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"Young Women and Further Education: A Case Study of
Young Women's Experience of Caring Courses in a
Local College".

Ms. Beverley E. Skeggs.

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ABSTRACT

This is an ethnographic account of 83 young women on caring courses at a local Further Education college. It represents an attempt to understand and explain how these students experience the institutional parameters of Further Education. It also represents a more general attempt to understand the ways in which subjectivity is constructed in relation to structures of class and gender; and how, in this process, young women come necessarily to be implicated in constructing their own future subordination.

The study starts by establishing its historical background; in particular the origins of the legacy of young women being prepared for a role outside the labour market. Then it proceeds to examine the organisation of Further Education, its modes of presenting knowledge, and the ways in which the institution is used to transmit ideology. This analysis divides broadly into two areas, representing on the one hand the role of the institution, and on the other, the student's responses to that role. Further Education is seen to contribute towards reproducing social fragmentation; naturalising the young women's status as domestic labourers; and making specific allocations of role and responsibility in this context. The student's responses are characterised by attempts to resist powerlessness, and to establish some degree of autonomy; but this response takes place within the frameworks prescribed by the institution and wider class and gender structures. In this respect the responses contribute towards producing a guilt culture, and the establishment of systems of self-surveillance, thus creating a whole pattern of behaviour that reaffirms subordination.

In a wider context, these courses are indicative of recent State initiatives on pre-vocational education, and it is one of this study's main overall concerns to show the way that caring courses are part of a more general attempt by the State to restructure social relations.

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INTRODUCTION

This study represents an attempt to understand what it is like to be a young white working-class woman on a caring course in Further Education. In so doing it provides a particular empirical basis for more general theoretical concerns. For instance: it analyses the effects of capitalist organisation and State regulation on the lives of young women, enabling an analysis of how structures of class and gender come together to inform their experiences and responses. It also examines how subjectivity is constructed through class and gender in relation to the institutional parameters of Further Education, examining how students come to construct their own consent to relations of inequality. Moreover, it explores the reproduction of social fragmentations by analysing how Further Education contributes towards the reproduction of social and sexual divisions, and how in this process such divisions become naturalised.

The study began in 1980 following one year's contact with Community Care course students, and developed as below:

		MAIN GROUP	ALSO CONTACT
Initial contact	1979-1980		CC First Year
PhD Year One	1980-1981	CC PCSC PHS	CC PCSC Second Year
PhD Year Two	1981-1982	↓ ↓ ↓	CC PCSC First Year
PhD Year Three	1982-1983	CC PCSC	↓ ↓

Eighty three students were studied in total from three different courses within the caring section of the Food, Fashion and Health Department: They were:

1. Preliminary Course in Social Care (PCSC)
2. Preliminary Health Service Course (PHS) formerly Pre-Nursing
3. Community Care Course (CC)

The study concentrated on the non-academic (ie studying to O level standard) who comprised 89% of the total groups studied. This concentration was due primarily to timetable arrangements (1). The majority of students studied came from working class backgrounds (Chapter two provides biographical details) and lived in the local area: Railtown, a working - class conurbation based on the local railway industry. . The study was ethnographic, in the traditional sense of the term used by West (1984), that is, it was concerned with both structural analysis and the activity of the students as part of the same process. For pragmatic reasons different research methods were used (Chapter seven gives details), but the greater proportion of the research was conducted by participant observation. This meant becoming involved, not only in the activity of the students within the college, but also their home and social life. To this extent the study became more focussed on a group of thirteen, who all lived in the same area and were part of a friendship network. However, within the college I maintained close contact with the other students. When the first group of students completed the course in 1982 I remained in contact, following their un/employment futures.

The study represents an attempt at 'theoretical sampling' in which the theory becomes modified, contested and developed through the empirical enquiry (cf. Willis 1979, Griffin 1985). In this respect through the process of the research more general concerns were generated about how the current crisis was being experienced by the students at the level of everydayness. This is a concern which Clarke and Willis (1984) identify as being essential if we are to move from forms of analysis which 'blame'

either education or students for the present crisis. As such the study provides an exploration into how the State, in managing the present crisis, comes to implicate young people such as the students in the process, and how they themselves become 'willing' participants. A brief analysis of present State concerns will identify the general focus of the study.

State Concerns

Although the courses have been on the educational agenda in some form since 1908, they have recently become part of the movement within Further Education towards pre-vocational education (Chapter one provides documentation of their recent substantial increases). And as such, recent State rhetoric indicates that they may come to have a role of increasing significance:

"...if we have a highly educated and idle population we may possibly anticipate more serious social conflict. People must be educated once more to know their place."
(M. Thatcher: Guardian. August 20th 1985)

"the working mother has always been the norm amongst the lower classes...the increase in juvenile delinquency over the past 20 years has coincided with increased numbers of mothers joining the labour force. The answer is for the Government to speak more about the benefits of mothers staying at home to bring up their children."
(A. Ellis-Jones, discussion paper of the Bow Group, reported in Guardian: July 7th 1986)

Such comments are representative of present State concerns about sexual divisions and family responsibility (Land 1985, Thatcher 1985, Cousins and Cook 1981, Shapiro 1985). They are part of a general trend identified by David (1985), towards greater intervention in the management of family life: part of an attempt to maintain order and provide cheaper welfare provision (Land 1985, Finch and Groves 1985). In this respect the contemporary caring courses can be seen as part of a general trend in which the State is involved in orchestrating several distinct educational policies: identified by David (1985) as:

- introduction of 'education for family life' onto the curriculum in general schooling (2).
- attempts to get similar courses in 'parental education' into post-school education, through the MSC.
- efforts to develop special services for particular groups such as pregnant women or women with small babies.

Such measures have primarily been directed at working-class women (eg. Pugh and De'Ath 1984, see also Miller 1982). Moreover such efforts are representative of what Foucault (1977) describes as an attempt at "moralizing the working-class", and what Donzelot (1979) identifies as "moral environmentalism": the first phase of social intervention by the State (3).

These issues inform the basis of the study, illustrating how the courses can be seen to be part of the State's more general social, political and economic strategy of restructuring social relations (Bates et al 1984). By relating the courses to the State's attempt at restructuring, the study departs significantly from other empirical studies of education which have focussed on interaction in the classroom. (eg. Hargreaves 1967, Lacey 1970, Delamont 1976, Woods 1979, Ball 1981, Burgess 1983, Davies 1980, Gaskell 1977/78). It is located within the paradigm of analysis which attempts to relate structure to identity and self-formation (eg. Willis 1977, McRobbie 1978, Corrigan 1979, Hebdige 1979, Gleeson and Mardle 1980, Griffin 1985).

Structure and Subjectivity

Donald (1979) maintains that human agency can only be explained through an examination of the processes and struggles which produce both the power-knowledge relation and a position within it for the human agent: a position which sustains the relation. Furthermore, he argues, agency can only be understood if it is conceived of as an effect of particular institutional and social practices. As such the study tries to maintain the tension, identified by Griffin (1985), between the students as active social agents, products of a given 'life history', capable of making positive decisions and choices; and the students as influenced by specific social structures and ideologies. The reason for pursuing such a line of inquiry developed from concerns about the perceived inadequacies of previous theories for understanding the everyday experience of the young women on the caring courses, as it related to the wider structures of class and gender.

Only a few studies have been conducted on the empirical workings of Further Education (eg. Lee 1964, Venables 1967, Tipton 1973, Gleeson and Mardle 1980, Lander 1983, Gibb 1982), and only one of these specifically relates to young women (eg. Gibb 1982). Moreover, when general educational studies have considered students' responses, the tendency has been to construct a hierarchy of oppression, where either class or gender is prioritized to the detriment of the other (eg. Davies 1980, Burgess 1983, Ball 1981). Likewise when studies have concentrated on gender they have been organised around three main strands, identified by Arnot (1981): Firstly, they provide only a review of access that the different genders have to curricular provision (eg. Deem 1978, Byrne 1978, Miller et al 1982). Secondly, they provide a consideration of sexist expectations which surround notions of subject suitability (Kelly 1975); or thirdly they provide an exploration of how ideologies of gender differentiation permeate and invade texts and the forms of discourse employed in classrooms (Lobban 1977, Spender 1980, 1982, Scott 1980).

Little consideration has been given to how the students themselves, as products of class and gender, respond to their experience of education: an omission which contributes towards reproducing the use of educational concepts as gender-neutral, when in fact they are gender-specific. For instance, as the study will proceed to demonstrate, the basic concept "vocational" has specific gender connotations. For young women it was traditionally related to marriage and family, where for young boys it related specifically to the labour market. Likewise when theorising about divisions of knowledge (as in Chapter three), by taking the students' responses into account the mental/manual division becomes more or less redundant.

Similarly, when considering the 'transition from school to work'; if no account is made of the central importance students attach to marriage markets which contain different notions of success, the process of young women into un/employment is obscured. In this respect the study will proceed to remedy such deficiencies by providing an account of the actual responses of the students to the institutional parameters of Further Education, modifying in the process concepts that have been previously used to define or make invisible their experience.

Outline of Study

The study is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter one provides the historical background to the courses and traces their development to present day. It illustrates how a legacy was established with the earliest courses which remains in operation on contemporary courses, whereby the courses anticipate dual location in both the occupational structure and the family household structure. Initially the courses were designed for students' future roles outside of the labour market. Such a legacy it is argued represents a concern with both social order and social allocation. The second chapter provides the ethnographic background to the study, it examines how both staff and students come to

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participate on the courses and how their previous biographies influence the form of relations they enter into with each other.

The third chapter develops both the organisational structure of the courses and the cost-benefit analysis that students make of their involvement. It examines how their responses to the curriculum divisions implicate them in the construction of a subjectivity which locates them primarily within the family-household structure. However, their responses do illustrate resistance rather than passive acquiescence in their attempts to negotiate some autonomy from the curricular arrangements. Chapter four develops these arguments in detail, examining how students come to monitor and condition their own aspirations through negotiations of the familial ideology presented by the course. This chapter illustrates how students not only come to anticipate their future role, but also see it within the family as of primary importance, as natural, and in the process become involved in developing standards and responsibilities for themselves. As such, it is argued, they become involved in the preparation of a "guilt culture" (Genovese 1975) which provides frameworks for their own self-surveillance.

Chapter five analyses the specific instances of resistance displayed throughout the study. It suggests that forms of resistance are not, as Willis's (1977) study indicated, behaviour at the forefront of political change, but rather are representative of attempts by students to resist any impositions which reinforce their powerlessness. However, in so doing they do involve themselves in limited challenges to the boundaries of femininity. Chapter six develops these themes by analysing how students, by accepting the economic and cultural inevitability of marriage, attempt to construct for themselves some future autonomy. And as in other attempts to resist powerlessness they ultimately come to consent to their own future subordination, because they believe it will offer the benefits of some control, autonomy and responsibility otherwise denied. This chapter also

illustrates how Further Education comes to participate in the students' own culture of femininity. It demonstrates how the culture of romance and the caring ideology presented by the courses come together to provide a form of knowledge which leads students to believe that they will be able to solve the problems associated with marriage (eg. unemployment etc.), on an individualistic basis.

The final chapter provides details of the methodology used for the study. It outlines the applicability of the various methods used and examines how the theories and explanations used throughout the study came to be constructed. It is argued that the value of the study lies in its ability to relate particular findings, generated through empirical research, to more general theoretical concerns. It is hoped that this study provides not just an account of the construction of subjectivity by a group of young female students in Further Education, but also an account of how theory is generated through the process of empirical research. More generally, the study provides an account of how in the process of living structural relations the students' attempts to construct autonomy and resist the powerlessness that capitalist social relations engender, implicate them in both resisting and accommodating aspects of these relations.

Footnotes: Introduction

- (1) The A level students spent less time in the department, having to travel to the main college building for A level teaching.
- (2) The Social Services Select Committee's Report "Children in Care" (1984) suggests:
"We recommend that the Department of Education and Science take account of the need to impart parental skills in curriculum development" (para 48 p xxv).
- (3) Gramsci (1971) has identified a similar process: "adapting the 'morality' of the broadest popular masses to the necessities of the continuous development of the economic apparatus of the State, so that the new level of civilization promoted by the State 'corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development'". (p 258).

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF CARING COURSES

This chapter traces the development of caring courses from their first appearance in 1906 to present day. Initially being part of the 'schools for mothers' they became incorporated into the domestic science provision of the Non Advanced Further Education curriculum. The provision of such courses was dependent upon regional developments, only securing a permanent place on the curriculum in the early 1960's. By exploring this haphazard development, three main focal concerns emerge which provide the framework for the rest of the study. Firstly, most research on Further Education has focussed on the relationship of Further Education to paid employment, assuming that Further Education provision is vocational, which, as Blunden (1980) has pointed out, ignores the early Further Education provision for working class women which was primarily geared to their position outside of the labour market. It also fails to provide a framework for an analysis of the 'dual anticipation' of both the labour market and the family household structure which, as this study will illustrate is a feature of present day provision. Furthermore, by focussing only on paid employment, the ubiquitous role of the State in regulating familial relations both through and within education is obscured. This point forms the basis for the second major concern of the study which suggests that the social anxieties which prompted the State to initiate caring courses is indicative of a more general attempt to regulate mothering and family life, illustrating the role of the State both in the reproduction of social relations by the securing of consent for specific social policies and subsequently consent for the social order.

This chapter seeks to demonstrate that although women were never perceived to be a direct social threat to the State, they were perceived as a means by which the working class could be educated in the practices of the upper and middle classes and consequently controlled. The third concern which provides the basis for this study is how Victorian class relations provided a model for caring practice (demonstrated on the contemporary course during the period of study), whereby the domestic practices of working class women were seen as representative of a fundamental problem for the social order. These focal concerns will be developed in detail in this chapter which is chronologically organised into three sections.

The first section explores the historical conditions which gave rise to the development of caring education for working class women, and explores the increasing intervention by the State into the regulation and monitoring of working class domestic practices. The second section examines the period from 1920 to 1980, in which concerns were only voiced about the education of young working class women when the family and the social order were considered by the State to be under threat. During this period the increase in women's occupational involvement and the development of the low paid occupational sector of the Welfare State provided another destination, the family household structure. The third section examines the contemporary expansion of the courses whilst corresponding occupational opportunities are being curtailed, and discusses such a trend in relation to recent debates about the State's education and unemployment policies.

The central argument is that the earliest courses provided the legacy for present day provision, that is, that working class women's role as domestic labourers is considered to be of equal, if not more, importance, than their occupational positioning. As such the caring courses are organised to anticipate both young working class women's placement inside and outside of the labour market, the major emphasis being on their role as domestic labourers. This regulation of supply indicates a more general concern with social placement than occupational training, a concern informed by both class and gender assumptions which operate on an already existing sexual division of labour.

SCHOOLING FOR MOTHERS

Although the middle classes had experienced instruction in the 'home arts' as early as the late seventeenth hundreds in relation to their leisure time, it was not until 1904 that a specific interest was expressed by the State about a similar education for working class girls. As this chapter will illustrate this concern was the culmination of various anxieties about social order. Prompted by The Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee (1904) and a series of Special Reports on 'School Training for the Home Duties of Women' (1903) which recommended both 'raising the standards of domestic competence' among young working class women (I) and 'fostering the sense of domestic duties' in girls to 'overcome the extremely low standards of living and physical fitness apparent in the congested central districts of larger towns and cities', a Board of Education visiting party were sent to examine the provision of domestic education for working class girls in Europe (2).

This party, led by Alys Russell was particularly impressed by work in Ghent, in which provision was organised around 'child culture' for girls aged fourteen to eighteen. On return Alys Russell founded the first School for Mothers (1906), offering a range of services, including advice on infant feeding and a savings scheme. The foundation received a grant from the Board of Education in 1907 in support of classes held in infant care, cooking and the cutting of baby clothes. Further financial support was given by the National Association for the Promotion of Housewifery, who also initiated the idea of family placements. They advocated a system whereby school boards should place young working class girls, aged fourteen to seventeen in middle class homes in the local vicinity, to be consigned to a period of compulsory unpaid domestic service as an apprenticeship in housewifery. It is unknown on what scale these suggestions were taken up. However, the schools under the Russell Foundation received a grant from the Board of Education for organised class teaching until 1914 when the Local Government Board was made responsible for all grants in aid of maternity and infant welfare. By 1917 most provincial cities were endowed with schools for mothers (Dyhouse 1977). Although the schools were initially intended for young girls, Dyhouse has illustrated how by 1917 it became virtually impossible to draw any clear distinctions between the work of the schools and the 'Mother and Babies Welcomes' and 'Infant Welfare Centres'.

