expressed by the boffin boys, because it is seen as in opposition to the resources and strengths of the youth cultural group. There is however acceptance by both of the value of certification. Keef introduces an opposition in terms of the mod boys' masculinity which serves to highlight their differences. At one level this appears to be a classic example of the sociological opposition between working class hedonism and middle class deferred gratification. At another level this is an inflation of difference between the groups: another example of the mod boys' display of territorial practice. In recognising how the two different forms of social solidarity work in each group, it is possible to reach a more sensitive understanding of how the macro structures of class and gender penetrate their private and public relations.

On the subject of masculinity both the boy groups reject parental surveillance of their sexual development. They do not agree about the use and the function of signs of sexual experience but they both acknowledge their vulnerabilities. In the discussion on sexuality, the boys do not immediately engage in sexual boasting or use abusive sexist language which degrades females. The boys talk about their male problems of access to, and storage of, male contraceptives. This discussion shows the sensitivities of masculine practice [identity]. It is not until the subject boundary of male virginity is crossed that the boys engage in a hostile sexist practice and refer to girls as "dogs". Here both male groups reveal deeply felt sexist notions of male superiority over women, although the two groups are differently positioned in the power relations of patriarchy. Girls are secondary, and defined as disposable. The boffin boys introduce the duality of "dogs"/good girls, as a prop to restore their masculine status, in the face of the mod boys' sexual success which suggests that the boffin boys are not "proper men".

Notes to Chapter 9

1. There were style singletons within the boffin boy group, who would occasionally go to discos and parties. The boffin boys principle activity was to spend considerable time at one another's houses, in particular Howard's where they could play snooker. Gary and James also played football for a local team.
2. Willis 1977, Brown 1987, Mac an Ghail 1988.
3. During the late 1970's and throughout the 1980's the movement of young people from school to work, became a major area of sociological investigation. Owing to the large increase in youth unemployment and the "new training initiatives", developed by the Manpower Services Commission: under the guidance of Conservative Cabinet Ministers. (Dale 1985) In the past, sociological research was mainly upon the various means of adjustment to work adopted by the adolescent. (Carter 1966, Ashton and Field 1976). The present sociological interest is on the perceived collapse of the transition from school to employment for working class youth. (Roberts 1984, Finn 1987) and how this affects gender identity. (Blackman 1987, Cockburn 1987). As with the few studies on conformist pupils in school, so there have been few studies upon academic pupil perceptions of the transition from school to work: both have been ideologically understood as not representing a problem. Lauder and Brown (1988), Gleeson (1989).
4. Adolescent male sexuality has been observed as a set of sexist practices by Willis (1977) and Wood (1984). The question of adolescent sexuality has usually focused on the subjugation of girls under aggressive, anti-social male behaviour, demonstrated through physical challenges to girls (Willmott 1966, Smart and Smart 1978, Llewellyn 1980) and by the powerful use of "man made language" (Spender 1980, Lees 1986).
5. Both male groups experienced parental surveillance, in particular the boffin boys, who below speak about Gary's mother's reaction to him staying out late.

James I mean your mum did her nut when she rang up my house.

Gary I know.

James She rang up five o'clock in the morning, asking where Gary was. He was blinking over at Chris's [boffin boy. SJB] wasn't he. His mum was doing her nut. Your mum was really worried she said.

Gary I know.

This shows the boffin boys vulnerability, especially when this information is passed on in the presence of the mod boys.

CHAPTER 10

PARENTS, PEDAGOGY AND RESISTANCE:

boffin girls and new wave girls

1. Introduction

This chapter will explore the two girl groups' responses to the family and the school. The aim of the analysis is to compare and contrast both groups cultural practices and relations, and to suggest that they can be understood in terms of differences, oppositions and acceptances. This chapter is divided into two sections.

- A. Parental Regimes: here I shall outline the girls' different experiences of family life and domestic relations and show how this affects each adolescent female group.
- B. Pedagogy and Resistance: here I shall discuss examples of the girls' practices within school, in order to see whether the concepts of conformity and resistance are applicable to the data or help to gain a more theoretical understanding of both groups.

Chapter Ten and Eleven details

Participants : Boffin girls; Mary, Rose, Kerry, Monica and Ellen.
 New wave girls; Cathy, Debbie, Sally, Steff, Collen, Cat, Lynne, Clare and Sioux.

Transcript : four recorded discussions comprising two with each group; supplemented by extensive ethnographic material from the field diaries.

Location : schools careers office, classroom.

Time : double period on afternoon each time.

Arrangement : liaison with careers teacher and young PE teacher. Boffin girls' free period. New wave girls' release from Physical Education lesson.

Context : the analysis is different from chapter nine because no joint discussion took place. Thus I compare and contrast each group on a number of similar themes e.g. attitudes, parents, boys, classroom relations, etc.

2. Parental regimes

Parental regimes attempt to control and to regulate the behaviour of girls both inside and outside the home and the school. An analysis of how the girls interpret those moral regimes will enable us to identify some basic differences within and between the two female groups. What type of relations do these girls share with their parents?

2.1 Boffin Girls and Parents

The lower and middle class parents of the boffin girls impose quite strict moral rules on the girls about how to conduct themselves in private and in public.¹ During an informal conversation the girls spoke about how little time they have to pursue interests other than schoolwork. Certain boffin girls were allowed more freedom than others but for all girls the major areas of potential disagreement with parents were clothing, "going out" and relations with boys.

BG/NWGQ1

SJB What about your clothes?

Ellen I pay for them myself. I can get almost what I want. Not quite.

Monica I ask.

Rose My parents.
If my mum - some of the things, say I like that one, she goes I'm not buying it for you. But I choose my own clothes. She buys them but she has to. If they are really way out stuff. But I do not buy that stuff, anyway, she will not buy it for me. She says, if I want to buy it, buy it out of my own money. But she doesn't mind if I buy it out of my money. But most of the clothes I like, she likes anyway so. But she is very strict on the school uniform.

- Kerry My mum knows it. If she gets me some clothes, like school shoes or something and I don't like them I just will not wear them.
- Rose Yeah, mine is like that.
- Kerry It is a waste of money, so you might as well get something you like and wear them.
- Rose My mum will not go shopping for clothes without me because she knows I will not wear them. It is just a waste of them.
- SJB So you don't reckon your parents can impose things too readily on you?
- Rose It depends, because ...
- Kerry You get yourself put upon.
- Ellen Well, with old fashioned parents like mine you have not got much choice.
- Rose Well my parents are not exactly up to the middle. I mean my parents are old fashioned.
- Kerry Well, my dad and - my mum and dad think I should not go up to London to see my boyfriend because it looks like I am chasing him. I have only been going out with him for over a year I'm STILL CHASING HIM AM I. [voice very strained. SJB]
- Rose No. But, I would not say my parents are old fashioned. But my parents are - pretty strict. I mean I am not allowed, if I go out generally I have to be in by twelve, if it is a party or something like that.
- Ellen Huh. I have to be in by ten ... urh I go to the parties but none of the discos. I have enough trouble getting to a party, with my parents. Then I just usually sit there just really boring.
- SJB What would happen of you stayed out late?
- Ellen If I stayed out late I would get told off. I know that. I do not know what they would say because I have never done it, so I do not know. Usually if we [boffin girls. SJB] go places, see everyone comes home later, so my dad fetches me in. So I cannot be late.
- Kerry You see, you say those things, my parents would not let me do that, but you don't know till you ask.

All girls

- Laughter -

Rose I mean, I'm sixteen now. I mean I don't see why I shouldn't be allowed, if I buy my own clothes, I'm allowed to choose them myself, I don't have to have my mum with me. I choose them - but I have to be in bed on school nights by ten. But if I watch something till ten, mum says go to bed after that.

In general, the boffin girls have stable relations with their parents but as the conversation develops we can see that the two topics of clothes and parties bring out the girls' feelings of resentment. The relationship between them and their parents might be understood in terms of negotiation on independence.

They assess their parents' attitude on clothes as "old fashioned" because they deny them choice and select fashions as though they were children. Clothes display an individual's taste, style and sexuality. Rose's statement about "way out stuff", and her parents' reluctance to buy it, refers to adolescent promenading clothes which heighten sexuality. The parents of the boffin girls were quite strict about the type and range of clothes the girls could wear during leisure time. In fact, there was comparatively little difference between their dress inside or outside school. The boffin girls never wore trousers to school but during leisure time these were permitted, together with more colourful blouses and skirts; their outfits could be regarded as realising a stereotype of femininity and prettiness (Hudson 1984).

The subject of shopping with parents for clothes was controversial and the girls claimed it was fraught with tension. Further evidence of this came when I arrived at a boffin girl's house on a Saturday afternoon. The girl's brother let me into the house and explained that his sister had gone shopping, "with the parents". After I had waited three quarters of an hour the family returned, the girl was disappointed, the parents were pleased. The parents described - how they managed to dissuade their daughter from buying two items of clothing - a pair of small soft boots and a large jumper - like dress. The parents were delighted with her

eventual choice and her acceptance of a traditional skirt. The girl said " I shall have to have another go later". This incident is a further example of what the girls describe as being "put upon" by their parents.²

Parental control is explicit in Ellen's comment about restrictions on going out in the evenings, and particularly, about the way she is "fetched" back. They state that their parents are "old fashioned". The boffin girls organise their own parties, although usually one girl's parents are present. However, Ellen still carries the burden of her parents' moral orders and usually fails to enjoy the occasion. At such parties or discos I would observe her and other boffin girls sitting down, sometimes talking to other girls, rarely dancing in a girl group and never dancing with a boy, as she says "just boring". Disagreement with their parents surfaces at times of ritual - parties, discos, shopping - showing the struggle that the girls face in order to gain independence. The girls have continually to negotiate existing and further possible freedoms, as though there will be an eventual point where total freedom is reached.

A determining factor in the parent/daughter relation is the parents' encouragement and support for the girls' pedagogic aims. This relation makes them dependent on the parents in terms of finance and "favours"; the girls will accept their parents' demands for school success, which means staying in to complete homework. However, success at school gives them a powerful sense of autonomy, which creates a demand for further independence.

In the conflict with their parents that ensures the boffin girls' have to withdraw or temper their demands for independence because they need parental support if they are to achieve the academic success on which their future autonomy depends. Within the school community the girls have to deal carefully with their problem of parental restriction because, as the school's top examinees, their status and autonomy could be severely threatened if it became generally known that they

were treated as children by their parents.

Overall, the girls would work within the boundary of the parental restrictions, although this did not prevent them from collectively challenging their parents' moral regimes, for example, getting drunk at a party. [see Ethnography of two adolescent girls' parties]. Within the group the girls' official pedagogic practice, that is, their seminar form, allows them to rationalise their parents' demands and their own resentment. This pedagogic practice allows the girls to express opposition in theory without having to rebel in practice.

2.2 New Wave Girls and Parents

As with the parents of the boffin girls, the parents of the new wave girls were quite strict about behaviour, although the new wave girls as a group had considerably more freedom of action. Here, I shall attempt to identify why these parents gave the new wave girls more independence and what consequences this has for each girl, and their group as a whole. In an informal conversation the girls explain how their particular experience of family³ life affects them.

BG/NWGQ2

Clare I think they really get on well together, Debbie and her mum.

Steff That is because they are close, because she is the only female.

Collen Yeah. I think it is really good to get on well with your mum.

Sioux Yeah. I get on well with my mum.

Clare I get on well with my dad.

Steff Yeah, that is right ...I think it is because I do not see my mum because I live with my dad. He sees that I am growing up. But with my mum she still treats me as if I am not.

Cat Because I think your parents do not want you to grow up anyway.

- Sioux My mum doesn't like to see me grown up. But when I go up to stay with my dad he just does not mind at all. But the only thing that keeps me from going up to live with my dad is my mum. I am so close to my mum but not the stepfather. The only reason why I think he is staying at our house is because of the money. That is the only reason he has got to be there. But it is not right for me to ruin my mum's happiness is it.
- Collen I live with my mum and her husband, my dad lives away. But my mum - I have got a younger sister a year younger than me and I think she gets away with a lot because I could do it. But my mum sort of treats me like a sister really, she does not try and tell me what to do. But she only allows me out two nights in mid week - seems like that is boring but a part from that ...
- Sioux That is why we go and stay at other people's houses.
- Collen My dad sort of treats me like a little kid still. We go and visit his friends when I go out with him and it is all the "You have grown up, you was small last time I saw you." It just shows how it is.
- Sioux Yeah, it really pisses me off.
- SJB How do you feel? ...
- Sioux "Haven't you grown since the last time I saw you" [joke voice. SJB]
- Steff It is as though they think beforehand a midget is going to come along and say hello ..
- Sioux I go into the front room and my stepfather either rips holes in me ...
- Cathy What about your speech, fucking hell. We were sitting there, and she drops one letter and he goes off about her speech.
- Sioux I said bot-um.
- Cathy Well, that one sentence you said to me. You were talking to ME. And he said it all properly and your mum said " I did not notice". And your stepfather looked at your mum as though she was defending you. I did not even pick it up [the dropped letter sound. SJB]
- Sioux I know. He just goes on and on and on. The horrible thing is when he is nice, he is really nice. But when he is horrible he is such a wanker. Well - he is honestly that is the only way I can describe him. When he is horrible, he is horrible [chicken noises. SJB]

All girls [Chicken noises. SJB]

Unlike the boffin girls, the majority of the new wave girls have not experienced stable family relations. Out of a group of ten, six of the girls have experience of living in a one parent family. Over half of the girl group know the feel of marital break up, divorce, death or a change of parent.

What was the new wave girls' assessment of their family relations? They maintain that positive relations with their parents are important, Collen states, that her relation with her mother is "sisterly", this is further demonstrated.

BG/NWGQ3

Steff I think it is better because your mum is a lot younger. They are young. They are not old fashioned, they try to keep in. Your mum wears all your clothes doesn't she.

Lynne She is always wearing my leopard skin.

Not all the girls' mothers were young, in the sense that they could participate in sisterly relations such as the exchange of clothes. The girls whose mothers were older would share other sisterly relations such as gossip and support. For example, Debbie states "She sees my point of view and she wants to know all the gossip". Cathy says "We share all the goings on, so she accepts what I say and helps me out".

In general, the step and separated parents are looked upon in a bad light. The step-parents are defined as "horrible" and the separated parents are seen as wishing to impose restrictions on the girls' behaviour. This is probably a result of the infrequent contact between daughter and separated parent, who fails to notice subtle personal changes. The girls' claim that the parents do not care; their comments such as "Haven't you grown!" demonstrate this because they show that the parents fail to see them regularly. The new wave girls' dislike of step and separated parents [except for Sioux] is of

a similar nature to the boffin girls' resentment towards parents: they are treated as children rather than young women.

The difficulties of living with their step-parents are dramatically brought to life in Sioux and Cathy's account of Sioux's stepfather. At the outset Sioux states that on the whole she has a stable relation with her stepfather "He is really nice". However, when he interrupts the two girls in private conversation, he intrudes upon the girls' relations [he was listening] and he violates the relation between mother and daughter "looked at your mum as though she was defending you". Sioux applies a powerful sexual metaphor to degrade the stepfather - "He is a wanker" - which also may operate to deny him a sexual relation with Sioux's mother: the girls follow this with collective chorusing of chicken noises to humiliate the male further.

In general, we could infer that being in a one parent family, the girls have had to get used to a variety of household and living arrangements. As a result the likelihood is that they have had to share the burden of domestic labour and of domestic responsibility. Under such circumstances, there develops a close relation between daughter and remaining parent as they attempt to retain pride. This would account for the girls' resentment towards the step parent who is seen as an intruder trying to split the daughter parent relation.

During observation of the girls in the home I saw that domestic duties were accepted by them not on the basis of a female stereotype of work but to support the running of the household. Crucially, the girls took an active part in the management of the home. In the exercise of these duties the girls show their competence inside the home, and use it as a means to support and secure independence outside the home. This represents a domestic exchange; the parents give the girls space and this allows the girls as a group an opportunity to meet.

The new wave girls' space and practices are sanctioned by their biological parents. Sioux states that the girls go round and stay at each others houses during the weekend. I accompanied the girls on a number of those occasions, sometimes their boyfriends were present, at other times they were not. An all girl meeting is called a gathering, on these occasions the girls would sleep together in one room, smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol and talk intensively. These meetings were a central part of the girls' relations and practices where they could share intimacy. Within the group context the individual girl can do things not likely to be permitted in her own home. Thus, the girl group and its occupancy of different girls' houses became a cumulative means to gain independence and celebrate group activities.

However, it would be incorrect to suggest that the girls could ignore the control of step or separated parents, or even do anything they pleased because their parents gave support to the group.

BG/NWGQ4

Steff She dictates my mum - tries to get me to buy nice clothes - the nice things!
I am going to this christening. I'm going to my little brother's christening and she keep on at me to get a pretty little dress and I know I would not wear it afterwards. So it's a waste of money. But she keeps on at me everytime.

Sioux Yeah. I think my mum has come to accept me more, like when I wore my skirt up the youth wing on Friday.

Yeah - I know I look silly.
So I thought I'd wear that.
So I put it on and my mum goes you look ridiculous.
She goes I am not going to stop you wearing it. But they just try to make me feel really silly.

Steff WHAT A SKIRT!
WHAT, that ...

Sioux I wore my red one. The one I made in needlework you know, the pencil thing well I took it up.

Steff What did you wear with it? I have never seen you in a skirt.

Sioux Creme tights, my flat blue sandals my blouse from the
 jumble sale and my old blue school cardigan.

Here, Steff argues against her separated parent who is trying to impose on her a traditional feminine style which is unacceptable to the girls' genre. Steff shows her distance from her mother with the comment - "this christening", she concludes that the new wave girls have no use for "pretty little dresses".

Steff's experience of parental control is of a similar nature to that experienced in general by the boffin girls: both groups assert that buying clothes under duress is "a waste of money". Sioux also shows that she is subject to control from her mother, although, here she is given independence at a price. Her mother uses a subtle form of control, to make her think about the issue rather than oppose her.

The conversation also points to the importance of jumble sales to the girls. The jumble sale was a social event of some significance:- getting there, queuing, rummaging and the sorting out at home; it gave depth to their wardrobe (Aggleton 1987). Finally, the two girls speak about how foreign skirts are to some of the new wave girls. This conversation turns into a promenade where Sioux and Steff act out the story of a girl wearing a skirt. In fact, the promenade was a reality because that particular evening when I was out with the girls was the only time during the fieldwork that I saw Sioux wear a skirt.

Thus far I have attempted to focus upon, firstly, the different family relations and variety of households and how this might affect the girls' group relations and practices, secondly, parental control of their sexual development through the regulation of clothes, thirdly, the support and [different] spaces for independence provided by the parents, and fourthly, the explicit support of the boffin girls' parents, of their pedagogic aims but only an implicit support for their female

group, in contrast to the new wave girls' parents explicit support both of the female youth cultural group and the girls' educational aims.

It is on the basis of these initial similarities and differences which relate to (1) parents, (2) adolescent girl group (3) independence that we will elaborate further the two girl groups' relations to schooling.

3. Pedagogy and Resistance

3.1 Introduction

The priority of this section is to examine the relationship between academic ability and resistant behaviour, through an investigation of the relations and practices of the boffin and new wave girls. The subdivisions will be organised as follows:⁴

Firstly, an analysis of female classroom interaction and school relations, with special attention given to the girls' responses and the relationships between the groups.

Secondly, a description of the boffin girls' critical response to education, and of their instrumental practices in school.

Thirdly, examples of the new wave girls' resistant practices both inside and outside school.

3.2 Female Classroom Interaction and School Relations

The girls and the new wave girls were part of the pedagogic elite in the fifth year at Marshlands. The boffin girls were high achievers, regarded by some teachers as "gifted" in academic terms. The new wave girls had not taken 'O' levels in the fourth year but they were taking as many examinations as the boffin girls, and were also expected to do well. Being in the upper ability band the two girl groups shared many subjects, although not all, because the boffin girls already possessed certain 'O' levels. Initially, I will concentrate on the girls' classroom interaction.

A generalisation which applies to each girl group is that their superior position in school gave them confidence within the pupil community, made them assertive in class and sure of their own ability to complete school work and to understand issues. Recognition of their pedagogic competence by teachers and [some] fellow pupils meant that strategies and rituals to insult the girls by both teachers and groups of boys, was selective.

In chapter 8 we saw how the boffin girls were proficient in arts or science subjects, and also were able to experience examinations as "ordinary" rather than special. This ability could be observed in the boffin girls' conduct of their classroom relations.

The boffin girls sat together [always near the new wave girls] and used the power base of the group to neutralise any hostility, and also to promote themselves as identifiable, not just as a "bunch of girls" (Weiner 1985). During lessons the level of pupil participation by the boffin girls would be high. As teachers have different methods and strategies to promote learning, it is difficult to assess the pupils' contributions across subject boundaries. In terms of pupil initiated questions, answers to teachers' questions and quantity of teacher attention, the boffin girls would dominate the boffin boys. However, the boffin girls' classroom participation differed when the new wave girls and mod boys were present. When members of the two youth cultural groups and the two pupils groups were in the same classroom, pupil participation during the lesson was intensive and highly competitive. The battle for classroom domination and reward would be fought out between the new wave girls and the mod boys, but this was not at the expense of either boffin group who would demand substantial teacher attention.

There was little explicit pupil deviance during the majority of lessons and therefore only a limited number of opportunities for boys to use sexist strategies to abuse girls. The boffin girls were never threatened by the new wave girls

in class; indeed, the strength of the two girl groups could dominate any combination of boys in the classroom. For both girl groups, in particular the boffin girls, the real threat of humiliation came from the mod boys. Having said this I should add that these were 'O' level classes and there was no major problem of classroom control. In lessons without the mod boys, the two girl groups would be fiercely competitive, for example during a German lesson, two new wave girls Sioux and Sally asked the most questions and attracted most teacher time. At one point, when a boffin girl was reading from the text, Sioux interrupted her to state that she had read it incorrectly and questioned the teacher as to whether this was the right thing to be doing. Sioux said she did not understand the connection between the teacher's initial question, nor what the boffin girl was reading. After a short silence, the boffin girl who was reading asked the teacher, "What are we doing, I do not understand what I'm reading." Incidents like this were common. They show how the new wave girls demand teacher attention, and critically question the teachers and other pupils; sometimes this would encourage the boffin girls to do the same. In the Geography lesson the social organisation of the classrooms was significant; four boffin girls sat behind four new wave girls, in front of whom were three mod boys who were containing two rockers. During Geography lessons the dominant pupils were the new wave girls and the mod boys, although when the new wave girls initiated questions, the teacher would move forward, and here, the boffin girls would ask questions and demand attention. Within the classroom the boffin girls often whispered and spoke to each other in a secretive manner, usually evading the teacher's attention. The new wave girls also did this, with the addition of "regular note passing". Writing and passing on communications was a general feature of the girls behaviour; it was not confined to the classroom and took the form of letters, notes, poems, drawings and paintings. In the classroom I observed how note passing could create problems for teacher control. On occasions where a new wave girl was at the centre of a disturbance another girl would intervene, asking the teacher an important question in order to divert the teacher's

attention. If one question did not succeed, a series of questions were put forward. The girls would attempt to rescue each other from classroom conflict through strategies of pedagogic questioning. Obviously, this did not work every time and sometimes a new wave girl was sent out of the classroom. On one occasion, in an English Literature lesson, Sally's behaviour was becoming too disruptive and Mrs Holland demanded that she leave the classroom and work in her office next door. As she left to go, Sally stated,

BG/NWQQ5 "I prefer to work in a small room because otherwise I will not get any work finished. I shall do some Jane Eyre. And anyway when you are on your own people can't see you masturbating".

The teacher failed to hear her last comment, as she shut the door. However, the pupils did, the boys had blank but amused smiles, the remaining new wave girls were laughing and the boffin girls either "went red" or were open mouthed.

For the new wave girls assertiveness in the classroom was not a problem. A teacher remarked that, "Those girls are very good, they don't appear to be put off by the boys showing off, unlike most other girls. They are ready to speak out." This was evident when I observed a special History Lecture on Poland's Free Trade Union, Solidarity. In this lesson three upper band classes were brought together, making a total of approximately fifty pupils. The number of pupil initiated questions or answers were as follows: one by a boffin boy, two by a mod boy, and four by a new wave girl. This was an important lesson given by the Head of Humanities. He was quick to praise the girl for her valuable contribution and interpretation. Additionally, during the lesson two of the boffin girls were told off, one girl twice. Here the boffin girls experienced some sexism and ridicule from boys which made them feel unable to participate in the class: two important factors contributing to this were the size and composition of the class.

The boffin girls could never be described as "quiet girls", in fact, they could show strength and occasionally be aggressive to boys inside and outside the classroom. The girls had difficulty in rebuffing insults from the mod boys but they could deal with most other boys' derisions [except the "criminal boys"].

The girls had a number of phrases which referred to their higher intelligence and "mature" attitude. They did not swear or use metaphors of a sexual nature to insult boys. If the girls were in a conflict situation, rather than use profane language to reinforce their point, they would belittle a boy's intellectual capacity. For example, Rose would shout "I THINK HOWARD IS A BIG HEADED STUPID LITTLE IDIOT". This was the baseline of their attack on boys and it meant that they argued from a position of strength, as the top examinees.

The girls experience different levels of sexist aggression from the boffin boys. In the fifth year area I would see the girls deal with general insults by demonstration of their superior academic achievements. But when the boys changed their level of attack and asserted that the pursuit of knowledge had made the girls sexually unattractive their last resort was flight or aggression.

BG/NWGQ 6

Ellen They don't hardly say a word to me, except when I kicked one of them during the break
They are horrible to me. I cannot argue with them, because I just start shouting out and start walloping them.

Consistently, the boffin boys pick on Ellen because they perceive her as weak, ready for a "wind up". However, as a result of her aggressive "kicking" the boys became more reluctant to attack her. The boys understood her behaviour as irrational "cannot take a joke", when in reality her actions were perfectly rational and achieved the result she wanted, namely fewer sexist insults.

Inside the classroom the two girls' groups did not operate a manifest strategy in order to defeat male aggression although there was a latent strategy whereby females would cooperate and provide mutual support. The classroom and the fifth year area were the only spaces shared by the two girl groups. Outside the school there was absolutely no contact between them, they occupied different social worlds and engaged in fundamentally different practices and relations. They had friendly relations within the classrooms and weak relations in informal school spaces. The lack of unity, contact and common ground between the two dominant female groups in the fifth year meant that each had to defend and to develop their own strategies to deal with male violence. Although there was no overt hostility between the two female groups, there was intense competition for educational success. The only time that the new wave girls subjected the boffin girls to a ritual humiliation was the "famous durex incident". At the beginning of an afternoon break, I was sitting in the fifth year area when three new wave girls informed me that they had just placed a condom inside the coat pocket of a boffin girl. Later, two boffin girls told me that when the sheath was discovered there was uproar. Some girls felt intense embarrassment and horror at finding "this thing". One of them said "God, what is it, oh, it is - is disgusting", while other boffin girls thought "it was really funny, but where did they get it from?"

The durex incident explains much about both groups of girls. Inside the boffin girl group, those who receive "body news" and are regarded as more mature, scorned those girls who were seen as over-reacting, showing vulnerability. The boffin girls who only receive "rumour news" and are assessed as being immature were, however, genuinely "shocked". The prescriptive basis of the boffin girls' friendship relations invoked the opposition of mature/immature, which fractured the girls' solidarity and heightened the sexual vulnerability of some of the girls.

For the new wave girls, the condom incident shows that they could successfully play with the masculine instrument of

contraception. Possession of, and access to, the sheath reveals that the girls have confidence in themselves and solidarity within this group is strong. The condom is explicitly linked to male sexual behaviour and intention (Spencer 1984). However, the new wave girls use the durex as a provocateur, their purpose to cause amusement "a good laugh".

Although the boffin girls do have boyfriends, they have not begun their sexual careers⁵; in fact the boffin boys [their closest male contacts] see them as "out and out" virgins. The new wave girl's use of the sheath as a tool for ritual humiliation also emphasizes wider sexual contradictions within and between the different female pupils at Marshlands Comprehensive.

In the fifth year area the two groups' territorial spaces were relatively unchanged. However, they would stand or sit reasonably close to each other and there would be some talk between them, mainly on school subjects, work and examinations. The boffin girls did not stray from the fifth year area, except to stand just outside the building, in contrast, to the new wave girls who would go for walks during break, both in winter and summer. The girls would walk as a group with arms linked making a close unit. They would usually sing songs, for example punk or new wave, sometimes ballads sung in absurd tones or occasionally rude rhymes and limericks. The close style of walking both inside and outside the school was an expression of close physical bonds (Lambart 1976). However, walking with the girls could have its surprises. For example, on one occasion I was strolling around a council house estate at dinner time with five of the girls. I was behind the main group talking to Sally about why she had a badge, a safety pin and a hole in the back of her large white jumper. In front of us were Lynne, Christina [marginal member], Cat and Collen. Suddenly, completely out of the blue, Collen moved out a little, moved back and pushed extremely hard against Cat, who fell straight on to Christina who in turn hit Lynne, who immediately disappeared from sight. Lynne went flying into the air and bounced completely over a garden hedge.

Unfortunately, she was wearing a skirt and the spontaneous force of her unexpected flight had ruined her tights and stained her clothes with patches of green and brown from the turf.

Surprisingly, Lynne was not agitated by this "unfeminine" display but regarded the event as befitting the values and life style of the group. Everybody considered it a hilarious moment, arising spontaneously, an everyday feature of the girls' walk (Corrigan 1975).

The promenade of walking together marked the girls from all other pupils⁶, they were recognisable, and on such journeys interesting things were discovered⁷ or information gained. Their physical unity became a powerful resource for engaging or resisting aggression by boys: indeed, boys saw the grouping as a threat, not typically feminine. The girls, would not rush to the toilet to escape boys because the presence of their group secured an all girl space.

3.3 Critical conformity? Boffin girls' school instrumental practices

During the last two periods on Thursday mornings I would usually sit in the Humanities Block with the boffin girls who had "free time", when they would sometimes work but generally talk. One particular morning the girls abandoned schoolwork in favour of a discussion of the purpose of examinations. The debate was fierce, with voices raised and everyone making a contribution. On the far side of the Humanities block a classroom door opened and a teacher came towards the girls. She stood over them and shouted that they were misbehaving, abusing the trust placed in them to work alone. The teacher commented further that their work was "not up to standard" and their "behaviour was nothing short of childish". The boffin girls made a couple of "cheeky" comments concerning the pressure they were under to complete work for numerous 'O' level courses while the teacher returned to the classroom. They called her an "old cow" and agreed to disregard her

opinion; they assessed her as, firstly, having low formal status and secondly, making remarks that were irrelevant to their educational aims. One boffin girl said "I only need 35% for an A grade at 'O' level". Other girls said that they needed less to gain that grade because their assessment work had been so good.

Here the boffin girls display a local form of dissent towards a teacher, what Aggleton and Whitty (1985) describe as an act of contestation. The girls are not directly hostile to the teacher, although, once she is out of sight, they do challenge her authority (Aggleton 1987). These comments within the group context are acts of internal resistance, they are private to the girl group (Anyon 1983).

In discussion the boffin girls talk about their "free periods"

BG/WWGQ 7

- Mary In statistics we were not taught properly, so we
Rose Though that is not his fault though is it.
- Kerry No. But I mean ...
- Mary Because we did Maths early [Fourth year. SJB] So Mr. Simon had about ten of us then to teach and he said you have a choice of two subjects.
- Rose Which we could, one or two
- Kerry Yeah.
- Rose And.
- Kerry Because he can do, he can only teach one subject at a time. So when he is teaching say Additional Maths. For the people who don't do it, they go and sit in fifth year area or humanities block and get on with their own work, which is meant to be one of the Math's that they do. But it never is.
- Ellen We all just do any homework.
- Rose We talk most of the time, don't we.
- Kerry We have some good discussions, actually.

Rose We don't do statistics anymore because we finished the course.

Kerry Oh, we finished the course in six months.

The conversation displays the girls' success on examinations and ability to complete 'O' level courses early: it is a pedagogic promenade. At the start they are critical of both the statistics teacher and his formal organisation of the lesson. The boffin girls were working in an area of open space, where they were supposed to concentrate upon their supplementary maths 'O' level. But instead of maths, they either did homework, talk or have a good discussion. Kerry qualifies Rose's comment about "talk" and asserts that they have "good discussions", which conveys the meaning of worth-while-ness. They employ their seminar or of discussion to show it is part of their pedagogic practice, they are not wasting time.

These acts of internal resistance within the boffin girl group, are unknown to many teachers or other pupils. Not doing work or the correct work is a challenge to the teachers' control and power relations in school. This is another example of the boffin girls' use of their superior pupil position to support their educational aspirations in ways which operate against local principles of control. Willis (1977) describes this as the way pupils construct their own timetable.

Throughout classroom observation of the boffin girls there were occasions where their behaviour became more explicitly deviant [see chapter 8, section four].

BG/NWGQ8

Kerry In our music lesson with Mr Ridgewell we got three kids in our class, none of us like him. He can't teach we don't think.
He is not that much older than us, he is twenty three, I think. And he has got no sort of authority over us. He had a tantrum the other day and he, it was all our fault, we were provoking him because we don't like him.

Everyone started to get him angry, so he had a tantrum and then afterwards he slung a chair across the room and then he came up and apologised and said "I am sorry, I should not have done it". But if he had said you stupid kids, you kids made me angry on purpose. I am going to punish you for that, then that would have been - he should have done that, so we would have respected him in the future and got things across.

But he apologised to us because he sort of let off steam, and we had been annoying him on purpose, and that is the sort of thing a teacher should do.

Rose I feel that school teachers aren't strict enough because we get - I mean, my parents said to me you get away with a heck of a lot more than we done at school. They said if we had done that we would have been caned straight away. Half the stuff, I'm - I'm not exactly the worst person in the class. But a lot of the things I have said to teachers.

Kerry's account of classroom deviance reveals behaviour not normally associated with the school's top examinees. Statements such as "We were provoking him", "Get him angry" or "Annoy him on purpose" do not square with the boffin girls' public image, as the pro-school pupils. What underlies the boffin girls' nonconformity? The nature of their actions is closely related to their school aim of examination success. Kerry states that "He cannot teach". In chapter six we identified the girls' demand for an adult and structured pedagogic setting for learning, with explicit rules for transmitters and receivers of knowledge. They question the teacher's adult status and formal position, seeing him as closer to the pupils than to the teaching staff. Where reciprocal relations in classroom teaching are not forthcoming, the girls are deviant. The basis of their deviance in the classroom is the desire to restore an optimum learning environment. Kerry states "We would have respected him in the future and got things across".

Rose broadens the issue of the girls' perceived deviance by making a comparison with their parents' behaviour. Also, perhaps Rose hints ambiguously that they are sometimes deviant for nonpedagogic reasons. "A lot of the things I have said to

teachers". Turner (1983) notes "Conformity to rules per se is not in the interest of those who want to pass exams" [p.104]. They use strategies of classroom deviance in order to support their academic aspirations.

BG/NWGQ 9

Ellen In English [Literature SJB] the class just tries to get her angry, because they know when she is angry they are not going to work

SJB Why do you think, those teachers who can't get the message across - why do you think they are allowed to keep on teaching?

Ellen A lot of it goes unreported to the Heads of Department, they don't know because every time any of them come into class, the class often goes quiet. Does with Mrs Holland we are all completely silent, don't we, when the Head of Department walks in. So nobody ever finds out about it. Everytime Mrs. Holland complains she never complains out of the classroom. She always says something nice to teachers. Tell us off in the lesson as if she is going to report us badly and she doesn't, she says something nice. She never takes out her threats does she.

Teachers who fail to observe the boffin girls' structural learning requirements are put to the test. The problem for the teachers here, is that their expectation of these pupil does not fit their actual behaviour. If the teachers admit to professional colleagues that they are unable to teach the school's acknowledged top pupils, their future employment and career may be open to question. The teachers' and pupils' expectations clash in a hostile demand and denial situation.

3.4 Female resistance?: The new wave girls

Resistance as a theoretical concept has as its major weakness a thin foundation in empirical work, upon which grand theoretical constructions have been erected (Giroux 1983b). Here, I shall look at some of the new wave girls' practices and relations, in order to present the making of a female youth cultural practice.

A. Initiations rite

BG/NWGQ 10

Sioux What about when we went to Denise's the other night.

Debbie Opening the gate. We did not open the gate, we lifted it off its hinges.

Cathy Denise's mum said she was going to sue us for damages.

Debbie Because it is broken.

Sioux Oh is it!

All girls - Laughter -

SJB Who is Denise?

Sioux She is the new girl with blonde hair. She has got really thick blonde hair, she is quite tall, she goes round with us, well - ...

Cathy I haven't noticed.

To damage private property is a criminal act but does this represent an act of resistance?

A new girl arrives at school, she is accepted and taken into the new wave girl group. Here, they describe her initiation rite (Campbell 1984). It is symbolic that the girls should break the gate leading to the house. They are possibly demonstrating to Denise that there is no need to be uncertain because of the support the girls can provide. All their gates are open, ready for members of the group, to enter. It is significant that Denise lives with one parent, her mother; this fits the dominant pattern of the familial relations of the new wave girls as a whole. Sioux praises the new girl for her "really thick blonde hair". This means she has something of value that makes her acceptable to this youth cultural group. However, Cathy concludes with a note of uncertainty concerning the new girl's acceptance, when she remarks that contrary to Sioux's assertion, she has not noticed this new girl "going round with us"

I began this section with the girls' story of an initiation rite because it brings together a number of separate themes, firstly, the girls' delinquent behaviour outside school, secondly, the girls' loving relations of openness to share their vulnerability within the group and thirdly the group basis and context of ritual outside the home. The next discussion will be on the girls' use of alcohol.

B. Drinking Alcohol

At the ages of fifteen or sixteen the new wave girls' who consume alcohol are breaking the law.⁸ The places where the girls would regularly drink were public houses, wine bars, parties, gatherings in a girl's house, disco or gig. Additionally three of the girls had jobs in local public houses. In the conversation that follows, it is possible to see that they identify the pub as a very positive place.

BG/NWGQ 11

Debbie My mum is quite into it.

Cathy She would not go up the pub with her mum because it would be such an embarrassment [everyone smiles. SJB]

Debbie What with my mum!

Cathy Yeah. Sliding down the wall.

Debbie She will get pissed and slide down the wall.

Cathy Missing the dartboard.

Debbie No. That's when she is playing sober.

Clare That is when she is sober.

Debbie She hits the dartboard when she is drunk.

All girls - Laughter -

Sioux Oh dear!

Clare Most of the sixth form go up the pub and they're not even eighteen - that age are they.

Debbie You are allowed in pubs when you are fourteen anyway aren't you, although some people some publicans will not let you in until you're eighteen.

- Sioux Yeah. But it is up to their discretion. They can chuck someone of forty out of their pub; if they wanted to.
- Clare I mean when we went on that pub crawl we were in the Victoria, you know that - we were in that little bit and no one else was in there. When the bar keeper, whatever his name is - the barman he said "Bye boys and girls". Did you hear him?
- SJB Oh yeah that's right.
- Clare So he must have known. But he did not chuck us out or anything.
- Sioux It's like New Year's Eve up at the Woolpack he was really nice to us and he, when we said goodbye. He said Happy New Year and told us all, he said something about a new year to do things and things like this. Honestly, that was what he implied. He was being really nice wasn't he I go out with my parents quite often we go out for a drink.
- SJB What to that pub?
- Sioux Yeah, out to the Red Cow at Popminster yeah, it is like sitting in somebody's front room.

The girls point out that a nice time is shared when drinking, whether with boyfriends, parents or girls alone. Their account of pub licensing laws shows they have a sound knowledge of their own illegal activities. Under age drinking and the telling of such events are crucial aspects of the girls' promenade as a youth cultural group. This shows their territorial movement and place in the community; as with the mod boys, the new wave girls are recognised. Occasionally, the girls would go to the Red Cow during lunch time at school, though this was not a regular activity, the majority of their "heavier" drinking session took place at parties or all-girl gatherings.

BG/NWGQ 12

- Debbie Do you realise that time we got drunk, we didn't cry.
- Cathy I BLOODY DID.
Well, we didn't together, I cried after I had been sick on the dog.

Sioux Well hold on, at that [party. SJB] Lynne was sitting there, she was rocking in the rocking chair and crying "I want Julian", like this and I was so pissed off. I will never forgive myself. I sat there and burst out laughing. I goes you can't fucking have him because he's not fucking here and then I burst out laughing.

Cathy When you are drunk, you say some really evil things you do. At Clare's party when I was crying, you goes "Oh for fuck sake SHUT UP".

All Girls - Laughter -

Sioux All right.
Cathy and Debbie had being crying and Cathy came out and she was sitting on the stairs, and my mother had early had a go at me, and I was depressed. So I said what is a matter Cathy, I put my arm round her and she told me why and then I thought she would stop crying, now she has confided with somebody. But she would not stop crying. Anyway, she sat there still crying so I got up and said "For fuck sake stop bloody crying", and I walked off.

Debbie All night long, all we did was cry.

Cathy Oh bloody hell that was terrible!

Sioux Cathy was going where are my cocktail cigarettes. I want something very special, I want to give one of these to - and she was howling at me and she thought I had lost them and they were only on the side.

Debbie She was really funny when she was pissed.
Walking into the kitchen, staggered in, there are all those boys sitting round and she goes "Hello Gaz" and fell over.

All girls - Laughter -

SJB Classic entry.

Debbie Then she is - was leaning over talking to him and she just toppled over. It was really funny. Oh sorry.

Sioux Just like Sally the other night Sally came in, that night we had all been down to Sally's. [all girl gathering. SJB] And there was this ashtray right by the door. She comes in, she goes huuhh and she stood straight in this ashtray with all dogends in there and it went crack and it fell all over the place.

Cathy Yeah when I walked out of Sally's place we were walking up the road and it was really dark and we were talking and I goes Sioux I think someone has dumped an ashtray in my pocket.

Cathy There was about fifty dogends in there. I got home and I was going like that, there was about three handfuls, all these matches. I goes hold on a minute Sioux. I have got the wrong coat on.

All girls - Laughter -

Sioux So we had to go all the way back.

Clare Whose coat was it?

Cathy Sally's with an ashtray in her pocket.

Drinking stories were common currency among the new wave girls, probably one of the most amusing stories concerned the night that Sally and Lynne both fell into a ditch; a combination of drink and "larking about".

Superficially, we can suggest that this behaviour is not consistent with images of passive teenage girls: "being sick", "howling", "falling over", "topple over", "feeling pissed off" and pockets with handfuls of dogends are not usually associated with traditional adolescent femininity (Sharpe 1976, Wolpe 1988). These stories are re-presentations of the girls' promenading practices as a female youth cultural group. At a deep level we can identify a rule of the girls' internal group relations: do not hold your feeling's back, show your real self. These girls display honesty by crying and consoling one another and also by being able to laugh at their own vulnerability; an essential dynamic feature of this group. Here, to cry is not a weakness but a strength. By being open they share and cope with the problems of their vulnerabilities. I never saw these girls cry as a result of bullying or run to the girls' toilet to escape male violence. For as a youth cultural group, the new wave girls' territorial practices are conducted through the showing of their public face. [see chapter three, Social Relations of the face].

C. Cigarette smoking

Another example of illegality in these girls behaviour is the smoking of cigarettes before they were sixteen.⁹ They did

not have such a strict rota for smoking as did the mod boys. In general, the girls would smoke while walking to and from school, occasionally during break time morning/afternoon, always at dinner time "up the street", "in the graveyard" or "round somebody's house". Throughout the fieldwork a few of the girls were reported by prefects to the teaching staff for smoking outside school. However, they only received cautions rather than punishment. During an informal conversation they speak about smoking at school and at home.

BG/NWGQ 13

Clare We smoked in the classroom.

Sioux Yeah English and Maths

SJB You smoked in the classroom?

Debbie Yeah. Teachers - teacher ...

Clare We used to smoke in the fucking Maths lesson. Do you remember when we used to have, we used to pass it along the thing, everyone used to stick it under the table.

SJB Do your parents know you smoke? Because Debbie and Cathy, no, just Cathy you said your mother didn't know.

All girls My mum doesn't know.

Debbie My mum, once I was choking on a cup of tea and she said "Oh you should give up smoking" I just went bright red.

Sioux Wed. Red. My mum, I don't know if she knows but I could swear blind she would be able to smell it.

Debbie Yeah, that is what I have always thought.

SJB Yeah, they must be able to tell - it is on your clothes - somewhere.

Sioux She wouldn't - I mean. I am not going to tell her because we had it all out before, about smoking. So I'm not going to tell her till I'm old enough. Then I can turn round and say well there is nothing she can do about it now. If she keeps me in, I can have a cigarette on my way to and from school. So there is nothing she can do about it anyway because she can't stop me from going to school and that is the only way she could ever stop me from smoking. Which

I wouldn't mind, if she was going to stop me from going to school....

SJB Do your parents know what you get up to half the time?

Debbie No.

Clare That is the best thing about it. It makes it more exciting.

All girls YEAH.

Clare You know like smoking

Sioux It is like me, I am never at home at the weekends.

Debbie No I'm not.

Clare When you're allowed to smoke at home I think more people would give up. Because all the fun has gone out of it. "Quick here she comes" while you are having a fag

Sioux I sit there [at home. SJB] at lunch time thinking, oh - shall I smoke this cigarette now or shall I leave it for later. And it is a good job I do. Most likely the day when I do light up a cigarette at lunch time my stepfather will come in. So I don't. I save it for in bed at night. When everybody has gone to bed. I sit in bed with my wooden ashtray.

Clare I smoke in the bath.

Debbie Yeah

SJB In the bath!

Clare We have got a bath tray. I sit there with a fag. It's really great.

Sioux I don't do it in the bathroom, you could smell it in there.

Clare We can't because there is so much steam and I get my dad's Brute and spray it everywhere. He doesn't know.

Sioux No I only do it in the bedroom because that is the only place my friends smoke anyway. When my parents are out, then in the living room. I did my finger with bleach last night.

Debbie Mine are still yellow. Looks like I have been eating yellow sherbut.

Sioux Yeah, that is what I'll tell mum I think, she'll say "Have you!"

To smoke cigarettes is against the law for some of the new wave girls, it is against school regulations and it is against the wishes of their parents. Clare states that the girls "used to smoke" in the classroom; she uses the past tense which means this action is largely history. As mentioned earlier, while on the school premises they would smoke only during break or lunch time. In the fifth year, the girls were more selective in their oppositional practices against school, thus smoking in the classroom was abandoned in favour of the sportsfield or the street.

Smoking is both an individual act and a collective group ritual. To smoke alone, the girls' favourite locations are bedroom, bathroom and toilet [see chapter 11]. To smoke as a group, as Debbie and Sioux mention, they spend weekends away from home which means at the house of another girl, where in these all-girl gatherings, they are able to break parent rules through the solidarity of their group relations. Sioux points out that her friends can smoke in her bedroom, which allows her to do it too even though it is against her parents' rules.

Excitement is mentioned by the girls as a major reason why they smoke. The thrill of illegality of breaking regulations is more important than the act of smoking itself. However, to smoke cigarettes is a central part of the girls' relations and practices [see chapter 4, the cigarette as part of a complex exchange ritual].

In the first year of fieldwork smoking marihuana was tried on a number of occasions but was not an important element of the girl's cultural practices until the sixth form.

BG/NWGQ 14

X We have tried it over at Fred's one time.

Y Just makes me feel drunk for about ten minutes.

In the fifth year the girls as a group were uncertain about the purpose of smoking cannabis. In earlier years some of the

girls had briefly tried "glue sniffing" but found it unsuitable as a means of getting high. In the second year of fieldwork some girls began to grow their own "dope" plants. I also accompanied them to places which they visited regularly, where it was possible to smoke marihuana. The new wave girls did not take "hard drugs"¹⁰.

D. Clothes and school uniform

One of the Headteacher's notices to parents on school uniform for pupils reads

"Once again I must thank most parents for sending their children to school so suitably dressed. You will recall that we also ask that school clothes for the summer term should be restricted in range. Boys should continue to wear ties until specifically told they may not. Light weight blouse type jackets may be worn only in school colours. Girls may continue to wear winter uniform but may instead wear dresses in blue or blue and white [not other colours] with modest necklines and at least small sleeves. Cardigans should be dark blue [not white or either colours]. Vest, T-shirts and denims are not suitable [even for sixth formers]. Shoes and sandals should be safe and comfortable for the many activities of a school day."

The clothes worn to school by the new wave girls were of great variation such as:- black trousers, skirts, usually black, [few girls regularly wore skirts], jumpers without blouses, no bra, large oversize jumpers, white male shirts, black and grey T-shirts, sweat shirts, brown, grey or black cardigans, copper coloured jackets, doctor marten boots, black monkey boots and green shoes. This list of some of the girls' clothes for school is not exhaustive but it shows that they rarely wore the correct school uniform.

Other girls in school generally wore clothes that were within the regulations. The new wave girls were the only girls consistently to wear trousers rather than skirts (Margrain 1983). The boffin, square, straight and remedial girls always wore skirts, the first and the last altering the uniform to sexualise their appearance (Hudson 1984). In contrast, the new

wave girls did not adapt their school uniform to make themselves appear more feminine, they wore clothes of a non-school uniform type which were sexually attractive without conforming to conventional markers of female prettiness.

In discussion with me Mrs Arthurs, the Head of Fifth Year Girls, explained that on a number of occasions she had to "tell off" some of the girls for not wearing "proper" school uniform. Here Sioux relates one such incident:

BG/NWGQ 15

Mrs Arthurs took one of us in cause she had a grey sweat shirt on. That's not school uniform. She took her into her office and she told her off because her cords were too tight. She did not tell her off for her sweat shirt at all.

The senior member of staff reprimands a new wave girl for flaunting her sexuality, a perennial battle in schools. However, the girl still manages to "get away" with wearing trousers ie. black cords which is against the school rules, and an incorrect type of blouse in a non-school colour. Sioux relates another incident of a new wave girl caught in non-school uniform, this time by Mr Skull, Head of Fifth Year Boys.

BG/WWGQ 16

Sioux Like Mr.Skull he saw her in her jeans and he said why have you got jeans on and he laughed. And she goes. "Oh I got the motor bike thing in General Studies this morning. He just did not say anything at all, he just laughed.

If this pupil had been a boy, he would have been sent home. Sioux's statement reveals that some of the male members of teaching staff had a certain weakness for the new wave girls. In contrast, the new wave girls were genuinely wary of Mrs Arthurs, "I'll tell you, everybody is shit scared of her. I am anyway. She really scares me". Accounts of pupils wearing

non-school uniform usually focus on the deviant action in terms of opposition to school, sexual expression or display of a youth cultural style. However, on one occasion Clare the style leader of the new wave girls, and Rich her boyfriend, one of the style leaders of the mod boys [and individualist] combined flamboyancy with purpose and imagination in their dress for an 'O' English Literature mock examination. Clare was wearing a long dark grey-silver raincoat with collar turned-up a Victorian style white lace blouse and dark lambs-wool jumper, a skirt of heavy dark tartan just past the knee, dark socks and a small pair of black leather boots. Her hair which is dark was elegantly parted so one side appeared longer, obscuring half of her face to reveal no make-up except for one shaded dark purple eyebrow, while Rich had a long dark tweedish overcoat, black jacket with narrow lapels, a white shirt with a small collar buttoned down contrasting superbly with a small thin black bow tie. Over his jacket collar was a white silk scarf. He wore a pair of black trousers with pleats which were tight at the ankle displaying a pair of polished red shoes.

When questioned as to the reason for their peculiar dress and appearance they replied

BG/WWGQ 17.

We have come dressed for English Literature in a manner suitable for Shakespeare.

The teaching staff were amused and did not send the pupils home to change into normal school uniforms for the purpose of an examination.

E. "Skiving"

Absence, truancy or skiving are terms denoting non-attendance at school for pupils up to the age of sixteen. There is an ambiguity¹¹ within the meaning of truancy, for to play truant is to stay away from school without leave, but to be a truant also means one who shirks or neglects duty.

I never knew any of the boffin girls to practice skiving. But if any did, it would probably have been as individuals not as members of a group. The most deviant activity for the boffin girls would be to refrain from work during their free periods set aside for homework. The remedial girls would be frequently absent from school, which is consistent with Burgess's (1983) study on low status and stigmatised "Newsom" pupils at the bottom of the streaming system.

The new wave girls in the upper ability band did engage in skiving but it was always a highly selective event, for example "We don't want to watch some boring police film about piss artists driving over people do we", or "We have completed this section of the course, so might as well do something more constructive". I attended a number of skiving sessions at the home of new wave girls who lived near the school. Sometimes I would "go off with the girls when they made a decision to play truant, at other times I would receive a message through the "grapevine", and make my own way to the house.

During these times of absence I usually found the girls helping each other to solve problems in maths, completing history, geography or English literature homework, revising for examinations or filling-in forms. Obviously, sometimes they did no work, just drank coffee, chatted and listened to music, but even these conversations were no idle waste of time.

They generally skived in one another's houses, and utilised the time in a manner not consistent with the term truancy. Their type of skiving is best described as creating an alternative frame of reference to that officially designated by the school. The new wave girls developed a strategy for skiving which was based on manipulating the organisational structure of the school, to support the educational aims they had in common with the school.

However, not all the occasions of the girls' "bunking off" were happy. Once they were almost caught. On Wednesday morning a group of them were gathered at Clare's house. There

was a bang on the door, the loud voice of Mrs Arthurs rang out, she was with the Truancy Officer. Inside, the girls hid in silence. The banging continued for some time before the girls could get away. Within the girl group this incident caused some initial ill feeling amongst those who were not in the house. Afterwards, the event became a tale of excitement to enhance the girls' deviant promenade. Few, if any pupils, certainly none in the upper band, had been able to deceive both a Head of Fifth Year and the Truancy Officer. However, later in the day and again early next morning, two of the girls who were in the house repeated that they were frightened and would think hard about when and where next to skive.

F. Girls together: 'lesbian' displays and physicality.

One of the boys in the school describes the new wave girls BG/NWGQ 18.

Kevin You lot of girls are fucking weird. You're always holding arms, anywhere, everytime. When you say goodbye even for different lessons you kiss each other and touch one another. It's fucking crap. I will tell you something me and the rest of us think it's fucking funny and stupid, the way you lot act. Who do you reckon you are?

This aggressive and defensive statement by one of the "hard nut" boys, enables us to see what boys in general dislike about the new wave girls' behaviour. Earlier I mentioned that the girls would link arms when walking at school, they would also kiss goodbye, sometimes when changing classes and always at the end of the schoolday. This public bodily contact continued during leisure hours outside school.

BG/NWGQ 19

Cathy It's is lovely and warm in here isn't it.

Debbie Right, last night in London, it was. This is me and this is Cathy. [Practical demonstration. SJB] All of a sudden she just decided that she wanted to lie over me. Because my - because it was nice and warm on my side of the bed, and then went like that over her. And then in the end I was over here curled

up in the eiderdown, no pillows, just one blanket. She has got about six billion pillows and all the blankets, and the electric fire was over your side.

Sioux It is like at Bridget's party. And we all sort of staggered in like this and we were lying there. We had the two air beds on the floor and somebody was on the sofa. Lynne and I were mucking around, pulling around, sitting around and she was thinking about spilling her coffee and she just sat there and she spilt it all down her and she goes isn't funny. How, when you think about spilling you coffee you do it.

And then we all - got into bed. There was Sally and Pat opposite us like because we had them head to head you see. Anyway, Steff was talking in her sleep oh, oh Gaz - patting the sofa. And next morning Sally woke up and she goes where is Pat like this. And apparently Sally had kept rolling nearer and nearer to Pat in the night, so that Pat had got out of bed and got in the other side.

All girls - Laughter -

Sioux You can imagine, so funny.

Here are a couple of the girls together stories, they represent happy times, cuddling up away from men. At these gatherings the girls would sleep together, smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol [cider, wine, martini] and engage in long conversations. When I stayed overnight at some of the girls' houses it was possible to observe this. It is a distinguishing characteristic that the girls would regularly sleep together. Sometimes they would tape record their conversations on a cassette before going to bed. On one occasion the girls gave me such a cassette (12) to help the research. These practices challenge McRobbie and Garber's (1975) claim "It is important to remember that girls have no access to the masturbatory rituals common amongst boys" [p.220]. At one all-girl gathering when the girls became quite drunk one night and were making lots of rude noises, Sally explains

BG/NWGQ 20

It was at my house. In my bedroom, every one was under different blankets in the dark. I was trying hard to come with everyone moving about. It was really fun.