By 1918 there were 1,278 voluntary and Local Authority Maternity and Child Welfare centres, all carrying out what was seen as, in the widest sense, 'educational work' and whose main intention Blunden (1983) argues, was not to enhance women's skills in the labour market but rather to reinforce their position as unpaid domestic workers in the marital or parental home (3). Evidence given to a Government inquiry (Great Britain Cd. 1904) established to investigate the low-response to the national "continuation classes" on mothering and domestic training, provided for those who were unable to attend college on a full-time basis, is indicative of such a concern, e.g.:

"At thirteen years of age the majority of these women would have begun work in a factory, to handle their own earning, to mix with a large number of people with all the excitement and gossip of factory life. They would in this case grow up entirely ignorant of everything pertaining to domesticity... Until as girls they have been taught to find pleasure in domestic work and until there is a great supply of healthy and suitable recreations and amusements in reach of all women, to counteract the prevailing squalor and gloom of these pottery towns, it is useless to expect them to relinquish factory life."

(Great Britain Cd. 2175 para 259 1904).

This attempt to try to educate young working class women to relinquish paid employment for unpaid domesticity by teaching them to enjoy such tasks, not only illustrates the lack of knowledge about the economic conditions of young working class women, but also illustrates one of the earliest State attempts to remove women from the labour market into the family household structure.

Although the ideological machinery was not so well established as that used today, the messages remain similar (see Barker & Downing 1980).

For instance, the outline of the recommended curriculum suggests:-

"The instruction should cover every branch of domestic hygiene including the preparation of food, the practice of household cleanliness, the tendance and feeding of young children, the PROPER requirements of a family as to clothing, everything, in short, that would equip a young girl for the DUTIES of a housewife"

(Great Britain Code 2175 (1904) para 230)

Firstly, such comments suggest that a young woman should be firmly located within the family household structure, implying that if she cannot be made to enjoy it she should recognize the "duty" and obligation, assuming that young women are first and foremost wives and mothers. Secondly, the emphasis on "proper" standards illustrates the assumption that, in general, working class standards of care were considered to be inadequate. David (1980), argues such concerns are indicative of a more general assumption by the State, i.e. that problems with the social relations of production can be resolved through the education of the family with the mother as the invisible pedagogue. The emphasis placed by the State on the mother as the moral regulator of the class as a whole will be discussed in more detail later, however such an emphasis initiated the legacy, now incorporated into State welfare, both in social service provision, caring-related vocational training, and concretised in legislation such as the Child Welfare Act (1918), which focusses all parenting responsibility onto the mother. Then, as now, such concerns are indicative of more general anxieties concerning social order.

General State Anxieties

Although the courses were first established in response to the Report of the Physical Deterioration Committee (1904), the Report itself was part of more general national anxieties concerning the threat of a possible defeat in the Boer War due to inadequate supplies of artillerymen (Dyhouse 1977); and the threat of a potential workers' revolution modelled on the French Experience (Stedman Jones 1974) (4). By 1910 the working class generally had come to be defined by upper class commentators and the State as a 'problem' in two senses. Firstly, as a revolutionary force and secondly as social polluters. The State required fit and healthy soldiers and workers but feared such people as revolutionary representatives of the working class. Finn, Grant & Johnson (1977) document how, through early social policy provision, the State attempted to regulate the working class. They argue that early schooling provision for the working classes was seen to be a means for compensating for a morally deficient family, to act as a stabilizing force and to impose upon children a middle class view of family life, functions and responsibility. In general Johnson (1979) maintains that it was hoped by the State that education would form a new generation of parents whose children would not be wild, but dependable and amenable. The early founders of social work express similar concerns, for example:

"Social work should act as a social sedative to damp down discontent by stressing the duties which the rich owed to the poor and to eliminate the dangers of revolution by recreating in the poor a sense of membership in social life."
(Woodroffe 1962)

Moreover, the differential Youth Service provision during the period illustrates further the explicit concern with social order. Nava (1984) demonstrates how provision was only directed towards girls when it was considered that they lacked domestic and moral surveillance and instruction. Similarities can be drawn between such provision and the Youth Training Schemes of Northern Ireland which Rees (1982) shows were initially provided to prevent young boys from involvement with paramilitary organisations; only later was provision extended to girls.

In a study of France, spanning the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, Donzelot (1979) records similar concerns. He maintains that to effectively ensure public order the State relied upon the family for direct support (5). From his study he illustrates how, with increasing industrialisation and urbanisation which severed many family ties, the relationship between the State and the family became progressively inadequate as the eighteenth century wore on, culminating in various attempts by the State, through education and welfare provision to regulate parenting, specifically mothering, and mould families into specific functions. (6). In the mid 1800's social anxieties and 'scientific' debates focussed on the problem of the working class family (7). Foucault (1977) and Ehrenreich and English (1979) have documented specific concerns about the 'hygiene' of the working classes, in which the working class as a whole was perceived to have the potential, unless controlled, to pollute the rest of society.

Such 'moral panics' were supported by the nineteenth century concerns with 'progress' and rational/scientific knowledge (eg Morgan 1877, Comte 1853) and Eugenic theories in which the working class were considered to be atavistic (Coward 1983). Furthermore, Weeks (1981) argues that the obsessive Victorian concern with sexuality served to provide the framework for considering the 'problem' of the working class as one of morality rather than class conflict, e.g.:

"From the end of the eighteenth century with the debate over population and the hyperbreeding of the poor, sexuality pervades the social consciousness; from the widespread discussions of the birthrate, deathrate, life expectancy, fertility in the statistical forays of the century to the urgent controversies over public health, housing, birth control and prostitution. The reports of the great Parliamentary commission, which in the 1830's and 40's investigated working conditions in the factories and mines, were saturated with an obsessive concern with the sexuality of the working class, the social order, displacing in the end an acute social crisis from the area of exploitation and class conflict where it could not be coped with, into the framework of a more amenable and discussible area of 'morality'.

(pp 19-20)

Coward (1983) furthers this point by illustrating how the 'explosion' of the debate over sexuality culminated in a series of social policies which attempted to map out areas of family responsibility.

By transferring the debate from one of revolutionary threat onto questions of familial and moral responsibility the structural and social relations of class conflict could conveniently be ignored (Weeks 1981, Coward 1983) and attention could be shifted onto specific aspects of working class organisation. The family became the focus of social concerns, both directly, as illustrated, and indirectly through the organisation and regulation of schooling, the labour market and welfare provision. David (1980) has illustrated how the development of educational provision alongside labour market restructuring indirectly influenced family duties, commitment and responsibility, e.g.:

"As the need for a more docile and differentiated labour force became apparent... standards were forced upon working class parents through the nature of schooling for their children. First, parents had to make financial sacrifices both directly through the payment of fees and through the opportunity costs of a loss of children's earnings. Second, as a result of compulsion in 1893, parents had to ensure childrens regular attendance at school. The hours of schooling imposed burdens on working class mothers who had the dual responsibility of ensuring their children's regular attendance and of arranging their out-of-school activities. Not only was a particular standard required but it was expected that mothers would perform the necessary duties." (p 40, 1980)

Furthermore, Gittings (1985) has noted how the Poor Law Act (1899) undermined and penalised traditional working class methods of child care and supervision especially the mutual responsibility for children amongst working class women.

The legislation, she argues, was both sex and class specific, for instance, the Maternity and Child Welfare Act (1918) was not aimed at helping mothers themselves but at ensuring they did their proper job bearing and rearing healthy children 'correctly'. Such legislation developed in response to the assumption that mothers were potential moral regenerators and that the social ordering of the working class could be achieved through the family, but also in response to the assumption that the practices of working class mothers were to blame for national ills e.g.:

"The problem of infant mortality is not one of sanitation alone, or housing, or indeed poverty as such, it is mainly a question of motherhood. Expressed bluntly, it is the ignorance and carelessness of mothers that causes a large proportion of the infant mortality which sweeps away thousands every year". (George Newman 1906, pp 221, 257)

The root of the problem which could be partially solved through State intervention in welfare were conveniently ignored and the standards and practices of working class mothers became a focus for concern. Such issues were vigorously debated within the middle class philanthropic groups at the turn of the Century (see Hall 1979) (8).

The solution was seen to be through the education of working class women in the "domestic ideal" i.e. domestic practices based on the structure and organisation of the Victorian upper and middle classes in which moral precepts were incorporated such as "cleanliness is next to godliness" (Roberts 1834), (E. Roberts 1984).

Summers (1979) has argued that this 'domestic ideal' provided the framework for the development of State social work. Moreover, it provided the foundations for elements that exist within the courses today, primarily based on class relations (9). For example, firstly, home visiting and the 'domestic ideal' provided the framework for the education of working class women by middle class women; secondly, it suggested that working class women should be the moral guardians and social regulators of the working class as a whole; and thirdly, advice became the method used to communicate middle class domestic standards. Advice, Donzelot (1979) has argued represents a form of 'positive power' whereby power is exercised through norms, disciplining, reward and manipulation of the conscience as opposed to power that operates through rules, prohibition and repression (Foucault 1977) (10). Donzelot (1979) further argues that the transmission of advice by the State is the means by which control of the family, and ultimately control of the population as a whole, is won. The demands of the domestic labour market were not just about labour requirements, but also Summers (1979) argues, about the transmission of domestic 'advice'.

Domestic Service Requirements

The demands of the domestic labour market in the early 1800's played a part in the establishment of domestic education for working class women. Prohashka (1974) has documented the concerns expressed by the middle classes at the shortage of 'suitable' servants, culminating in the establishment of a series of private training institutions, established by 1830, although their practice and recruitment is not well documented.

Home visiting provided a means not only to instruct working class women, but also a means of possible domestic service recruitment. The role of middle class women in educating their servants for social reasons is illustrated by the 'Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects' given by the Reverend Brewer (cited in Maurice (ed) (1855):):

"Remember ladies, it is not so with any other poor. Over the classes just above them you have a power, and you are entrusted with a mission....Unwittingly, you are exercising in your own families a vast social and political power; you are educating the poor under you, it may be, without your consciousness for good or evil, and instructing them in the most powerful, because the most unpretending way, in all that you yourselves know and practice. The female servants in your household whose manners you have softened - who have learnt from you how to manage a household - who have caught up from you, insensibly, lessons of vast utility, lessons of order, lessons of cleanliness, lessons of management of children, of household, of comfort and tidiness; these women eventually become the wives of small tradesmen and respectable operatives. They carry into a lower and very extended circle the influence of your teaching and your training."
(pp 55-6).

Dyhouse (1976) argues that the interest shown by the middle classes in domestic service was not just a response to labour needs but a response to the belief that young working class women could be moral regenerators of the nation. Domestic service offered a model for the wider relations between the working class and the middle class, i.e. the working class economically and socially dependent, obedient, disciplined, clean and broken into the methods and routines of the middle class family unit (Summers 1979).

This section has demonstrated how the first caring courses were developed outside of mainstream educational provision by the State, in response to increasing concern over the standards and practices of the working classes. They developed both as a response to concerns about social order and the demands for domestic service within local labour markets. Although their initial presence was organised by the State, their overall development was haphazard. However, certain features inherent within their foundation have specific relevance for the present day practice. Firstly, caring courses were not specifically and only related to the labour market, they were more generally concerned with the general domestic practices of the working class such as childcare and welfare provision, and operated dual anticipation of both domestic service requirements and the family household structure. Secondly, they were established at a time of social and economic crisis when, although the State demonstrated distrust in the family, the regulation of the family (as demonstrated by corresponding social policies and legislation) was seen to be a necessary prerequisite for the control of the working class generally. Thirdly, the conflict between social classes was considered to be a problem of morality, rather than structural inequality, in which the solution to the problem was seen to lie in familial regulation, primarily through the mother.

These features informed the development of the caring curriculum which operated on the basis of particular gender and class assumptions, i.e. that initially it was assumed that only middle class women knew how to care properly indicating that the young working class students were assumed to be 'deficient' and thus in need of training (11). As such the structure and organisation of the caring courses was specifically related to the domestic practice of the middle and upper classes, based on a completely different structure, organisation, economy, time scale and division of labour as the majority of working class women, unlike their middle class counterparts, was involved in full time manual labour (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 1930). This difference was only acknowledged when attempts were made to make the students 'enjoy' the prospect of domestic labour which also indicates that the students were not considered to be passive recipients of the caring curriculum. As such vocational caring courses were both concerned with creating the disposition to care and creating the affectual characteristics such as the acceptance of their place within the sexual division of labour and the family household structure. More generally, the establishment of caring courses represented just one attempt, in the light of many social policies to regulate the practice of the working class family (12).

Such legacies as the study will proceed to illustrate remain features of present caring course provision. The next section will illustrate how similar concerns were expressed by the State during periods of economic and social uncertainty, in which young working class women come increasingly to be defined, through education, as primarily domestic labourers. This categorisation of particular groups by separating them off as distinct labourers is considered by Gleeson (1983) to be one of the important roles Further Education plays in indirectly regulating openings and closings within the labour market.

EDUCATING OUT OF THE LABOUR MARKET

After the initial concern with the provision of 'good advice' to mothers and prospective mothers, caring courses appear to have disappeared from the national Non-Advanced Further Education curriculum. Blunden (1983) notes that the period 1910-1930 in Further Education is characterised by responses to local labour markets. The location for this case study, Railtown, supports Blunden's contention for during this period Railtown provided only locomotive-related Further Education (Challoner 1950) and although a substantial number of women were employed in the locomotive works no mention is made either in local history records or in the College Inspection Reports of their involvement in any form of Further Education. Railtown, with a history of high female employment and only small domestic service requirements, did not have a college based caring course until 1966, when college records first included a Department of Hygiene, Nursing and Child Care, although an Infant Welfare Centre existed in the town as early as 1908. However, by the 1920's education, in general, had clearly become a sex-related experience (Delamont and Duffin 1978) in which a different form of social control and pedagogy operated for men and women based on the anticipation of their future primary positioning (David 1980). For example, both the Hadow Reports (1923, 1926) suggest that provision should be made to fit young working class girls to the duties of home life and motherhood. Furthermore, the latter Report suggests that children under five should be cared for in the home by their mothers.

The economic and social crisis of the thirties precipitated the further development of caring courses. The Juvenile Instruction and Unemployment Centres which were introduced to alleviate the problems of the young unemployed with the remit to inculcate habits of discipline and self-respect (Bell 1935) offered a similarly gendered curriculum to that of the 'Schools for Mothers' e.g. 'the aim of every superintendent of a Girls' centre is to have a cookery, laundry and housewifery centre', (in Horne 1983 p321). The low attendance at these domestic centres, similarly indicative of the previous interest shown two decades earlier by young working class women, was solved by making attendance compulsory up to the age of eighteen (Bell 1935). The two major aims, identified by Horne (1983) that of keeping the young unemployed occupied during the day and maintaining and creating work discipline (or domestic discipline in the case of young women) are again similar to the early caring courses, which lead him to conclude that the schemes' overall purpose was to 'win' and 'control' the 'hearts and minds' of the young , unemployed working class (p320), a theme which will be discussed in more detail later. It appears that in times of crisis, like the thirties, traditional gender roles are reinforced, for instance the thirties illustrates a major attempt by the State to return women to the home (Parry and Parry 1975, David 1980, Deem 1981). The organisation of Trade Unions in the face of increased competition, and in an attempt to prevent 'dilution' of their skills, did little to stem the flow of female unemployment (Cockburn 1981). Moreover, during this period there is little evidence for any breaking down of the category of young working class women as domestic labourers.

From the late 1930's to the early 1960's attention was focussed, by the State, on mainstream education. Although the Education Reports from this period do not deal directly with Further Education and caring courses, they set into motion particular ideas about young women, social class and caring that informed the earliest curriculum design. For instance, the Norwood Report (1943) detailed two different types of caring education. Firstly, it suggested, nursing and hygiene should be provided for girls of sixth form age and status. Secondly, needlework, cookery, laundry and housewifery should be provided for girls involved in 'citizenship education'. The Preliminary Health Service Course of this study, began its life at the college in 1960 as a Pre-Nursing Courses intended for 'girls from suitable homes with suitable encouragement' with a curriculum related to the General Nursing Council requirements, including Elementary Hygiene, Physiology and Anatomy (13). Whereas the Community Care Course developed from the non-academic overflow of the Preliminary Residential Child Care Course, for those who were 'vocationally uncommitted and to whom the existing provision of academic courses were unsuited' (Further Education Research Unit 1982 p2). Such is the history of the status and knowledge divisions on the courses. The curriculum recommended by Norwood is also similar to present day Community Care courses, e.g., courses would consist of hygiene, home-making, mothercraft, sex education; and teaching methods would rely on the use of films for the less able (14).