The new wave girls' level of intimacy is intense, their collective rituals and basis of group behaviour support and strengthen solidarity. By revealing, sharing and accepting their bodily vulnerability and pleasures the girls acquire information about their own sexual responses. In this respect they are unlike the girls in the two feminist studies by Jackson (1980) and Lees (1986).

Physical closeness is part of their internal group relations, it is also used as a promenade to promote particular messages.

BG/NWGQ 21

SJB There will be some life in the sixth form with you lot there.

Sioux Yeah.

Cathy Yeah, us two lesbians.

Sioux Me and Sally all over the floor together.
My hip hints, right there. Is that your hip?

Clare Yeah

Cathy Did you hear what Stephen [boyfriend. SJB] said.

Sioux What did he say?

Cathy He goes oh I have been hearing strange things about you and - I goes what? [expression of leading him on. SJB]
He goes oh it is going round the sixth form that you two are becoming lesbians, and he said no, really, he goes I don't believe it but you know that the "stiff's" [straight people. SJB] do.

Here they discuss how their close physical relations have been understood as lesbianism. I have decided to call the girls' open promotion of lesbian behaviour "lesbian displays".

I think what is important is not whether the girls were lesbians, but the fact that they actively sent out public messages that they were. What is crucial is the reason for these 'lesbian'¹³ displays.

In the girl group there were two apparent lesbian pairings, Sioux and Sally, Cathy and Debbie. I knew the four boyfriends of each of these girls who thus could not have been only lesbians. The aim of these 'lesbian displays' I consider was not to define personal lesbian relations but rather to exclude others, promote group unity and strengthen close relations between pairs of girls. In BG/NWGQ 17 we see that boys in the fifth year feel threatened by observation of the girls' physicality. 'Lesbian' displays frighten the boys because they render their masculine sexual display pointless. In BG/NWGQ 17 and 20 the main problem for boy or boyfriend is that they are uncertain about perhaps even disturbed by, the sexual connotations of the girls' close physical contact.

They were not ashamed to speak about bodily functions.

BG/NWGQ 22

Debbie If you will excuse me I am going to blow off [fart noise. SJB]

SJB Put it in my bag and I will take it with me!

Sioux Yeah!
Inhale it for tea, you'll get high, you would on some of hers - GOD. What about that one I did when we were on the telephone that day. God, that is the best one I have ever done in my life. It really did stink and I put my feet on the wall and all dye came off my red socks

All girls - Laughter -

Furthermore, the new wave girls did not see menstruation as a taboo. Inside the group a girl would say she had started her period; outside the group some of the girls would occasionally tease or try to humiliate a boy by stating "Do you know I'm on". A number of the girls realised the potential use of the subject of menstruation because boys feared it and understood it as uncleanness (Willis 1977, Lees 1986, Prendergast 1989). Therefore, to mention a period provoked images of defilement and consequently disrupted a boy's pattern of sexist abuse. However, they were not immune to intimidation

by boys, but sexual abuse was less of a problem for them than other girls.

The girls' lesbian displays and close physical contact was an everyday feature of their relations and bodily stories were normal events.

BG/NWGQ 23

Debbie Right, Friday night.
When I am riding by bike, we did not have any shampoo, so I washed my hair with soap. We did not have any fucking toothpaste so I had to wash my teeth with salt.

Cathy Is that it, is that what we are waiting for?

Debbie No. I did not have any bog paper either.

Sioux Drip dry!
I remember I used blotting paper once over the lower school.

Clare My mum told me to use my middle finger.

Cathy Remember the time when I knocked the thing down the loo. I told her I couldn't get it out. I said "This is your toilet roll Clare. I have just dropped it in the toilet."

Clare She was holding it and I said did you flush the loo and she said no.

All girls - Laughter -

The girls possessed an ability to "shock" both boys and other girls by their forthright discussions, stories and jokes about female [and male] bodily functions normally understood as taboo.

4. Conclusions

One important issue brought out in this chapter is how the girls understand their parents' interpretations of female friendship and the degree to which parents sanction the behaviour of the respective groups. Two differences are notable. Firstly, the boffin girls' family life is relatively

stable, in contrast to the new wave girls, of whom over half have experience of living in a one parent family. Secondly, in terms of groupings, the boffin girls were a pupil group, the new wave girls a youth cultural group: friendships within each group were strong, long lasting and dating back to the primary school.

The new wave girls shared experience of family break up and changes in household arrangements made a strong impact upon the girl group as a whole. Where the step or separated parent did not recognise the daughters "new role" in the home or failed to acknowledge the value of the girl group there were degrees of tension and conflict. Parents gave support to the group by allowing greater freedom of action. In exchange for independence the girls would accept domestic responsibility. Changes to the family form brought changes to the conventional relations between daughter and parent [mother or father]; because the girls' help was needed in order to manage the household, the girls became partners and were treated more like equals. Within the youth cultural group, personal and bodily vulnerabilities are on display, there is no withholding, responses such as crying are a strength not a weakness. The new wave group demanded an openness of its members, a willingness to share even confess personal fears and vulnerabilities. This openness was not only a powerful source of unity but it also bound the girls together in an exclusive and excluding relation. The group ensured that highly personal matters did not go outside the group and this increased the dependency of each member on the group.

The parents of the boffin girls were, in general, more strict about their daughters' behaviour, especially with regard to questions of school and access to boys. The boffin girls also had an exchange relation with their parents to gain independence, although on a different basis from the new wave girls. The academic success of the boffin girls was rewarded by parents holding a celebration party. Although the girls remain within the restrictive boundaries drawn by their parents, they are not denied access to pleasure. Through

gaining qualifications the girls gain parental support and resources to hold a party. On these ritual occasions the girls are free to challenge the moral regimes of their middle class parents by "getting drunk" or kissing "unsuitable" boys. In other words, the parents give limited independence to their daughters. Basically, the boffin girls exchange academic qualifications for limited independence in the short run but expected total independence in the long run which will arise out of future careers. The parents of the new wave girls allow them independence because they share responsibility in the household; this exchange relation is a recognition of the strength of the girl group as a whole. However, it also implicitly carries parental expectations that the girls in the group are able to regulate their own behaviour.

The value of intellectual achievement is accepted by both girl groups. Location in the upper ability band confers status and promotes confidence: none of the girls doubted their capacity to understand school work. There was no evidence to show any decline in the girls' high aspirations. They did not require approval from male pupils to demonstrate their talent; their position in the streaming systems and assertiveness in the classroom was evidence of their ability (Stanworth 1981).

Outside the classroom, the new wave girls could use their bodily function to embarrass boys by telling them they have begun menstruation, or they could "throw things". Inside the classroom, they could be equally aggressive and return ritual insults, as well as pulling chairs away or refusing to give boys books. Interaction in the classroom was fiercely competitive between both girl groups. Where boys acted bored or laughed at the girls' questions, these actions found little sympathy with teachers because of the girls' perceptive answers or questions (Mahony 1985).

It is clear from the ethnographic examples of the new wave girls' practices inside and outside school, that they are not conformist pupils. However, they do conform to school in terms of valuing qualifications and completing work. The new wave

girls' accept the instrumentality of school- the means and ends of school learning but not its moral order. Essentially it is the middle class boffin girls who more readily accepted school values and norms. They wear the correct school uniform, do not break the school rules of smoking or truancy and obey the legal constraints on alcohol and drugs. However, they are supportive of the school's definition of the pupil role only insofar as it corresponds to their own educational aspirations. In the section Critical Conformity, we saw how deviant the girls could be when their learning requirements are not met. Nevertheless, few pupils knew of the boffin girls' classroom deviance or the extent of their critical assessment of teachers. Could it be argued that their behaviour is resistant? It was suggested that the girls' behaviour might be understood as occasionally giving rise to acts of contestation. They challenged principles of control disagreeing with teacher's opinion or by showing limited disrespect. In private the girls held resistance attitudes towards teachers and schooling; these active responses might possibly be described as internal resistance. In general, the concepts of "contestation" and "internal resistance" are too insensitive and vague as explanations of behaviour. The concepts clarify some moments of the boffin girls' engagement in school processes but they are unable to reveal their subtle internal/external group relations and practices.

I identified a range of resistance practices of the new wave girls which are, firstly, oppositional to school and secondly, generally associated with masculine anti-school groups (Lacey 1970, Willis 1977, Davies 1984). This raises the question whether these activities reinforce the girls' subordination by contributing to the reproduction of sexist attitudes (Aggleton 1987). The girls' resistant behaviour of drinking, lesbian displays, cigarette and cannabis smoking and truancy are examples of acts of challenge against power relations across four sites; sexuality, school, society and the family. However, forms of oppositional behaviour do not in themselves demonstrate resistance (Giroux 1983b) but taken together these examples can be described as aspects of the new

wave girls anti-patriarchal practice. It would be an over-interpretation to argue that their truancy, drinking or wearing non-regulation school uniform indicate this, although these aspects of behaviour show defiance, independence, assertiveness and creativity, not [always] associated with teenage girls (Walkerdine 1984, Mac an Ghail 1988). However, the girls' cultural practice does encourage critical thinking, is feminist and prompts the girls to question male dominance.

To conclude, although the concept of resistance is useful in explaining the girls' action, it is inadequate for the location and rigorous exploration of the contexts which shape the varied forms of the girls' anti-patriarchal practice.

Notes to Chapter 10

1. Their parents would restrict the girls' out of school leisure activities, especially at times when they might meet boys. The boffin girls were not allowed to wear promenading clothes which might heighten their sexuality and parents demanded to know what boys would be present at any disco or party.
2. In contrast, some of the new wave girls were allowed to go to London to stay with their relatives for the weekend. The parents accepted that they would buy clothes and go to clubs and venues like "The Rock Garden" in Covent Garden.
3. The new wave girls had close friendships and often quite objective relations with their parents, as this example shows:

Sally* I heard some noises the other night, so I lay there still listening and it was my mum and dad. They were making love. I was just so pleased because I thought they were going through, you know, a rough time.

4. Educational case studies on secondary school pupils suggests that girls' experience of schooling differs from that of boys. (Wolpe 1977, Stanworth 1981). For girls the formal educational process is largely associated with sex discrimination and male violence (Jones 1985), where boys dominate classroom space, lesson time and teacher attention and subject girls to sexual harassment and public ridicule (Llewellyn 1980). In some studies girls' behaviour has been understood as resistant. (McRobbie and Garber 1975, Walkerdine 1981, McLaren 1982) although it is uncertain whether we can interpret their action as emancipatory because they contributed to the reproduction of sexist attitudes and practices (Giroux 1983a). However, girls are not merely passive recipients of male sexist aggression, but are frequently active in attempting to cope with it and to resolve social contradictions (Anyon 1983, Canaan 1986).
5. Throughout the fieldwork the boffin girls would entrust to me 'secrets' concerning their stage of sexual development. I compared this information with observation of their behaviour at parties and discos, and additional information gained from parents, other girls, ex-boyfriends and the boffin boys. I understood that despite the boffin girls' claims, they had not begun to develop sexual relationships with boys. And, as they consistently explained, homework took priority over relations with boys.
6. There was a group of five 4th year skinhead girls who were particularly influenced by the new wave girls' display of solidarity when walking round the school.

7. For example, ex-boyfriends who had left school and hung around outside; what the girls would be doing at dinner time, at whose house and so on.
8. See Davies 1984, pp.29-30.
9. Educational case studies on pupil cultures tend to focus upon cigarette smoking as an element of deviant pupil behaviour (Hargreaves 1967, Willis 1977, Llewellyn 1980). These accounts do not investigate the wider value of smoking as an adolescent group exchange ritual, nor how pupils and parents negotiate the issue.
10. Such as heroin, cocaine and sulphate.
11. See Furlong 1976, Willis 1977, Corrigan 1979, Finn 1982, Turner 1983, Woods 1984, Brown 1987, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Blackman 1989.
12. See chapter 11.
13. For an interesting discussion on girls and lesbianism see Nava 1982.

CHAPTER 11

PATRIARCHY AND ROMANCE: Boffin girls and new wave girls

1. Introduction

On the basis of the analysis in chapter 10 I shall now compare and contrast the two girl groups' relationship to patriarchy and romance. The chapter will be divided into two sections:

First, I shall investigate gender groupings and sexism, in order to identify the girls' experience of differing social and sexual relation with boys. Here I shall be concerned with the identification of modes of sexist attack from boys, strategies used by the boffin girls in their relations with the boffin boys and the new wave girls relationship to boys and boyfriends.

Second, I shall present an ethnography of two adolescent girl parties. Here I shall give an account of a boffin girls' party and a new wave girls' party.

1.1 Sexism and modes of male aggression

The boffin and new wave girls deal with a variety of different sexist practices from boys in school. Girls encounter sexism from individual male pupils and groups of boys throughout the school.

However, sexual discrimination is not practised by every male pupil, nor are those boys who are abusive to girls consistently sexist in the same manner.

Here I shall discuss modes of sexist attack from "criminal", square boffin, boffin and mod boys.

The criminal boys were highly abusive to the majority of pupils whether female or male, except the mod boys owing to possible fear of physical retaliation. Neither girl group came into frequent contact with the "criminal boys"¹ owing to their different academic positions and informal school locations. There was no common ground nor any reason for the girls to contact these boys. They knew of the boys' delinquent and violent reputation; this was reason enough for avoidance.

The boffin girls were most frequently in contact with the boffin boys [their pedagogic reference group]; they spent little time with either square boffin or mod boys. In the following conversation the girls talk about some of the square boffin boys, the boffin boys in general and an incident with a mod boy. The discussion begins with the girls' assessment of the square boffin boys.

BG/NWGQ 1

Kerry Because they respect us more.

Monica I don't know.

Rose No.

Mary Chris does I think - but Chris is just shy, um.

Monica To put it mildly.

Rose A pain in the neck.

Kerry I do not go any stronger than that.

Rose I think they are worth five pains in the neck. He [Chris. SJB] is worse than Joe and that is saying something.

Kerry A pain in the arm.

SJB I don't think that Chris and that lot really know so much about the female body.

Rose No.

Mary I don't know, I don't know. I think they might do but they are just slow in talking about it.

Ellen It is awful isn't it ur

- SJB Why do you think the school put the girls separate from boys to give these sex talks?
- Mary I think they probably consider it is nothing to do with boys.
- Rose You have got to admit in the first and second year the boys [boffin boys. SJB] were pretty kiddish and they just laughed about it.
- Mary Yeah true.
But they wouldn't if they hadn't been kept separate. Then they wouldn't laugh about it.
- Rose And they did in the third year. It is all right in the fourth year and the fifth year. I think they would have done.
- Mary They might have laughed about it. But then they would of got used to it and they would ...
- Rose They are used to it. They are used to it.
- Kerry But how much do they know [boffin boys. SJB] and how much is just what they call and play about it.
- Rose Yeah, but I mean they ...
- Ellen Oh, oh, oh.
- Rose They do not just sort of make a laugh about it like they used to in the first and second ...
- Kerry They do. I think they do.
- Rose They do not, not in the fifth year.
- Mary Not in the same way.
- Kerry But they still laugh.
- Rose So do the girls
- Kerry I mean I was standing out there [fifth year area. SJB] the other day reading a notice and Rod [mod boy. SJB] threw a tampon under my feet and said, "Oh is that yours Kerry" I said "No thank, Rod, and kicked it back. NOW IF YOU DO THAT SORT OF THING, YOU'RE KIDDING ABOUT. [voice loud and strained. SJB].
- Rose I know.
- Mary Yeah but there was a time when they wouldn't of been able to do that.
- Rose They wouldn't have done it.
- Mary/Rose Because they would have been too embarrassed.

The boffin girls understand the square boffin boys as essentially children; these boys are "shy" and "slow" in talking to girls but their behaviour is also "a pain in the neck", with some who are "worse than others". Through observation of the square boffin boys, it was apparent that they would tease the girls by pointing out the differences between women and men. Girls' bodies have "funny bits" which are assessed as "stupid" and "weak" because they are not like or as strong as boys. For the boffin girls this level of sexist attack was least troublesome and could be dealt with by a statement about the girls' academic ability or a sharp kick. The girls refrain from returning the boys' aggression because they see them as children and feel secure in their own more responsible and mature attitude. They see these boys as practically asexual. However, the boy's childlike actions are based upon powerful sexist assumptions which insult girls.

Essentially, when these girls speak about boys, this refers to the boffin boys. Rose states that the boffin boys' behaviour towards them is "kiddish". The girls state that boys enjoy "making a laugh out of it", this refers to boys telling jokes about menstruation. There is disagreement amongst the girls about the degree of sexist practice by the boffin boys. Mary maintains that the boys' nasty attitude comes from being "kept separate" which breeds resentment and ignorance about the functioning of the female body. She is optimistic and asserts that the boys would change if they were given more information, as "they would have got used to it", whereas Rose argues that the boys were horrible to girls in the first and second year but they were "all right" in the fourth and fifth year. Kerry disagrees with this comment, she wants to know how much superstition is behind the boffin boys' bravado of "call and play", she questions "how much do they know?" Rose is reluctant to admit that boys "still laugh" about the reproductive and excremental aspects of the female body; Kerry asserts that boys do make fun; Mary agrees but perceptively notes that boys' sexist abuse changes, it is "not the same".

In order to reinforce her argument that boys are nasty,

Kerry tells her story of the tampon incident with the mod boy. The girls interpret the boys' contact with the sanitary towel as an action previously not possible because of male embarrassment.

In conclusion, the boffin girls are confronted with [at least] three modes of male aggression from three boy groups which operate as girls and boys proceed from the first to the fifth year.

The new wave girls understanding of the sexism of boys at school is somewhat different from the boffin girls.

BG/NWGQ 2

SJB What about boys?

Sioux They don't mature as quickly.

Collen It is not as though we can compare different parts of the body, like boys do about girls.

Steff It is through socialisation that we are different.

Sioux They can't back anything up, they don't really know what they are arguing about do they. So their solution is to hit.
I am equal now as I want to be but it depends for all - what you mean by equal.

Clare They are brought up to be sexist by their parents.

Collen They just want someone to play around with, because if you are sort of big around the breast. They only care about the body, you know. "look at her". But for the girls it is not as though we can compare different parts of the body, say like boys say about parts of the bodies of girls.
We cannot compare different parts of the boys body, even when you talk about boys willy's. It's stupid, it is just not possible for girls.

Fifth year boys at Marshlands did not regularly speak with the new wave girls; the only male group which had frequent contact with the girls was the mod boys. However, it would be incorrect to assume that they do not experience other modes of male aggression, similar to the boffin girls.

The new wave girls see sexism as a result of "socialisation" or to be more specific, Clare argues that the family is a crucial site for reproduction of gender discrimination. Two key issues raised by the girls are, firstly, male violence, and secondly, the ideology of male sexual needs (McIntosh 1978).

Male violence: Sioux, argues that she is "equal now". It is possible to suggest that her claim of equality derives from the strength and solidarity within the female youth cultural group: such an assertion might not be possible for an individual girl or girls within a weak group. Sioux maintains that a boy's last resort to prove his dominance is physical violence, "to hit". Male violence towards girls is seen as not acceptable, it is, irrational: "they do not really know what they are arguing about".

Ideology of male sexual needs: Collen's assessment of male abuse is explicitly sexual, she expresses the view that boys reduce the value of a girl to parts of her body, for example big breast: a girl has assets which are her "component parts" (Wood 1984). Collen is critical of the male attitude towards girls, especially the unequal commitment in a relationship, the boy is only concerned to "play around" or "care about the body". Also when boys are together, she argues they compare different parts of a girls body, in isolation from her feelings or mind. Collen suggests that girls can gaze at a boy's body as a sexual object, that is they can talk about the boy's penis in isolation from his feelings. She is saying that one cannot compare parts of a girls anatomy with that of boys. They are not comparable. She emphasizes that boys' sexist practice shows that they look down upon girls as exploitable objects to provide the male with pleasure.

1.2 Boffin girl strategies to deal with the boffin boys

Here I shall describe the boffin girls' experience of friendship with the boffin boys. I am going to suggest that the girls employ six strategies; pedagogic, teasing, rejection,

avoidance, friendliness and idealising. The purpose of each strategy is twofold, to unify the all-girl group and to delay entry into relationships with boys. In the conversation which follows, rather than cut up the discussion to show each specific strategy, I shall present the talk so that it is possible to identify how the strategies are interrelated.

In an informal group interview the girls speak about their boyfriends.

BG/NWQ 3

SJB Have any of you been out with any of the boffin boys?

Kerry Yes! [said in negative tone SJB]

All girls - Laughter -

Rose Who?

Kerry I did

Ellen James

Monica Join the club! [she has just ended her relation with James. SJB]

All girls - Laughter -

Kerry On God I regretted it.

Rose And Russ

Kerry Shut up

Rose Not as bad as Francis

Kerry He is.

Rose You [SJB] don't know Francis do you.
Do you know Colin?

SJB Yeah, I know Colin

Rose His brother

SJB Is he as bad as Colin?

Rose He's worse, Colin is nice compared to him. That is what I think of him now [gesture of being sick. SJB]

SJB How long did you go out with James for then Monica?

Monica About seven months. The problem was he was too possessive.

SJB Too possessive of you.

Monica Yes.

SJB [To Kerry. SJB] What about when you were going out with him?

Kerry That was only when we were second years.

Rose First year

Kerry Second year, second year.

Ellen All right girls.

Rose That was after going out with Steve wasn't it, if I remember.

Kerry Yes

Monica She went out with Steve about five times.

Rose About

Kerry Twice

Rose More than that, you went out with him twice in the third. Three times in the second, twice in the third year.

Kerry Oh, I did not.
Don't remind me.
I went out once in the THIRD YEAR

Monica That is still five times.

Rose Six

Kerry It is not

Rose Six, Kerry

Kerry It isn't you can't count. I went out with him once in the first.

Rose Twice.

Kerry That finished in the holiday

Monica All right.

Ellen Now then that is my job. I am the one who argues.

Kerry I'm embarrassed

SJB Don't worry about being embarrassed Kerry. What about your boyfriends Ellen?

Ellen One
When I was in the second year.

Rose ROLAND [name said in disgrace. SJB]

Kerry Don't be horrible

Ellen I do not like him anymore.
He is horrible I don't know why I went out with him.

Monica It's always the way.

SJB Did you take him back to your house? Did your parents know you had a boyfriend?

Ellen No

SJB Did you tell them?

Ellen No

SJB Why, didn't you tell them?

Ellen Don't know, just wasn't.
Just too embarrassing. I was embarrassed. I mean your parents go on about it - a boy. But when it comes to it you are just a bit embarrassed to say anything aren't you. I mean I knew my parents wouldn't mind but it is embarrassing. My sister knows, she found my birthday, Christmas card from him.

Here we get a general impression of the boffin girls' relations with boyfriends. In the fifth year no boffin girls were "going out" with boys because their time was spent on school work.

The girls talk about their pre-adolescent relations with boffin boys, in the early years of secondary school. Their tone is competitive, for example, the argument about how many times a girl has been out with a boy, but also it is very negative. Are the girls pushed into relationships? 9McRobbie 1978, Walkerdine 1984 0 Ellen says that her parents put her under pressure to obtain a boyfriend "Your parents go on about it - a boy?". There are also considerable peer group pressures to obtain a boyfriend as a mark of status and maturity (Davies 1984). The boffin girls were not under pressure to protect or

promote a reputation (Lees 1986). No boffin girl had a "slag" reputation based upon facts, although some of the boffin boys had fantasies about particular girls as "slags". However, their pedagogic status overruled male definitions of sexual reputation within the upper ability band. If the boffin girls possessed a sexual reputation it was in terms of their virginity [see chapter 9].

Kerry, Rose, Monica and Ellen describe their past behaviour with their boyfriends, as something to forget, but in doing so, are they also denying their present feelings or desires? Each girl argues against her relationship, using a strategy of avoidance, to distance herself from the boy. The full intent of the girls negative feelings is plain to see, "He is horrible", "I regretted it", "He is worse", "Don't remind me", "Don't like him anymore", "Not as bad", "It's always the same". These are strong statements which show ill-feeling perhaps even hostility to boys (Amos and Parmar 1981).

1.3 Understanding boys

It is worthwhile to examine in detail some of the girls' responses to the boffin boys' actions.

BG/NWQ 4

- Rose No
 The trouble with Howard and Gary is they think they are too good for us don't they.
 They think they are too good for everybody.
- SJB Have the boffin boys been out with any girls in the lower years?
- Rose Gary did.
- Monica For about a week.
- Mary They [the younger girl. SJB] always chuck them.
- Rose A week he was Gary - was so upset when she chucked him. Not because he was upset that he was not going out with her. But because she chucked him.
- Mary He was crying.

- Rose Because me and Paul were up in the computer room and Gary was up there. And you should have heard him, "oh she chucked me".
And he was worried that she chucked him, not that he chucked her.
- Mary SERVES HIM RIGHT
- Rose He was so worried about that.
- Monica Damage of ego.
- Rose Yeah I mean we had fits [laughter. SJB] we just sort of corr, you know. He was just so worried about what everybody would think.
- Kerry A lot of boys are just one big ego. Mainly that lot. [boffin boys. SJB]
- All girls - Laughter -
- Mary Because if they go out with any of us ...
- Kerry You, ol .
- SJB Go on Mary.
- Mary Because if they go out with anyone, they take the micky with their friends. They all sort ...
- Monica Tease each other.
- Mary That is the biggest reason why they do not go out with anyone in our year because they, everyone, they all know each other. And they all know - because they think they're above us. Then if any of them went out with any of us, then, tease each other so much.

Two strategies used by the girls to distance themselves from the boys are firstly rejection and secondly teasing. The girls observe a boffin boy's behaviour after rejection from a younger girl; they are not sympathetic. The boy's reaction to being "chucked", bring out the girls' dislike, even resentment, "serves him right", "damage of ego" or "we had fits". To be the "chucker" conveys status and determines the validity of "your account", whereas to be "chucked" is a weak position. This adolescent notion is fundamentally related to the structure of sexual relations, concept of reputation and vocabulary of abuse. The girls turn their initial rejection by these boys, "they think they're too good for us", into a

celebration of laughter. Their joy focuses upon the boffin boy's vulnerability, "he was crying" or "he was so worried". At this point Mary elaborates the girls' strategy of teasing or "micky taking" which prevents a relationship from beginning.

This brings out the dilemma of the status of obtaining a boyfriend, and the fear of rejection. The dramatic concept of "chucked" is crucial in shaping the aftermath of rumour and reputation at the close of the relationship. However, Mary suggests that the fear of rejection, even before entering a relationship, is one of the main reasons why the boffins do not go out with each other. Also at the end she argues that "they all know each other", this points to the strategy of friendship.

BG/NWQ 5

Mary We are just all sort of friends with them aren't we.

Kerry We know them too well to go out with them.

SJB Do you think so?

Kerry Rose has known James since the juniors. I have known Gary all through the juniors and Paul.

The boffin girls and boys attended the same two primary schools and have in general grown-up together. The boys [see chapters 7 and 9] assess that this is no reason for not going out together but the girls consider that they know these boys "too well" almost as one of the family.

The boffin girls prefer to avoid the boys' advances, yet at the same time they are drawn into the position of possibly accepting them as boyfriends.

BG/NWGQ 6

Rose Most of them think they are too good for us.

Mary Yeah.

SJB Do you think that?

Mary They do.

Rose They do.

Mary I mean Howard has actually said it.

Kerry Gary

SJB Has he?

Rose Howard does, doesn't he.

Kerry Yeah
"Oh Howard's too good for us" [joke voice. SJB]

Rose Yeah.

Mary They do they think ...

Rose Right.
They were taking the micky out of me, right, Gary,
Howard and - they said that Paul fancied me, right.
And I was saying "Oh God", well not exactly that.
But Gary goes "Why don't you go out with him.
They said you couldn't get anybody better.

Mary That's exactly what he said to me.

Rose Yeah. That is what he said to me.

Mary Which I didn't. I said, wanted to ...

Rose No, that is what he said to me, that is what he said.

Ellen Do you?

Mary No. Why, Gary ...

Rose IT IS ABOUT YOUR LEVEL, isn't it.
HIM or something like that, something that meant
THAT. [loud raised voice. SJB]

Mary The thing is that too many people fancy them, a lot
of people in the third and fourth year.

Kerry Yeah, but look, they are all, that don't really -
Third and fourth year, a lot of them are still
immature.

Rose A lot of them. ALL OF THEM.

Kerry Well they are if they [younger girls. SJB] fancy that
lot.