The development of caring courses on a large scale was hampered by the impact of war, in which women's traditional roles were to some extent restructured, with the State taking over the main responsibility for the care and control of young children (David 1980). These developments were, however, shortlived, and did little to alter the traditional ideology of women's place in the home and little to stop the movement of women out of the labour market after the war (Deem 1981). One of the major outcomes was the increasing regulation of mothering by the State after it had relinquished full responsibility. This regulation was not only achieved, as it had been at the turn of the century, by the education of mothers, but by the wholesale establishment of a network of welfare agencies designed to surveille and monitor child care practice. Such an expansion created employment opportunities for men and women alike. Employment opportunities, however, which reproduced the already existent sexual division of labour in which women dominated the less prestigious and less well paid sectors of care. (This process was by no means straightforward and is documented in detail in Wilson 1977, Ungerson 1983, Finch and Groves 1984 and Land 1983). Hearn (1982) has outlined the mental/manual division that emerged from the increasing professionalisation of care, in which working class women's occupational opportunities were seen to reside within the manual sectors such as residential social work.

The development of the caring courses in the mid-sixties relates directly to such developments. For instance, the Preliminary Course in Social Care and Community Care Courses developed from the early Preliminary Residential Child Care Course - an area of social work primarily populated by unskilled, low-paid women workers (Wilson 1977). Although the initiative for the development of the course was provided by the national Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work in 1968, colleges had to provide evidence of a) local need and b) sufficient job opportunities in order to be validated and receive a nationally recognised certificate. As such the development can be seen as a response to the local labour market situation. The Pre-Nursing Course at the College developed specifically in 1968 in response to suggestions made by local practitioners to meet local labour market requirements. (see Lester 1977 for full documentation). There already existed a "Pre-Welfare Course" at the college, from 1960, within the Maths and Science department, which had no official examination or validation and which in 1966 had run into disrepute with the governing body, The General Nursing Council, who saw little or no value in pre-nursing courses (Greenwood 1977). In 1968 the course, as it exists today, developed from the energy and enthusiasm of a local nurse who maintained close liaison with the local hospital and responded directly to their labour requirements. Only in 1977 was the Inter-Regional Committee for Pre-Nursing and Caring Courses formed, by tutors involved, which suggests in its recommendations that colleges should develop in line with local requirements. Local demands determined by the more general expansion of occupational caring were responsible for the initial development of the Preliminary Health Service Course and Preliminary Course in Social Care courses and indirectly for the Community Care Course, which operated initially as the overspill for the Preliminary Course in Social Care .

Whilst Colleges were responding specifically to local labour market demands, the more general debates on education focussed on the social placement of young people. Debates beginning with the White Paper on Technical Education in 1956 served to map out the sphere for the education of working class males in direct relation to the technical sectors of the occupational structure. Simultaneously, debates concerning young women and social placement focused on the relationship between education and the family household structure. The Crowther Report (1959) and Newsom Report (1963) written whilst womens' employment opportunities were increasing both suggest that schools should become increasingly involved in preparing young working class women for their primary responsibility within the family (Lawson & Silver 1973).

Crowther and Newsom

Both Wolpe 1975 and Deem 1978 have noted the substantial impact that the Reports have had on the general education of working class girls. Both Reports indicate an increasing concern over the 'destruction' and 'fragility' of family life, e.g.:

"The durability of the family can no longer be taken for granted.

If a secure home is to be achieved it has to be worked for.

There will have to be a conscious effort to prepare the way for it through the education system on a much greater scale than had yet been envisaged" (p37) Crowther Report (1959)

Crowther maintained that women's increasing participation in the labour market was creating stresses within the family structure, the potential solution for both Crowther and Newsom was to educate young non-academic women to anticipate and be prepared for their future positioning as wives and mothers.

The Newsom Report (1963) actually outlined the structure of young working class womens lives... 'about ten years in some unskilled occupation, passing the time until she meets her man' (p63) and attempted to design some form of curricula around it. The legacy of Crowther and Newsom in which primary allegiance to the family is seen to be the most important role for young working class women remains with caring courses today. Furthermore, some of the curriculum practices outlined by Newsom remain, for example the use of 'micro-homes' within schools and mothercare courses including class specific advice on pregnancy and child care (see Chapter four). The general concern over social placement and the reinforcement of the assumption that women's primary place was outside the occupational structure was given further weight by the debates of the late 1960's and seventies when the issues concerning young women were excluded from the educational training agenda completely.

Exclusion from the Training Debates

Where Crowther and Newsom deliberated over the training of working class girls for the home, this issue became effectively ignored in the light of labour requirements. The Carr Report (Training for Skill 1957) assumed that girls did not need any training. Wickham (1982) demonstrates how this report reflected much of the current thinking about women in other areas of social policy and anticipated the relative neglect of women's training over the next decade.

The TUCWA Report of 1968 suggested any improvements in women's training had been insignificant and in 'penny numbers' (ATTI 1970 p 376) (15). Their conclusions were echoed by the Donovan Commission (1968) and the Industrial Training Boards, who did not consider it their role to encourage the training of girls (Wickham 1982). The basis of this exclusion of women from the debates can be seen to lie in the concern for synchronisation between planned investment and technical education, which reached a climax in the early sixties with the 'White Heat of Technology' debate (Crosland 1956, Benn 1974). Gleeson and Mardle (1980) maintain that investment in technical education was perceived to be of benefit to both the individual and society, i.e., the young worker would receive his training 'ticket' and just remuneration, while the employer would receive the necessary supply of trained labour, both returns contributing to the common good (p3). The benefit of any investment in women was regarded as social and not economic (Woodhall 1973). Even the 'Great Debate' of 1976/77 which acknowledged the role of young women in both the labour market and the home failed to have any significant impact on educational policy as it affected young women. Moreover, the introduction of the Equal Pay Act (1970) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) failed to enter women onto the educational agenda (16). And the 'Training Opportunities for Women Report' (1976), prompted by the Sex Discrimination Act, had only negligible effects, extending training only in areas traditionally associated with women (Wickham 1982) (17).

The emphasis on the relationship between education and the occupational structure during this period (Finn et al 1978) and the closing down of any training opportunities not already associated with the traditional role of women (Wickham 1982) served to reinforce the sexual division of labour and further separate women off as a distinct group with quite specific labour market roles, i.e. those related to gender and definitions of femininity. Wickham (1982) maintains that training and the notion of skill that it carries helps structure work differentiation between the sexes and stimulates the objective and subjective subordination experienced by women in the workplace.

The first section illustrated how caring courses in Further Education developed with a dual legacy. Initially they were considered to be a potential solution to a crisis in social order, a means for regulating the working class as a whole through the organisation of family structure and practice. They also developed in response to specific local labour market demands for domestic servants, although the emphasis on moral regulation was contained within the training of domestic servants. This section has shown how such legacies remained within the development of caring courses, although taking on different forms in different historical periods. For instance, during the economic and social crisis of the nineteen thirties, training in caring was seen to be an essential feature of social and moral regulation. However, during the nineteen sixties the courses developed in specific response to occupational caring expansion. Such differences in development are indicative of a more general State concern with the regulation of the family, either directly through women as potential pedagogues or through women in welfare agencies. Such developments sustained the ideology of domesticity contained in Norwood, Crowther and Newsom in which working class women were primarily located within the family household structure.

Moreover these features indicate a differing response by the State to the regulation of young working class males and females. Young women have never been defined as a specific political problem in the same way as boys, in terms of direct social threats or riots. Their positioning on caring courses suggests more of a general attempt by the State to pursue 'order maintenance' of young people, rather than specific control. A policy which Kinsey (1986) suggests is now the priority of the present government. However, as the development of the caring courses has indicated, such a policy is not a new development, but has been in operation since the turn of the century, used when the regular habits of discipline, learnt through the work process were unavailable. The family household structure provides a safe location for women, not only can they be contained in it with their own consent (won through many complex processes as this study will proceed to demonstrate) but they also remain potential pedagogues both of their own family and of those within the local community, a point Cohen (1982) suggests when he notes how the powerless have now been given the role, through caring, of regulating those more powerless than themselves. These points are taken up and developed in the next section which examines the recent expansion of caring courses, in the light of decreasing local and national occupational opportunities. It is suggested that the development of caring courses has come a full circle, in that now, they perform the same role as was their original function, i.e., to categorise young working class women as primarily domestic labourers, and to win consent for this assumed social location.

EXPANDING COURSES: DECREASING CORRESPONDING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ?

The corresponding section of the occupational structure for the caring courses is the personal social services, the section identified by the CSE State Group (1979) as the gatekeepers of the welfare State, that is, they argue 'rationing demand for various services and attempting to shift welfare responsibilities away from the State and onto the family' (p 97). These services, they further maintain, also perform the 'soft police role' on the working class family and youth. Since the mid 1970's they have experienced a dramatic collapse in their growth rate and since 1976 a fall in expenditure. Capital expenditure on the personal social services fell from a peak of £178 million in 1973-74 to £61 million in 1977-78 (18). And although Seebohm (1968) and Bayley (1973, 1978) Reports have suggested changes involving increased development and spending on Community Care, only the development appears to have occurred, with tight resources (CSE 1979) (19). From 1974 to 1978 the spending on Community Care has actually dropped from 22.7% to 21.1%. Although in 1976 the Department of Health and Social Services suggested more resources would be devoted to Community Care, this has not occurred, particularly, cuts in capital expenditure have affected provision as local authorities have been prevented from borrowing the required amounts for the supply of services.

Whilst these cuts and contractions of the personal social services have been occurring the corresponding courses have been expanding on both a national and local scale, e.g.

Nationally:

Course	1977/1978	1978/1979	1979/1980	1980/1981	% increase
PRC then PCSC	2017	2068	2016	2261	12.1%
PreNursing (PHS)	-	540	970	1062	97%
CGLI in Community Care	744	1128	2070	3813	413%
Totals	2761	3736	5056	7136	159%

Source: FEU (1982)

Locally:

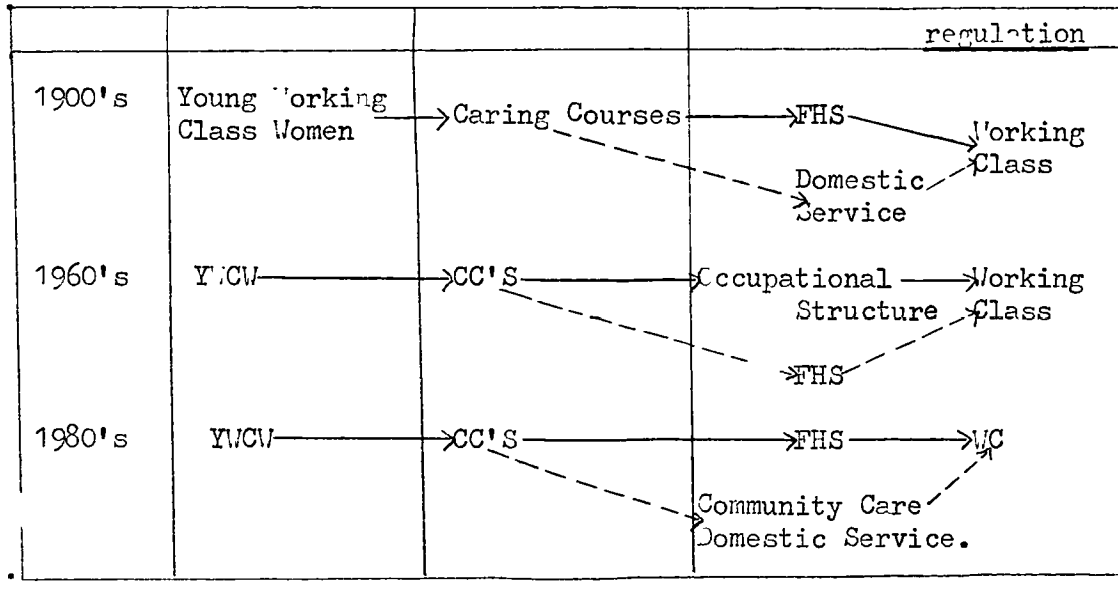
Course	1979/1980	1980/1981	1981/1982	1982/1983	% increase
PCSC	17	28	36	42	147%
PreNursing (PHS)	14	23	27	34	143%
CGLI in Community Care	11	32	48	74	573%
Totals	42	83	111	150	257%

Source: College Records 1983

The figures suggest a notable increase at both national and local levels, specifically the Community Care course, which not being constrained by a Central Training Committee eg (Preliminary Course in Social Care) or a specific relationship to the local labour market (Preliminary Health Service Course) has increasingly expanded. The differences between the national and local figures indicate the different responses to the local labour market, although expansion has been encouraged on a national level by the Further Education Unit (1982). They suggest a consolidation of all present provision with a one year generic course, and optional specialisation for a second year, incorporated within the Youth Training Scheme rubric. They also suggest a 'caring' option to be added to the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education. This move away from specific occupational purchase is the continuation of a trend, from the early 1970's in which the courses have attempted to adapt to the conditions of the local labour market. For instance the Preliminary Course in Social Care course began in 1968 as the Preliminary Certificate in Residential Care. In 1970 in response to further changes in the structure of social work the 'child' was dropped from the title, in order to extend the course to all forms of residential care. The course again changed in 1980 as a result of further changes in the social work occupational structure, the residential emphasis was removed as it was increasingly apparent that many students were not going into residential work due to the expansion of differing cheaper forms of care e.g. fostering and community care. In 1981 the emphasis again changed to a more generic form leaving the Preliminary Course in Social Care.

In 1982 the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work stresses that 'student numbers should not outstrip job opportunities' although at the same time expressing concerns over a more generic curriculum in which 'aspects of general education should be offered which offer enjoyable opportunities for personal development' (p11) (20). The course, as indicated by its title has moved significantly from being occupationally specific to generic. The Preliminary Health Service Course similarly changed from Preliminary Nursing to Preliminary Health Care Course in 1976, to the present title of Preliminary Health Service Course. Whereas the Preliminary Course in Social Care and Preliminary Health Service course began with specific occupational purchase, the Community Care course began and remained generic, ironically it is only now with the increasing emphasis on generic community care that the Community Care courses appear to bear some corresponding relation to the occupational structure. However, as the courses have developed, their occupational purchase, indicated by constricting opportunities has decreased. In similarity to the earliest caring courses which anticipated both domestic service and familial role, the contemporary courses anticipate, (through both their structure and organisation as Chapter Four will demonstrate) the transferable role of students between waged/informal care in the "Community" and care within the family household structure. Categorising students as ultimately and primarily 'carers' whatever the conditions.

Such a development can be illustrated more clearly diagrammatically:-



The recent development of "Community Care" as a legitimate form of social work practice (see Walker 1982, Ungerson 1984) suggests a merging between the once separated (through the wage structure) occupational and familial roles, in which young unemployed working class women are perceived by the State as a means for absorbing decreases in formal - paid welfare provision and ultimately wider familial regulation. The following statement illustrates the point more clearly:-

"If the demand for such caring services greatly exceeds the supply, the existence of large numbers of long term unemployed may well come to be equated with the availability of a pool of careers: in particular it might be argued that it would be desirable for some people at least to be kept usefully occupied in caring for the frail and handicapped members of their own family...

.... From this position it would be but a short step to the identification of certain groups of paid workers as meriting a transfer from 'employment' to 'occupation' so as to reduce competition for scarce employment." (House of Lords Debates vol 400, collection 973).

The movement from paid 'employment' to unpaid 'occupation' in the context of the speech suggests that women should no longer be paid for the caring work they perform. This ambiguity forms part of the contemporary conceptual definition of Community Care, for as Finch and Groves (1980) argue, the waged role of Community Care has never, in State legislation or rhetoric, been clarified. They argue that the original principle of care IN the community (National Health Services Act 1946) has since changed its meaning to care BY the community, exemplified by the Wolfenden Committee (1978) and the Bayley Report (1978). Community Care, they maintain, is now family care (Land 1983, McIntosh 1984). Recent Studies have indicated that the attempts made by the State to introduce Community Care have resulted in more pressure and responsibility on the family, predominantly the female members (Wilson 1977, Coussins and Coote 1981, and McIntosh 1984). Furthermore, Abrams (1977) has noted that the recent changes that have occurred through the increasing emphasis on Community Care, concern the development of unpaid caring, with the family as the immediate setting wherever possible. As such the recent developments are in many respects similar to the earliest course which existed before the establishment of the Welfare State to sustain the family structure.