Mary No the thing.
They have got so many people that want to go out with
them, that they think, you know.

Ellen Everybody wants [them. SJB]

Mary That, they can get anyone that they wanted.

Rose They are so big headed.

Mary They only want PRETTY PEOPLE.

Kerry They think that your life revolves around them. If one of you, if someone is upset. Say Mary was upset the other day. "Oh what have we done, what have we done, we must have made her upset" [joke voice. SJB]

Rose And they are pleased about it.

Mary Yeah.

Kerry They weren't then, because they were being nasty.

Mary And then they do childish little things, like last Monday, um - Gary and Howard and that lot were having a competition to see who could be the nastiest to the girls.

Rose Oh yeah.

SJB Yeah, were they really.

Mary It's stupid.

Rose I reckon Howard is the worst one.

Mary Yeah, Gary is getting like that.

Ellen They are getting absolutely terrible at saying you fancy so and so, or so and so fancies you. It just get round the school doesn't it.

[Telephone rings in discussion room. SJB]

The potential power of the boffin boys over the girls is shown by Rose's and Mary's statements that the boys have suggested that they should go out with a particular boy called Paul. The boys' sexist practice, according to Rose, is insulting "IT IS ABOUT YOUR LEVEL" or "Something that meant THAT". The boffin boys use Paul as one of their scapegoats [see chapter 7] to attack the boffin girls' sexuality. As the boffin girls refuse to go out with them, the boys try to humiliate them by setting up a relationship which firstly, implies the girls' lack of traditional femininity, and secondly, by offering them a boy who lacks masculinity.

This is an example of how control over women's sexuality operates as an important element in male power. The ironic contradiction that the girls face is that these are the only boys they come into contact with. If the boffin girls want a relationship to prove to their parents that they are mature and require more freedom, they must select a boffin boy since their parents would not approve of any other boys, but for the girls this amounts to an impossible choice.

Further, the boffin boys' dominating influence over the girls appears to have also penetrated their group identity. Mary in her statement that boys are "only interested in pretty people" suggests that they are not as attractive as other girls in the lower years. The boffin boys' powers of persuasion are considerable because the girls are constrained by their own assessment "so many people want to go out with them" and "they can get anyone that they wanted". However, the sexist assumptions of the boys' result not in the girls "going steady" with them but in increasing the distance between their potential partners. The strategy used by the girls is to idealise the boys as unapproachable, because "too many people fancy them".

The girls present the "boys' talk" as gossip and chit chat, they spread rumours which "get round the school". It is as though the girls accuse the boys of "bitching", a form of behaviour usually ascribed to girls. The boys are assessed as "stupid", playing games or "having a competition" to see who can be the most horrible. Rose states that the boys are "so big headed", while Kerry and Mary emphasised the "nasty", "childish" and "immature" attitude of the boys. This experience the girls are discussing is part of their everyday life.

1.4 New wave girls: an anti-patriarchal practice.

This section will present essentially ethnographic data of the new wave girls in a variety of different contexts. Here I shall be concerned with how the girls' confront and control

their relations with boys and boyfriends.

A. Dance

The new wave girls would attend discos and sometimes went to see local bands play in public houses. Early in the fieldwork I went to a gig at the school youth wing, the band, called Alternative Signs, consisted of Marshlands pupils².

I arrived at the youth wing slightly late owing to the haphazard bus service, but before the band had started. Inside the building I was instructed to go to the back room and see the teacher leader as he had a message. Mr. Prett greeted me in an enthusiastic mood and asked whether I would write a review of the band for the local Argus. I agreed, thanked him and went into the main hall where I joined the new wave girls. I bought them some lemonade drinks [only soft drink permitted on school premises], while they asked "What you seeing him for?"

There were many pupils and ex-pupils dressed in a variety of youth cultural styles. The band began the first number and I started to write a few notes. The new wave girls preferred to stay at the back of the hall where there was more light than there was near the stage. I went for a walk round the venue, stood by the stage watching everything to sense the atmosphere of the evening and then returned to remain with the girls. The youths at the front were engaged in a variety of dances, from a rocker stamp to punk pogo.

Gradually, the new wave girls began to dance, Sioux and Sally were moving slowly, stretching out their legs and collapsing on everybody, Lynne and Steff wheeled round the side close to the floor while Debbie and Cathy were leaping about, crashing into the girls. The dance was not strictly in time with the music, fast or slow, but the movements had the effect of making the boys move out, to leave the girls space to dance in this complex and subtle manner. The girls were laughing, playing, hopping and dancing this particular ritual for about an hour. I asked Sally and Debbie what they were doing and

whether their dance had a name. Sioux jumped straight over and said it was an adaptation of something that they used to do in P.E. lessons in the lower school called exercising the vaginal muscle.

B. "Cigars"

There were minor squabbles between the new wave girls and the mod boys concerning territory in the informal school spaces, but no physical violation. However, interaction and exchange between the two groups could be highly charged with ritual insults at the level of action and sound. Members of each group would parry these verbal and symbolic assaults with an array of words, poses, objects or gestures. In general, the girls thought that the mod boys were "okay" and "friendly" although this was qualified by their knowledge that they could be offensively sexist. They made contact in the first year, but by the fifth year Debbie considered that "they did not stay together very much".

Throughout the fieldwork I observed only one major incident of conflict between the two youth cultural groups. I was standing in the corner of the fifth year area talking with a couple of boffin boys. It was half way through afternoon breaktime and the pupils were milling round, as they usually do. Five of the mod boys and some of the "criminal boys" rushed into the area through the main doors, after secretly smoking a cigarette and began to pester other pupils and "have a laugh". The "criminal boys" went back outside again, while the mod boys stood in front of the girls. The boys started to show off, trying to intimidate the girls by shouting and touching them. To counter the abusive insults a couple of the new wave girls placed tampons in their mouths and moved rapidly towards the boys, thrusting out the tampon between their lips asking the boys for a light to their cigars. The boys began walking backwards, stumbling and waving their hands in disturbed motions attempting to knock the tampon away from their faces. There was an uproar in the fifth year area, girls laughing, boys shocked and pupils attempting to get out of the way.

Two days later I interviewed two remedial girls in the fifth year area and they described what the tampax incident meant to them. They did not censure the new wave girls as "slags" or "scrubbers" for putting tampons in their mouths (Shacklady 1978, Wilson 1978, Prendergast 1989). The remedial girls considered that for these boys it was "up their's" and "really amusing". The remedial girls "hated" these boys and others, as they were on the receiving end of much sexist terrorism. Interestingly, they reflected "we could not have done it". One remedial girl concluded that the new wave girl were "leaders in style, the only real girls, group of girls in the school".

C. Valentine

One afternoon at the beginning of breaktime Sally and Sioux passed a message on to me, to go round and see Cathy at her house. It was bright sunshine and the walk to her mothers' house took ten minutes, by the short-cut. I was let in by Debbie; the two girls were apparently doing some school work [Maths]. Cathy made Debbie and I a cup of tea, we sat on the floor and began to talk. It was a few days before Valentine's Day. Cathy explained that she had composed a number of short lyrical poems, both describing and evaluating the state of the relationship between each new wave girl and her steady boyfriend. To accompany the valentine verse she had sketched a number of pencil drawings to show each boyfriend's penis and testicles, plus what she called "one good looking male bottom".

After a second cup of tea the two girls decided to have a valentine quiz. Cathy would read out her verse to Debbie and I also was invited to guess³ for which partner either boyfriend or girlfriend had fictitiously composed the lyric.

When reading out the ballad, she would mime a caricature of the person we were supposed to be guessing. The test caused immense hilarity and laughter when our replies did not coincide or were incorrect.

The content of the valentine poems varied according to how

Cathy viewed the individual partners and their relationship. Overall, there was a concern with how boys treat girls simply as sexual machines without individual feelings, needs and ideas. Her descriptions were serious, absurd, ridiculous and sensitive to the weakness, strength and vulnerability of each girl.

D. Poem

Here is a poem composed by Sioux and Debbie concerning all the girls' boyfriends.

BG/NWGQ 7

Toss Chops United

If we could show how much we want to hate
 We'd make you live in hell
 But you're just so fucking boring
 We're just too scared to tell.

Your psychedelic talks on music
 You really think, you know
 You worship all these poxy groups
 And go to every show.

At parties you smoke pot
 That's the "Hip" thing to do.
 Tiring quickly of your old friends
 Searching for someone new.

But lets just get this straight
 You're the ones "who're" stupid
 We never even tried to act
 Or think like poxy cupid.

"copyrite" Sioux and Debbie

On the page with each stanza the two girls had drawn large heart shape bubbles, within which were written together two boyfriends' names, such as Slim and Peter or Stephen and Gaz, with a comment alongside stating "true love forever", "4 ever and ever" and "true love". These comments are taken from teenage girl magazines, to suggest that their boyfriends are in love with each other.

The poem and love bubbles are an active response by the new wave girls, heavy with irony, wit and contradiction.

The title is a play on words which ridicules male sexuality - toss - to masturbate, and male leisure - united - is a football team eg West Ham United. Put together the negative assertion is a double standard that defines the boyfriends as collective masturbators or "Toss Chops United". The first verse establishes the girls' intention, they have minds of their own, refuse to be taken for granted and find boys tedious and boring. The second verse focuses upon how their boyfriends uncritically accept things, blindly assert that they know everything about today's music and discount any girls' contribution. The third verse is critical of the boys' self centred behaviour and fantasies induced by smoking cannabis which interferes with social relations. It makes them selfish and fickle in their friendships. The final verse affirms the cumulative dislike and anti male feeling outlined in the entire poem.

E. Boyfriends

I had regular contact with the new wave girls' boyfriends on the upper sixth form. The boys did not treat me in an aggressive manner nor were they defensive because I spent time with their girlfriends. Three months into the fieldwork I brought four boyfriends together for a discussion⁴, the purpose of which was to ascertain how much influence they had upon the girls. Almost immediately the talk began the boyfriends discussed their feelings against the girl group. A central accusation was that "you can't do anything on your own" [meaning a couple] without all the girls finding out. They stressed that the group structure was an obstacle encountered, when a boyfriend made any type of suggestion. The boys maintained that the girl group had been strong in the lower years, there had been some internal group struggles but by the fifth year the group was still impenetrable. The boyfriends were "amazed" at my acceptance amongst them as a group, in pairs or individually. In general, they thought I could do something about their problem and change the girls' behaviour

to something more to their liking.

After one of the new wave girls' all night parties at a boyfriend's house one of the girls asked whether I would walk her home. It was eight o'clock in the morning with the frost crisp on the grass. She gave me a note as we ambled along. The message, which had been cut from a magazine, read "The beauty and love of sleeping next to a woman without making love with her". The girl said her boyfriend had given her this piece of paper that morning, after they had gone to sleep together.⁵

In addition, she spoke of her virginity as a problem, stating; "I feel it is important who you give it to, whether they respect you. Perhaps in a few years' time, I might think I was really silly and stupid but at the moment it feels important". She began to smile and said further "I would have let him do it last night but the stupid sod did not have one [condom. SJB] did he. "She concluded that this message was "really nice".

2. Two adolescent girl parties: an ethnography

I was fortunate to be invited to a party arranged by the boffin girls and one arranged by the new wave girls. I shall first compare differences in the setting of the two parties which will be followed by a description of activities at each party.

2.1 Setting

A. Boffin girl party

The boffin girls' party took place at the village 'New Hall'. I arrived at the hall in Monica's parents' car with their daughter, Rose and Claire. The car was parked, and Mary emerged from the back of a building clutching the keys to the building. It was quite dark in the evening, at just before seven o'clock although the warm breeze was refreshing. The hall doors were opened and I helped Rose and Monica bring in

the sound system, which was a hifi, while Mary brought in different people's record collections. Inside this dusty building both parents did the heavy work of unfolding tables, preparing a space for food and drink [wine, beer, cider, lemonade and orange juice] and making sure the record player was secure and working.

Gradually, more boffin girls began to arrive in pairs and small groups; a festive atmosphere was developing and everyone began to get excited. The girls adopted roles of responsibility by organising tasks for different girls. The kitchen was allocated to a couple of girls. The toilets were working and sufficiently stocked with paper, others moved chairs into neat lines. The sound system was working, the food and drink were in a proper place, so "nobody would fall over anything". Brooms and bin liners were ready if somebody was sick or knocked glasses over. The girls were preparing everything in fine detail, sorting out problems, assessing possibilities and assuming an air of responsibility: the parents' help was quickly made unnecessary by the girls' efficiency. Everything was double checked, so that whatever might happen they had something prepared to deal with it in the kitchen or in the first aid box. During the preparation stage no boy arrived, but by half past eight everybody who was coming to the party was present.⁶

B. New wave girl party

The new wave girls' party took place at Cathy's mothers house. I received a lift to the new wave girls' party at Cathy's house as a pillion passenger on a scooter belonging to Paul a mod boy, who had a blue Vespa 50.

I arrived at Cathy's house at about half past eight. When the engine was switched off music could be heard outside the house. Debbie opened the door and we were met by Cathy, Sally and Sioux I gave Cathy a small badge for her party celebration. A few minutes later Clare and boyfriend Rich [mod boy] followed. I was given a drink and sat in the lounge with the

five girls who spoke eagerly about the clothes they were wearing, whether the party was going to be as good as or better than previous ones and when the boyfriends would arrive. Cathy explained how she had arranged that her mother would be away that evening and night. In fact, her mother arrived about half past seven the following morning.

The girls moved the television out of the main room and shifted the breakable objects to cupboards. In the large room on the right towards the middle was a sturdy table on which were placed the record and cassette players, with a collection of Lp's, singles 7" and 12" and cassettes. [pre-recorded and home taped].

Just before nine o'clock Collen, Steff, Lynne, Cat and Denise arrived, followed by some boyfriends, boys and marginal members of the girl group. The party was beginning to get going by half past nine with people rushing about, playing records, performing momentary strange dances and sorting out drinks. By ten o'clock all guests had arrived and the party was in full swing.

2.2 Party

Here I shall provide a chronological description of events at, firstly, the boffin girls' party and secondly, the new wave girls' party.

A. Boffin girl party

Monica's parents were the disc jockeys, they were good amateurs, playing records at the wrong speed, incorrect Lp tracks were selected and B sides rather than A sides were occasionally heard. The parents stood in front of the two speakers and each time I talked with them they said that they thought that the music was too loud.

The mod boys were the first to dance but immediately the parents played a joke on them, by increasing the speed of the

record. The parents and boffin laughed, as they returned to sit down. It was almost twenty minutes before the mods took to the dance floor again; after two records some of the boffin girls also began to dance in groups. The amusing intervention by the parents, had unfortunately delayed dance floor activities and opportunities for public bodily contact between the girls and boys. Even though the majority of girls were dancing by nine o'clock the boffin boys still stood against the wall or leaned on the back of chairs drinking cans of beer. It took some time for the party goers, especially the boffin boys, to ease out of their "stiffness". Part of the problem for all participants was the continued presence of the boffin girls' parents, who also held the powerful position of playing the music.

It was not until a certain amount of alcohol had been drunk that the atmosphere became more relaxed. It did not take much alcohol to make the boffins merry and soon the boffin boys were dancing behind the mods. After half an hour of dance floor competence and display the slow records were selected and pairs danced. When dancing with the boffin girls the boffin boys would stroke their partners' bottoms. While on the dance floor I could observe that this display of caressing operated at a number of levels. Firstly, boys looked at other boys, dancing or standing-by and made suggestive facial signs; secondly, square boffin boys who danced with boffin girls did not engage in such behaviour, thirdly, boys spoke to other boys some made hand signals about their partner while others made explicitly rude propositions, and finally after a dance or number of dances with the same girl, the couple might journey to one of the darkened kissing corners for a short time.

The mod boys did not dance with the boffin girls, they watched the boffin boys' activities and drank more. After a dance the boffin girls usually returned to the girls' space and there they began to talk about their immediate male partner, his behaviour, who they had or had not danced with, and with whom they would like a dance. By half past ten some of the boffin girls were behaving as if they were slightly drunk,

collapsing into chairs, clinging together, laughing out loud, bumping and falling around. Two of the square boffin boys were quite drunk and appeared to be dancing or doing staggering dance steps by themselves in a semi-coma. The boffin boys were still in pursuit of the boffin girls although by half ten some of the girls had returned home, other boffin boys were swaying rather than dancing and two boys claimed they had been sick outside the hall.

The party came to an end at precisely eleven o'clock. The cleaning and clearing operation was accomplished by five boffin girls, with an "annoying" couple of boffin boys hampering their efficiency. I thanked the parents, said good night to the girls who remained and left with two mod boys. One mod telephoned his father to collect us and then Hendrix, Gangster and myself stood against the oak door of a medieval church, with the hazy light of one street lamp for company. Suddenly looming out from the darkness came three tall skinheads. Their faces were unseen owing to the dim beam, they approached the two mods and me. As they stood close to us we felt their chilling breath on our faces. One dark figure threateningly growled "Who are you? Are you mods? ah". The boys said nothing. Just then the giggling laughter and click of high healed shoes was heard and the three skinheads moved off in search of other prey. A few minutes later Hendrix's father drew up in the car and we had a comfortable journey home.

B. New wave girl party

In contrast the new wave girls' party got into full swing at about the same time as the boffin girls' party finished. Here, there were no parents present. By half ten a fairly large amount of alcohol had been consumed by certain people. One boy, Phil, was the first person to be sick in the kitchen while another male accidentally banged his head and another pulled a curtain down. These were relatively minor incidents which made little impression on the general hubbub. The music was "blasting out" very loudly from the record player in the large room. The main activity was movement from the two

bedrooms back into the lounge. The porch and toilet were places for a temporary stop, before returning to the central area of movement.

There were various types of dancing by the girls although these steps could not strictly be compared to movements of participants at the boffin girls party. Clare and Rich were manically waltzing throughout the house, carefully avoiding objects, bodies and doors. Their gliding movements were ridiculous and funny. They continued for about an hour, until they fell down in the porch quite drunk and stayed down. In fact Clare sported a black and blue eye for the next couple of days.

Everyone mingled in the lounge changing Lp's by The Cure, Siouxsie and the Banshees, Talking Heads, Teardrop Explodes and then some cassettes, one of reggae until one o'clock in the morning. Phil had been sick again in the kitchen, appeared to lose all his clothes and stamped about naked in the pale reddish light until he disappeared. During the next hour sleeping positions were being sorted out, who would be in which bedroom or the main room. The girls changed clothes and were walking round wearing longish night gowns or male shirts. Often somebody, male or female, who was wearing only underwear, [who was standing about] had their underwear pulled down and possibly thrown out of the window.

The party resembled a "carry on" film, laughter, running about and messing around. Although collective undress was general, this was no sex orgy but perhaps a homage to hilarity. A boyfriend left one of the bedrooms to get some condoms. When he returned and handed out the condoms Sally said "We took them, blew them up and played ballons until they burst it was a great laugh".

At around three o'clock the record player in the lounge stopped but a cassette player was still playing loud music in one of the bedrooms. Suddenly some of the girls and other guests decided to go for a walk. It was quite cold as seven

people hurried a quarter of a mile to the breezy beach. Everyone huddled together for warmth as some had little clothing on apart from coats. The group swayed drunkenly on and off the pavement on the way to the seafront. By the shoreline everyone threw stones into the sea, pushed each other over and had piggy backrides. When this group returned from the beach the music was still playing in one bedroom and a few bodies were asleep in the main room. Around half four another walk was suggested.

Between six and seven some people were beginning to emerge and scramble about, moving a few things. One bedroom was cleared and the lounge looked almost as it did before the party. The participants sat in the comfortable chairs looking likely to fall asleep. Cathy, Debbie and Sally took my small cassette player to make a recording of Paul's [mod boy] snoring. After they captured this, they played it back, then woke him up to listen to it.

Bits and pieces were finally cleared, "dead bodies brought back to life" and a semblance of order was restored by seven, with all party goers gathered in the lounge. Tea and coffee were served and outrageous incidents and events discussed. The first time the music stopped was during the discussion before and after Cathy's mother arrived at half past seven. She was pleased everybody had had a good time, nobody was injured or the house damaged. The conversation flowed and I made a tape recording of some of this. At quarter to nine I left with Paul on his Vespa scooter.

2.3 Music and romance

Here we shall make a contrast between the purpose, site, organisation and interaction of the two parties, this interpretation will deal with the differing controls on intimacy. The most basic and obvious difference between the two parties was the venues, both hall and house impose restrictions on people's behaviour and offer an environment where different things are possible. At the boffin girls'

party the boys were male friends and pedagogic colleagues, not boyfriends. At the new wave girls party the boys were boyfriends and some male friends. This fact underlies the different types of behaviour and bodily contact by girls and boys at the different parties.

The boffins engaged in a complex relation of refusal and acceptance through the medium of dancing ie. public bodily contact, and private bodily contact in the kissing corners. To obtain a boyfriend or girlfriend for bodily contact was not the sole object of the party, although both girls and boys were very determined to dance with the opposite sex. Talking to the girls and boys during the party, I noticed they shared the competitive status relation of the dance, especially with particular boys and girls. The girls were talking and laughing about their dancing partners, how they danced, and who they wanted a dance with. The boys were bragging amongst themselves, especially through their display of dancing to show that a girl had accepted private bodily contact. The boys' caressing of the girls' bottoms and thighs were displays to other boys standing around to show further status. The boffin girls' response to the boys' actions were described as "removing their wandering hands", or in some cases a visit to a kissing corner.

The new wave girls' party at Cathy's mother's house offered a possible space for private bodily contact between "steady partners". The fact that there were no parents present, plus the familiarity and comfort of the house made sexual contact less difficult. At the outset the party had been planned to go on all night and in the available, if somewhat cramped space couples had an opportunity to sleep together, albeit en masse. On the one hand the girls had to gain acceptance from parents for such an occasion, and on the other hand, Cathy's mother conferred collective responsibility on the girls by leaving them in charge of a party to be held at her house.

Each party had a different type of musical setting. At the boffin girls' party both fast and slow music was provided

by singles and Lp's and performed by different artists. The dancers did not know what the next record would be. This is important for a couple dancing because it determines whether they remain on the dance floor or separate. We must not forget either that Monica's parents were the disc jockeys operating this controlling music which may or may not bring girls and boys together to dance.

The music at the new wave girls' party was usually chosen by the girls, few "singles" but mostly Lp's and later cassettes, which replaced the playing of individual songs which cut dance floor activity into segments and created uncertainty about the next record. An Lp or cassette would determine the musical setting for a longer time than a series of singles. Here the girls knew the music and the dancing was not subject to a succession of discontinuities of different artists creating different contexts. The musical setting for the girls' party related to the whole concept of the party and the girls could anticipate responses the music would produce.

Each party had a specialised type of musical setting which demonstrates how different musical forms regulate and influence the flow of communication by party participants. Music can provide one set of rules for circulation amongst girls and boys. The musical form was one aspect of the boffin girls' party which the girls did not control.

2.4 Party post mortems: celebration and rumour

The boffin girls' party was on a Saturday evening, the following Monday morning at school they were ready with stories and rumours which were talked about during registration, breaktime, lunchtime and for the rest of the week. The girls were publicly celebrating the success and the fun of their party. Incidents were dramatically acted out, causing some considerable commotion in the fifth year area. The girls were boasting and teasing about "who went off" for long kissing sessions with boys. I questioned the girls informally about their interpretation of the boffin boys' antics.

BG/NWGQ 8

SJB Do you think the boffin boys normally dance like that or just because they had a lot of beer?

Mary No. They did it before.

Rose They did it before.

Mary They show off. You get Gary and Nick and that lot

SJB Someone told me that there was some competition amongst the boys about who could dance with who ...

Rose The least.
They had that I think
Gary was going to see if he could dance with - um the least with somebody. I think he said.

Kerry Well he danced with me
So he did not, he did not, not have a dance.

Mary He danced with me once because I made ...

Monica He doesn't normally

Kerry I reminded him of the time before when I asked him to dance and he was drunk and he stormed out of the room.

Mary He always says like, oh my leg hurts or groin strain.

All girls - Laughter -

SJB How much of the boys' behaviour at the party was sort of display?

Mary Most of it.

Rose I don't think it was actually because some of them just did not realise what they were doing....

Kerry You should drink to enjoy yourself and you know if it is going to make you feel bad, you should't do it. It is pigheadedness.

Rose That's what I mean. Gary said to me on Sunday. He said a lot of people drank but Tosh was not sick. He's really stupid. He knows he could not drink that much, he was just doing it to show off.

Mary/Kerry Um.

Rose I mean he could have gone, he could have spewed up all over the floor and then that would have taken ages to clear up.

Mary Yeah.
And we would of had to do it.

The girls readily identify the boys' behaviour at the party as "showing off", it is something familiar to them, "they did it before". Superficially, even though the boys thought they were in pursuit of girls at the party, it is the girls who are assertive by demanding dances with boys. Further, they are critical of the boys' "display" of drunken behaviour as "pigheadedness". Certain boys let go too easily and "did not realise what they were doing", these boys are seen as rule breakers. The girls are not passive, they actively deal with the boys' sexist behaviour⁷ but at the same time they seem to accept the boys' definition of dance as a sexist competition. Mary and Kerry immediately point out that they were not "the least" and did dance with the boffin boy. Also, we see the girls move into a domestic servicing role of preparing to clean-up if boys were sick in the hall.

The girls seem to oscillate between passive and assertive roles in their relations with the boffin boys. The girls take part in sexist games which subordinate them but also they are clear sighted, critical and laugh at the boys' pretensions "he had groin strain."

In public the girls assessed their behaviour at the party as "slightly drunk" but more importantly, they had partially disobeyed powerful parental codes.

In the fifth year area the girls spoke out about the party, telling of their parents' reactions "Well, didn't anybody stop them", "Wasn't there any parents there", or "getting drunk at this age, terrible." The girls celebrated the success of their party and made fun of their parents. Collectively, the boffin girl group had broken their school-wide "goody goody image", through their depiction of parental disapproval.

This is in contrast with how the girls in private adopted their parents's moral code to criticise Rose's behaviour.

BG/NWGQ 9

Rose I was only drunk for the last ...

Mary Four hours.

Ellen Oooooohhhh You were drunk as soon as we got there, practically.

Rose I was not Ellen

Kerry You were happy when I got there and I got there at quarter to eight.

Rose I had not had anything to drink at quarter to eight, when you got there.

Mary At ten past eight you told me not to let you drink anymore.

Monica Yeah She said that didn't she.

Rose At quarter to eight when you got there.

Ellen At half past eight you were drunk.

Rose At half past eight I was not.

Monica You were.

Mary At half past eight you were on the way, but you weren't ...

Rose I had two drinks
After I had told you not to let me drink anything.
I did not have anything else to drink, until after quarter to nine

SJB Well, what about everyone getting ...

Rose Drunk

Mary Yeah
That's all right, if they wanted to. Nobody acted really stupid.

SJB How did you feel on Saturday [addressed to Rose. SJB]

Rose I wasn't too bad.
I mean my stomach felt really rotten, really sick, just sort of mention the word made me turn over.
Towards the end [next day. SJB] four o'clock five o'clock I was all right.
I was going to go out. But I just couldn't eat anything.

Mary Such a martyr

All girls - Laughter -

The boffin girls reprimand Rose for becoming drunk too easily. However, she fiercely stands her ground and manages to gain an hour of sobriety - quarter to eight to - quarter to nine. In private the girls are critical of how easily Rose let go but in public this behaviour was celebrated. From my observation at the party, Rose was probably the most drunk girl, although there were at least five others who were almost equally drunk. By arguing that the only cause for group vulnerability was the behaviour of one girl, the boffin girls can celebrate their party and dispurse their collective vulnerability. If the girls had admitted as a group to being drunk and "out of control", this would have created more problems than they actually experienced or confronted. Crucially, Mary makes a symbolic heroine of Rose by jokingly calling her a "martyr" in the cause of the girls' celebration. In general, the girl group's public celebration of their party and private castigation of Rose's behaviour offer protection, group unity and strength, while also demonstrating that boffins deviate from conformist norms.

The new wave girls thought that the boffin girls' revelry and high spirits were superficial. Not that they were attempting to disparage the boffin girls' party but to indicate that as far as they were concerned "we're not interested". A state of non-relation characterised the co-existence of the two groups in school with class work as their only common concern.