The decline in welfare provision and the establishment of a formal framework for unpaid caring has been accompanied by a demonstration of increasing concern about the family and declining moral standards by the present Tory Government, not dissimilar to the concerns expressed at the turn of the century (as illustrated in Section One). For instance both Mount (1980) and Tebbit (1985) have argued, through mainstream ideological machinery (T.V., newspapers, radio) that the family is in 'crisis' and under threat of extinction. The development of the Family Policy Group (1983) whose primary aim was to protect and improve the stability and quality of family life and to restore to central importance the role of the family in society (Guardian 14.2.83) is indicative of such motives. This concern with the family includes specific assumptions about class and gender relations. Firstly, the increased emphasis on the family has been accompanied by the reassertion of the primary importance of motherhood, e.g.:

"Bringing up a family is the most important thing of all. Women know that society is founded on dignity, reticence and discipline. It is a woman's job to be doing the most important work of caring in the home because women bear the children, create and run the home" (M. Thatcher July 1982)

"The pressure on young wives to go out to work devalues motherhood itself..... Parenthood is a very skilled task indeed and it must be our aim to restore it to the place of honour that it deserves." (P. Jenkin in Coussins and Coote 1981).

Secondly, comments by Worsthorne (1980) have implied specific class assumptions. For instance he declared that the 'family was best for us all'... 'but most the 'poor', the 'uneducated' and the 'humble'' (Sunday Telegraph 6.7.80). Alongside the increased expression of concerns over moral decline and family order exists an ever increasing demand for domestic servants (although euphemistically labelled nannies, au pairs and cleaners) by the professional middle classes, as recent research by Root (1984) illustrates, in which both class and gender subordination is reproduced. A substantial number of caring courses students (16%) who found employment after one year of leaving the course were employed in this category, which suggests that although the context for care, through the introduction of the Welfare State has changed significantly, the class relations remain similar; in which the working class are perceived by the State to be both a potential service group and also a potential threat to the social order. Such similarities with present provision indicate how this analysis of the historical development of the courses is essential in understanding their place within Further Education provision today. The two main strands in development, both the concern with social order and the response to the local labour market maintained throughout increasing complexity in relations with State, welfare, educational and occupational provision resist any simplistic and conspiratorial view of the State. Present day course provision was not specifically instigated by the State in times of increasing unemployment as a means for family regulation. Rather, as Non Advance Further Education developed in a mode of 'generic provision' with decreasing emphasis on specific training and occupational purchase (Finn 1984) the courses provided an already developed structure.

A structure with a dual legacy and ability to anticipate both the family household structure and occupational structure through the categorisation of young working class women as primarily domestic labourers, and the reproduction of the sexual division of labour, which represents, through its development, a continued attempt by the State both to regulate and win consent for class and gender specific social placement. A concern more indicative, at present, of social regulation rather than occupational placement.

This chapter has illustrated how caring courses have predominantly, throughout their development, been geared to women's position outside the labour market. Initially the courses were a response to the 'problem' of the working class, in which it was hoped, young working class women trained in the practices and attitudes of the middle class could transmit these values to their class as a whole as a potential remedy for social unrest. With the development and expansion of the Welfare State and the closer regulation of the working class, the caring courses educated young women to anticipate a dual role in both waged and unpaid caring. The most recent welfare, education and employment constrictions have created the conditions whereby the students can expect to be involved primarily in unpaid caring work, either as mothers or as State substitutes in 'Community Care'. Their role as social regulators has become increasingly more complex, whereby, not only are they involved in the regulation of their own immediate families, but are also involved in substituting the 'soft policing' role of the personal social services.

It is this which illustrates the different gendered consequences of the State's social policies concerning unemployed youth. Although the expansion of the courses in the light of decreasing labour market opportunities represents a similar 'political solution' to that identified by Moos (1983) Finn (1984) and Bates et al (1984) in which the structural inequalities of class, gender and race are reproduced (Sammons 1983, Gibb 1983, Dex 1983) demonstrating an explicit concern with the maintenance of social order (Durkheim 1977, Baron 1981, Gleeson 1983), the courses are not, as their history suggests, just about regulating the students on them, but an attempt to regulate the familial organisation of the working class generally. To some extent they do maintain students in 'protective custody', as suggested by Lendhardt (1975); and Moore (1983) and they do 'keep people off the streets and regulate the dole queue' (Rees and Gregory 1981); and they do provide an 'institutional framework for socially acceptable forms of activity which are neither school or work but part and parcel of capitalist social relations' (Youthaid 1981). However, their major role involves winning consent for the social placement of the students as unpaid domestic labourers, willing to sustain both their own families and provide 'Community Care' if necessary. In this sense, the courses can be seen to inculcate young working class women into the dispositions, attitudes and habits of the social relations of domestic labour, and to accept as natural the sexual division of labour.

More importantly, the courses do not just socialise students into the appropriate affectual characteristics; they are involved in providing the framework for the construction of a gender and class identity which the students themselves negotiate, and through which they come to identify themselves through the monitoring and conditioning of their own aspirations as primarily domestic labourers. The framework provided by the courses and the processes involved forms the basis of this research, but as this chapter has established, it is already part of a historical precedent which assumes that the unemployment of young working class women is not a problem. Furthermore, the historical organisation of the inter-relationships developed between State welfare provision, occupational structure and educational opportunities has substantially influenced the provision of present day caring courses. The next chapter will explore the physical location of the study, in which these different facets come together to provide a structural and organisational framework.

Footnotes to Chapter One

1. Report on the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, vol. I Appendix and Index PP 1904, xxxII para 293.
2. Ibid, vol. I para 315.
3. Although the courses initially made no claim to enhance women's skills in the labour market, their development was in direct contrast to that suggested for working class boys, in which education was seen as a means of equipping them with technically relevant occupational knowledge. A difference which highlights, the different gender connotations inherent within the term 'vocational' (Marks 1976).
4. The ideology of nationalism also influenced State intervention in familial organisation. Dyhouse (1977) has documented the tendency to regard international rivalries as a struggle in which only the 'fittest' and most 'efficient' nations could be expected to survive. The fears of 'national degeneracy' prompted by the rejection of the huge proportions of the population as unfit for Boer War service (in Manchester 8,000 out of 11,000) focussed anxieties more closely on the standards of the working class.
5. In this sense Donzelot (1979) maintains that the family is more of a mechanism than an institution.
6. Hall (1979) and Donzelot (1979) maintain that the foundations for the assumptions made today about the natural and proper organisation of family can be shown to have arisen at the beginning of the 19th Century. The representation of the home/household as a 'haven in a heartless world' was helped by veritable legal and ideological campaigns forged by the end of the 19th Century (Rapp 1979).
7. Scientific housekeeping was seen to be a means of reducing the cost of reproducing the labour force (cf Marx : Capital III 1962).
8. The visiting and monitoring of homes of the poor was originally considered to be a 'duty' of upper class women, who it was suggested should serve as models for domestic practice and moral behaviour (see Octavia Hill (1877) Our Common Land, London, MacMillan).
9. Hall (1979) has outlined the development of the 'domestic ideal'. She argues that the class definition was built not only at the level of the political and the economic- the historical confrontations of 1832 and 1846, but also at the level of culture and ideology. She cites Annan (1951) who maintains that Evangelical ideology of domesticity was an attempt to reconstruct family life and the relations between the sexes on the basis of 'real' Christianity.

10. Foucault (1976) would suggest that power can have potential positive value for those who can be both controlled and liberated by it. As such in the context of this study developed from an analysis of regulation and control it is seen to be doubly effective in winning consent for state regulation of domestic and child care practice, in that advice can contain, within it, elements of practical usage.
11. The theme of 'deficiency' in relation to the working class runs through most educational recommendations, developed most fully by the 'Culture of Poverty' theorists and their attendant policies, e.g. Lewis (1966), Coleman Report (1965), Bernstein (1970).
12. Attempts to regulate the working class family have, at times, been resisted as Humphries (1977) has illustrated. She argues that any attempts at restructuring will meet resistance as the preservation of non-market relations within the family enables the working class to resist the total subordination to capital. The resistance, however, reproduces the subordination of women within the family structure (Barrett 1984).
13. Lester (1978) unpublished DASE, University of Keele.
14. Although the Norwood Report (1943) assumed, unlike earlier Caring Course rhetoric that the young women would automatically enjoy domestic labour, suggesting "domestic" subjects evoke a ready response in non-academic girls.
15. The EOC Report on Training (1978) estimated that only 1.5% of women were in areas of training not traditionally associated with women. Similarities have been found with present day training schemes. Finn (1984) found 65% of girls were being trained in traditional areas on Youth Training Schemes. The EOC Report on Job Creation Schemes (1978) showed that on all schemes girls formed a minority. The Youth Opportunities Programme and WEEP schemes reflected a similar division of labour (Brelsford, Smith and Rix 1982; Coffin 1981).
16. See David (1980) and Wolpe (1977).
17. The acknowledgement by the Government in the 'Great Debate' of the role of women is indicative of the increasing political voice of the women's movement. Such acknowledgement indicates both the expediency and ineptitude of the Labour Government in response to the organisation and management of Capitalism.
18. All figures from CSE State Group (1979).
19. The Seebohm (1965) Report was introduced into Parliament by Crossman (1975) who emphasised its cost effectiveness in strengthening the family to care for its own members.
20. Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work Report (1982); Preliminary Social Care Course.

CHAPTER T.O: SOUTHERN COLLEGE: THE LOCATION AND PARTICIPANTS OF
THE STUDY

This chapter provides the backcloth against which the rest of the study is set. Its main purpose is to locate the institutional framework whereby students on caring courses in Further Education come to make sense of their experiences, and in so doing contribute to the sustenance of a sexual division of labour within the wider social relations of production. This chapter establishes one of the major themes of the study, which suggests that rather than being passive recipients of an educational system, the young women on the caring courses are actively trying to create some form of control and autonomy over their own lives, although such activity is located and restricted by both their structural positioning (through class, gender, race and age), and the cultural resources that are available to them. This chapter thus locates both the institutional parameters of the caring courses and the structural and cultural limits and boundaries (cf Williams 1973) of both the staff and students.

Thompson (1984) has suggested an analytical model for pursuing such an enquiry by study of meaning construction within three forms of structural organisation (1). The first, is to identify the structural elements which condition or structure institutions, for instance for the purpose of this study we need to identify the relations between education and production, education and the State and education and the family; all elements which underpin the relations of domination at the institutional level. Secondly, we need to examine the institutional setting as a constellation of social relations and reservoirs of material resources.

Specific institutions, he argues, form a relatively stable framework for action and interaction, as such they do not determine action but generate it in the sense of establishing loosely and tentatively the parameters of permissible conduct. Thirdly, we need to specify the actual location for action in order to identify the contexts of action and interaction within which agents pursue their aims. The realisation of action, he maintains is always situation specific. Using this outline, the latter two structural relationships are explored. The analysis of the relations between Further Education and production, family, and the State is pursued in the following chapter in more detail, although this chapter demonstrates the importance of the family household structure, not just in informing the perceptions and providing specific experience for students but as a ubiquitous element, that is continually, if not specifically, anticipated by the course organisation and the staff and students.

The chapter is divided into three component parts, the first incorporates the institutional and locational aspects of Thompson's model. The physical and structural features that form the background to the social relations are described and the actual context of the caring courses is located within the organisation and development of the college. The specific analysis of the college structure was made from September 1980 to June 1982. In September 1982 the college changed through tertiary re-organisation and the caring courses studied were rehoused and restructured. This process is not explored in any detail, but is illustrative of the changing nature of Further Education. For instance, at the time of writing various moves are underway to incorporate the Preliminary Course in Social Care and Community Care Courses within the Youth Training Service rubric of 'generic provision' as suggested by the Further Education Unit (1982)

The second and third sections deal with the biographies of the students and staff in an attempt to provide a history and framework for understanding the meanings they attribute to their experience of Further Education. It is argued that their structural and cultural positioning (via class, gender, age and race) not only limits the cultural resources they can draw on to negotiate their experience of Further Education (cf Bourdieu's 'cultural capital') but also places limits on the 'maps of meaning' (cf Hall 1979) they can draw on to make sense of that experience. As such the students and staff are seen as active, but located; action is constrained by and interpreted within specific structural frameworks.

DEVELOPMENT AND SITUATION OF THE COLLEGE

Southern College is situated within an industrial town based on two major industries - manufacturing and servicing (employing, in 1982, over one third of the borough population). The industrialisation of the town centred on the development of the railway network, in part, a reflection of a national wave of urban growth between 1841-1901. The railway company provided its own training, establishing in 1843 the 'Mechanics Institute'. In 1882 a rival institution was established (finance made available by the Whisky money : see Blunden (1980) and the Technical Instruction Act 1889). This provided the basis for the Tertiary College under study, the original building is still in use. The history of Railtown illustrates a strong tradition of high female employment (Neild Chew 1982). Labour market participation rates for females remain above the national rates at 61% (Census Newsletter, No. 1, June 1982) (2).

However, the Further Education provision has never reflected this trend (3). When the technical institutes merged in 1912, renamed the 'Railtown Technical College' in 1927 only two full-time engineering teachers were appointed. Although courses in Art, Commerce and Matriculation were offered in 1939, the character of the student body comprised mainly of male apprentices. It was not until the Government White Paper on Technical Education (Command 9703) that the nature of the college changed substantially. The rapid development resulting by 1965, in the appointment of seventy one full time teachers (208 full-time students, 1910 part-time day release and 1836 evening) and the movement to a new multi-storied building is reflective of the observation by Cantor and Roberts (1974) that 'Further Education...like Topsy, just grew'. This rapid development, argued by Tipton (1973) as a response to the demands of new labour markets was highly pragmatic, selective, elitist (Gleeson and Mardle 1980) and sexist. The provision of 'women's studies' within the college corresponded to the sexual division of labour (e.g. hairdressing, secretarial, catering and caring). In 1960 the first nursing course was provided, and in 1965 the girls' lavatories were built! (Full College Inspection Report 1964-1969) (4).

The County Education Committee supports three other colleges within the catchment area. The college catchment area extends well beyond the town boundaries (total catchment population of 250,000, the town accounting for slightly more than 20% of the total catchment) Southern College is the largest in the county, due to its geographical positioning:

"The location of the college is unique in the sense that no other town in the county is so placed that it could receive overspill populations from three large conurbations (Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham)" College Principal 1980.

The college population comprises 5915 students of which 1771 are full-time. The change to tertiary has ensured a continual supply of students allowing in theory a place for every student who applies. The ever-increasing demand for caring courses (overall applications have increased by 104% and 163% over 1981/1982 and 1982/1983 respectively), and the provision of a two-year Community Care course (other colleges in the area offer only one year courses), with no specific entry requirements, coupled with the informal policy of the caring section of interviewing every student who applies, ensures few problems from rival competitors e.g.:

Sarah: "All students are given a chance, no-one is turned away,
(CC Tutor) we try and fit their abilities, their aptitudes to the course, the only reason people are turned away is if they are physically unfit or have major personality problems which would make them unsuitable for caring, even those with appalling school records are given a chance."

The sizeable population of the college has required, through expansion, the colonisation of various annexes, representative, in most cases of the status of the courses housed within them.

Physical location

The central building, a multi-storeyed glasshouse, is similar (particularly in architectural characteristics) to the Slyme Green Archetype dismissed by Bristow (1976) as misconceived and outdated. The two main annexes are dilapidated, and uninviting in appearance. One is the old Mechanics Institute which used to house the caring courses until it was taken over by beauty care courses. The other, an old school, condemned by the authorities, in 1979, as unfit for school habitation, houses the caring section.

Rather than reflecting the traditional status accorded to 'Technical Man' (Gleeson and Mardle 1980) the buildings simply house those courses with the lowest status, and corresponding lack of negotiating power. The low status courses: secretarial, and business studies initially shared the lower floor of the building, which was then occupied by the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). The geographical insulation and drab situation tends to reinforce the staff and students perceptions of themselves within the college hierarchy:

Sarah: "They'd never put the bloody bankers down here, only the
(CC Tutor) courses they don't give a shit about."

Shirley: "Which other staff in the whole college would be expected to
(Biology accept conditions like this and teach in sub-zero conditions,
Teacher) eh ? you can see now why the trade unionist moved out, soon as it got cold."

This resignation to the situation is indicative of their lack of negotiating power not only in the college as a whole but also within their parent department (Food, Fashion & Health). In an attempt to overcome the dreariness and Victorian school atmosphere which pervades the building the staff have tried to take control and make the most of the situation:

Ann: "God, you should have seen it when we first came down here I
(Needlework Teacher) couldn't believe it, Mark had warned us, he said we shouldn't be here, anyway, when we first came it was freezing cold, no staff room, old painting, cracked windows, old dirty furniture, it was awful, you wouldn't have believed it, not when you see it now. It was me, Sarah and Mary, we spent hours putting curtains up, posters, wall displays to cover the paint, getting chairs from the college, it wasn't easy we even had to fight for decent desks, some of the ones down here wouldn't stand up but they said they were all right, well em, Mary she...