The new wave girls' party was on Friday night and throughout the weekend the girls visited each other as usual. The following Monday morning at school there were no demonstrations of vitality in the fifth year area, to match the boffin girls' sparkle and joie de vivre. What became apparent was the sense of profound intrigue, and curiosity among all groups of pupils in the fifth year. Rumours were abundant. "Did the girls sleep with their boyfriends?", "Was everyone naked?" or "Who was there?"

The central question which I heard from other pupils was "What went on?"

During the days after the party I did not see or hear any boffin girl question a new wave girl about the party. I was asked about it by some boffin girls as they heard I was present. My reply was general never specific. It is difficult to express the extent of rumour as it became so considerable. The desire of some pupils to be shocked may itself play a part in eliciting more outrageous rumours eg "It was a sex orgy". Within the school pupil community [fifth and sixth year] the resonance produced by the new wave girls' parties affected pupils because of the myths to which they gave rise.

3. Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to show different relationships to patriarchy between the boffin girls and the new wave girls.

In school all girls experience sexism and sexual aggression. However, the form that this discrimination takes is not homogeneous but heterogeneous. Different boy groups employ varying modes of sexist aggression both inside and outside the classroom, from the mild body references of the square boffin boys, to the explicit pornographic comments of the 'criminal' and mod boys. The pool of sexist abuse available to boys is large, certainly the linguistic resource is greater than that available to girls (Black and Coward, 1981), and a boy must be able to humiliate girls through the use of explicit language. If a girl can successfully parry and return the insult and the boy has no reply, then he is publicly ridiculed as 'unmanly'.

The boffin girls developed a series of strategies to overcome each level of sexual abuse, which were most successful with the boffin boys; claims by these boys that they had traded knowledge for sexuality (Jones 1985) were ignored by the girls, who knew that their own chief goal, that of academic superiority, was unrivalled in the school.

In chapter 8 the boffin girls stated that their vulnerability was due to ignorance about sexual matters; this

inadequacy is all the more keenly felt when they contrasted it with the high level of academic knowledge which they possess. Moreover they were aware that, unlike the new wave girls, they lacked a reputation for sexual potency which might otherwise afford them some measure of protection from male aggression. The boffin girls' main pedagogic reference group is the boffin boys because they share pedagogic status. Because the boys, through their displays, exhibit an apparently more advanced level of sexual knowledge, the girls are drawn into the boys' sexual mythology of misinformation. The girls are forced to deal with the boys' insults using the same terms of reference introduced by the boys. In this way the boffin boys exercise some power over the boffin girls' understanding and expression of their own sexuality, and they are less adept at parrying insults.

The boffin girls' instrumental attitude to school and their ability to pursue both the arts and sciences with equal vigour shows their skill in overcoming traditional sexual divisions in operation in the school. Their pursuit of entrance to the sixth form and preparation for higher education gave little room for the school to impose stereotyped female domestic roles (Holland 1985).

Parental support of the boffin girls' educational aspirations affects the girls relationship to patriarchy in two ways. Firstly, the parents' strict moral regime regulating boyfriends held the girls' romantic activity in check, and less time outside the house meant more available time for homework. Secondly, parental encouragement to achieve their middle class goal of a career put considerable pressure on the girls to compete with the boffin boys for educational status, and offered them a legitimate opportunity to refuse to heterosexual courtship rituals (Leonard 1980).

This deferring of gratification guides the boffin girls away from the transition to marriage and motherhood. Education is understood as a source of valuable qualifications, which will lead to economic independence, and a gratification of

personal, as well as social needs. In terms of social class analysis such an outcome corresponds to previous research findings (Fuller 1980, Aggleton 1987). But what is of interest here are the contradictions experienced and played out by the boffin girls in the process of achieving this end result.

It is not difficult to identify the boffin girls' resentment and even hostility towards the boffin boys, especially when the boys' behaviour deteriorates into abuse. Ironically, it appears to be the boys who possess the romantic notions of ideal love and the desire for a partner (Griffin 1982). Under circumstances of rejection, the boys subject the girls to their fantasies of sexual manipulation. The boys' superior stock of sexual misinformation draws the girls into an illusion of male control, against which they constantly struggle, as can be seen throughout the transcripts. [BG/NWGQ 1,4,6,8].

The new wave girls did not experience the same degree and variety of sexist discrimination as the boffin girls because the male pupil groups were more reluctant to interact with them. Within the pupil community at Marshlands the new wave girls' sexual identity was powerfully controversial, owing firstly to rumours of unorthodox sexual/social behaviour arising during their parties, and also from their displays of 'lesbian' behaviour. Thus, boffin boys were unwilling to speak with the new wave girls.

The majority of sexist abuse towards them came from the mod boys. The boys' displays of sexist practice were part of the style dictated to them as a territorial and promenading youth cultural group. The girls were at an advantage here, because, as a similarly promenading group, the new wave girls were able to recognise the subtext of this behaviour. The exhibition is understood as a collective sign of the group, and not as an indication of how any individual might relate to a partner. Lacking an autonomous language of ritual promenade, and therefore an understanding of its mechanisms, the boffin girls were less well equipped to counter the mod boys.

Like the boffin girls, the new wave girls received support from their parents in their educational aspirations. But unlike them, the parents of the new wave girls did not prohibit relationships with boyfriends. The new wave girls entered into heterosexual relationships with boys without necessarily desiring marriage and motherhood. This is possibly an effect of their shared experience of family break-up, and their household responsibilities which may have given these girls a more critical understanding of marital relations, and dispelled notions of romantic love. It might also be suggested that the break up of the family considered by some as the first site of woman's oppression, had a positive result for the new wave girls, by giving them a sense of independence and autonomy from the traditional domestic pattern (Barratt 1980, Barratt and McIntosh 1982).

The new wave girls' group was strongly cohesive and developed its own autonomous culture of female sexuality. The intensity of their relations can be illustrated by their close physical contact. The girls' reputation for lesbianism amongst boys in the fifth and sixth year gave them protection from heterosexual aggression and sexist harassment. In this sense the girls' ritual play undermined masculinity by posing a specific threat to patriarchal social relations. One example of the autonomous power of the girls' group is the anxiety expressed by the girls' boyfriends when they realise that their actions will be taken back to the group for discussion. The boys are voicing real fears of exclusion. This is a reversal of the traditional expectation, which is that the girl will drop her girlfriends on entering a couple (Griffin 1985). We see that these young women can enjoy themselves and develop cultural practices in the absence of men.

Perhaps one crucial difference between the two girl groups is in their differing conceptual understanding of sexist discrimination. For the boffin girls, sexism is assessed as being the result of the boys' ignorance of the female body, and aggression is a factor arising out of the frustration which the boys then experience. For the new wave girls, sexism is

interpreted on a more ideological level, and involves a power relation arising primarily out of "socialisation" (cf.) and enforced with a threat of violence. The new wave girls were thus able to form an interpretation of aggressive heterosexual advances which allowed them to develop specific 'female' practices designed to displace these threats.

To conclude both parties are clearly public spectacles but subject to different principles of control of physical intimacy. The boffin girl party contained an official private space "the kissing corners". However, couples using it were always noticed either on their way or through their absence. This was in every sense an official private space as it was sanctioned by the parents. In the case of the new wave girl party there were no private spaces. Indeed all practices were public and sheer numbers made any privacy difficult. Thus the fact that the space was public itself acted as a control to limit physical intimacy.

Notes to Chapter 11

1. Examples of the criminal boys' sexist behaviour which they proclaimed were "skilfully developed over years of practice" were "putting hands up skirts" and "grasping hold of tits to get a handful". Other forms of abuse towards girls were calling them names such as "dogs", "slags", "sluts", "whores", "prick teasers" and "cocksuckers". The criminal boys used material from pornographic magazines to abuse girls who they were unable to dominate (as did other boys).
See Wood (1982), Askew and Ross (1988), Holly (1989).
2. The musicians in the band were sixth form boys except the drummer who was a second year boy.
3. What does it mean for me to guess? Here the new wave girls give permission for me to be privy to their private feelings, concerns and pleasures. Both Debbie and I were invited by Cathy to guess who wrote the verse and who it was intended for.
4. The intension of the discussion with the boyfriends was to discover what they thought about their girlfriends being in the new wave group. My first questions were designed to gain further data on general matters which I had not yet discovered. However, within twenty minutes the boys had begun to interrogate me to find out whether I could possibly change or perhaps split the girl group, so that each girl would spend more time with her boyfriend.
5. The girl explained that whilst she had slept with her boyfriend, they had not engaged in sexual intercourse.
6. Participants at the boffin girl party were as follows,
Boffin girls - Kerry, Rose, Mary, Monica, Ellen, Rosemary, Sarah, Alison, Wendy, Valerie, Louise, Donna, Madeleine, Michelle, Claire, Sharon, Caroline, April.

Boffin boys - Howard, Gary, James, Davey, Russ, Will, Nick, Christopher, Paul, Cyril.

Mod boys - Keef, Paul, Tosh, Gangster, Rod, Hendrix.

Square boffin boys - Laurie, William, Bernard, Brian.

Participants at the new wave girls party were as follows:

New wave girls - Clare, Sally, Sioux, Debbie, Cathy, Lynne, Cat, Collen, Steff, Denise; marginal members Christina, Diane, Pat, Jan.

New wave girls' boyfriends Block, Stephen, Slim, Mick, Peter, Gary, Phil, Ian, Robert.

Mod boys Paul, Rich.

7. The boffin girls they considered another means of "getting back" at the boys was to use some of the new wave girl's techniques.

Mary They [new wave girl. SJB] get back at them
I suppose really it is the right sort of thing
to do, if you're not embarrassed about it, is to
make fun of THEM [Boffin boy. SJB]

Kerry YEAH

Mary Otherwise you

Rose Otherwise you go through your whole life being
embarrassed about it.

Kerry Yeah.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

The thesis has attempted to explore social relationships within and between four pupil groups all of whom are regarded by the school as belonging to the academic elite. In the first chapter we gave reasons why we considered descriptions of peer group relations on conformist, deviant resistant; organisational descriptions such as polarisation/differentiation (Lacey 1966), cultural descriptions in terms of subculture (Cohen 1955, Cohen 1972) were not appropriate to the data. We thus had to create our own languages of description. These descriptions of internal and external group practices are the means of understanding and interpreting the play of relations, in order to try and make sense of the ethnographic data collected.

Throughout the thesis our investigation has been at two levels. On the one hand we have been concerned with an interpretation of the specific group practices, meanings, rituals, relations and communication as they are lived by the groups. This we could call the 'local ethnography'. On the other hand, within the same descriptions we have been concerned with wider references and understandings of culture, relations and structure. This we could call the 'general ethnography'.

The conclusion is divided into two sections: part one is an assessment of the issues of method and of description. Part two is an interpretation of the major features of the ethnography, with reference to social class, school relations and gender relations.

2. Issues of Method and of Description

2.1 Researcher and Researched

Here I would like to focus upon the strategies of the group in dealing with the researcher and the researcher's problems in handling the groups. It is useful to discuss these issues under the headings of incorporation, resistance, idealisation and knowledge control. Put simply we are here concerned with how I coped with them and how they coped with me.

2.2 Incorporation

This consists of two sets of relations: collusion and seduction. Both must be viewed from the perspective of the researcher and the researched.

a. Collusion: for the researcher refers to the moves to gain acceptance within the group through sharing experience. During the fieldwork I would indicate familiarity with the culture and practices belonging to the groups, by showing a receptive attitude to facilitate acceptance. This strategy creates problems when groups pursue delinquent aims. For example when I made the decision to join the new wave girls or the mod boys when they engaged in illegal pastimes I had to withhold judgement on these activities. Occasionally, during the research these acts of collusion became public knowledge and created tension in my relations with senior figures in the school hierarchy. The costs of such difficulties were minimised by clear statements of purpose on my part and recognition by the teaching staff.

For the researched, collusion does not only mean that the researcher's presence may confer a degree of legitimacy on their actions, but refers to the attempts of the researched to gain control over the researcher. The researched may actively collude in the research process in an attempt to challenge the authority structure of which they are a part. We found that some groups emphasized their deviant acts and thereby threatened the researcher's position in the formal structure of the school.

b. Seduction: The aim here is to facilitate acceptance within the group by 'subtle promotion' of shared ideals. Here, part of my research strategy was to discuss and exchange information on topics regarded as sacred to each group. A key problem for the researcher finding him/herself employing seduction is that the researcher may be in turn seduced by the attraction of the group. Further, the researcher may unwittingly create a situation whereby the group live up to the researcher's expectations.

Seduction from the point of view of the researched refers to a strategy used by the group to incorporate me into their own values, practice, cooperations and oppositions. Here the ethnographer becomes an adopted member of the group and is encouraged to live the life-style of the group. I was always receptive to the values and practices of each group and also sought to withhold judgement on relevant activities. The group may lead on the researcher through the offering of forms of symbolic temptation which encourage the researcher to think that he/she has been accepted into the group. One of the purposes of seduction was to use me as a channel for sources of information not normally available to members of the group.

3. Resistance

The groups developed three ways to resist being studied.

- A. Testing: it was found that groups carried out a number of tests of the researcher's trust. These tests took many forms, the most dangerous test I experienced was the occasion when the mod boys fought the rockers at the seaside. Not all tests are potentially hostile. Some tests take the form of passing secret information and waiting to see if it is leaked. Tests can also arise in any context, for example to see if I was capable of speaking up for myself in the face of exaggeration or humiliation. Tests form the basis of a continuous game between the researched and the researcher.
- B. Exclusion: the group may exclude the researcher from certain spaces or events. In my case there were very few

spaces from which I was excluded and this is relatively unusual (McRobbie and Garber 1975, Jenkins 1983). Intimate locations such as the bedroom in the parents' house could be strictly "off limits to the researcher". Exclusion is closely related to the degree of trust and so to testing.

To be prevented from either participation or observation can lead to a partial ethnography as it may involve exclusion from crucial activities (Warren 1988). During field work I also put into operation my own principle of exclusion. No source of gossip was to be traded, even when it would be an advantage to exchange confidences. Some problems of this ethical stand which I tried to maintain were discussed in chapter two, ethnographic section.

- C. **Compromise:** refers to a strategy whereby the group attempts to make the researcher's position embarrassing or even untenable. It may take the form of undermining the objectivity of the researcher through political or even sexual strategies. A compromise situation is more difficult to manage than that of a test, as the latter can be taken again, whereas the former can threaten the integrity of the researcher. Our data shows that the researcher may be set up to see whether he/she will exploit a situation to her/his own advantage at the expense of respect towards the informants.

2.4 Idealisation

What initially leads the informants into an acceptance of the researcher's presence? What effect will the immediate context of fields relations have upon the group itself? Our data showed two related fieldwork problems with respect to idealisation which could be called the 'media halo' effect and 'narcissism'.

- a. **'Media Halo':** the group may initially understand the researcher to represent a privileged position or agency and imagine him/her to have a 'media halo'. It is through the researcher that the group can 'go public' by being

perhaps the subject of a book or documentary. Here the researcher must learn to sense the trap of the exotic represented by the groups. The group may present itself for study as an idealised model ready for "publication". The lure of the exotic may lead to a one-sided exploration.

- b. 'Narcissism': refers to the flattering effect of being studied. The group's gaze is upon itself. The informants become dangerously preoccupied with identity and presentation, lacking spontaneity and substituting introspection for lived practices. The researcher does not face this problem in the same way but a parallel condition may exist. I found there was a tension between being continuously alert to research possibilities and at the same time offering the degree of participation expected of me by the groups.

2.5 Knowledge Control

Knowledge control refers to the issue of collection, storage and management of observation. The researcher is in a privileged position. As a result of the systematic collection of data the researcher gradually moves into a position where s/he possesses more information than any other individual in the group. This accumulation of knowledge became an attraction to other groups of pupils and teachers, and raised the issue of how much or what if any information should be made available to others. Where I was forced into a situation that necessitated a response I always tried to give a non-specific answer.

For the researched, the researcher's knowledge may become useful; one may occasionally be asked to recollect who was at a certain place, or the time and dates of certain events or incidents. There is always the danger of betrayal when members within a group try to gain access to researcher's knowledge to scare off others or spread rumours.

2.6 Picture of the Researcher

This section is intended to give some insight into how the researched saw the researcher. The role of the ethnographer in qualitative research is one feature of fieldwork studies which is underdeveloped. Little biographical information is usually given on the researcher and even less about how the research was understood by the researched. The problem is of the invisibility of both the researcher and of the method.

Here, I shall give some examples of how each group perceived their relationship to me. Below is a poem by Debbie, a new wave girl, which captures the changing perceptions held by the group. She handed it to me a month into the fieldwork, at the end of an afternoon Geography lesson. Before it was passed to me, Sioux was allowed to read it and made a comment at the bottom of the page.

When you were new
Everyone wanted to know
You were the new point of interest

We became friends, then lovers.
But I threw it all away
Because of a stupid rash decision
That stuck in my mind and grew
Out of proportion

Now we have become friends again
I'm pleased that we can have an
Easy relationship
One that suits us both.

Sioux's comment "Hey that's lovely"

I thanked Debbie for the poem, read it quickly, said "That's good", and placed it in the field diary for safe keeping. Later I put it in my file of personal documents. The poem clearly shows how Debbie perceives the relationship with the researcher as a very personal and intimate thing. It expresses changes in feeling and is also a commentary on the development of relationships within the group.

During some days' break from fieldwork I read The

Professional Stranger by Agar; 1980. It had an important effect upon my fieldwork because it made me more receptive to the changes in mood that the groups might exhibit. It also warned me about the pitfalls of being continuously on the alert ready to observe, which could give rise to a false presentation of self creating suspicion among group members. I became aware of this weakness and tried to remedy it by being more open to both my own and the groups emotional highs and lows.

Below is a conversation which initially refers to these problems, but then moves on to explore other 'hidden fieldwork' issues. The discussion is taken from the cassette made for me by the new wave girls.

Sally Don't you think it flattering having being studied.

Sioux Yeah but like you said I feel inhibited because

Sally Yeah you do you feel inhibited because

Sioux Because he's studying all the time. Even at Cathy's party he's still studying people.

Sally Yeah he always is and you can never be yourself because you know you're being studied.

Sioux Yeah exactly.

Lynne You going to play this tape to him?

Sally Yeah, sorry Shane.

Sioux Sorry Shane. I beg your forgiveness.

All girls - Laughter -

Sally Oh Shane you look beautiful when you're asleep.

Sioux Yeah, you can rub my legs any time.

Sally Do you remember when he was asleep that Steff went up to him and undid his flies.

Lynne Oh yeah, oh you better not say the next bit on tape!

Cat Did she really I didn't know anything about that.

Lynne And someone else wasn't it!

All girls - Laughter -

- Sioux I can't remember that bit.
- Sally Yes she did it, it was really funny!
- Sioux I remember Christina chucking herself on him. I don't really think that he wanted her to. Because she had her arms round him.
- Sally Did you Shane?
- Lynne Did you oh.
- Sioux Shane did you know you are a handsome black tape recorder.

When Sally gave me the tape I thanked her and was genuinely surprised to receive it. Such an event so strongly imbued with meaning would have been too much for me to fully or fairly analyse at the time; I could only give the tape a cursory listen. This shows that the researcher has to make decision when, and in which order to examine the data. Once I had left the field the discussion was fully transcribed and more time devoted to its interpretation.

There are three phases to the girls conversation. At the start it is serious. They feel able to speak about the study in my absence. They are flattered at being studied but somewhat inhibited due to my initial position of being always alert and perhaps seeming too keen. The talk moves from the serious to the game. The girls are having fun; they are "having me on" it is a playful but complex game where they are challenging the objectivity of the research relationship. They joke, and then move on to develop a conversation with sexual overtones, that shows the extent to which they as fifth year girls have become conscious of my potential sexuality as a young man of twenty two - not much older than some of their boyfriends. The girls move out, from their game strategy of "putting it on" to fantasising a relationship or encounter with the researcher. They play with the theme of seduction and as the sexual theme develops, they become seduced by their own narrative.

In particular reference to the above quote, it was their idea to record a tape, which they initiated and carried through unprompted. In this sense the cassette is a telling statement about the research situation; they show that qualitative research relations are never neutral. Both sides of the ethnographic relation experience seduction as they develop, a body of shared experience.

Finding oneself as the subject of an ethnography can cause problems for the researched as relationships develop. However, the study can effect important changes. In his classic participant observation study Whyte (1943) found that his informants liked the research relationship, but that it also had drawbacks. Doc one of his subjects commented "You've slowed me up plenty since you've been down here. Now when I do something I have to think what Bill Whyte would want to know about it and how I can explain it. Before I used to do things by instinct" [p.301]. The mod boys expressed similar frustrations but from the following extract it can be seen that the ethnographers presence can be welcome.

In the careers room during dinner hour, I questioned them about an incident at the end of morning assembly.

SJB After the little disturbance in assembly I went over to see what you were doing and I was told, I was the reason why you lot were all acting up.

Paul Acting up! We ain't done nothing lately. It's all quietened down really since you've been here.

Hat Yeah.

Paul It's given us something to do.

Hat You think before you come all the trouble we were having and that

SJB Mr. Skull reckons I have,

Gangster Encouraged us to be naughty

Hat No that's rubbish

Gangster That's rubbish

Paul No, because you have given us something else to do apart from; because normally we get so bored we just do anything just for a laugh or, something gives you something to talk to ain't it.

My position in the mod boy group was never in doubt after I had been with them during their fight at the seafront. However, within this male group there were further informal rules of appropriate masculine behaviour one of these was positive display of heterosexual potency. And so the boys posed specific questions about my own sexual practices. I understood these inquiries to be both a search for information and also reassurance. My answers at all times related to how I conducted myself when I was their age. I did not attempt to analyse or psychoanalyse my behaviour, which would have been seen as inappropriately "feminine" or intellectual.

We can suggest that the boffin groups were more accepting of the research context than the youth cultural group. This can be demonstrated, firstly, because the boffins did not question the legitimacy of the educational study. Secondly, they demanded a different transaction relation effected through an exchange of information about 'A' levels, university and careers.

The relationship with boffin groups took longer to establish. Until eventually it became part of my role to channel complaints between them. When their relations were strained, the girls would tell me the problems concerning the boys behaviour and the boys would do likewise. This relationship allowed me an additional insight into problems faced by pro-schools pupils. However, I was not able to be entirely impartial in chapter seven BB/MBQ22 boffin boy Howard called upon me to support his argument that the boffin girls were not available for sexual intimacy. I agreed with him that I knew the boffin girls very well, but refused to be drawn further; it was the boffin and mod boys who answered the questions about sexual behaviour. In chapter nine BG/NWGQ3 Rose asked me to confirm her argument about how horrible her

ex-boyfriend was; here I had to agree with her.

The different basis of the research relation with the boffin groups gave rise to a different form of challenge to my objectivity. When I was with the boffin girls or boys they would sometimes academically "show off" in front of teachers, even criticise them. I understood this behaviour as a mark of their independence; becoming "rebel boffins". This form of challenge to the objective research relations derives from their acknowledged status as the schools top examinees.

Although the boffins and the youth cultural group used different methods in challenging research relations, they identified the researchers location in the school as a means to challenge authority structure and influence the learning environment. Overall, it can be argued that the boffin groups were more accepting towards my formal status as an educational researcher. This may be due to their heavy commitment to and investment in education. Their relationship to me was instrumental: what relevant information could they extract which might help them fulfil their ambitions? Yet the boffins still made the most of the research situation. On a number of occasions at parties, discos or 'just out' with the boffin girls and boys, they would comment that they enjoyed being with me. This was a reciprocal and expressive relationship, and it points to my influence upon the boffins. They attempted to reveal themselves as likeable people - not as uptight conformists.

What qualities does a qualitative researcher need in order to conduct a study? Polsky (1967) believes that not every sociologist is capable of dealing with face to face communication. I would also suggest that not every group is happy or able to cope with being intensively studied. However, direct contact with informants is only one part of ethnography as Evans-Pritchard (1973) states "I have long ago discovered that the decisive battle is not fought in the field but in the study afterwards" [p.3].

The next central methodological issue is that the reader must trust the ethnographer's account. Even though the researcher may employ triangulation of data sources to check inference by observing participants in different settings and gather accounts from different informants, there still remains the problem of the invisibility both of the researcher, and of the method. Often, elimination of the author from the text suggests less influence over the data and the skilful use of language makes the study appear more plausible or objective. Ultimately, though qualitative research stands or falls on the basis of the trust relationship between the researcher, the researched and the reader.

Towards the conclusion of the fieldwork I received a private letter from one of the new wave girls at the end of a school day. She gave it to me as I walked with her towards the railway station. She said "Read it when you get home. It's just from me to you. I'll see you in the fifth year area tomorrow".

Part of the letter

"I'm still a bit wary of you because I think that you might be a bit unpredictable. But I like unpredictable people. We are going to miss you dreadfully when you go away. You won't forget your bestest friends here will you. Your company is much appreciated. Sorry I was in a bad mood on Saturday morning, you see, I don't think I'm brave and Sally was saying all these really lovely things about me. I couldn't handle it so I cried [how embarrassing]."

Evans-Pritchard (1951) states that an ethnographer has failed unless, when s/he says goodbye

"there is on both sides the sorrow of parting. It is evident that he can only establish this intimacy if he makes himself in some degree a member of their society and lives, thinks and feels in their culture since only he, and not they can make the necessary transference" [p.79]

Indeed, when I read this letter I felt a certain degree of sadness because it made me realise that I would soon have to formally leave the field. My relationship to all groups had

initially been instrumental but this did not make this 'necessary transference' any easier to achieve.

Here the concern has been to detail the processes of interaction between the researcher and the researched during the fieldwork. We do not know whether these strategies are particular to the groups we studied or whether they are symptomatic of ethnographic research in general. For Agar (1986) qualitative research is always the product of two way relations

"An ethnography is first of all a function of the ethnographer ethnographies are also a function of the group among whom the ethnographer is working" [p.18]

The purpose of this methodological explanation has been to draw attention to three areas of fieldwork: the researcher's behaviour [and biography], the response of the researched to being studied and the complexity of relations between the researcher and the researched.

2.7 Theoretical Language of Descriptions

In chapter one we discussed variations between competing definitions of subculture. The concept was considered inappropriate for our purposes because it was inadequate to describe youth cultural groups in action. In order to account for the specific practices of and relationship between youth cultural groups it was necessary to create a theoretical language. The theory of description employed in the thesis is designed to make sense of the ethnographic data collected.

The models, interactional practices and structures which the fieldwork revealed were found to be inapplicable to the boffin groups. This limitation of the theoretical description had two effects. The restriction of the theory to the youth cultural groups threw into greater contrast the relationships between youth cultural and boffin groups. Further, it became necessary to develop a theoretical description specific to the boffin groups.

Clearly the language of description itself presupposed assumptions and implicit hypotheses with respect to processes, features and relationships revealed by the ethnography. There was a constant interplay between the descriptions and the data.

The theoretical description of the youth cultural forms explores and develops the possibilities of the sets of relations existing in the youth cultural field. The model we hypothesise could be applied to any group which is an exemplar of a youth cultural style. This is a matter for future research.

The modelling of the specialised positions provides an understanding of the complex rules and forms of communication, both within and outside of the groups. It allows the possibility of charting the relations of conflict, challenge, celebration and it also offers a perspective on the inner and outer worlds of exclusive groups. The specialised positions within the youth cultural group we found worked to strengthen and elaborate the social and symbolic relations. The distinction between the social and symbolic forms made it possible to trace the lines of potential tension and cooperation and to note the distribution of responsibilities for the social and aesthetic features of the various groups.

We found that the style leader and peer group spokesperson engage in ritual celebration and exaggeration of the groups potential to promenade, whilst the peer group consolidator and cultural ransacker are concerned more with maintaining the reality principle in the group, so that exaggeration does not threaten group unity. The four specialised positions have particular functions to perform. The duties are not always in play but remain possibilities when the moment is relevant.

The social relation of the face describe the different types of interaction within and between groups. The concept of the social relations of the face provides a more explicit, detailed and less metaphorical understanding of youth groups in private and public practice. This reading of the groups'

actions enables us to grasp the variation and significance of ritual practices. At the micro level the data indicated that there is often movement from the private to the public face, when an audience becomes available for the promenade. This transformation of faces can be identified by the different forms of exchange between the specialised positions. In particular, chapters 4, 5 and 6 are good illustrations of private/public faces and the strategies of communication in the encounters between the new wave girls and the mod boys.

Our analysis of the specialised semiotic revealed the internal practices of the youth cultural group, the rules which create and relay a style with coherence, order, meaning and possibilities. The semiotic is an expression of agency, where the cultural style of communications is a creative practice of the group. The ethnographic data allowed the following conceptual distinctions: "choreography" which refers to dress and appearance, "techniques of the body" including posture, gesture and facets of mobility, "narrative", which includes music, literature and argot, "circulation" which refers to social sites and territorial movement.

Our data shows that central to the specialised semiotic is the significance of music. In chapter three we outlined the relationship between the musical band and the youth group and it is the "bond" that defines the relationship between them. We distinguished six features of the relationship between the band and the youth group. For the new wave girls music itself was a crucial source of elaboration and creativity evidenced by songs and lyrics they created. This "bond" is differently expressed by the mod boys who formed their own official scooter club which related back to the images provided by the band [songs, LP covers, videos].

We found that it was analytically useful to develop an integrating concept at a higher level of abstraction than the concepts which form the description of the group in order to grasp the coherence of youth style. The concept of "signature" integrates specialised positions, social relations of the face,

and the specialised semiotic and points to the unity, recognition and legitimacy of the youth cultural forms.

We found it important to distinguish three signatures, 'historical', 'variant' and 'emergent' forms. The data shows that the mods were a variant signature of a legitimate position in the field and the new wave girls were an exemplar of an emergent signature.

One of the issues raised by this description is the degree of its generality. It seems that we have described a distinctive structure and culture of adolescent groups, far removed from gang or subcultural descriptions. It is a matter of further research to establish whether the description is relevant to other youth cultural style.

3. Features of the Ethnography

3.1 Social Class and the Groups

The length of time that families had lived in the area, was shown in chapter two to have an important effect upon the social class relations of the group. In general, the location of the study, the history of the area, its identity and relative rural isolation were factors shaping social class relations within and between the groups. We shall now focus upon each group.

The boffin girls were largely of a middle and lower middle class origin. Parents occupation tended to be white collar and managerial, but there were also some established shop owners. The parents lived in private rather than rented accommodation. Our data suggests that their relatively homogeneous class relations, together with the girls' stable family life gave significant support to their social aspirations. Parents would encourage their daughters' pursuit of qualifications and support their career ambitions. However, the cost of academic success was a loss of the personal autonomy of the girls created by parental expectations and school work. Throughout the thesis a central issue for these girls was independence and

this is shown at another level by their emphasis upon individual choice.

The data indicates that these girls were accorded status as the school's top examinees and that this distinction promoted confidence. Investment in academic learning in turn heightened their demand for individual liberty and personal autonomy. The ethnography shows that the boffin girls parties are ritual markers of educational success publicly rewarded by parents, but also occasions for the flaunting of their parents moral rules and their established codes.

The boffin boys were largely of middle and lower middle class origin, with some upper working class members. Parents' occupation were white collar with service and managerial responsibilities, also skilled manual trades. The majority of parents owned their own homes, although some lived in local authority housing.

The data shows the mixed social class relations of the group significantly influenced their behaviour. The boffin boys rigorously pursue social mobility, in contrast, the boffin girls who came from a more privileged background are more preoccupied with retaining status. They show more concern for choice and egalitarianism: whereas the boys individualism is fostered by what we have termed an "ideology of individualism".

In chapter 9 we identified the boys' social aspirations: to achieve middle class careers through routes such as the university or the services. Like the boffin girls, they expressed disdain for underachievement, but placed more emphasis upon their capacity to achieve. "I know I could get higher than just 'O' levels or an apprenticeship". We saw that the boffin boy group also functions as a class socialising agency and in chapter five and elsewhere, we see how certain individuals regulate and uphold appropriate social class behaviour. The first we have already mentioned that of appropriate social class civilities and culture. The second arose out of their need to regulate their relations with girls

in the interest of their pedagogic project which required as its social base maintaining strong group mutual-help relations. The social class vulnerabilities facilitated their pedagogic project but their sexual vulnerabilities was a constant threat to the unity of their group and to their own individual development.

The new wave girls were of mixed social class origin, including lower middle class and upper working class. Parent's occupations were white collar with service and managerial responsibilities and skilled engineering trades. Most parents owned private houses except for two of the girls' parents who lived on council estates. However, it is more difficult to define the precise nature of their social class background, because of a mixture of influences, marital break up and changes in household arrangements. Over half the girls experienced the financial restrictions of living in a one parent family. Our data suggests that as a group the new wave girls were very influenced by these changes in family life; indeed we could say that their gender position was more important than their class position. Parents gave support to their daughters' educational ambitions, in a context of restricted economic resources.

As with the boffin girls, the new wave girls saw educational opportunities as a way to secure financial independence through a career. The data shows that both dominant girl groups in the fifth year had recognisable and realistic social class aspirations supported by the family, allowing both groups to postpone marriage to secure their own futures. For the boffin girls study came first and this provided a legitimate negative response to romantic pressures from boys.

Parents gave support and responsibility to the new wave girl group. They were allowed considerably more independence, access to leisure and personal autonomy; for example the girls' all night parties where parents see the girls as being responsible for their own actions.

A difficulty in assessing the new wave girls' social class position arises out of their challenging and oppositional youth cultural-life style. Here we see that this expression does not fit easily with either traditional working class or middle class notions of adolescent femininity. [See later discussion].

The mod boys were of mixed social class origin. Parents occupations were diverse from stock broker, intermediate white collar, small business owner to skilled manual trades. Most parents owned private houses except for one of the boys' parents who lived in local authority housing.

Unlike the boffin groups which had relatively little experience of the local labour market, both the youth cultural groups had part time employment in order to gain a disposable income. The boffin groups had little need for money because they had considerably less leisure time. The mods' and new waves' employment experience gave them a more practical understanding of jobs, not found amongst the boffins, to complement their academic understanding of work. We found that all parents gave support to their sons' educational ambitions but not all parents were willing to support the boys' ambitions to enter the sixth form. In chapter seven Keef argues that his father could not afford to keep him at school beyond compulsory attendance.

A difficulty in assessing the mod boys' social class position arises out of their violent masculinity. The mods' promenade of male solidarity, is more significantly related to territorial responses as a youth cultural style than an expression of social class resistance. Their 'tough behaviour' did not in any sense become an anti-intellectualism. In our view one needs to proceed carefully when making interpretations and generalisations about the relations between masculinity and social class the mod boys pursued fighting and gaining qualifications with equal rigour.

To conclude this discussion our evidence strongly suggests that status rather than class is perhaps the more crucial agent

in the generation of different forms of resistance and conformity. The data makes it possible to distinguish the following complex positions of each group:

Mod boys: mixed social class, pedagogic competence, cultural style rituals of violence.

New wave girls: mixed social class, pedagogic competence, cultural style, family disruption, rituals of integrity.

Boffin boys: mixed social class, pedagogic competence, ideology of individualism.

Boffin girls: middle class privilege, pedagogic competence, freedom and choice.

In each group any one status position may be dominant depending upon the context of interaction. There is more homogeneity in the boffins' status and this makes it easier to identify social class relations in action, whereas there is greater variety in the status positions available to the youth cultural groups, which makes social class analysis more difficult. However, a major finding of the thesis is that the distinguishing marker of all the groups studied irrespective of their difference is the common celebration of their pedagogic status and the privileges to which this status gave access.

3.2 School Relations and the Groups

All the young people in this research (except the "criminal boys") were studying for a large number of GCE subjects, indeed some members of the boffin group had already obtained four 'O' level certificates. From this point of view the sample is unusual in British educational research.

Both boffin groups had an approach to schooling based upon a regulative framework of action, operating in a Weberian sense in terms of an instrumental means end chain. The ethnography revealed that they held an ideological position, which we termed "individualism". For the boffin group, location in the upper ability band conferred status and the classroom was a

site to display competence and confidence. This did not mean that the boffins were entirely pro-school and accepting of the status quo; our data shows that they were critical of school processes at the level of pedagogy, teaching method, timetabling. However, boffins made a large investment in the opportunities provided by school.

Because of a superficial pro-school image other fifth year pupil groups saw the boffins as "snobs" and during the initial weeks I also came to see them in this light. However, the ethnography gradually yielded a thick description of the boffin culture. They were far from conformist.

In chapter 8 we identified the boffin girl group as a site of pedagogic celebration, resource and exploration, supported by the class principles of their family. The school practice of the girls is revealed through their work ethic. This ethic has three components which emphasise individual choice, discipline and competitiveness. These features of the girls' pedagogic practice mirror the dominant values in the school. We proposed that this work ethic was the condition both of their resentful subordination to the family and of their instrumental subordination to schooling. However, this ethic was also the condition for their future independence from both family and school through the access it gave to a career.

Fear of public examinations was not experienced by the boffin girls; they regarded examinations as mundane activities. Intellectual achievement was displayed and facilitated by what we called their "seminar form" of communication and interaction. This display we termed a "pedagogic promenade". It is a way of marshalling evidence, debating and arriving at objective conclusions where personal experience/bias appears to be excluded, both from the manner of discussion and the conclusions drawn. From this point of view the pedagogic promenade facilitates and produces examination success.

The boffin girls became critical of school when their demands for a formal explicit learning context was not met.

We showed that the boffin girls understood pupil power relations and were able to use the rules in their favour. For example they could disregard certain teacher opinions, demands or expectations, and they could complete or initiate work themselves. Sometimes the boffin girls challenged local principles of control through a limited disrespect of teachers. These actions can be understood in Aggleton's (1987) sense as acts of "contestation". However, their school deviance was always significantly limited by their instrumental acceptance of the school.

In chapter 7 we identified the boffin boys as a potentially socially mobile group. Their acknowledged aim was educational success at the expense of expressive forms of behaviour which might put in jeopardy their unity and aspirations. The boffin boys' goal to acquire certificates was displayed through a development of the seminar form of communication and interaction. Presumably the seminar form has similar functions for both the boffin groups. The only significant difference between the two boffin groups was that, whilst both groups used the seminar form as a site for displays of pedagogic competence, only the boys' group used it for rehearsal, development and monitoring of conduct appropriate to their social class aspirations.

There was also a significant social difference between the boffin groups; the boys, were more expressive in their actions and this has its origins in the competitive masculine promenade of the various groups of males (See for example the conversations between the boffin and mod boys in chapter 9.) The data suggests that it is probably the competitive masculine relations between the boffin boys and the mods which is partly responsible for school based deviance of the boffin boys.

A recurring issue for the boffin boys was the difficulty in balancing their status as the school's top pupils with the accusation that they never "went out". Devotion to homework was a central insult used by other boys to undermine their

masculinity. In fact, the data does show a conflict for the boffin boys around deferred gratification with particular reference to their relations with girls.

The members of both of the youth cultural groups were in the upper and middle ability bands, and they also possessed an instrumental approach to schooling. School work would be completed and good grades received, but primarily the school was understood as a backdrop to their main activity which was articulation and display of group unity and style. Location in the top streams also conferred an intellectual status upon their respective 'mod' and 'new wave' styles. In contrast, other youth styles such as ted, skinhead or rocker would be stereotyped as stupid and stigmatised because some of their members could be seen in the bottom ability bands.

In the fifth year the two youth cultural groupings struggled to control territory over the whole school premises. But neither group received serious physical or symbolic challenges. Our data suggests that both groups possessed reputations, and 'myths' were held about them by other pupils within the school. [See chapter 5 and chapter 11]. The strength of these myths gave the two youth cultural groups considerable autonomy in school.

The new wave girls did not support teacher and school expectations of appropriate gender behaviour because this was in conflict with their own principles. Their acceptance of school was strictly related to their own educational aspirations. As we have shown, much of their behaviour was at odds with the ideology of femininity embodied and upheld by the school. Thus the girls' instrumentalism towards the school was tempered by their rejection of its moral order.

We saw that they did not complete as much work, either in school or at home as the boffin girls, but that they did enough to ensure successful grades and good relations with the teaching staff. Unlike the boffin girls, the new wave girls' identity was not dependent upon schooling, however, it would

be incorrect to suggest that school did not influence them although the data reveals that the girls' mode of dress was often in contravention of the school rules of dress. Further, their deviant actions (skiving or cigarette smoking) were in opposition to school rules. Here, their status position in the top ability bands would be used as a resource to negotiate lighter punishment for misdemeanours. The girls were critical of school processes but this did not become the basis of an anti-intellectualism. School was no threat; instead it provided a site for the articulation of their genre.

In chapters 10 and 11 we identified a range of these girls' resistant practices which were in opposition to parents, school and also to the adolescent male groups. Where they experienced male aggression or sexist exaggeration our data shows that the girls were capable of confronting these forms of discrimination in a face to face manner. The teachers' assessment was that they were assertive, independent and creative, although the form that this autonomy could take sometimes led to opposition with the staff.

The mod boys were in the upper and middle ability bands and shared with the other groups an instrumental approach to schooling. The mods accepted the school's definition of intelligence, success, grades, working in lessons and examinations. There was a consensus about intelligence as academic distinction. Our data shows that the mod boys did not complete as much work as the boffins or even the new wave girls but that they did sufficient work to sustain their top ability positions and significantly received respect from teachers. In order to maintain working relations with teachers the boys had to accommodate certain rules and subordinate positions. Together with the active cultivation of the formal pupil role the ethnography reveals that the boys were also engaged in breaking school rules, (cigarette smoking, drinking alcohol, subrenting the school uniform and "skiving".) These actions are generally attributed to anti-school groups found at the bottom of the streaming system.

The mod boys' resistant actions were part of an organised and selective focusing; not arbitrary actions, nor even demonstrations of resentment. They were a coherent expression of their youth cultural style. Although on occasions their behaviour could be random or destructive, these were few as internal regulations were strong. The boys like the new wave girls, relied heavily upon their pedagogic status in the school as a resource in regulating punishment for misdemeanours. There was also some admiration from male members of staff of the mod boys' masculine displays: they were seen as "real characters' with life".

For the mod boys, controlling territory on school was a function of their youth cultural style and this practice gave rise to moments of conflict with other pupil groups, i.e. "rockabillys" and "criminal" boys, and teachers. The boys' violent image was carefully managed through assorted expression of physicality. For example rather than simply beat-up a "rockabilly" during the beginning of one lesson the mods Paul, Gangster and Hendrix tightly held a "rockabilly" and wrote upon his forehead "The Who" with a large red felt-tipped pen. However, in school it was their potential for violence rather than the reality which formed the basis of their authority. In a sense it was necessary for them occasionally to demonstrate their reputation, (exploding a bomb in the tunnel, in order to maintain their status). Chapter 5 shows that outside school certain of their incidents were transformed into myths and this sustained their reputation for violence.

The mod boys represent an apparent contradictory dualism unremarked in the literature. The boys clearly were involved and successful academic students yet the practices of their youth cultural style in dress, speech, posture and violence placed them in opposition to the values and moral order of the school.

3.3 Gender Relations and the Groups

A major finding of the study is that the play of gender relations is crucial for almost every type of interaction, both within and between groups. The major opposition is between the mod boys and the new wave girls, but patriarchal power relations are also a significant influence between the boffin girls and the boffin boys. These relations are not simply confined to school; the ethnographic examples of the two parties show that gender relations are differently played out and performed in different leisure contexts. We shall now discuss the five sets of gender relations.

A. Patriarchy

Our data shows the significance of the strong patriarchal authority of the mod boys, both inside and outside school. The diagram indicates a strong relationship initiated by the boffin boys towards the mod boys: indeed all boys see the mods as models of exemplary masculine behaviour. Their management of 'maleness' shows no lines of uncertainty. The mods give the impression of being strong, aggressive, intelligent, cool and cynical. Furthermore, in chapter 9 we identified the mods' apparent public success in initiating, maintaining and controlling heterosexual relations. In chapter 5 we saw that the mod boys combined a violent reputation with the assertion of sexual authority. These two features of masculinity formed the basis of patriarchal power. Data suggests that no physical threat or danger existed between the mod and the boffin boys, the problem for the boffins was management of their masculine image, in the context of their emasculated identity as apparently pro-school pupils. Academic status alone does not attract "macho" status, and the boffins stand in the shadow of the mods. During the period of the ethnography the boffins had little opportunity to see the mod boys' private face behaviour with girls and were therefore unable to see their failures. At parties or discos the mods would always promenade their public face.

Our evidence strongly suggests that the mod boys exerted their masculine authority throughout school and upon all pupils, even the older sixth form pupils. We found that among the fifth year boys rumours and myths of the mods' apparent sexual successes; often the source came from the mods themselves, who gained pleasure from misleading the inexperienced. No boy could ignore the mods' public celebration of their sexual knowledge. We found that this created values amongst all boys which discredited male virginity. In chapter 9 we saw the boffins caught within the mods' promenade of sexual experience. We also found that most fifth year girls tried to avoid sustained close contact with the mod boys. The mods' fierce patriarchal stance led to a general disparagement and belittling of girls on the part of boys in the school.

The only real challenge of the mod boys' patriarchal power came from the new wave girls. In chapter 4 we found that the girls could respond in an equally aggressive and ritualistic manner. Additionally, and perhaps most importantly, the girls showed that they could see through the mod boys' public face rituals of exaggeration. Our evidence suggests that as a promenading youth cultural group, the new wave girls were able to read the subtext of the boys' public face behaviour. We found that they were the only group of pupils who successfully opposed and countered the ritualistic behaviour of the mods.

B. Pedagogy

Our data indicates that common to all four groups is acceptance of the school's notion of intelligence, and a recognition of the legitimacy of the hierarchy of ability it entailed. Pedagogy is the central relation between the two boffin groups. This relation is reciprocal, although our data strongly suggests that the boffin boys stood in the shadow of the boffin girls' competence.

The ethnography shows that the school relations between the female and male boffin groups were far from cooperative or relaxed. A fundamental tension existed between the two groups

over their sexual vulnerabilities. The pursuit of excellence in school work is played out against the backdrop of love aspirations. Educational ambitions dominate the boffins' life, including much of their leisure time, creating an opposition between pleasure and pedagogy. Here, we can see at work the classic sociological opposition between deferred gratification and hedonism, and this accounts for the relation within and between the boffin groups.

When the boffin girls were subjected to sexism from the boffin boys, these male displays were rendered ineffective by the girls' signalling of their greater academic competence. However, where the girls experienced institutional sexual discrimination by being prevented from taking traditional male subjects, rather than taking action against this perceived discrimination they transformed the issue into an intellectual discussion of inequality. Through their seminar form the girls could articulate both their experience of injustice, and the ultimate justice of their subordination. Their form of discussion implied acceptance, the neutrality of the school. Thus we argued that this form of communication made the girls fully aware of their resentment, but offered no real practical solution for change.

As members of the upper/middle ability bands, both youth cultural groups were also heavily involved in school work, although unlike the boffins they were not dependent on pedagogy for status. We found that friendly relations between the boffin and youth groups was limited to school themes, as one mod boy comments,

Gangster The only contact with them is your class or taking the same subjects as them and you're discussing homework, you're not going to talk about mod music to them, just about school.

In chapter 9 we saw the boffin and mod boys competing over examination grades, but in general the boffin boys would try to ignore intellectual opposition with the expressive groups. However, the boffin boys would not ignore the boffin girls'

school status because it also influenced their leisure relations and love aspirations. Parties held by the girls to celebrate examination success would always be attended in full by the boffin boys. Ethnographic data of these occasions shows that they were highly symbolic events, charged with ritual courting and denial within and between groups, and parents.

C. Feminism

The data suggests that there is a weak relationship between the two dominant female groups in the fifth year at Marshlands. Inside school there was a degree of cooperation in the classroom and some sisterly contact on issues such as school and home work. Outside school there was practically no space that could be shared and thus no real opportunity to meet.

In chapter 8 we showed that the school's definition of female sexuality had an important effect upon the boffin girls' understanding of themselves. We saw that for certain girls this definition seemed to have the effect of making them fear their own sexuality, and even to retreat into girlhood. We also saw that the girls considered themselves to be vulnerable to sexual intimidation owing to their lack of heterosexual knowledge and experience. This gap in their understanding they perceived as a weakness in their pedagogic status, especially when contrasted with their high level of academic knowledge. The data also suggests that this situation was further compounded by their parents' strict moral regimes which gave them little opportunity to be responsible, and little space within which to consider their sexual responses. This situation gave rise to two forms of communication, within the boffin girl group which we called 'body' and 'rumour' news. This division promoted a double standard and excluded certain girls from receiving factual sexual knowledge, paradoxically those who were most in need of the information. As a consequence of their social class background the boffin girls were not subjected to the working class ideologies of femininity. This gave them an advantage in that they could delay pairing and even more the pressures of marriage of their

parents. However, the boffin girls were subject to traditional service demands in the home, although these could be countered by the necessity or implied excuse of "having to do homework".

The data shows that the new wave girls can be understood as 'becoming feminist'. This female group was strongly cohesive and developed its own autonomous culture of female sexuality. The intensity of their relations can be illustrated by their close physical contact. Chapter 11 reveals that they were able to use their reputation of 'lesbianism' amongst male pupils to protect them from heterosexual aggression and sexist harassment. Furthermore, in chapter 4 we saw that some of the girls explicitly argued a theoretical preference for lesbianism. The ethnographic data however also reveals that the new wave girls parties give rise to 'outrageous rumours' within the pupil community creating myths about their heterosexual experiences.

Their capacity to exploit and use different forms of sexual expression was shown to derive from the girls' celebration of their sexuality as 'natural'. Female bodily experience became the communal responsibility of the group. We understood this behaviour as part of their rituals of integrity. The close and intense group relations of the new wave girls created a powerful social base for opposing and challenging the patriarchal stance of the boys. Further evidence of the girls 'becoming feminist' can be shown by their analysis of sexist discrimination, as ideological involving power relations.

Parents gave implicit support to the feminism of this girl group by allowing greater freedom of action. Our data shows that the relation between parents and daughter took the form of an exchange; in return for increased independence the girls would accept domestic and personal responsibility.

D. Ritual

We have identified a strong reciprocal relation based upon ritual communication between the two youth cultural groups. In this study we have used the concept of ritual in two senses:

ritual as game (see later discussion) and ritual as framing of identity. Here symbolic expressions are part of a practice, performance and promenade which celebrates and relays identities.

Ritual as Framing Identity

We found that a key to the identity of the mod boys was violence, whereas the key to the identity of the new wave girls was integrity. The rituals of violence and integrity show the different gender relations of the groups, and make it possible to understand their specific meanings in particular their respective youth cultural styles. At a deep level we tentatively suggest that the mod boys' rituals of violence have their base in a combination of two elements, death and potency.

Death is present in the drive to be 'on the edge'. For example, the fight between the mods and rockers at the seaside reveals a heightened form of masculinity where the challenge is either death or glory. Death is a potential of their defence: it is the capacity to rule.

Potency has two realisations, sexual and stylistic. The close physical context of their fights and their playful mock battles carry overtones of the homoerotic. Whilst their relations with girls carried their patriarchal descriptions. Potency is also revealed by the authenticity and legitimacy of their style. Potency is present in the coherence and order that the style represents and the threat which it articulates to the outside world.

At the deep level we tentatively suggest that the new wave girls' rituals of integrity have their base in a combination and interaction of two elements, naturalism and pollution.

Naturalism is an assessment of female sexuality as natural or an expression of wholeness from which no part may be separated. It is the symbolic usage of the female body as a resource of exclusion, opposition and independence.

Pollution excludes the undesirable and provides protection for their naturalism. It also enables these girls to pollute others whilst retaining their integrity: using both the language of humiliation and degradation, and acts of humiliation and degradation. Examples of the former is speaking the unspeakable (see chapter 4) and of the latter their use of condoms and tampax.

E. Game: ritual as game

These are moves on the basis usually of tacit rules which create a form of interaction between individuals as representatives of social groups [in our case gender, style pedagogic groups] dedicated to competition, domination and degradation.

This game play includes as we have found sets of moves which create traps, "wind ups" together with countervailing rebuttals and escape routes. These moves have several strategies of realisation which collectively we have referred to as "game rhetoric". This often involves sudden and unexpected switching from formal argument to ritual insults. Ritual insults take many forms including swearing, metaphors of degradation and milder forms of banter exchange. Although we have used the term game to describe this specialised form of interaction its consequences are often deeply wounding especially where the participants have differential skills and restricted repertoires of moves.

It is possible to distinguish between games which have the characteristic of set pieces where moves are more formally structured and predictable, and games where the play is more individualised. Where the game is played within a ritualised framework, it is less personally wounding. But when it is more individualised the attacking and rebuttals are felt more personally.

3.4 Overview of Ethnographic Findings

It may well be that the emphasis upon gender relations and sexuality which runs through much of the ethnography is the result of the presence of the new wave girls. These girls proclaimed through their dress attitude and language a challenge to the existing concepts of masculinity and femininity. Their disturbing promenades and the myths they engendered, their proto-feminism had implications for both the fifth and sixth forms and their teachers. Further they combined an elite pedagogic status with an elite style status and this combination produced uneasy reverberations throughout the upper school.

The challenge presented by these girls had consequences for the mod group and both boffin groups. Although the social relations between the boffin groups was weak the boffin girls were made more aware of their own failure to deal with boy groups by the comparative successes of the new wave girls. In as much as the new wave girls contrasted pedagogic ability with overt sexual displays they challenged both boffin groups [boys and girls] principles of intimacy.

By virtue of their shared dual elite status the style groups were drawn to each other. However, both groups competed for the attention of the rest of the upper school who were then cast in the role of audience to their drama. It may well be that the presence of the mod boys as the most powerful and aggressive promenading group provoked the new wave girls into constant challenge and opposition which then set up its own escalation. From this point of view the ethnography has been shaped and focused not by one group but by the interaction between the unusual features of the elite groups in the upper school.

The facets of social class are revealed explicitly in the attitudes, conduct, aspirations and pedagogic practice of the boffin groups but not at the cost of total conformity either to parents or to the school. The style groups who are of more

mixed social class backgrounds, were faced with reconciling their desire for a high pedagogic status with resistant practices associated with style. The style itself reflects and partly asserts a working class masculinity. There is an unease in these boys' attempts to reconcile style, pedagogic success, career aspirations and original class position. For the new wave girls who often came from one parent families, style was the basis of their solidarity and mutual support. It also carried their ideology of feminism.

4. Future of Style

Since 1980-82 when the fieldwork for this study was conducted, there have of course been considerable developments in the youth cultural field, notably the fragmentation and diversification of existing styles. Simultaneously, we have seen the debut of new musical artists relaying important new ideas, e.g. The Smiths, Tackhead Sound System. This is not the place to discuss at length the macro movements of the cultural and structural origins of youth group relations. However, I shall consider some important issues relating to youth and style presented as a series of questions.

In the mid-1970's Hedbige emphasised the importance of black cultural expression upon white youth, and this was further elaborated by Jones (1988) in the late 1980's. It is a matter of further research to establish the patterns of relation and interaction between black and white youth, with respect to developments in musical styles (Hewitt 1986). We can observe a further development here: reggae and soul, whilst appealing directly to black and white youth alike was largely the preserve of black musicians, whereas in the 1980's, a more deliberate fusion has taken place, both of the music, musicians and production - a conscious mix of black and white images and ideas (Toop 1984).

The 1980's has been a period of fascination with style. The need for style has been ubiquitous in every aspect of the artistic media. The preoccupation with style itself, that is,

style as a carrier, not of meaning, but of yet more style has practically made the term redundant. As 'lifestyle advertising' tries to tap into youth cultural images, young people are increasingly challenged to create their own autonomous styles. Commentators exist in every magazine, producing a terse post-modernist diatribe. Writings on cultural styles now appear densely rhetorical and acquire meaning only when understood by the few (The Face). McRobbie (1980) comments "writing about subcultures is not quite the same thing as being in one" [p.4]. The social aspects of style creation and delivery have disappeared. It may be that the influence of semiotics and discourse analysis has switched the focus from the empirical study of groups in the process of their practices to analysis made by abstracted observers.

Finally, what of style initiation? With the slow incorporation of black culture and identity into mainstream British style (Gilroy 1987), the next most immediate sources of style generation are the drug subcultures and the homosexual community. The illegality and social illegitimacy of behaviour within both groupings ensures that these cultures are kept on the margin of society while possessing, as they do, strong elements of resistance. The preoccupation during the Summer of 1988 with Acid House parties/music, can be cited as an example of a youth cultural expression which has a drug connection both at the level of imagination and actuality. Homosexuality has always been present as a symbol of resistance within the larger community, whether incidentally (e.g. Rod Stewart), or consciously as pioneered by Tom Robinson and continued throughout the 80's (Boy George, Communards) (Street 1986, Frith 1988).