....brought lots of plants in, most of them died at first, you know the cold, but there's some still left. We spent hours in this place just trying to make it habitable, its OK now, mind you, it could be better, if they just occasionally repaired the heating system, but they won't give us anything else, they're not interested, I sometimes wonder if they know what its like, they're comfortable up there"

(ref. to main college)

This attempt to organise the environment, including the inclusion of hospital beds and dolls (baby substitutes), numerous 'social problem' posters and displays of students work all emphasise the ethos of caring. This in turn serves to reinforce the insularity and highlights the differences of the section, supporting the point made by Gleeson and Mardle (1980) who maintain that the social and physical resources, together with the constraints associated with them at the empirical level, find expression to a large extent in the forms of institutional relationships which arise from them. Through this creation of their own environment the staff have come to reinforce and defend the insularity that was forced upon them. This is exemplified by the resistance shown to an attempt to move some caring course groups to the main site, to enable the use of textbooks, otherwise unavailable, e.g.:

Joyce: "No, we don't want them to go over there, it would fracture the
(Head of
Caring
Section) atmosphere we are trying to create. It would disorientate
them. They'd be coming and going, they wouldn't feel as if
they belonged here, just like they were normal students....
No, we have all the carers down here, it makes for a better
atmosphere, they all work together, know each other, know all
the staff, not like the impersonal atmosphere over there."

This 'protection' of their own environment has been transmitted to, and subsequently reinforced by the students, who never having experienced contact with the main site, come to perceive it as hostile and intimidating as Chris (PHS Course students) notes:

"ooh no... we don't want to go over there, it's not very nice you know, they're dead unfriendly, like we don't know anyone over there and no one speaks, some of them are funny you know the punks and that, they just look at you. Like it's really unfriendly where here like you know everyone, apart from the snots on the NNEB, who think they're God's gift or something, everyones OK, like over there, well, its a long walk too, you know."

The continual preparation of displays and presentations by students for the building ensures that they, in some part feel involved in the construction of the environment. However, this defence of the drab physical surroundings with poor facilities and resources does not alter their perceptions of their positioning within the College and confirms and sustains their low status:

Beryl: "No, we haven't got any books for the Community Care, never had,
(PHS Tutor) we've been asking for years, sometimes we get the rejects from floor seven (GCE Department) but that's only 'cos' of the lecturer up there who brings them across herself and hopes no one will notice. We haven't even got a Banda machine, the one downstairs, that's the Business Studies, and they only let us use it at certain times, they blamed us for using all the fluid, so we have to take our own and that means remembering to get it from up there, it's really petty and stupid, we're meant to teach these kids without any resources, nothing. The video belongs to Liberal Studies, we only borrow it. It's the same old story, we're just not important enough for them to get worried about, if it was their precious chefs the story would be different."

Such feelings of powerlessness are not only indicative of departmental hierarchies but as Wylde (1980) has argued, are representative of a general sexual division of labour within Further Education whereby the lower the status and resources allocated to a particular sector, the higher the number of women represented within them. Southern College provides a case in point, for instance, if the position of the staff in the caring department is analysed their lecturing status corresponds to the national sexual division of labour.

Sexual Division of Labour

For example, the section consists of fourteen full-time members of staff, of which nine are female and five male, with support from eight female part-timers (5). Only two of the male and one female are L2's, the higher lecturing grade, reproducing the national trend where over fifty percent of female lecturers are located in the L1 scale, and eighty percent in L1 and L2 combined. In terms of the grading of the work, all the full-time caring courses are classified as grade five on the Houghton scale, the lowest grade of work (6).

The positioning of the students within the college represents a similar trend. Although female students represent sixty five percent of the full-time college population, they outnumber males on non-advanced courses by four to one (see Appendix A). The Food, Fashion and Health Department of this study exhibits a clear demarcation between the prestigious Professional chefs course with 68% male participation rate to only 8% (to 5% through dropout rate) on the caring courses (7). This sexual division of labour is further supported by a sexual division of knowledge whereby all courses bear specific gender connotations, e.g. engineering with masculinity (see Willis 1977, Gleeson and Mardle 1980) and secretarial with femininity (see Gibb 1983), in which subjects, through both history and local labour market relations take on the corresponding sexual divisions of their occupational roles (8).

Caring courses, as Chapter One indicated and as this study will proceed to demonstrate, use both the occupational structure and the family household structure as legitimators for students future positioning, and as such are seen to be related quite specifically to the traditional role of women, both by students and staff, and members of other departments, as the following comments illustrate:

Peter: "That load of old women down there, they've not got one brain
(Staff
GCE cell between them, bathing bloody dolls is about the most
Dept.) intelligent thing they every do.. well"

Mark "I wouldn't have believed it if I hadn't seen it, I can't
(Staff believe it, this is meant to be a Further Education college,
GCE not a fucking nursery, they're meant to teach, all the kids
Dept.) do is stick pictures in folders and knit... what do they learn
eh?.. what's the point, babies, babies, babies.. I don't know
how you cope, Christ one of the A level examiner's kids is on
that course, he must be fucking mad... here we are bashing
our brains out to send kids to Oxford and that, what are they
doing, eh ? they're doing bloody sewing, learning to knit, of
real fucking value, eh?"

Such comments are not only indicative of the sexual divisions within the college, but of the consequences of such divisions, whereby geographical isolation and the protection of their insularity by the caring staff, coupled with inter-departmental rivalries, insecurities and struggles for scarce resources, firmly locate caring courses near the bottom of the college hierarchy— a situation pertinent to the attitudes and responses of both staff and students on the course.

Caring Divisions

The caring courses themselves operate their own status divisions, based not on sexual divisions, but on academic criteria and occupational purchase.

The NNEB is considered to be the course with the highest status, operating with its own staff, and high college imposed entry requirements (a minimum of 3 'O' levels) (9). Although not part of this study, due primarily to the reluctance of the NNEB to become involved and their separation from the other caring courses, it does provide a reference point for the other courses. The PCSC (Preliminary Course in Social Care) course contains most of the students with 'O' levels, and is promoted through the course literature as a potential route to social work; the PHS (Preliminary Health Service Course) contains less well qualified students (the table in the next section gives a detailed breakdown) with a possible route into nursing and the health services. The Community Care course is considered to be the 'dumping ground' by the staff; it has no direct vocational purchase and takes the students rejected by the other courses. None of the courses stipulate formal entry requirements, and the students are interviewed for all courses, then allocated to a particular course at the interview, Sarah (CC Tutor) describes the process:

"You know, we interview them together, all the courses, except for the NNEB that is, then we all get together and fight over the students well it's not really like that, but that's how it seems. Graham and Mary (PCSC and PHS) always take the best, the most academically able that is, based on results, reports and interview. Mary won't take any that appear to be disruptive, Graham sometimes will if he thinks they are good academically, we (CC) usually get the so called problem ones. Basically after they have had their choice we get left with the rest... Another thing that's been evident this year is the personal, you know, the personal problems they've got (CC students). They're absolutely tremendous, well you know about the six preggers last year don't you?...

I'm sure the students sense this, this sort of rejection, it's become quite a joke now, you know, if there's any trouble it's always blamed on the Community Care students, the saying "oh it must be the Community Care's", well now if anyone gets into trouble we all say "oh it's the Preliminary Health Service Course". Well that's how they're sorted out, if the Community Care course had stricter entry requirements it'd be different, but you know it's all part of the numbers game, the more students the better the boss's pay, he doesn't have to teach them."

Although the staff consider this process to be diplomatic selection, the students find evidence for the status divisions between the courses. On application most students apply for either NNEB, because it is nationally recognised or PCSC because of the relationship it may have to social work. They have less idea of what the CC Course is about and where it leads to. Out of all the students interviewed in the 1981/82 entry only three had applied directly for CC (only then because they heard it was easy to get on) e.g.:

Community Care Students:

Mary: "I didn't apply for this course"

Karen: "Me neither, I applied for the NNEB, I passed the test"

Mandy: "Yea me too, I passed then I came for an interview, you know you have to come for the day, the thing, I had the interview and he was telling me about this course, I said I didn't want to do it (ref to CC) but he said you had to have O levels for the NNEB and the PCSC, its not true though, Maria on the PCSC she hasn't got any but they let her on, he said he thought I'd be better on the CC".

Mary: "Yes, he said to me, you don't like school work much and there's a lot of that on the PCSC, you know O levels and things, I thought I wouldn't be much good at it then so he suggested I'd be better suited to this course, it's more practical, sea."

Karen: "He said the same sort of thing to me, I thought I was on the NNEB, but then he told me about having to do the O levels and things, I thought stuff that, so he suggested this."

Michelle: "I applied for the NNEB but they said I wasn't clever enough well, they didn't actually say it straight out like, but you know, when they're polite and say things like 'I think you're better suited for the Community Care course', you know what they're really saying, what they really mean is... you're not clever, you're not good enough.. they never even give you a chance."

Such admission procedures indicate to students their positioning, not only within the College hierarchy but the course hierarchy also - moreover such filtering and stratification structures the relationships between the students, as Chapter Four will detail more clearly. It is also indicative of student's motivation towards the courses on which they are placed, i.e. most of the Community Care students arrived on the course by default. This process will now be explored in more detail.

This section has 'mapped out' the location of the college and the structure and organisation of the departments and students within them. It has illustrated how the parameters, to which the students as active participants making sense of their situation, exhibit clear sexual divisions of labour and knowledge. Students responses are, however, influenced by factors other than the college environment, and it is to an examination of their structural and cultural positioning and previous educational and vocational experiences that reference will now be made.

THE STUDENTS

By the time the students reach the caring courses described in the first section they will have had experiences specific to their structural and cultural positioning. Morley (1979) argues that their responses to Further Education will be informed and framed by shared cultural formations and practices, pre-existent to the individual; shared orientations which will in turn be determined by factors derived from their objective position in the class and gender structure. They will have already experienced a form of schooling, structured by class and gender (Willis (1977), Deem (1980, 1982) Arnot (1981) Connell et al (1982) Walker and Barton (1983)) and particular sexual divisions of labour within their own family (Finch and Groves (1983), Delphy (1978), Barrett & McIntosh (1982), Kelly (1981), Land (1983)). They will have been exposed to numerous images of sexual divisions and constructions of feminine roles through popular culture (Baehr (1980) Williamson (1980) Winship (1978), Ang (1985), Kuhn (1985)). Moreover the culture of femininity, identified by McRobbie (1978) will most likely have influenced their responses to the various institutions they were located within (Griffin 1984); it will have also influenced their organisation and participation of leisure pursuits (Hall & Jefferson (1975), Hebdige (1979), Davies (1979)) and the construction of their own sexuality (McRobbie (1978, Griffin (1984), Cowie & Lees (1981)). It is also likely as this section will proceed to explore, that such experience will have informed their perceptions about future educational and occupational roles (10). For instance, Arnot (1981) argues that schooling is characterised by a dominant gender code, which sets up the categorization of masculine and feminine in an arbitrary fashion, which discriminates between types of behaviour, knowledge, values, communication, roles etc. in such a way as to maintain a strong boundary between male and female spheres.

Such a code informs students, together with their position in the class structure of likely future social placements. Gaskell (1974), Sharpe (1976), Beecham (1980), and Chivers (1982) have all illustrated how by the age of sixteen young working class women have clearly defined sex role expectations which prioritise their future role as wives and mothers. This section aims to locate students within particular structural and cultural frameworks to enable an understanding of such previous influences and ultimately their responses to the staff and to the courses. Boudon's (1974) concept of 'decision-field' is utilized as a method for understanding the students' initial motivation towards the course and subsequent identification with the curriculum messages.

Social class background

Most students come from traditionally working class families which exhibit a clear sexual division of labour, as identified by Baron and Norris (1976) in which mothers involved in labour market participation are located within a primary labour market. Appendix C gives a detailed breakdown of parents' labour market participation. However, general trends can be identified, for example:

COMMUNITY CARE COURSE Total 31 students (28 female/3 male)	
% of fathers employed RG IIIb - \bar{V}	57%
% of fathers unemployed	7%
% of mothers as housewives (11)	27%
% of mothers in employment	73%
% of mothers employed in caring occupations	10%
PRELIMINARY HEALTH SERVICE COURSE Total 23 students (all female)	
% of fathers employed RG IIIb - \bar{V}	48%
% of fathers unemployed	17%
% of mothers as housewives	17%
% of mothers in employment	83%
% of mothers employed in caring occupations	35%
PRELIMINARY SOCIAL CARE COURSE Total 36 students (32 female/4 male) (three males left within a month of the course starting)	
% of fathers employed RG IIIb - \bar{V}	42%
% of fathers unemployed	3%
% of mothers as housewives	25%
% of mothers in employment	75%
% of mothers employed in caring occupations	16%

Such figures do not claim to make any generalisations about social class which Calvert (1982) suggests is an 'essentially contested concept' upon which agreement is by its nature impossible, but rather signify general trends within the students' location, on the basis that, following Crouch (1979) class is treated as an analytical relationship rather than as an identification of empirical groups of persons. Any assumptions about class would be difficult to qualify as recent debates between Stanworth (1984) and Goldthorpe (1983) have illustrated. Goldthorpe claims that women's social class can be submerged into the position of their husbands whereas Stanworth argues that this ignores the way in which gender is implicated in the production and reproduction of the class system (12). Any submergence in this study would hide two factors that may have some bearing on the students' participation in caring courses. Firstly, the mothers in the study had a far higher labour market participation rate than the national figure of 60% (EOC 1985 from General Household Survey Monitor 84/1). Secondly a majority of mothers from each course are involved in non-manual work. As this section will proceed to illustrate mothers had quite an important effect on their daughters' 'choice' to participate on the course. Another, possibly significant factor is the number of 'social problems' the students have experienced. A substantial proportion (28% have had to contend with absent fathers, children's homes, foster parents, incest, separated or divorced parents). Although no national figures are available the students' discussions in Chapter Five indicate that such occurrences may have a bearing on their perceptions of their own abilities. Also Kim's (Community Care) comments suggest that her own experience of incest may have influenced her choice of type of course, e.g.:

"Well, I expect, maybe I'll learn something about people like me, you know, why me, why he did it, you know, why people do those things, like at first I thought it was normal like...maybe understanding others more on this course'll make me understand it all."

As such comments suggest the courses could be seen to provide a framework for interpreting previous experience, an attempt to make sense of experiences which have left them feeling particularly powerless. Such points, at this stage, remain tentative and will be discussed more fully later in the study. Their previous educational experience has influenced their 'choice' of Further Education and represents what Boudon (1974) and Moore (1983) have identified as a weighing up of cultural costs. That is, when considering the courses, the students took account of their own previous educational value and performance and the cultural capital they had from familial experience.

Previous Education

Boudon (1974) maintains that at all social levels students have to take into account the social and psychological 'costs' of following educational careers which deviate from members of their social group. Their social group being structured by class, gender, race and age. Costs, he argues are associated with the values of a particular group and these values are organised in 'decision fields' which structure the 'choices' that students make (Moore 1983). Boudon's theories suggest that the value, aspirations and motivations that students have will be located in different cultural fields and what educationalists and others identify as failure is not, as such, but a consequence of the decisions that working class students have made in terms of the values of the groups to which they belong. Moore (1983) maintains that the lower level of working class attainment reflects the way education participates in the cultural fields of social groups. Hence, he would argue the pattern or participation on particular courses in Further Education is maintained by the manner in which students choose and affirm their social membership and identity. Whether the students of the study affirmed their membership of their cultural group within their previous education is open to debate, however, their participation on the course does appear to represent a weighing up of the costs and value of caring courses.

However, these 'cultural costs' are mediated by the economic possibilities that they perceive to be available. That is, through a realistic appraisal of the lack of local labour market opportunities and an assessment of their own value and currency, they monitor their aspirations in accordance with what is available and what they can offer, ultimately affirming their positioning within the sexual division of labour.

For instance, most students consider themselves to be academic failures. Their lack of academic qualifications would confirm this, e.g.

Preliminary Course in Social Care		Preliminary Health Service Course		Community Care	
3+ 0 levels	3	3+ 0 levels	1	3+ 0 levels	0
2+ 0 levels	8	2 0 levels	4	2 0 levels	0
1 0 level	22	1 0 level	12	1 0 level	0
5+ CSE's	7	5+ CSE's	3	5+ CSE's	7
3+ CSE's	0	3+ CSE's	3	3+ CSE's	18
1+ CSE	0	1+ CSE	0	1+ CSE	5
No qualifications	0	No qualifications	0	No qualifications	1
Total	36	Total	23	Total	31

Most students enjoyed school as a meeting place or for 'having a laugh' rather than for the pursuit of academic rewards. Such attitudes which will be developed in substantial detail throughout the study, contribute towards understanding why the students became involved in Further Education, when they considered schooling to be futile. For a few students college represents a meeting place, away from the pressures of the home and the dole. For most, their presence on the courses can be best explained by an examination of the alternatives to caring courses, that are available to students.