The question of style and its future has implications for the theory of cultural forms offered in this thesis. Some styles may have greater potential for diversity and fragmentation and perhaps are less likely to attract and mould stable enduring culturally specialised groups with a signature. In which case the theory we have developed may be less relevant. In the case of styles which do attract and mould

stable enduring culturally specialised groups with signatures, are there differences in style which have implications for the theory? This questions can only be put as the answer is a matter of future empirical research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, M. [1959] The Teenage Consumer. LPE Papers, No.5, July, London.
- Agar, M. [1980] The Professional Stranger. New York, Academic Press.
- Agar, M. [1986] Speaking of Ethnography, Sage University Paper, Qualitative Research Methods, Series 2.
- Aggleton, P. [1984] Reproductive Resistance: A Study of the Origins and Effects of Youth Sub-cultural Style Amongst a Group of New Middle Class Students in a College of Further Education. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, King's College, University of London.
- Aggleton, P. [1987] Rebels Without a Cause? Basingstoke, Falmer Press.
- Aggleton, P. and Whitty, G. [1985] 'Rebels Without a Cause? Socialisation and Subcultural Style Amongst the Children of the New Middle Classes', Sociology of Education, Vol.58, No.1.
- Alder, N. [1968] The Antinomian Personality - The Hippy Character Type. Psychiatry, 31, pp.325-338.
- Allen, H. [1982] Political Lesbianism and Feminism - Space for a Sexual Politics?, M/F, No.7, pp.15-34.
- Allen, S. [1968] Some Theoretical Problems in the Study of Youth, Sociological Review, Vol.16, No.3, pp.319-331.
- Althusser, L. [1971] 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' in Lenin and Philosophy. London, New Left Books, pp.122-73.
- Amos, V. and Parmer, P. [1981] 'Resistances and Responses: the Experience of Black Girls in Britain', in McRobbie, A. and McCabe, T. [Eds.] Feminism for Girls: An Adventure Story. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.96-108.
- Anderson, N. [1923] The Hobo. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, N. [1983] A Stranger at the Gate: Reflections on the Chicago School of Sociology, Urban Life, Vol.11, No.4, pp.396-406.
- Anyon, J. [1983] 'Intersections of Gender and Class: Accommodation and Resistance by Working Class Girls to Contradictory Sex-role Ideologies' in Walker, S. and Barton, L. [Ed.] Gender, Class and Education. Basingstoke, Falmer Press, pp.19-37.

- Ardener, S. [1978] [Ed.] Defining Females. London, Croom Helm.
- Ardener, S. [Ed.] [1981] Women and Space. London, Croom Helm.
- Atkinson, P. [1981] The Clinical Experience. Farnborough, Gower.
- Askew, S. and Ross, C. [1988] Boys Don't Cry: Boys and Sexism in Education. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- Ashton, D. and Field, D. [1976] Young Workers. London, Hutchinson.
- Babchuk, N. [1962] 'The Role of the Researcher as Participant Observer and Participant-as-Observers in the Field Situation', Human Organization, Vol.21, No.3, pp.225-228.
- Bagot, J.H. [1941] Juvenile Delinquency. Liverpool, Jonathan and Liverpool University Press.
- Bailey, P. [1978] Leisure and Class in Victorian England. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ball, S.J. (1981) Beachside Comprehensive. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Ball, S.J. [1984] 'Beachside Reconsidered: Reflections on a Methodological Apprenticeship', in Burgess, R.G. [Ed.] The Research Process in Educational Settings : Ten Case Studies, Basingstoke, Falmer Press, pp.69-96.
- Banks, J.A. [1957] 'The Group Discussion as an Interview Technique', Sociological Review, Vol.5, No.1, pp.75-83.
- Banks, O. (1955) Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Schools. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Barker, P. and Little, A. [1964] 'The Margate Offenders: A Survey', New Society, 30, July, pp.6-10.
- Barnes, R. [1979] Mods London, Eel Pie.
- Barratt, M. [1980] Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis. London, Verso Editions and New Left Review.
- Barratt, M. and McIntosh, M. [1982] The Anti-Social Family. London, Verso.
- Barthes, R. [1977] Image-Music-Text. Glasgow, Fontana/Collins.
- Bates, I., Clark, J., Cohen, P. Finn, D, Moore, R. and Willis, P. [1984] Schooling For the Dole. London, Macmillan.
- Beattie, J. [1964] Other Cultures. London, Cohen and West.

- Becker, H.S. [1951] 'The Professional Dance Musicians and his Audience', American Journal of Sociology, LVII, September, pp.136-144.
- Becker, H.S. [1952] 'Social Class Variations in Pupil Teacher Relationships', Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol.25, pp.451-465.
- Becker, H.S. [1953] 'Becoming a Marihuana User', American Journal of Sociology, 59, pp.41-58.
- Becker, H.S. [1955] 'Marihuana Use and Social Control', Social Problems, 3, July, pp.35-44.
- Becker, H.S. [1963] Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York, Macmillan, Free Press.
- Becker, H.S. and Geer, B. [1960] 'Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data', in Adams, R.N. and Preiss, J.J. [Eds.] Human Organization Research. Homewood, Illinois, The Dorsey Press, pp.267-289.
- Becker, H.S., Geer, B. and Hughes, E. [1968] Making the Grade. New York, John Wiley.
- Becker, H.S., Geer, B., Hughes, E. and Strauss, A.L. [1961] Boys in White. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Berger, P. [1963] 'On the Youthfulness of Youth Culture', Social Research, 30, pp.319-342.
- Berger, P. [1967] 'Hippy Morality - More Old than New', Transaction, Vol.5, December, pp.25-38.
- Berger, P. and Gluckmann, T. [1967] The Social Construction of Reality. London, Penguin.
- Bernstein, B. [1958] 'Some Sociological Determinants of Perception', British Journal of Sociology, IX, pp.159-174.
- Bernstein, B. [1959] 'A Public Language: Some Sociological Implications of a Linguistic Form', British Journal of Sociology, X, pp.311-326.
- Bernstein, B. [1975] 'The Sociology of Education: A Brief Account', in Class, Codes and Control, Vol.3. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.157-173.
- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control, Vol 3, revised edition. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Birdwhistle, R.L. [1970] Kinesis and Context: Essays in Body-motion Communication. London, Penguin Press.
- Black, M. and Coward, R. [1981] 'Linguistic, Social and Sexual Relations', Screen Education, 39, pp.69-85.

- Blackman, S.J. [1981] 'Youth Culture an Ethnographic Exploration'. Unpublished MSc Dissertation, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Blackman, S.J. [1983] 'Fear and Loathing on the Isle of Wight Run', Undecided's Scooter Club Magazine, Issue 3, Autumn.
- Blackman, S.J. [1987] 'The Labour Market in School: New Vocationalism and Socially Ascribed Discrimination', in Brown, P. and Ashton, D. [Eds.] Education Unemployment and Labour Markets. Basingstoke, Falmer Press, pp.27-56.
- Blackman, S.J. [1989] Pro-School Pupils: Boffin Boys and Boffin Girls, Paper given at British Sociological Association, Annual Conference, Plymouth Polytechnic, April.
- Blanch, M. [1979] 'Imperialism, Nationalism and Organized Youth', in Clarke, J. Critcher, C. and Johnson, R. [Eds.] Working Class Culture. London, Hutchinson, pp.103-120.
- Bloor, M. [1978] 'On the Analysis of Observational Data: A Discussion of the Worth and Uses of Inductive Techniques and Respondent Validation', Sociology, 12, 3, pp.545-7.
- Blumer, H. [1976] 'The Methodological Position of Symbolic Interactionism', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. [Eds.] The Process of Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, pp.12-18.
- Booth, C. [1887] 'The Inhabitants of Tower Hamlets (School Board Division), Their Condition and Occupations', Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, June, pp.326-401.
- Booth, C. [1888] 'Condition and Occupation of the People of East London and Hackney', Journal of The Royal Statistical Society, June, pp.276-339.
- Bostock, Y. and Leather, D.S. [1982] 'The Role of the Mass Media Advertising Campaigns in Influencing Attitudes Toward Contraception Among 16-20 Year Olds', British Journal of Family Planning, 8, pp.59-63.
- Boston, V. [1978] Punk Rock. London, Penguin.
- Bott, E. [1957] Family and Social Network. London, Tavistock.
- Bourdieu, P. [1984] Distinction. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C. [1977] Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, London Sage.
- Bowlby, J. [1946] Forty Four Juvenile Thieves. London, Tindall and Cox.
- Bowlby, J. [1951] Maternal Care and Mental Health. Geneva, World Health Organisation.

- Bowlby, J. [1953] Childcare and the Growth of Love. London, Penguin.
- Brake, M. [1974] 'The Skinheads - An English Working Class Subculture', Youth and Society, Vol.6, No.2, December pp.179-200.
- Brake, M. [1977] Hippies and Skinheads - Sociological Aspects of Subcultures. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics.
- Brake, M. [1980] The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subculture. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Brown, P. [1987] Schooling Ordinary Kids. London, Tavistock.
- Brown, P. and Ashton, D. [Eds.] [1987] Education, Unemployment and Labour Markets. Basingstoke, Falmer Press.
- Buff, S. [1970] 'Greasers, Dupies and Hippies - Three Responses to the Adult World', in Howe, L.K. [Ed.] The White Majority - Between Poverty and Affluence. New York, Vintage Books, pp.60-77.
- Bulmer, M. [1980] 'Comments on the Ethics of Covert Methods', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.31, No.1, March, pp.59-65.
- Bulmer, M. [1984] The Chicago School of Sociology. Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.
- Burchill, J. and Parson, T. [1978] The Boy Looked at Johnny : the Obituary of Rock and Roll. London, Pluto Press.
- Burgess, R.G. [1981] 'Keeping a Research Diary', Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol.II, No.1, pp.75-83.
- Burgess, R.G. [1982] Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual. London, Allen and Unwin.
- Burgess, R.G. [1983] Experiencing Comprehensive Education: A Study of Bishop McGregor School. London, Methuen.
- Burgess, R.G. [1984a] [Ed.] The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case Studies. Basing stoke, Falmer Press.
- Burgess, R.G. [1984b] In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research. London, Alan and Unwin.
- Burgess, R.G. [1985] [Ed.] Field Methods in the Study of Education. Basingstoke, Falmer Press.
- Burgess, R.G. (1986) 'Whatever happened to the Newsom Course', Paper given at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 15-17 September.
- Burt, C. [1925] The Young Delinquent. London, University of London Press.

- Byrne, E. [1975] 'Inequalities in Education: Discriminal Resource Allocation in Schools', Educational Review, Vol.3, No.27, pp.397-404.
- Caldwell, L., Leonard, D., Nava, M. and Rance, S. [1978] Feminism on the Family and Sexuality. Unpublished Paper, Department of Sociology of Education, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Cattell, R.B. [1936] 'Is National Intelligence Declining', Eugenic Review No.3, pp.181-203..
- Campbell, A. [1981] Girl Delinquents. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Campbell, A. [1984] The Girls in the Gang. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Canaan, J. [1986] Is There a Madness to our Method? Assessing Ethnography by Studying American Teenagers. Unpublished Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Carson, W.G. and Wiles, P. [Eds.] [1971] Crime and Delinquency in Britain. London, Martin Robertson and Company.
- Carter, M. [1966] Into Work. London, Penguin.
- Cashmore, E. [1984] No Future: Youth and Society. London, Heinemann.
- Chambers, I. [1981] 'Pop Music: A Teaching Perspective', Screen Education, 39, Summer, pp.35-46.
- Chambers, I. [1985] Urban Rhythm. London, Macmillan.
- Chambers, I. [1986] Popular Culture: The Metropolitan Experience. London, Methuen.
- Cicourel, A.V. [1968] The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice. New York, John Wiley.
- Clarke, [1936] 'The Recruitment of the Nation's Leaders', Sociological Review, Vol.23, Nos 3 and 4, pp.246-266 and 333-360.
- Clarke, G. [1982] 'Defending Ski-Jumpers: A Critique of Theories of Youth Subcultures', Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Clarke, J. [1974] 'The Skinheads and the Study of Youth Culture', Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

- Clarke, J. and Jefferson, T. [1973] 'Working Class Youth Cultures'. Paper given at University College Cardiff, republished in Mungham, G. and Pearson, G. [Eds.] [1977] Working Class Youth Culture. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.138-158.
- Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., Roberts, B. [1975] 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class: a Theoretical Overview', in Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. [Eds.] Resistance Through Ritual, Working Papers in Cultural Studies, No.7/8, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, pp.9-74.
- Clarke, M. [1974] 'On the Concept of Subculture', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.XXV, No.4, pp.428-441.
- Cloward, R. and Ohlin, E. [1960] Delinquency and Opportunity. New York, Free Press.
- Cockburn, C. [1987] Two Track Training. London, Macmillan.
- Cohen, A. [1955] Delinquent Boys - The Subculture of the Gang. London, Collier-Macmillan.
- Cohen, A. and Short, J. [1958] 'Research on Delinquent Subcultures', Journal of Social Issues, XIV, 3, pp.20-37.
- Cohen, P. [1972] 'Subcultural Conflict and Working Class Community', in Working Papers in Cultural Studies 2, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, Spring, pp.5-51.
- Cohen, S. [1972/1980] Moral Panics and Folk Devils. Oxford, Martin Robertson.
- Cohen, S. [1974] 'Criminology and the Sociology of Deviance in Britain', in Rock, P. and McIntosh, M. [Eds.] Deviance and Social Control. London, Tavistock, pp.1-40.
- Cohen, S. and Rock, P. [1970] 'The Teddy Boy', in Bogdanov, V. and Skidelsky, R. [Eds.] The Age of Affluence. London, Macmillan, pp.288-320.
- Cohen, S. and Taylor, L. [1977] 'Talking About Prison Blues', in Bell, C. and Newby, H. [Eds.] Doing Sociological Research. London, George Allen and Unwin, pp.67-86.
- Cohn, N. [1970] Awopbopalooobopalopbamboom. London, Paladin.
- Coleman, J.S. [1960] 'The Adolescent Subculture and Academic Achievement', American Journal of Sociology, Vol.LXV, No.4, pp.337-347.
- Coleman, J.S. [1961] The Adolescent Society. New York, Free Press.
- Corrigan, P. [1973] Secondary School and Juvenile Delinquency. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham.

- Corrigan, P. [1979] Schooling the Smash Street Kids. London, Macmillan.
- Craft, M. [Ed.] [1970] Family, Class and Education. London, Longman.
- Cressey, P. [1927/1983] 'A Comparison of the Roles of the "Sociological Stranger" and the "Anonymous Stranger" in Field Research', Urban Life, April, pp.102-120.
- Cressey, P. [1932] The Taxi-Dance Hall. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Critcher, C. [1973] 'Fads and Fashions', Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Dale, R. [Ed.] [1985] Education, Training and Employment. Oxford, Pergamon Press.
- Daly, M. [1978] Gyn-Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism. Boston, Beacon Press.
- Daniel, S. and McGuire, P. [Ed.] [1972] The Paint House. London, Penguin.
- Davies, L. [1979] 'Deadlier Than the Male? Girls' Conformity and Deviance in School', in Barton, L. and Meighan, R. [Eds.] Schools, Pupils and Deviance. Driffield, Nafferton.
- Davies, L. [1984] Pupil Power: Deviance and Gender in School. Basingstoke, Falmer Press.
- Davis, F. [1967] 'Focus on the Flower Children - Why All of Us May Be Hippies One Day' Transaction, Vol.5, No.2.
- Davis, F. and Munoz, L. [1968] 'Heads and Freaks Patterns and Meaning of Drug Use Among Hippies', Journal of Health and Social Behaviour, June, pp.156-63.
- Davis, N.Z. [1971] 'The Reason of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth Century France', Past and Present, No.50, pp.41-75.
- Deem, R. [Ed.] [1978] Women and Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Deem, R. [1980] Schooling for Women's Work. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Delamont, S. [1973] Academic Conformity Observed. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- Delamont, S. [1976] Interaction in the Classroom. London, Methuen.
- Delamont, S. [1980] Sex Roles and the School. London, Methuen.

- Delamont, S. [1983] 'The Conservative School? Sex Roles at Home, at Work and at School' in Walker, S. and Barton, L. [Eds.] Gender, Class and Education. Basingstoke, Falmer Press, pp.93-105.
- Dennis, N., Henriques, F. and Slaughter, C. [1956] Coal is Our Life. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode.
- Distler, L.S. [1970] 'The Adolescent and the Emergence of a Matristic Culture' Psychiatry, Summer, pp.362-371.
- Dollard, J., Miller, N., Doob, L., Mowrer, D., Sears, R. [1939] Frustration and Aggression. New Haven, Yale University.
- Dorn, W. and South, N. [1988] 'Of Males and Markers: A Critical Review of Youth Culture Theory', Research Paper 1, Centre for Occupation and Community Research, Middlesex Polytechnic.
- Douglas, M. [1966] Purity and Danger. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Douglas, M. [1968] 'The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception', MAN, N.S. 33, pp.361-376.
- Douglas, M. [1970] Natural Symbols. Barrie and Rodcliff, The Crescent Press.
- Douglas, M. [1975] Implicit Meanings. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Dove, R. [1983] Sex Roles in Conversation. Unpublished Paper, Birkbeck College, University of London.
- Downes, D. [1966] The Delinquent Solution. London Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Downes, D. and Rock, P. [1982] Understanding Deviance. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Dunphy, D.C. [1963] 'The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups', Sociometry, 26, pp.230-246.
- Durkheim, E. [1895] The Rules of Sociological Method [1966]. London, Collier Macmillan edition.
- Eddy, J.M. [1928] 'Unsupervised Life Among Girls Attending Secondary Schools', Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol.II, No.4, pp.210-219.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. [1952] From Generation to Generation. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eliot, T.S. [1948] Notes Towards the Definition of Culture. London, Faber and Faber.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. [1937] Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. [1951] Social Anthropology. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. [1973] 'Some Reminiscences and Reflections on Fieldwork', Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford, Vol.IV, No.1, pp.1-12.
- Farrall, C. [1978] My Mother Said the Way Young People Learn About Sex and Birth Control. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Farrant, M.R. [1965] The Nature and Structure of Groups in an Adolescent Society. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Exeter University.
- Ferguson, T. [1952] The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting. London, Oxford University Press.
- Filmer, P. [1969] 'The Literary Imagination and the Exploration of Socio-Cultural Change in Modern Britain', Archives Europeennes de Sociologie, Vol,X, pp.271-291
- Filmer, P. [1977] 'Literary Study as Liberal Education and as Sociology in the Work of F.R. Leavis', in Jenks, C. [Ed.] Rationality, Education and the Social Organisation of Knowledge. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 55-85.
- Fine, G.A. and Kleineman, S. [1979] 'Rethinking Subculture: an Interactionist Analysis', American Journal of Sociology, 85, July, pp.1-20.
- Finn, D. (1982) New deals and broken promises: young workers, the school leaving age and youth unemployment. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Faculty of Arts.
- Finn, D. [1987] Training Without Jobs. London, Macmillan.
- Firth, R. [1936] We, the Tikopia. London, Allen and Unwin.
- Firth, R. [Ed.] [1956] Two Studies of Kinship in London. London School of Economics. Monograph on Social Anthropology, Vol.15. London, Athlone Press.
- Fliess, W. [1987] Die Beziehungen zwischen Nase und weiblichen Geschlechtsorganen in ihrer biologischen Bedeutung dargestellt. Leipzig and Vienna, Franz Deuticke.
- Floud, J., Halsey, A.H. and Martin, C.A. [Eds.] [1961] Education, Economy and Society. London, Collier-Macmillan.
- Ford, C.S. [1942] 'Culture and Human Behaviour', Scientific Monthly, Vol.44, pp.546-557.
- Fortes, M. [1945] The Dynamics of Classship Among the Tallensi. London, Oxford University Press.

- Fortes, M. [1949] The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi. London, Oxford University Press.
- Fountain, N. [1987] Underground: London Alternative Press. London, Comedia.
- Frankenberg, R. [Ed.] [1982] Custom and Conflict in British Society. Manchester, University of Manchester Press.
- Frankenberg, R. [1963] 'Participant Observation', New Society, 7, March, pp.22-23.
- Freud, S. [1916] Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious. London, Fisher and Unwin.
- Friedlander, K. [1947] The Psycho-analytical Approach to Juvenile Delinquency. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Frith, S. [1978] The Sociology of Rock. London, Constable.
- Frith, S. 'The Punk Bohemians', New Society, 9 March, pp.535-536.
- Frith, S. [1981] 'The Magic That Can Set You Free: The Ideology of Folk and the Myth of the Rock Community', in Middleton, R. and Horn, D. [Eds.] Popular Music 1. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.159-168.
- Frith, S. [1983] Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure and the Politics of Rock'n'Roll. London, Constable.
- Frith, S. and Horne, H. [1987] Art Into Pop. London, Methuen.
- Fuller, M. [1980] 'Black Girls in a London Comprehensive School', in Deem, R. [Ed.] Schooling for Women's Work. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.52-65.
- Furfey, P. [1940] 'The Group Life of the Adolescent', Journal of Educational Sociology, 14, December, pp.195-204.
- Furlong, V. [1976] 'Interact Sets in the Classroom: Towards a Study of Pupil Knowledge', in Woods, P. and Hammersley, M. [Eds.] The Process of Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul with Open University Press, pp.160-170.
- Fyvel, T.R. [1961] The Insecure Offenders. London, Chatto and Windus.
- Galbraith, J.K. [1958] The Affluent Society. London, Pelican.
- Geertz, C. [1973] The Interpretation of Culture. New York, Basic Books.
- Geoffrey, S. and Grafton, T. [1967] 'Hippies in College - Teeny Bopper to Drug Freaks', Transaction, Vol.5, pp.27-32.
- Gillett, C. [1970/1983] The Sounds of the City. London, Souvenir Press.

- Gillis, J.R. [1975] 'The Evolution of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1890-1914' Past and Present, 67, pp.96-126.
- Giroux, H.A. [1983a] 'Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis', Harvard Educational Review, Vol.53, No.3, pp.257-293.
- Giroux, H.A. [1983b] Theory and Resistance in Education. London, Heinemann Educational Books.
- Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. [1967] The Discovery of Grounded Theory. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Glass, D. [Ed.] [1954] Social Mobility in Britain. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gleeson, D. [1989] The Paradox of Training. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- Goffman, E. [1952] 'On Cooling the Mark Out', Psychiatry, Vol.XV, November, pp.451-463.
- Goffman, E. [1968] Asylums. London, Penguin.
- Goffman, E. [1971] The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life. London, Penguin.
- Goldthrope, J.H., Lockwood, D., Bechofer, F. and Platt, J. [1968] The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behaviour. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, M. [1947] 'The Concept of the Subculture and its Application', Social Forces, October, pp.40-42.
- Gramsci, A. [1971] Selections From the Prison Notebooks. London, Lawrence and Wishart.
- Grieves, J. [1982] 'Style as Metaphor for Symbolic Action: Teddy Boys, Authenticity and Identity', Theory, Culture and Society, Vol.1, No.2, pp.35-49.
- Griffin, C. [1982] 'Cultures of Femininity: Romance Revisited', Stencilled Paper. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Griffin, C. [1985] Typical Girls?. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Grimshaw, R., Hobson, D. and Willis, P. [1980] 'Introduction to Ethnography at the Centre', in Hall, S., Hobson, D., Lowe, A. and Willis, P. [Eds.] Culture, Media and Language. London, Hutchinson, pp.73-77.
- Hall, E. [1959] Silent Language. New York, Doubleday.
- Hall, S. [1968] 'The Hippies: An American Moment', Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.

- Hall, S. [1980] 'Cultural Studies and the Centre: Some Problematics and Problems', in Hall, S., Hobson, P., Lowe, A. and Willis, P. [Eds.] Culture, Media and Language. London, Hutchinson, pp.15-47.
- Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. [Eds.] [1975] 'Resistance Through Ritual', Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 7/8, Centre for Contemporary Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Hammersley, M. [1976] 'The Mobilisation of Pupil Attention', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. [Eds.] The Process of Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with Open University Press, pp.104-115.
- Hammersley, M. [Ed.] [1983] The Ethnography of Schooling. Driffield, Nafferton.
- Hammersley, M. [1985] 'From ethnography to theory; a programme and a paradigm in the sociology of education', in Sociology, 19, No.2, pp.244-259.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. [1983] Ethnography: Principles in Practice. London, Tavistock.
- Hammersley, M. and Turner, G. [1980] 'Conformist Pupils', in Woods, P. [Ed.] Pupil Strategies. London, Croom Helm, pp.29-49.
- Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. [Eds.] [1976] The Process of Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press.
- Harding, J. [1980] 'Sex Differences in Performance in Science Examinations', in Deem, R. [Ed.] Schooling for Women's Work. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.87-111.
- Hargreaves, A. [1982] 'Resistance and Relative Autonomy Theories: Problems of Distortion and Incoherence in Recent Marxist Analyses of Education', British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.3, No.2, pp.107-126.
- Hargreaves, A. and Hammersley, M. [1982] 'CCCS Gas! Politics and Science in the Work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies', Oxford Review of Education, Vol.8, No.2, pp.139-144.
- Hargreaves, D.H. [1967] Social Relations in a Secondary - School, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, D.H. [1972] Interpersonal Relations and Education. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, D.H., Hestor, S. and Mellor, F. [1975] Deviance in the Classroom. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hastrup, K. [1978] 'The Semantics of Biology: Virginity', in Ardener, S. [Ed.] Defining Females. London, Croom Helm, pp.49-65.

- Hebdige, D. [1974a] 'The Styles of the Mods', Stencilled Occasional Paper. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Hebdige, D. [1974b] 'Sub-cultural Conflict and Criminal Performance in Fulham', Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Hebdige, D. [1974c] 'The Kray Twins: A Study of a System of Closure', Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Hebdige, D. [1975] 'The Meaning of Mod', in Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. [Ed.] Resistance Through Ritual, Working Papers in Cultural Studies 7/8, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, pp.87-96.
- Hebdige, D. [1979] Subculture: the Meaning of Style. London, Methuen.
- Hebdige, D. [1981] 'Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle', Block (5), pp.44-64.
- Hebdige, D. [1987] Cut'n'Mix: Culture, Identity and Caribbean Music. London, Methuen, Comedia.
- Hebdige, D. [1988] Hiding in the Light. London, Routledge.
- Heidensohn, F. [1985] Women and Crime. London, Macmillan.
- Heilbrun, A. and Loftus, M. [1986] 'The Role of Sadism and Peer Pressure in Sexual Aggression of Male College Students'. Journal of Sex Research, Vol.22, No.5, pp.320-332.
- Hennion, A. [1983] 'The Production of Success: An Anti-Musicology of the Pop Song', in Middleton, R. and Horn, D. [Eds.] Popular Music 3. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Herman, G. [1971] The Who. London, Studio Vista.
- Hersham, P. [1977] 'Virgin and Mother' in Lewis, I. [Ed.] Symbols and Sentiments: Cross Cultural Studies in Symbolism. London, Academic Press, pp.269-292.
- Hewitt, P. [1985] Beat Concerto. London, Riot Stoies, Omnibus Press.
- Hewitt, R. [1984] White Skins and Other Masks. Unpublished Paper, Sociological Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Hewitt, R. [1986a] Structure, Meaning and Ritual in the Narratives of the Southern San, Hamberg, Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Hewitt, R. [1986b] White Talk Black Talk. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- Hill, B. [1958] Boss of Britain's Underworld. London, Naldrett Press.
- Hill, D. [1986] Designer Boys and Material Girls. Poole, Blandford Press.
- Himmelweit, H.T., Halsey, A.H. and Oppenheim, A.M. [1952] 'The views of adolescents on some aspects of the social class structure' British Journal of Sociology, Vol.3, No.2, pp.148-72.
- Hinckle, W. [1967] The Coming of the Hippies, Ramparts Magazine, New York.
- Hirschon, R. [1978] 'Open Body / Closed Space: The Transformation of Female Sexuality', in Ardener, S. [Ed.] Defining Females. London, Croom Helm, pp.66-88.
- Hoffman, M. [1974] 'Assumptions in Sex Education Books', Educational Review, Vol.27, pp.211-226.
- Hoggart, R. [1957] The Uses of Literacy. London, Chatto and Windus.
- Hogben, L. [Eds.] [1938] Political Arithmetic, London, Allen and Unwin.
- Holland, J. [1985] 'Gender and Class: Adolescent Conceptions of the Division of Labour'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Holly, L. [Ed.] [1989] Girls and Sexuality. Milton Keynes, Open Univerisity Press.
- Homan, R. [1980] 'The Ethics of Covert Methods', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.31, No.1, pp.46-59.
- Houriet, R. [1973] Getting Back Together. London, Abacus.
- Hudson, B. [1984] 'Femininity and Adolescence', in McRobbie, A. and Nava, M. [Eds.] Gender and Generation. London, Macmillan, pp.31-53.
- Jackson, S. [1978a] 'On the Social Construction of Female Sexuality', Explorations in Feminism, No.4, Women's Research and Resources Centre.
- Jackson, S. [1978b] 'How to Make Babies: Sexism in Sex Education', Women's Studies International Quarterly, Vol.1, pp.341-352.
- Jackson, B. and Marsden, D. [1962] Education and the Working Class. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Jam, The [1978] All Mods Cons. London, Polydor Records.