As their comments suggest, immediate experience of unemployment through either family or friends leads students to perceive almost anything as a positive alternative to the 'dole'. However, the Youth Opportunities Programme was not thought of very highly by most students who, although relatively poorly qualified themselves, drew distinct differences between themselves and 'Yoppers', as Sheena's (CC) comments suggests:

"It was this or one of them Yop schemes the woman said, and then, you know they're full of thickos, all the real fucking brainless from our school do them. I didn't fancy that, I know you get paid and that but, well, it's not really college is it, like it'll not get you a real job, they'll just use you me mum says, and like everyone down our end, they'd look at yer and say look at that stupid wazza, that stupid yopper, that's what they do, you know."

The Youth Opportunities Programmes schemes were considered to be neither education or work, whereas the caring courses as Fiona's earlier comment indicated were seen to offer the faint hope of future occupational mobility. For those who came on the course more by default than any direct motivation, their participation can be seen in quite specific gender frameworks. e.g.:

Diane: "I couldn't get a job, it's as simple as that and this was the
(PGSC O) easiest course to get on without any qualifications the careers officer said, he gave me the form, it was something to do."

Mandy: "Why I came on this course was because I did Community Service
(CC) at school. I only did it because there was nothing else to do. I decided on this course 'cos the others were mostly nursing and I didn't want to do nursing."

Ruth: "I don't really know why I came on this particular course, while
(PGSC O) I was at school two courses were suggested this and catering, the interview for this came up first, and when Ian said I had a place I couldn't be bothered to go for the other one."

Sharon: "I wanted to do catering, but you needed to spend £170.00 on
(CC) equipment and stuff over the two years. I've got no money
and me mam and dad couldn't afford it so I came on this one."

As low or unqualified working class girls, few opportunities exist outside of traditional stereotypical roles. For many, their "choice" was between caring, typing or catering, areas which anticipated some form of previous experience but no formal qualifications. Their comments suggest that they had made an assessment of what was available and what they were capable of. This assessment is also influenced by local opportunities.

Local Opportunities

In the local area where female employment opportunities have been drastically curtailed over the last few years (clerical work down 50%; factory work down 50%, distribution down 38%; Railtown Chronicle 1.10.1981) and in which, out of a total of 2,500 school leavers in 1982 only 18% were known to have found jobs (Job Centre, 11.1.1983), few opportunities exist for unqualified or poorly qualified sixteen year old girls. For those who have already decided that they want to enter the caring professions where the minimum age requirement is eighteen the courses represent a way of usefully spending two years. For others, the local labour market situation with its informal employment contacts drying up coupled with the increasing awareness of the high levels of youth employment, (101% increase since 1976 in under eighteen female unemployment: DOE Gazette February 1982) the college is perceived as a means of gaining security, an alternative to the dole, for instance:

Sally B: "It was either this or the dole, all me school mates are stuck
(PHS 0) on the dole, they're doing nothing so after the summer, I'd
got bored so I thought I might as well give it a try, me Mum
and Dad weren't too keen at first, like it costs them doesn't
it, but like me Dad said its better than being under his feet
all day, he's on the dole you see."

Julie's comments suggest a process whereby the alternatives to the dole are assessed in terms of previous educational likes and dislikes, realistic perceptions of motivation towards different courses, possible alternatives to any form of education and hope of future social mobility, which serves to confirm Gordon (1981) who maintains that most young people are aware of and respond to economic stimuli, and to their perceptions of the costs and benefits associated with staying on in education. As such their participation on the courses is more indicative of default than motivation. Also, as the comment suggests, previous involvement in domestic labour suggest to Julie, that caring is something she is capable of and could succeed in, weighed against the negative experience of academic failure. All of the students had, some experience of caring, both within their own families and their previous work experience, primarily baby-sitting. This experience does appear to influence their choices as the next section will illustrate.

Cultural Support

Recent research by Finn (1984) suggests that most young people have experienced part-time work, and are clearly aware of the social relations involved. Babysitting provides an area of work which perpetuates traditional gender stereotypes in which the young woman has primary responsibility for caring. It is the most easily available means by which young women can supplement their income. It also offers a certain amount of autonomy and comfortable working conditions. This involvement in 'paid', alongside familial, caring also suggests to the students that they are capable of bearing the responsibility for caring for their children, for instance Julie S. (Community Care) indicates:-

"Like, in a way, you think you can do this course anyway, like its nothing really new...we all know how to look after people and that so it's nice getting qualifications for something you know you are good at."

Fiona: "I didn't fancy being on the dole, me brothers been on it (PCSC O) for two years now, and he's become a real miserable pig always moping around and that... I thought I'd do something useful, well it looks better doesn't it, if you've been to college rather than sat at home doing bugger all, stands you in better stead really."

As these comments suggest the decision to go onto a caring course is not so much a positive decision, as an attempt to find something within constricting cultural and financial limits which they will be able to do and be good at, Julie (Community Care) articulates this point more fully:

"I'm here 'cos I couldn't do anything else. Like I didn't fancy doing hair and I'm too thick for O levels, don't like that sort of thing anyway. I didn't like school much and so it were this or cooking and I don't fancy cooking all the time and I'd get even fatter I bet... have you seen the poncy teachers up there, with their funny suits, look down their noses, I went there with me friend, she's doing cooking they're a real scream. I've looked after our kids, they're all younger than me, they're not me real brothers and sisters only half, me mum says I'm good with them, sometimes like they listen to me and not her, so really I did this or stay at home and I don't really get on that well with... Ken, me mums.. husband, I wouldn't like to be there when he's there, he works nights see, so I can plan to avoid him.. I thought it'd be better to come to college and get qualified... our Darren (older brother) he said I'd be dead good at it, I look after our Michelle (brother's daughter) for him and Sandra, she told me it was dead easy to get on... it'll be a laugh anyway."

and Mandy (CC):

..."at school you're doing things that are totally irrelevant to you, outside and that, where here you're doing things that you know, like you know you can do it, its something that's relevant to you that you've done and know."

This link between the knowledge and experience gained through previous gendered socialisation, represents caring as an area in which they feel, at least, some confidence. However, not all students were self-motivated by this experience. As the following extracts suggest, some mothers contributed to their participation on the course, for example,

Sue:
(CC) "I used to hate schoolwork it was a complete waste of time. I miss it now 'cos of me mates and the laughs but the rest was crap, I expects that's why I dreaded coming here, thought it'd be the same, it was me mum, er, you know, she sent off the forms, not me, she even come to the interview with me, I was ever so embarrassed, but she wants me to make something of myself, not like her see, when she left school she went straight into Warriess (factory), then married, had us, and now she's back there again, she hates it, she's not had much life really, yea, I don't want that."

Mandy:
(CC) Me mum heard about it from a friend, she got the address, wrote the letter and dragged me to the interview, I had no say in it she wanted me to do something with my life, there wasn't much else to do anyway."

Marie:
(CC) "My mum wanted me to do typing, I got ungraded at school, but she still wants me to do it. She sees me sister's friend over the road doing it and she thinks it'll get me a good job, she said her over the road, she'll have a good job while you're stuck at home. I couldn't stand it, but she went on and on even when I got ungraded. So, at least I thought, she'd keep quiet while I'm at college and this was the easiest course to get on" (reference Community Care)

For these mothers, the caring courses are seen to be a 'ticket' to a better life for their daughters. However, this better life confirms their own unpaid domestic role in the home, supporting McRobbie's (1978) contention that mothers actively contribute to the reproduction of femininity in their own daughters. It is unlikely that they would do otherwise when they come from a culture which as Gaskell (1983) notes, is even more conservative than their middle class counterparts in emphasising sex roles, male power, notions of femininity and the stability of the status quo of sex roles. Porter (1983) argues that a mother's desire to preserve her own identity results in active encouragement for the daughter's caring role. Likewise Beecham (1980) argues that for many working class parents their child's work was their personal success which compensated for their own low status, as Lisa's (PCSC O) mothers comment suggests:

"Seems to me she'll be doing what she does at home, she learnt the most at home, mind you when she goes to the old people and that she'll be doing something more useful than being at home, I expect, eh? She'll be doing what she does at home only it'll be more useful to them old people."

However, as the above comment indicates, caring outside the home is perceived to be 'more useful', a division based on the equation of any form of Further Education with social mobility, providing both ideological and physical support for the mother's caring role:

Julie S: "Sometimes I wish I'd never come on this bloody course, me mam (CC) expects me to do everything around the house. Just 'cos I do cookery she expects me to cook Cordon Blue (purposely misspelt), we've only just learned soup."

This section has illustrated how when students enter Further Education (characterised by both a sexual division of labour and knowledge) they are already 'gendered' (15). They have experienced particular forms of class and gender discrimination, considering themselves to be academic failures but caring people.

Through lack of qualifications, employment opportunities or 'alternative plausibility structures' (Berger & Luckmann 1971) they have utilised their previous experience of caring as a form of educational and cultural capital. They have made a realistic appraisal of both the economic and cultural possibilities that are available to them and monitored their aspirations accordingly. As such their presence on caring courses is more due to default than direct motivation, which suggests that they are not totally sold on the ideology of caring, but rather consider caring to be an aspect of their lives which may, through Further Education, offer the faint hope of potential social mobility and may be something through which they can gain success. Such responses are indicative of an initial attempt, on entry to the courses to gain some autonomy, within class and gender structures using the cultural resources that are available, and as such contributing to the sustenance of gendered cultural reproduction. Benet (1972) makes an appropriate analogy:

"Confined in their ghetto, such people make a virtue of necessity in the manner of all ghetto inhabitants". (p 152)(16)

The next section explores how staff are also involved in making sense of their participation on caring courses and how this influences their perceptions and the relationships they enter into with students. Møller (1984) notes that most investigations into education discuss the teacher primarily on the basis of the view that the teacher is the means by which certain results and goals are achieved by the institution. However, the teachers are themselves subjects with negotiated identities, values and expectations. In accordance with the general theoretical framework for this study the staff are perceived to be negotiating autonomy from the cultural resources and structural positioning which they have (or had) access to, such as their previous occupational or familial experience.

It is argued that such experience (although multifarious) has provided a means whereby they have come to construct a caring identity based on beliefs in innate personal dispositions. Consequently, such beliefs inform the basis on which they enter into relationships with students and subsequently contribute towards the process of gender reproduction.

THE STAFF

The caring section comprises a total of nine females and five male full-time members of staff, supported by eight part-time members of staff. Ten of the full-time staff were previously employed in the semi-professions of caring (nursing and social work)

FEMALE	COURSE TUTORS	SUPPORT STAFF
	5 ex-nurses 1 nursery nurse	1 needlework 1 home economics 1 biology
MALE	4 ex-social workers 1 residential and 1 mental health	1 maths

This section will concentrate on the six course tutors to the full-time course under study, as the other staff who service different departments are not instrumental to the organisation and practice of the caring courses. The tutors all came into the department through diversified routes. For example, two of the male tutors (Ian and Graham) were originally engineers who entered social work in the early 1970's when it was expanding. Dissatisfaction with social work, during periods of economic constriction left teaching as the only remaining viable economic alternative at a stage in their careers, when further re-training would have been difficult.

The female tutors have a similarly chequered history: One (Sarah) gave up nursing to have children, then when the children were in full-time education she read for a degree, and accidentally became involved in teaching when enquiring at the college about the possibility of taking an evening class (as a student). Mary was forced, reluctantly to retire from nursing due to ill health and Beryl gave up nursing to have children and retrained as a teacher when they were able to look after themselves. All but Mary are married with children and all the staff are over forty, with Mary and Graham nearing retirement age. Just as the students' entry to caring courses was indicative of their response to their structural positioning and cultural experiences, the staff can be seen to be influenced by their previous familial and occupational experience. How such experience informs their practice will be explored in the following three sections on 'Sex Role Expectations'; 'Caring Identity' and 'Caring Expectations'.

Sex Role Expectations

The staff conform, in most respects, to Evan's (1982) study of teachers, which notes that teachers perceptions of male and female roles and of themselves were relatively conservative. Staff self concepts were strongly gender differentiated and beliefs about equality were limited to trivial aspects of everyday life. Thus equality between the sexes reflected individual decisions e.g.:

Sarah: "Yes I expect I'm quite equal, you know Tom, he does the washing up and things, he cooks for the kids, if I'm late in from work. We usually have a quick house clean on a Saturday morning. He looks after the cars and things like that. I can't do that sort of thing."

Ian: "I help with the kids, see Amanda works too, they go to the play group and then her mother's, I sometimes cook as well and I help with the cleaning."

One female staff member holds and transmits beliefs in women's place within the home:

Beryl: " I don't believe in this equality lark, it's all right for you just wait till you get married, you won't want to leave your children. You'll have your instincts and you'll stay at home then. I never worked until my children were grown up. I did all my own work, I'd never expect Ken to help, he'd be at work all day. I liked it, having a nice house for him to come home to and all that, it's good for a man... I still do all my own work, I've never had anybody in to help me... I think you should look after you're own children and clean up your own dirt... I've seen children having to look after themselves after school, you know letting themselves in, what sort of life do they have, I ask, if you want them you should look after them, they're your responsibility. I don't believe in all these mothers, young mothers, you know, going out to work, some of these students, you can tell their mothers do... poor souls, no I don't believe in it."

Such comments are indicative of the tendency of most staff to read most situations off at the personal level, ignoring the wider structural features. For instance all the staff believe that caring is an aptitude, a personal characteristic, which can be developed rather than initiated. This equation of caring practice with natural characteristics leads Beryl to personalise class relations. For instance, her comments about mothers of students working are couched in terms of personal responsibility rather than an awareness of the economic necessity of labour market participation for the majority of working class women.

Furthermore, by reducing structural problems to the personal level, equality becomes equated with disadvantage. Beryl also indicates the mechanism by which the staff claim greater purchase on caring abilities, that is, through their children. By emphasising natural instincts, gained only through childbirth and rearing, the staff have access to a form of care and knowledge which the students can only hope to aspire to. However this emphasis on maternal instincts operates alongside a more general caring identity related to previous occupational positions.

Caring Identity

The tutors have all had experience of a sexual division of labour within their respective occupations. Confronted by the history of conservatism in nursing and thus the reproduction of subordinate/servicing roles (see Stacey and Reid (1977); Williams (1978); Dingwall and McIntosh (1978); Garmarnikow (1978); Bellaby and Oribabor (1980); Davies (1980) and Diamond (1982)) and the emphasis on the traditional family structure with gender subordinated roles in social work (Woodroffe (1962); Hunt (1970); Land (1978); Land and Parker (1978); CCETSW Paper 13, (1976); McIntosh (1979); Summers (1979) and Finch and Groves (1980, 1983)) and the influence of the ideology of domesticity which Summers (1979) argues played a vital part in the development of social work, the staff tend to sustain and replicate these divisions rather than challenge them. For instance, only one member of staff retains a strong occupational identity simultaneously maintaining that nursing is itself a 'vocation' to which only women with suitable personal dispositions are suited, possibly because Mary was forced to leave nursing, an occupation to which she had devoted most of her life (thirty five years) and made substantial emotional investments. Her view of nursing, corresponds to that of the Royal College, whereby nurses are considered to be firstly exceptional people and only secondly workers,

e.g.:

"I was on the first nursing course in the county and even then we had to fight for recognition, well I did everything, I've got all my qualifications, I trained many a nurse, good nurses too. I really loved my work but it always made me sick, still does, when people say 'you're only a nurse', they don't realise what a dedicated profession it is, people don't realise what nurses do, the amount of training they go through, some of the SRN's are better qualified than many a teacher... they are essential, they work damned hard, it's not the pay or things like that, the good nurses would work for nothing, it's the recognition and now we have none the auxiliary unions have made it all worse, fighting for pay and things like that, nurses should be above that.... No, nurses shouldn't have to strike, it should be recognised what they actually do, they do amazing things, things, that you wouldn't do. You see when they strike they're making a challenge, an us and them situation, a confrontation, then nursing is perceived as a job that anybody could do, like the rest, like a miner, well not everybody can, it takes certain qualities. It isn't a job in the sense of a miner. It's something that you need special qualities for, that's what needs to be recognised."

The emphasis on special qualities is similar in many respects to the prioritisation of maternal qualities, whereby forms of paid labour come to be associated with 'natural' and personal characteristics. By stressing that nursing is a 'vocation' the social relations of nursing based on class and gender subordination become obscured. Such attitudes structure the relationships that staff enter into with students whereby the conditions of work are given little emphasis, and personal aptitudes and characteristics are considered to be the fundamental basis of caring.

This tendency is maintained by all tutors. Even when they do not maintain any close occupational links, they operate clear beliefs about appropriate standards of care. Similarly those who completely reject their previous occupation, reassert what they consider to be suitable standards of care, for instance, both Beryl and Ian illustrate these points:

Beryl: "No, I'd never class myself as a nurse at all, in fact I
(PHS
Tutor) object very much when members of staff come up to me if someones cut their finger, because you are the nurse. I think the thing with nursing is I did it, for so many years, I dried up. You give and if you're good and by good I mean really caring, you give so much you can give no more."

and Ian when discussing the reasons for giving up social work:

Ian: "but the biggest factor was when I was a hospital social
(CC
Tutor) worker, at North Potts, I used to visit this young lad there, to cut a long story short he needed a dyalasis machine, but because his parents were ESN and they lived in a shitty area, they, in the hospital decided they wouldn't be able to cope with the machine, so they let him die... yea, just like that, I couldn't believe it, he was only ten, a lovely kid. The same night, after having a blazing row with the hospital, as I was driving home they announced the money being spent on Trident... I was so bloody furious. Next day I went to the boss, he just took it clamly and he told me it was not my job to get involved, bullshit, they're so divorced from reality they see out of their arses most of the time. The social workers, they're shit, they're just local authority agents, just carry out the policies of the local authority regardless of the people involved, they're not professionals at all, they don't give a shit. Well, the longer you're in it, you either become a part of it or you do something about it, so I left."

In this sense, the rejection of a specific occupational identity creates the space for the endorsement of a general 'professional caring identity', not linked to any particular occupation but associated with particular standards of care, based on the perceived inadequacy of occupational care. Although specific occupations are rejected, they are rejected on the grounds that they do not care enough, or care in an appropriate way. Professional, in this sense, comes to be associated with general caring standards which as the previous chapter indicated are both class and gender specific, and not necessarily associated with occupational caring. Within this definition both occupational and experiential knowledge are supported by beliefs in 'natural' dispositions. The staff all believe they have certain predispositions towards caring:

Richard: "The problem with social workers is that the majority just
(PCSC
Tutor) do not care. They've either been doing it for so long or they're not interested, honestly, believe me, they don't give a shit, as long as their expenses are paying for their holidays they're not interested... I had to get out, I think I'd have gone mad. I was picking up the pieces others had left after making a mess of people's lives. Really you have to see it to believe it, If you care about people that's the last job you go into. I know you've got to be hard, but not so hard you don't feel a thing, I often wondered if it was the job that made them like it, I worry about the students here, if they ever get into it, will it change them? Why was I still hurt by it all after seven years especially the kids, I couldn't stand child care. I now firmly believe that it's a good thing to be hurt by some of the situations, only those who really feel, deep down should go into it, not those blockheads who like telling others what to do and feeling nothing."

In one sense such sentiments articulated by Richard, express the contradictory position of males involved in caring occupations. On the one hand, the ability to be strong and unemotional is associated with cultural definitions of masculinity, whereas ultimately social work brings people into contact with situations that provoke emotions. Richard resolves the contradiction by maintaining that the ability to feel is a positive response to the situation, indicating a greater understanding and awareness of the task at hand. Lawrence-Lightfoot (1975) has illustrated this contradiction for caring teachers in which, in order to communicate the caring ethos the teacher must exhibit the nurturant, receptive qualities of the female character ideal. These qualities are generally viewed as inferior and of low status. However the male staff emphasise occupational care, maintaining caring as a professional skill, but not necessarily associated with the occupational structure; a skill that only few people have the appropriate personal characteristics for, and thus overcoming the contradiction of being both situated in an area traditionally associated with women, imbued with natural aptitudes, (17) (Coward 1983). Moreover such comments illustrate how caring is perceived by the staff as an aptitude which goes beyond occupational frameworks. Richard's assessment of his occupational involvement is based on his preconceptions about caring, which relate caring to an interpersonal empathy or 'feeling' which is constrained by formal work structures. All the staff's comments have illustrated similar commitments, they firmly maintain that caring is a personal disposition. Larson (1981) has argued that such beliefs are characteristic of professional social work teaching conditions which foster individualism, in which individualised service becomes an ideological remedy for the ills of a social situation and through which the social identity of the professional is maintained by control over inter-personal situations.

It is such beliefs which contribute towards the staff anticipating student's future role outside of the occupational structure as of more or equal importance, to their role within it. This section has illustrated how the previous occupational and familial experience of the staff has led them to believe that they are caring people - an attitude, not specifically linked to the occupational structure but to their own personal characteristics. As such although they perceive themselves to be training students to care, the occupational structure is seen as just one location for this general ability. The next section develops this point in more detail, illustrating how such expectations, structure their relations with students, through the monitoring of students personal characteristics.

Caring Expectations

The staff are clearly aware of the constricting local caring labour market, and of the futility of caring qualifications when compared to the hard academic currency of O and A levels. When asked about the aims and objectives of the courses, the replies suggest that staff are involved in a more general attempt to encourage students to be caring people, e.g.:

Graham (PCSC Tutor) "If we can take them in and put them out in two years and they're better for court attendants then we're doing something, at least we're making them into caring people."

Richard: (PCSC Tutor) "Hopefully it will get them a job, if it doesn't, they can at least look after themselves and others."

Sarah: (CC Tutor) "I don't see it as training for anything really, I would think it's personal development of the student, yes, if we're giving them confidence and a greater insight into themselves and OK if they decide after two years that they do want to care."

Such emphasis contributes to the exclusion of the caring occupational structure from the frame of reference, by prioritising personal dispositions. Moreover, as the above comments illustrate, the courses are not seen to have any specific occupational purchase, they are more closely related to general 'personal development'. This personal development is considered to be of importance in modifying what the staff consider to be basic inadequacies in the students. Similar in many ways to the basic philosophy of the Social and Life Skills, as identified by the Further Education Research Unit (1982), which Stafford (1981) and Moore (1983) argue locates and treats the students as socially incompetent, a point which will be discussed in more detail later in the study. For instance, Richard suggests that the courses will enable the students to take responsibility for themselves; Graham suggests they will be more adequate at any job and Sarah suggests that the courses provide confidence and insight for students - all assuming that students have not already acquired such facets. These beliefs are in contradiction to the entry requirements which require that students already have experience, responsibility and predispositions towards caring, but highlight how through the equation of caring with personal and individual (rather than occupational) characteristics, the relationship of the course to the occupational structure, is at best, tenuous. This emphasis on the development of "caring" people generally, rather than concentration on occupational tickets serves to deflect the problem of unemployment onto individual characteristics such as neatness and presentation, what Bernstein (1977) identifies as 'invisible pedagogy' through which the monitoring of individual dispositions is achieved by incorporating the personal characteristics of students into the educational context in an ideologically appropriate form.

For instance, a specific type of personal appearance is considered by Mary (Preliminary Health Service Tutor) as an essential measurement of caring ability:

Mary: "I knew she'd never make a nurse, I said so to Shirley
(PHS Tutor) at the interview but she wouldn't listen. I said to her we don't want her, you can tell you know, you know, have you seen, she's the sort, she's got three ear rings in one ear, she's not the sort of girl to make a nurse, she'd take more care of herself, if she cared about the way she looked then she'd probably care more about others..."

In this sense, although the student (punk style) spent a considerable amount of time, and effort on constructing her appearance, indicating a great amount of care and concern, it was not considered by Mary to be the appropriate style of appearance. An assumption which suggests, not only the deflection of structural problems onto an individual basis, but the operation of a particular set of gender assumptions which make up an 'ideal typical' carer, i.e. a person who conforms to traditional feminine stereotypes and who does not rebel in any sense against such established traditions.

This is also perpetuated by the more general traditional views of the staff. Marriage is considered to be both inevitable and suitable for the students. Throughout the course, as this study will proceed to demonstrate, marriage is perceived to be the primary destination of the students. Frequent recourse is made to the 'dual value' of waring, i.e., its use in their own future families, e.g.

Beryl: "Well, I expect its doubtful if they'll all get jobs, the
(PHS Tutor) nursing qualifications keep going up and up, some might end up nannying, that's what happened to a few off this course last year (PHS), cheap labour I know, but at least they're getting something out of it, its better than being on the dole...."

.... and when they get married, some of the stuff, you know the child care, the first aid and that, and of course, the cooking, you know I didn't even know how to boil an egg when I was first married, that'll be a help to them, they'll know more than I did."

By emphasising the value of the course for future unpaid domestic roles, the problems of the course and its relation to the highly competitive youth labour market are deflected. By personalising occupational skills and requirements the structural problems of unemployment can be deflected onto the individual and interpreted as one personal inadequacy. As such in the context of the traditional views of the staff, unemployment is considered to be a short-term problem for the students, until they are married. Moreover by assessing the students on the basis of their personal characteristics a framework is constructed around traditional gender assumptions whereby all aspects of resistance and challenge that arise between the students and staff are interpreted as interpersonal failings on the students behalf. It is such personalisation which informs the structure of the staff-student relations.

To summarize, this chapter has sought to provide some insights into aspects of Southern College. It has provided the backcloth for the exploration into the acquisition of a gender identity within Further Education. It has illustrated how the framework for the experience of Further Education for young women greatly differs to that already documented of young male experience (e.g. Gleeson and Mardle 1980). The chapter has also demonstrated how the possibilities for action by the students are limited by the structural and cultural framework of class and gender relations of which they, and the institution of Further Education are a part.

This framework also informs the relations between staff and students. As such, the students enter a college stratified by sexual divisions, bringing with them particular assumptions concerning appropriate gender roles. For most their participation on the courses was not the product of any clear cut affinity towards caring, but a result of awareness of unemployment, lack of alternative opportunities and utilization of their previous caring experience. The staff, like the students, have been, and are, involved in creating some autonomy and meaning through caring. The staff through their location in individualizing semi-professional work and the family-household structure emphasise particular standards and by negotiating status for themselves with reference to these standards, locate themselves firmly within the ideology of caring. An ideology which presupposes a sexual division of labour and personalizes and naturalizes social problems (Barrett & McIntosh 1982, Ungerson 1984). The students, as yet, have not made as great an investment in caring and as such have more room to negotiate how they take on the caring standards of the staff. Although the culture of femininity locates them with reference to some form of caring, as yet this has not become an essential facet of their identity. However, if they continue in their attempt to find autonomy by using the cultural resources that are available to them bearing in mind that unlike masculinity, femininity does not provide any oppositional occupational future; the courses by the propagation of divisions, the monitoring of their aspirations, the closing down of other economic and cultural alternatives (through lack of appropriate 'tickets' or currency) may help to secure consent for their role primarily as carers. It is this process, whereby the students come to negotiate for themselves an identity which locates them primarily as carers/domestic labourers within the family-household structure, with little purchase on the occupational structure that the next chapter will now explore in more detail.

Footnotes Chapter 2

- (1) Thompson (1984) develops this framework from Ricoeur's (1981) method of "depth hermeneutics" and Gouldners (1976) contention that any study of ideology is inseparable from the socio - historical analysis on the forms of domination which meaning serves to sustain.
- (2) National estimated participation rates for females was 40% of the total workforce in 1982.
- (3) Due to the reasons outlined in Chapter One and their positioning in the secondary labour market.
- (4) In attempting to trace the development of caring courses on a national scale the research was hampered by the paucity of information on such courses. Of the main Further Education texts; Bratchell (1968) and Peters (1967) ignore caring courses completely in their analysis, whilst Cantor and Roberts (1974) subsume caring courses under the rubric of 'Education for Art Design and Music'.
- (5) Indicative of the general part-time employee population, (Hakim (1979) West (1982)).
- (6) Scribbins and Edwards (1982) note only 32.4% of men were in L1 posts and 67% in L1 and L2 combined.

Definition of categories: Category IV; study or courses above the ordinary level of the GCE or comparable level leading directly to the ONC, or course or parts of course of a comparable standard. Grade V all that is excluded from the other categories. V is the lowest. All caring course full-time work is Grade V. By contrast the majority of engineering courses achieve a Grade III category.

- (7) Other departments in the college display similar sexual divisions of labour. Liberal studies for instance, have total female representation of 52%, however, females predominate in two areas, as TOP Retail Assistants (91%) and Social and Life Skills (67%).
- (8) This sexual division of labour is reflective of the corresponding occupational division from which staff are recruited, e.g. nursing and social work. The Department also recruits from Higher Education where the sexual division of labour is most acute (EOC 1982, Rendel 1975).
- (9) The Nursery Nurses Education Board as such have no national entry requirements. The college in this case has imposed its own which runs counter to Nursery Nurses Education Board policy which advocates open entry.

- (10) Beecham (1980) has noted how even the same job is perceived to be different depending upon where it is performed. For instance, cleaning in the home is considered to be unrelated to occupational cleaning. The definition of 'good' and 'bad' jobs identified by Willis (1978) informed by the informal cultures and knowledge of working class life, are also informed by gender divisions.
- (11) All the mothers involved in housework had previously had some involvement with the labour market. The heightened labour market participation rates of middle aged women indicate that many of this category will become re-employed (Joshi, Layard and Owen 1981).
- (12) A. Dale et al (1985) have contributed another (Weberian) dimension to the debate by suggesting that class can be seen as two-dimensional, on the one-hand being related to productive activity in the labour market, on the other the patterns of consumption within the family. However, this ignores the point that the form of family-household structure is a product of the social relations of production (Coward (1983) Brenner & Ramas (1984)) and as McIntosh (1984) has illustrated involved in production itself through the conversion of consumption goods into use values.
- (13) A few of the Community Care students have difficulty with writing, although some of the PCSC (5) and PHS (3) are studying for A level communications.
- (14) Roberts (1982) and Sammons (1983) have demonstrated the importance of informal contact networks to students with semi- and unskilled manual backgrounds or those with very poor educational qualifications.
- (15) By gendered I mean that students have come into contact with and have taken on, at differing times, the social relations of femininity. Adlam et al (1977) have argued that both teachers and students are not unitary subjects uniquely positioned as the concepts role and stereotype suggest, but are produced as a nexus of subjectivities in relations of power which are constantly shifting, rendering them at one moment powerful, another powerless.
- (16) Taken from P. Thompson (1983).
- (17) Hearn (1982) notes how social work for males could be due to the important class differentiation with the semi-professions appealing to both the upwardly mobile working class male and the relatively less successful middle class male. In this study three of the male lecturers come from a traditional working class background, entering social work during a period of expansion (1959 - 1963). The other, middle class, dropped out of University and entered residential social work through family contacts.

CHAPTER THREE: ORGANISATION AND APPROPRIATION OF CARING COURSE KNOWLEDGE

The last chapter examined both the structural positioning of the students and the cultural resources they had access to (1). It explored how the students made a realistic appraisal of their limited future opportunities and used the cultural resources at their disposal to enable some autonomy and meaning to be gained from the situation they perceived themselves to be in. This chapter develops this theme by analysing how the students appropriate particular forms of knowledge in order to make sense of, and gain autonomy from their positioning both inside and outside of the college. As such the courses are seen to provide a framework for the students' cultural responses rather than existing as a determining force filling up empty vessels, or inculcating appropriate skills into passive receptors which renders them amenable to domination.

The chapter is divided into three main sections and a final discussion which develops the theoretical implications suggested by the study. The first section examines how Further Education plays a major role in propagating social and sexual divisions through the organisation of the curriculum. It is argued that the organisation of knowledge in Further Education is based upon the wider social relations of production which incorporate a sexual division of labour (2). As such, divisions in Further Education are based not on any specific "needs" of production but on social criteria such as gender, class, race and age (Gleeson 1979, Johnson 1979, Avis 1981, David 1981, Moore 1983) (3). Moore's (1983) argument is developed in which he maintains that the real nature of the relationship between education and the (sexual) division of labour is at the symbolic; it is homologic rather than indexical, and as such, the effects of the relationship between education and the (sexual) division of labour come to be realised through the manner in which the symbolic system of educational differentiation participates in the cultural field of different social groups.