- Jefferson, T. [1973] 'The Teds: A Political Resurrection', Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Jephcott, P. [1954] Some Young People. London, Allen and Unwin.
- Jephcott, P. and Carter, M.P. [1954] 'The Social Background of Delinquency'. Unpublished Paper, University of Nottingham.
- Jones, A.E. [1945] Juvenile Delinquency and the Law. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Jones, C. [1985] 'Sexual Tyranny: Male Violence in a Mixed Secondary School', in Weiner, G. [Ed.] Just a Bunch of Girls. Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp.26-39.
- Jones, S. [1988] Black Culture, White Youth. London, Macmillan.
- Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. [1977] Power and Ideology in Education. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Kelly, A. [1978] 'Feminism and Research', Women's Studies International Quarterly, Vol.1, pp.225-232.
- Kelly, A. [Ed.] [1981] The Missing Half. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Keniston, K. [1972] Youth and Dissent. New York, Brace and Jovanovich.
- Kerr, M. [1958] The People of Ship Street. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kessler, S., Ashenden, D., Connell, B. and Dowsett, G. [1982] Ockers and Disco-Maniacs. Stanmore [Australia] Inner City Education Centre.
- Kirk, J. and Miller, M.L. [1988] Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. Sage University Paper, Qualitative Research Methods Series, No.1.
- Klein, M. [1965] Samples From English Culture. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Knight, N. [1982] Skinhead. London, Omnibus Press.
- Kochman, T. [Ed.] [1972] Rappin' and Stylin'out: Communication in Urban Black America. Urbana, University of Illinois Press.
- Kochman, T. [1983] 'The Boundary Between Play and Non-Play in Black Verbal Duelling', Language on Society, 12, 3, pp.329-37.

- Krige, E.J. [1968] 'Girls Puberty Songs and Their Relation to Fertility, Health, Morals and Religion Among the Zulu', Africa, Vol.38, pp.173-98.
- Lacey, C. [1966] 'Some Sociological Concomitants of Academic Streaming in a Grammar School', British Journal of Sociology, XVII, 3, pp.245-62.
- Lacey, C. [1970] Hightown Grammar. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Lacey, C. [1976] 'Problems of Sociological Fieldwork: A Review of the Methodology of Hightown Grammar', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. [Eds.] The Process of Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, pp.55-65.
- Lacey, C. [1981] 'Foreword'. to Ball, S. Beachside Comprehensive. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lacey, C. [1982] 'Freedom and Constraints in British Education' in Frankenberg, R. [Ed.] Customs and Conflict in British Society. Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp.167-187.
- Laing, D. [1985] One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- Lambart, A. [1970] The Sociology of an Unstreamed Urban Grammar School for Girls. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester.
- Lambart, A. [1976] 'The Sisterhood', in Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. [Eds.] The Process of Schooling. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, pp.152-159.
- Lambart, A. [1982] 'Expulsion in a Context: A School as a System in Action', in Frankenberg, R. [Ed.] Custom and Conflict in British Society. Manchester, University of Manchester Press, pp.188-208.
- Laski, H. [1928] The British Cabinet, Fabian Tract, No.223.
- Lauder, H. and Brown, P. [Eds.] [1988] Education in Search of a Future. Basingstoke, Falmer Press.
- Labov, T. [1982] 'Social Structure and Peer Terminology in a Black Adolescent Gang', Language and Society, 11, pp.391-411.
- Labov, W. [1972] Language in the Inner City. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Press.
- Leach, E. [1966] 'Virgin Birth', Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1966, pp.39-50.

- Leach, E. [Ed.] [1967] The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism. London, Tavistock.
- Leamer, L. [1972] The Paper Revolutionaries - The Rise of the Underground Press. New York, Simon and Schuster.
- Leary, T. [1968] The Politics of Ecstasy. New York, Patnam.
- Lees, S. [1986] Losing Out, London, Hutchinson.
- Llewellyn, M. [1980] 'Studying Girls at School: The Implications of Confusion', in Deem, R. [Ed.] Schooling for Women's Work. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.42-51.
- Leonard, D. [1980] Sex and Generation: A Study of Courtship and Weddings. London, Tavistock.
- Levi-Strauss, C. [1963] Structural Anthropology. New York, Basic Books.
- Levi-Strauss, C. [1969] Elementary Structures of Kinship. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode.
- Lewis, R. [1973] 'Parents and Peers: Socialisation Agents in the Coital Behaviour of Young Adults', Journal of Sex Research, Vol.9, No.2, pp.156-170.
- Lowndes, G.A.N. [1935] The Silent Social Revolution. London, Oxford University Press.
- Macalister Brew, J. [1967] Youth and Youth Groups. London, Faber and Faber.
- Macdonald, M. [1980] 'Socio-cultural Reproduction and Women's Education', in Deem, R. [Ed.] Schooling for Women's Work. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.13-25.
- MacInnes, C. [1957] City of Spades. London, MacGibbon and Kee.
- MacInnes, C. [1959] Absolute Beginners. London, MacGibbon and Kee.
- MacInnes, C. [1961] England, Half English. London, MacGibbon and Kee.
- Mahoney, P. [1983] 'How Alice's Chin Really Came to be Pressed Against Her Foot: Sexist Processes of Interaction in Mixed Sex Classrooms', Women's Studies International Forum, Vol.6, No.1, pp.107-115.
- Mahoney, P. [1985] School for the Boys. London, Hutchinson in association with Explorations in Feminism Collective.
- Malinowski, B. [1929] The Sexual Life of the Savage. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Malinowski, B. [1949] Magic, Science and Religion. London, Allen and Unwin.
- Mannheim, H. [1940] Social Aspects of Crime in England Between the Wars. London, Allen and Unwin.
- Mannheim, H. [1948] Juvenile Delinquency in an English Middletown. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mannheim, H. [1965] Comparative Criminology, Volumes-1 and 2. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mannheim, K. [1952] Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Margrain, S. [1983] 'Why Must Girls Wear Skirts', Education, 5, August, pp.105-106.
- Markall, G. and Finn, D. [1982] Young People and the Labour Market, a Case Study, Department of the Environment, HMSO.
- Marks, P. [1978] 'Femininity in the Classroom: an Account of Changing Attitudes', in Mitchel, J. and Oakley, A. [Ed.] The Rights and Wrongs of Women. London, Penguin, pp.176-198.
- Marsh, P. [1977] 'Dole-Queue Rock', New Society, 20 January, pp.112-114.
- Matza, D. [1961] 'Subterranean Traditions of Youth', Annals of the American Academy of Political Social Science, 338, pp.102-118.
- Matza, D. [1964] Delinquency and Drift. New York, John Wiley.
- Matza, D. [1969] Becoming Deviant. New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.
- Matza, D. and Sykes, V. [1961] 'Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values', American Sociological Review, 26, pp.712-719.
- Mauss, M. [1936] 'Les Techniques de Corps', Journal de la Psychologie, Vol.32, pp.271-293.
- Mauss, M. [1954] The Gift. London, Cohen and West.
- Mayhew, H. [1851] London Labour and the London Poor. London, Macmillan.
- Mays, J.B. [1954] Growing Up in the City. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.
- Mays, J.B. [1965] Young Pretenders. London, Michael Joseph.
- McCall, G. and Simmons, J. [Eds.] [1969] Issues in Participant Observation: A Text and Reader. Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley.

- McIntosh, M. [1978] 'Who Needs Prostitutes? The Ideology of Male Sexual Needs', in Smart, C. and Smart, B. [Eds.] Women, Sexuality and Social Control. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.53-64.
- McLaren, P. [1982] '"Being Tough": Rituals of Resistance in the Culture of Working Class School Girls' Canadian Women Studies, Vol.4, Part 1, pp.20-24.
- McLaren, P. [1986] Scholing as a Ritual Performance. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- McRobbie, A. [1978] 'Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity', in Women's Studies Group, Women Take Issue. London, Hutchinson, pp.96-108.
- McRobbie, A. [1980] 'Setting Accounts with Subcultures: A Feminist Critique', Screen Education, Spring, No.34, pp.37-49.
- McRobbie, A. [1982] 'The Politics of Feminist Research: Between Talk, Text and Action' Feminist Review, No.12, October, pp.46-57.
- McRobbie, A. [1984] 'Dance and Social Fantasy', in McRobbie, A. and Nava, M. [Eds.] Gender and Generation. London, Macmillan, pp.130-161.
- McRobbie, A. and Frith, S. [1978] 'Rock and Sexuality', Screen Education, No.29, pp.4-19.
- McRobbie, A. and Garber, J. [1975] 'Girls and Subculture' in Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 7/8, Centre for Contemporary Studies, University of Birmingham, pp.208-222.
- McRobbie, A. and Nava, M. [Eds.] [1984] Gender and Generation. London, Macmillan.
- Mead, M. [1953] 'National Character', in Kroeber, A.L. [Ed.] Anthropology Today. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp.642-667.
- Measor, L. [1984] 'Gender and the Sciences: Pupils' Gender-based Conceptions of School Subjects', in Broadfoot, P. [Ed.] Selection, Certification and Control. Basingstoke, Falmer Press, pp.171-191.
- Measor, L. and Woods, P. [1983] 'The Interpretation of Pupil Myths', in Hammersley, M. [Ed.] The Ethnography of Schooling. Priffield, Nafferton, pp.55-76.
- Melly, G. [1972] Revolt into Style. London, Penguin.
- Merton, R.K. [1938] 'Social Structure and Anomie', American Sociological Review, 3, October, pp.672-682.

- Merton, R.K. [1957] Social Theory and Social Structure. New York, John Wiley.
- Meyenn, R.J. [1980] 'School Girls' Peer Groups', in Woods, P. [Ed.] Pupil Strategies. London, Croom Helm, pp.108-142.
- Middleton, R. [1981] Reading Popular Music, Open University U203, Popular Culture, Block 4, Unit 16, pp.3-41.
- Miller, W.B. [1958] 'Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency', Journal of Social Issues, 14, pp.5-19.
- Miller, W.B. and Riessman, F. [1961] 'The Working Class Subculture: A new View', Social Problems, Vol.9, No.1, pp.86-97.
- Mills, R.W. [1970] The Young Outsiders - A Study in Alternative Communities. London, Tavistock.
- Monod, J. [1967] 'Juvenile Gangs in Paris - Towards a Structural Analysis', Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol.4, August, pp.168-91.
- Morris, T. [1958] The Criminal Area. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Muncie, J. [1984] The Trouble with Kids Today. London, Hutchinson.
- Mungham, G. [1976] 'Youth in Pursuit of Itself', in Mungham, G. and Pearson, G. [Eds.] Working Class Youth Culture. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.82-104.
- Mungham, G. and Pearson, G. [Eds.] [1976] Working Class Youth Culture. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Murdock, G. and McCron, R. [1975] 'Scoobies, Skins and Contemporary Pops', New Society, 29 March, pp.690-692.
- Murdock, G. and Phelps, G. [1972] 'Youth Culture and the School Revisited', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.23, No.2, pp.478-482.
- Murdock, G. and Phelps, G. [1973] Mass Media and the Secondary School. London, Macmillan.
- Musgrave, P.W. [1965] The Sociology of Education. London, Methuen.
- Musgrove, F. [1968] Youth and the Social Order. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Musgrove, F. [1974] Ecstasy and Holiness, Counter Culture and Open Society. London, Methuen.

- Myerhoff, H.L. and Myerhoff, B.G. [1964] 'Field Observations of Middle Class Gang', Social Forces, Vol.42, No.3, pp.328-336.
- Nagel, J. [Ed.] [1969] Student Power. London, Merlin.
- Nava, M. [1982] 'Everybody's Views Were Just Broadened: A Girls' Project and Some Responses to Lesbianism', Feminist Review, No.10, pp.37-59.
- Neville, R. [1971] Playpower. London, Paladin.
- Nightingale, R.T. [1930] 'The personnel of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service 1851-1929', Fabian Tract, No.232.
- Nuttall, J. [1970] Bomb Culture. London, Paladin.
- Oakley, A. [1972] Sex, Gender and Society. London, Temple-Smith.
- Oakley, A. [1981] 'Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms', in Roberts, H. [Ed.] Doing Feminist Research. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.30-61.
- Olessen, V. and Whittaker, E. [1968] The Silent Dialogue: A Study in the Social Psychology of Professional Socialisation. San Francisco, Jossey Bass.
- Oppenheim, A.H. [1955] 'Social Status and Clique Formation Among Grammar School Boys', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.IX, pp.228-245.
- Palmer, V. [1926] 'Field Studies for Introductory Sociology: An Experiment', Journal of Applied Sociology, X, March, pp.341-348.
- Palmer, V. [1928] Field Studies in Sociology: A Student's Manual. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Park, R.E. [1915] 'The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment', American Journal of Sociology, 20, pp.577-612.
- Parker, F. [1968] Middle Class Radicalisms. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Parker, H. [1974] View From the Boys. London, Davis and Charles.
- Partridge, W. [1973] The Hippy Ghetto - The Story of a Subculture. New York, Rinehart and Winston.
- Patrick, J. [1973] A Glasgow Gang Observed. London, Eyre Methuen.

- Pearson, G. [1976] 'Paki-Bashing in a North East Lancashire Cotton Town', in Mungham, G. and Pearson, G. [Eds.] Working Class Youth Culture. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.48-81.
- Pelletier, L. and Herold, E. [1988] 'The Relationship of Age, Sex Guilt, and Sex Experience with Female Sexual Fantasies', Journal of Sex Research, Vol.25, pp.250-256.
- Perkins, T.E. [1979] 'Rethinking Stereotypes', in Barrett, M., Corrigan, P., Kuhn, A. and Wolf, J. (eds) Ideology and Cultural Production. London, Croom Helm Ltd, pp.135-159.
- Plant, M. [1975] Drugtakers in and English Town. London, Tavistock.
- Polhemus, T. and Procter, L. [1984] Pop-Styles. London, Vermillon.
- Polsky, N. [1961] 'The Village Beat Scene: Summer 1960' Dissent, Vol,8, No.3, pp.339-359.
- Polsky, N. [1964] 'The Hustler', Social Problems, Vol.12, No.1, pp.3-15.
- Polsky, N. [1967] Hustlers, Beats and Others. Abdene Publishing Company, New York.
- Poxon, G. [1976] 'Skinheads and the Shop Floor', London, A Youth Question Publication, No.2, September.
- Prendercast, S. [1989] 'Girls' Experience of Menstruation in School' in Holly, L. [Ed.] Girls and Sexuality. Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp.85-108.
- Prett, R. [1984] Notes on music. Private communication.
- Public Image Limited [1979] Metal Box. London, Virgin Records.
- Quine, W.G. [1974] 'Polarised Cultures in Comprehensive Schools', Research in Education, No.12, November.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. [1940] 'On joking relationships' Africa, 13, pp.195-210.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. [1949] 'A further note on joking relationships', Africa, 19, pp.133-140.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. [1952] Structure and Function in Primitive Society - Essays and Addresses. London, Cohen and West.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. and Forde, P. [1950] [Eds.] African System of Kinship and Marriage. London, Oxford University Press.
- Rees, H. [1986] 14:24 British Youth Culture. The Coram Foundation, London, The Highland Press.

- Richardson, H. [1969] Adolescent Girls in Approved Schools. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Rigby, A. [1973] Alternative Realities. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Rimmer, D. [1985] Like Punk Never Happened. London, Faber and Faber.
- Robbins, D. and Cohen, P. [1978] Knuckle Sandwich. London, Penguin.
- Roberts, B. [1973] Parent and Youth Cultures: alternative views, Stencilled Paper, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Roberts, K. [1984] School Leavers and Their Prospects. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- Rocheron, Y. and Whyld, J. [1983] 'Sex Education' in Whyld, J. [Ed.] Sexism in the Secondary Curriculum. London, Harper and Row, pp.261-268.
- Rock, P. [1979] The Making of Symbolic Interactionism. London, Macmillan.
- Rock, P. and Cohen, S. [1970] 'The Teddy Boy' in Bogdanor, V. and Skidelsky, R. [Eds.] The Age of Affluence. London, Macmillan, pp.288-320.
- Roszak, T. [Ed.] [1967] The Dissenting Academy. London, Penguin.
- Roszak, T. [1970] The Making of a Counter Culture. London, Faber and Faber.
- Sams, G. [1977] The Punk. London, Corgi Books.
- Scales, P. and Kirby, D. [1983] 'Perceived Barriers to Sex Education: A Survey of Professionals', Journal of Sex Research, Vol.19, No.4, pp.309-326.
- Schofield, M. [1968] The Sexual Behaviour of Young People. London, Penguin Books.
- Schutz, A. [1972] The Phenomenology of the Social World. London, Heineman.
- Scott, P. [1956] 'Gangs and Delinquent Groups in London', British Journal of Delinquency, Vol.7, July, pp.8-21.
- Shacklady, L. [1978] 'Sexist Assumptions and Female Delinquency', in Smart, C. and Smart, B. [Eds.] Women, Sexuality and Social Control. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.74-88.
- Sharpe, S. [1976] Just Like a Girl: How Girls Learn to Be Women. London, Penguin.

- Shaw, C. [1927] Case Study Method, Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol.21, pp.149-157.
- Shaw, C. [1930] The Jackroller; A Delinquent Boy's Own Story. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Shaw, C. and McKay, H. [1927] Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Shaw, C. and McKay, H. [1931] Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency: A Study of the Community, the Family and the Gang in Relation to Delinquent Behaviour. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime, Vol.2, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Shepherd, J., Virden, P., Vulliamy, G. and Wishart, T. [1977] Whose Music? A Sociology of Musical Languages. New Brunswick and London, Transaction Books.
- Short, J. [1960] Introduction to Shaw, C. and McKay, H. Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, (revised edition). Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Sillitoe, A. [1959] The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner. London, Penguin.
- Silverman, D. [1985] Qualitative Methodology and Sociology. Aldershot, Gower.
- Skorupski, J. [1976] Symbol and Theory: A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Smart, C. and Smart, B. [Eds.] [1978] Women, Sexuality and Social Control. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Smith, D. [1976] 'Concept of Youth Culture, Youth and Society, Vol.7, No.4, pp.347-365.
- Smith, D.H. and Luce, J. [1971] Love Needs Care. San Francisco, Harper and Row.
- Smith, H. [1970] Marijuana - The New Social Drug. New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
- Snow, C.P. [1950] The New Men. London, Penguin.
- Spencer, B. [1984] 'Young Men: Their Attitudes Towards Sexuality and Birth Control', British Journal of Family Planning, 10, pp.13-19.
- Spender, D. [1980] Man Made Language. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Spender, D. and Sarah, [Eds.] [1980] Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education. London, The Women's Press.

- Spinley, M. [1953] The Deprived and the Privileged. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Springhall, J. [1977] Youth, Empire and Society. London, Croom Helm.
- Stacey, M. [1960] Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Stanworth, M. [1981] 'Gender and Schooling: A Study of Sexual Divisions in the Classroom', Explorations in Feminism, No.7, WRRRC.
- Storch, R.D. [1977] 'The Problems of Working Class Leisure', in Donajgrodzki, A. [Ed.] Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain. London, Croom Helm, pp.138-159.
- Street, J. [1986] Rebel Rock: The Politics of Popular Music. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Stuart, S. [1987] Rockers!. London, Plexis.
- Sugarman, B. [1967] 'Involvement in Youth Culture, Academic Achievement and Conformity in School', British Journal of Sociology, June, pp.151-164.
- Sutherland, E. [1940] 'White Collar Community', American Sociological Review, Vol.5, pp.1-12.
- Swanwick, K. [1984] 'Problems of a Sociological Approach to Pop Music in Schools', British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.5, No.3, pp.303-307.
- Sykes, G. and Matza, D. [1957] 'Techniques of Neutralisations', American Sociological Review, 22, December, pp.664-670.
- Szreter, R. [1984] 'Some Forerunners of Sociology of Education in Britain: An Account of the Literature and Influences 1900-1950', Westminster Studies in Education, Vol.7, pp.13-43.
- Tagg, P. [1982] 'Analysing Popular Music: Theory, Method and Practice', in Middleton, R. and Horn, D. [Eds.] Popular Music. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.37-67.
- Tanner, J. [1978] 'New Directions for Subcultural Theory', Youth and Society, Vol.9, No.4, pp.343-373.
- Tawney, R.H. [1922] Secondary Education for All. London, Labour Party, Allen and Unwin.
- Taylor, I., Walton, P. and Young, J. [1973] The New Criminology. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Taylor, I., Walton, P. and Young, J. [Eds.] [1975] Critical Criminology. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Taylor, J. and Laing, D. [1979] 'Disco Pleasure Discourse', in Screen Education, No.31, pp.43-48.
- Taylor, L. [1968] Deviance and Society. London, Michael Joseph.
- Teselle, S. [1972] Family, Communes and Utopian Society. New York, Harper and Row.
- Thompson, E.P. [1963] The Making of the English Working Class. London, Victor Gollancz.
- Thompson, E.P. [1972] "Rough Music": Le Charivari Anglais. Annals, Vol.22, No.2, pp.285-312.
- Thompson, H.S. [1966] Hell's Angels. California, Random House.
- Thrasher, F. [1927] The Gang. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Thrasher, F. [1928] 'How to Study the Boys' Gang in the Open', Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol.1, No.5, pp.244-254.
- Toop, D. [1984] The Rap Attack. London, Pluto Press.
- Townsend, P. [1957] Family Life and Old People. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Trasler, G. [1962] The Explanation of Criminality. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Tropp, A. [1957] The School Teachers. London, Heinemann.
- Tunstall, J. [1962] The Fishermen. London, MacGibbon.
- Turner, G. [1983] The Social World of the Comprehensive School. London, Croom Helm.
- Turner, V. [1967] The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual. New York, Cornell University Press.
- Vulliamy, G. [1977] 'Music and the Mass Culture Debate', in Shepherd, J., Virden, P., Vulliamy, G. and Wishart, T. Whose Music? A Sociology of Musical Languages. New Brunswick and London, Transaction Books, pp.179-206.
- Vulliamy, G. and Shepherd, J. [1984] 'Sociology and Music Education: A Response to Swanwick' British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol.5, No.1, pp.57-76.
- Walden, R. and Walkerdine, V. [1982] 'Girls and Mathematics: The Early Years', Bedford Way Paper, No.8, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Walker, I. [1981] 'Mods. Boneheads and Normals on the Front', New Society, 3 September, pp.383-384.

- Walker, I. [1984] 'The Rockers Reunion', New Society, 23 August, pp.165-167.
- Walkerdine, V. [1981] 'Sex, Power and Pedagogy', Screen Education, No.38, pp.14-24.
- Walkerdine, V. [1984] 'Some Day My Prince Will Come', in McRobbie, A. and Nava, M. [Eds.] Gender and Generation. London, Macmillan, pp.162-184.
- Waller, W. [1932] The Sociology of Teaching. New York, Russell and Russell.
- Warren, C. [1988] Gender Issues in Field Research. Sage University Paper, Qualitative Research Methods Series, No.9.
- Waters, C. [1981] 'Badges of Half-Formed Inarticulate Radicalism: a Critique of Recent Trends in the Study of Working Class Youth Culture', International Labour and Working Class History, No.19, Spring, pp.23-37.
- Wax, R. [1952] 'Field Methods and Techniques', Human Organisation, Vol.2, No.3, pp.34-37.
- Wax, R. [1971] Doing Fieldwork: Warning and Advice. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Weber, M. [1958] The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London, Allen and Unwin.
- Weiner, G. [1985] 'What the Customers Have to Say: Interviews With Pupils Who Have Made Non-traditional Option Choices', Open University, unpublished paper.
- Weiner, G. [Ed.] [1985] Just a Bunch of Girls. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- Westhues, W. [1972] 'Hippiedom - Some Tentative Hypothesis', Sociological Quarterly, Winter, pp.81-89.
- Who, The [1973] Quadrophenia. London, Polydor Records.
- Whyld, J. [Ed.] [1983] Sexism in the Secondary Curriculum. London, Harper and Row.
- Whyte, J. [1986] Girls Into Science and Technology. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Whyte, W. [1943] 'A Slum Sex Code', American Journal of Sociology, Vol.XLIXC, July, pp.24-31.
- Whyte, W. [1943/55] Street Corner Society. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Wicke, P. [1982] 'Rock Music: A Musical Aesthetic Study', in Middleton, R. and Horn, D. [Eds.] Popular Music 2. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.219-243.

- Widgery, D. [1986] Beating Time. London, Chatto.
- Williams, R. [1958] Culture and Society 1780-1950. London, Chatto and Windus.
- Williams, R. [1960] Border-Country. London, Penguin.
- Willis, P. [1972] Pop Music and Youth Groups. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Willis, P. [1973] 'Triple X Motor Bike Boys', New Society, Vol.23, No.247, pp.693-695.
- Willis, P. [1975] 'The Main Reality' Stencilled Paper, University of Birmingham, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.
- Willis, P. [1977] Learning to Labour. Farnborough, Gower.
- Willis, P. [1978] Profane Culture. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Willis, P. [1982] Male School Counterculture. V203 Popular Culture, Block 7, Unit 30, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, pp.75-103.
- Willmott, P. [1966] Adolescent Boys of East London. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Willmott, P. [1985] 'The Institute of Community Studies' in Bulmer, M. [Ed.] Essays on the History of British Sociological Research. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.137-150.
- Willmott, P. and Young, M. [1960] Family and Class in a London Suburb. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wilson, D. [1978] 'Sexual Codes and Conduct: A Study of Teenage Girls', in Smart, C. and Smart, B. [Eds.] Women, Sexuality and Social Control. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.65-73.
- Wilson, J., Williams, N. and Sugarman, B. [1967] Introduction to Moral Education. London, Penguin.
- Wirth, L. [1929] Community Life and Social Policy. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Wolcott, H. [1975] 'Criteria for an Ethnographic Approach to Research in Schools', Human Organisation, Vol.34, No.2, pp.111-127.
- Wolfe, T. [1969] The Electrician Kool-Acid Test. New York, Bantam.

- Wolpe, A. [1977] 'Some Processes in Sexist Education, Explorations in Feminism No.1 Women's Research and Resources Centre.
- Wolpe, A. [1988] Within School Walls. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wood, J. [1982] 'Boys Will Be Boys', New Socialist, May/June, pp.41-43.
- Wood, J. [1984] 'Groping Towards Sexism: Boys' Sex Talk', in McRobbie, A. and Nava, M. [Eds.] Gender and Generation. London, Macmillan, pp.54-84.
- Woods, P. [1979] The Divided School. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Woods, P. [Ed.] [1980] Pupil Strategies. London, Croom Helm.
- Woods, P. [1986] Inside Schools: Ethnography in Educational Research. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Yablonsky, L. [1967] The Violent Gang. London, Penguin.
- Yablonsky, L. [1969] The Hippy Trip. New York, Pegasus.
- Yalman, N. [1963] 'On the Purity of Women in the Castes of Ceylon and Malabar', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol.93, pp.25-58.
- Yeo, E. and Yeo, S. [Eds.] [1981] Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure. Brighton, Harvester Press.
- Yinger, J.M. [1960] 'Contraculture and Subculture', American Sociological Review, 25, pp.625-635.
- Young, J. [1971] The Drugtakers. London, Paladin.
- Young, J. [1973] 'The Hippies - an Essay in the Politics of Leisure', in Taylor, I. and Taylor, L. [Eds.] Politics and Deviance. London, Penguin.
- Young, M. and Willmott, P. [1957] Family and Kinship in East London. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Young, T. [1985] 'The Shock of the Old', New Society, 14 February, pp.246-247.
- Zorbaugh, W.H. [1929] The Gold Coast and the Slum. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.