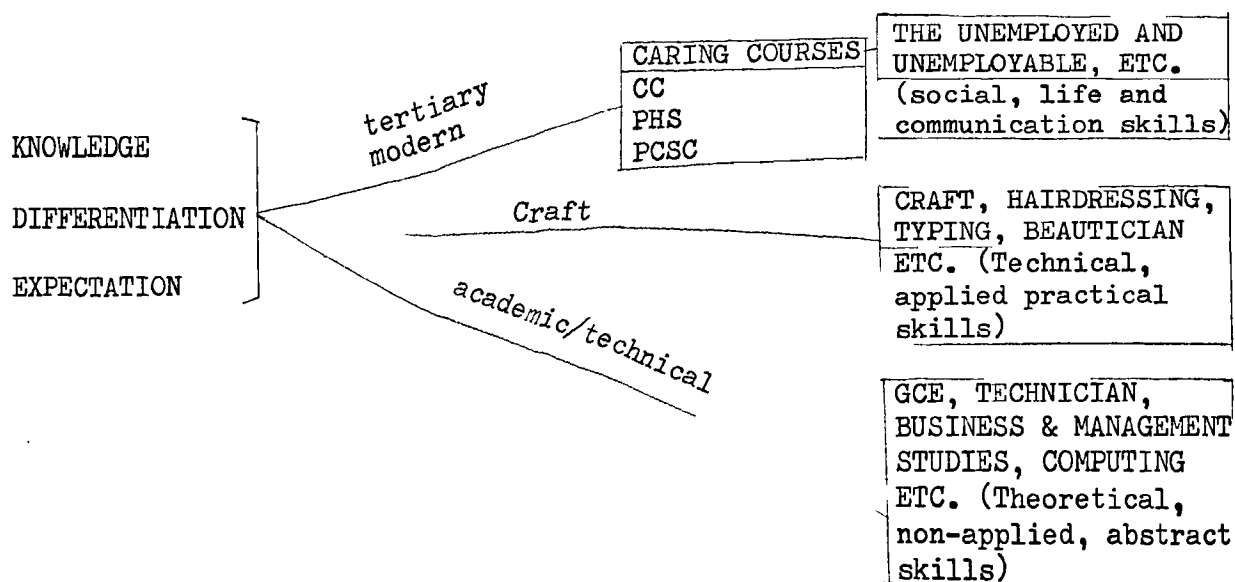
The second section examines the negotiations students made of the divisions between knowledge in their attempt to generate some self-esteem. It is argued that they made a cost-benefit analysis (based on their cultural resources and perceived future social positioning) of what is on offer. Through such an assessment the students come to locate themselves within the form of knowledge which they feel most comfortable with and which in terms of their own culture is seen to have greater significance. Donald's (1985) analysis is introduced which suggests that forms of knowledge contain with them 'subject' positions, through which students come to see themselves as a particular type of person, in this case as practical, responsible and caring.

This analysis is further developed in the third section which illustrates how the inclusion of placements on the curriculum provide a means whereby non-academic students can gain self-esteem, contributing further to the construction of a caring subjectivity. However, this creates a particular contradiction for students whereby ability to succeed on placements leads them to believe they are employable, but prioritising placements to the detriment of academic qualification effectively excludes them from competing on a credential-based labour market. The implications of such negotiations are drawn out in the discussion.

S1: ORGANISATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Basing this section on Bernstein (1977) and Bourdieu's (1977) contentions that the structural divisions and relations between forms of knowledge are more significant in the formation of social identities than the actual selection of knowledge and its hidden message, analysis will be made of the general divisions that Further Education serves to propagate before specifically examining the divisions between forms of mental and manual knowledge.

Recently the traditional role of Further Education as 'handmaiden' to industry has been substantially challenged (see for example Cohen 1982, Gleeson 1983, Moos 1983, Moore 1983, Finn 1984, Avis 1983) in which Further Education, Gleeson (1983) argues has become a major substitute for employment indistinguishable from the labour market it has traditionally served, and in which Further Education and the social relations of production are not dichotomous but one and the same thing. However, as Chapter One illustrated, caring courses, incorporated within Further Education provision only infrequently bore a direct relation to the labour market. In this respect, the homologous reproduction of the sexual division of labour within Further Education organisation continually sited women's courses (e.g. caring, secretarial, hairdressing etc.) within the low-status streams of Further Education. Streams which Lashley (1979) argues are indicative of the class, age, gender, schooling and race of those within them. For instance, Gleeson (1981) suggests that Further Education now operates tripartite divisions which have traditionally been associated with streaming at the secondary level, e.g.



Such divisions, he argues, are not only seen to separate off various categories of student but also confirm their status within the labour market hierarchy (Gorz 1977, Young & Whitty 1977, Salaman 1979) (see Appendix D) and sustain and reinforce wider occupational and social distinctions.

As such, caring courses, because of their historical legacy which positions them primarily outside of the labour market, and because such divisions are predicated upon the social relations of production involving the sexual division of labour, can be seen to be situated in the "tertiary modern" stream; for as the next chapter will proceed to demonstrate the 'skills' involved in caring bear little similarity to the occupational sectors of caring which are becoming increasingly upskilled and administrative (Hearn 1985). They are, however, similar to the developments being made in the expansion of domestic service (Root 1984), an area of labour which draws upon mothering as a model (Ungerson 1982). Because caring courses have developed in line with the sexual division of labour both in the family and the labour market the mental/manual division (which would lie in the above diagram between craft and technical) which Browne (1981) maintains is the central structural constraint and central organising principle of institutional education clearly has limitations. For instance, traditionally the mental/manual division is located directly in the process of production and valorization by differentiating between those who conceive, control, plan and manage and those who merely execute tasks (Braverman 1974, Marglin 1974, Browne 1981) (4). However, such a definition runs into conceptual ambiguities when the sexual division of labour is introduced. For even though the majority of women are to be found in the non-manual sector of the labour market (Goldthorpe & Llewellyn 1979), this non-manual sector has little to do with the conception, planning and managing of work tasks. Moreover, it is difficult to conceive of such non-manual work as being the same manual work as that culturally associated with the hardness of masculinity (cf Willis 1977, 1979, Gleeson & Mardle 1980). For this reason alone Garnsey (1978) has argued it is inappropriate for examining the position of women in the labour market.

Its appropriateness for understanding the experience of caring course students in response to such curricula divisions will now be brought into question by exploring the cultural implications of such a definition.

Mental/Manual Division in Caring Further Education

For Willis (1977) the inversion of the mental/manual division by the 'lads' through the subjective creation of identities in manual labour, is not produced in the division of labour spontaneously. It is produced in the concrete articulation on the site of social classes of two structures which in capitalism can only be separated in abstraction and whose forms have now become part of it. The two structures Willis identifies as capitalism and patriarchy are:

"The form of the articulation is of the cross valorisation and association of the two key terms in the two sets of structures. The polarisation of the two structures become crossed. Manual labour is associated with the social superiority of masculinity and mental labour with the social inferiority of femininity" (p 148)

Such an identification is useful in illustrating how the mental/manual division does not exist independently of the sexual division of labour, and how cultural definitions and appropriations are essential for understanding how such divisions are reproduced and sustained. The majority of female students on the courses (i.e. those not undertaking A levels) do not actively appropriate either form of knowledge because of the masculine connotations associated with both categories (although divided by class).

A diagram may express the cultural connotations more clearly:

Labour/ Knowledge	WC Female	Value	WC Male	Value
Mental	masculine & feminine MC	+	feminine MC	-
Manual	masculine WC	-	masculine WC	+

	MC Female	Value	MC Male	Value
Mental	masculine & feminine MC	+	masculine & feminine MC	+
Manual	masculine WC	-	masculine WC	-

When the way students 'read' such divisions is taken into account, the mental/manual division does not have as much use for explaining the cultural responses of girls as it did have for boys (cf Willis), for although mental labour is attributed positive value by the students, it is seen to be predominantly associated with men. Pollert (1981) argues that there is no way girls can use the cultural system of inverting the status of mental and manual labour to confirm in their own terms the value of their future in unskilled work. There is no wholehearted endorsement of manual labour because it is considered to be both masculine and 'dirty', in direct opposition to the culture of femininity. For instance, work clothes are assessed on their desirability and status, thus a distinction is made between uniforms and overalls which are considered unattractive, eg. (in reference to an Elderly People's Home Placement):

Helen: I wouldn't mind so much if we didn't have to wear those stupid (CC)

overalls, they make you look huge, even Sally (very thin) would look fat in those... and the colour, you've never seen anything like it in your life, puke pink. We're expected to wear them over dinner time you know, if my Dave ever saw me like that he'd run a mile. I hide them when I take them home to wash, just imagine having to wear those for the rest of your life, I couldn't, just couldn't."

Julie "Well, that's one good thing about nursing, though, the uniforms (PHS):

they usually make you look good, apart from the shoes mind you, you know flat and frumpy,..... but they say that men love women in uniforms, you should see our Janice, it transforms her, like, she looks important in....it and just plain boring old Janice in her jeans and that."

Sherratt (1983) has noted the significance of such comments, identifying glamour as underlying the aspirations of young women, just as McRobbie (1978) and Griffin (1981, 1984) have noted how the construction of appearance is a central life interest for most working class girls. In this sense, as Julie indicates, nursing is considered to have specific appeal, both in terms of its tangible relationship to 'mental' labour and the image it affords for meeting people and being glamorous. Angela (PHSO) articulates this point more fully:

"To me that's the main advantage of nursing like it's people work, you know you're not stuck in some office or factory all day never seeing anyone. My best friend Karen, she met a Rally driver when she was on male surgical, she's engaged to him now, she goes all over with him, God yes, and he's got loads of money, she's always getting things, she gives me the things she doesn't want, sometimes she's only worn them once."

The emphasis on possible marriage prospects also differs substantially from the 'lads' celebration of manual labour which, through the wage packet was seen to represent independence. For the majority of caring course students wages are perceived in preparation for family life, an addition to the husband's financial responsibility: e.g.

Tracy "No, I don't want to be dependent upon my husband. I want to work to (PHS)

buy things for my home, for the kids, you know.. but.. if I had kids I'd expect him to keep me and the kids, well, you know, that is when I won't be able to work anymore."

Monica (CC): "Well, he'll take care of the big things, you know, like the house and the car and the big things. I expect I'll buy the food and the kids clothes and things like that."

Kathy (CC) "If I have babies he can pay for the little buggers!"

Such comments suggest that there is no feminine equivalent to the celebration of masculinity, afforded by the division between mental and manual labour. The students' perceived use of money expresses traditional concerns with appearance, night-clubs, records; activities in the main associated with 'getting a man', what McRobbie (1980) has described as the 'cult of femininity'. The difficulty in celebrating femininity for the students, is that, unlike masculinity, it has little positive value in wider social relations and the occupational structure (Baron & Norris 1976, West 1983). Femininity generally encompasses the negative aspects of masculinity (e.g. strong=masculine/weak, passive=feminine etc. Spender 1980) i.e. femininity is what masculinity is not (Lacan 1944, 1958, Laclau 1977, 1980, Kristeva 1974, Mort 1980, Bland 1981, Coward 1983) and as such has limited social value.

In this sense the use of the mental/manual dichotomy for understanding young women's responses to the curriculum has only limited value. For, like Willis' 'lads' they too have, to some extent, made a realistic appraisal of their potential occupational opportunities, and as such these opportunities are not sustained by any positive gender celebrations, primarily because working class femininity locates women primarily within the family household structure rather than any category of labour (5). This point is exemplified by Browne (1981) who maintains that one of the distinguishing aspects of the mental/manual division in relation to educational institutions is the formal separation which exists between the school and production, a division which itself serves to reproduce and legitimize the division between mental and manual labour, whereby the acquisition of knowledge and its possession is seen as something necessarily separated from real social and productive practices.

However, when both the curriculum and the students anticipate both the occupational and family household structure, (as the next section and next chapter will illustrate) and when the curriculum contains within its organisation domestic practices traditionally associated with the family, such a clear-cut distinction between educational knowledge and production cannot be drawn.

This section has illustrated how the knowledge divisions that exist in Further Education are part and parcel of the wider social relations of production not merely production itself in which the sexual division of labour plays a significant role. By analysing the usefulness of the mental/manual division, this section has illustrated how account needs to be taken of the cultural connotations associated with such a division. For the students who bring cultural values (based on class, gender, race and age) into the college with them, both mental and manual categories were perceived to be ultimately masculine. In this sense it was argued that because of the general negative cultural value associated with femininity, an inversion of the division was impossible. However, as the next section will illustrate the students appropriate their own divisions from practical and academic knowledge, prioritising and legitimating practical knowledge in order to construct some autonomy and self-esteem.

S2: PRACTICAL & ACADEMIC DIVISIONS

The curriculum is divided into academic (O/A levels), occupational-related practical work (health care, social care practice, home nursing, elementary nursing principles) and practical work (needlework, domestic science, drama and creative studies, social and life skills) (see Appendix E for more details). Apart from the nine students (5 from PCSC and 4 from PHS (11%) pursuing A levels, the rest will pursue a maximum of 5 O levels (PCSC), 6 O levels (PHS) and 3 O levels, 3 CSE'S (CC)). Within these minor differences the students are able to construct divisions....

.... e.g.

Sally (PHS A level)

"We have very little to do with the other courses, don't we? well you know, why, you must, you teach them, they seem odd in some way, they're not very mature, are they, they seem a bit on the simple side. Some of them haven't even got a CSE to their name, well even a moron could get a grade three. Really we haven't got anything in common with them, they seem very young."

Conversation with PCSC (O):

Rachel:

"We had to do cooking with them (reference CC students) once when Mrs S was off, never again"

Wendy:"No, they're really stupid, all they do is go into graphics about their boyfriends, they started groping Barry (male CC student) as well... they didn't do anything and they didn't care."

Rachel:

"Yes, and they stole some fruit from the larder, she'll know though 'cos she counts it all and we'll get the blame."

Cindy:"Come on, they were just having a laugh, you ate some orange anyway so I don't know what you're complaining about."

Rachel:

"Well if you like them so much why don't you join them, they've not got a brain cell between them, with your half, you'd do really well."

The organisational divisions of the curriculum are appropriated by the students in order to gain some status and self-esteem from their location within these divisions. The A level students draw on academic qualifications and maturity, the PCSC (O) similarly assert their sensibility over the Community Care students' stupidity. The Community Care students, aware of their location at the bottom of the academic hierarchy invert the categories in a similar manner to Willis' 'lads' by prioritising their dignity against 'creeping' behaviour, for example:

Julie:"Yea, have you seen the way they talk to Richard (course tutor)
(CC)

like they really flirt with him and he's so fucking stupid,
think's the sun shines out of their arses, they're real creeps,
and him... he came into us one day, he said why can't you work
like my group, its like that film that we're on, you know "my
gerls," he's a real bloody woofter anyway".

Mary:"Those snotty nosed cows I don't know who they think they are, I tell
(CC)

you if I ever saw that Angela out of college I'd make sure she got a
bloody good going over. She's always stirring it, going on about
her Ian, you know... My Ian does this and my Ian does that, he's
at University, bet he's screwing around and she goes on to us....
Lady Muck we call her, some of them aren't bad, but her and that
group, I wouldn't care they're not doing A levels or owt, nearly the
same as us, she makes me sick ".

Michelle:

(CC) "Marie (PCSC A) and that lot they wouldn't know one end of a baby
from another. I'd just tell 'em to piss of if they said anything.
to me".

As these comments indicate, although the students are aware of, and sustain the status divisions of the courses, they do attempt to challenge the basis on which the divisions are constructed by, firstly, drawing on their own cultural independence from teachers by refusing to engage in a relationship with a teacher which they consider demeaning. And, secondly, by challenging the basis of the divisions of those who are in a similar situation i.e. "not doing A levels", although in doing so ultimately reconfirm traditional divisions contributing to the sustenance of divisions not just between classes but within classes. Such articulations are indicative of the analysis presented by Willis (1977) and Moore (1983) which suggests that such challenges to timidity indicate students have a clear awareness of how the course system operates, subverting the categories through the claim to superior cultural knowledge.

Moreover, Mary and Julie's comments, which are not in any sense timid, indicate that the ideology of femininity is not adhered to consistently and coherently as the 'cultural' analysis studies of women's schooling would suggest (e.g. Belotti 1975, Lobban 1975, 1978, Frazier & Sadker 1973, Delamont 1976, 1980, Gaskell 1977/78, Byrne 1978, Kelly 1981) (6). Rather as Michelle's comments suggest responses can both draw upon the culture of femininity whilst at the same time challenging the imperatives of femininity.

Michelle's comment also indicates how the non-academic students come to prioritise practical capabilities, such as distinguishing baby features, a point frequently supported by the staff, of which Mrs S (Cookery teacher) provides an example:

Mrs S. : "It doesn't matter how many A levels, degrees or whatever (Cookery) you've got if you can't bring up your own children".

Such support for the distinction between practical and academic knowledge suggests that the students are not misled into believing they have honorary 'mental' status as Cohen (1982) has suggested, Rather finding themselves located within particular divisions the students assess the costs in terms of their own capabilities and cultural experience and come to endorse the form of knowledge which can give them most autonomy and self-esteem, as the following comments suggest:

Cath: "It's stupid having to do all these O levels, it's just a waste (CC) of time, they know we'll never pass'em, that's why they put us here 'cos we couldn't do 'em at school, it's pointless, like, we could do more placements and that.... I know we've got to have them for jobs, you know, they always say 'how many O levels have you got' and they never count CSE's, but if we're not going to get them it seems pointless anyway".

Sue:
(PCSC O) "I hate all this work, if I'd known it was going to be as bad as this I'd have never come, every teacher, they say, "you've got to do my subject, this O level's the most important".... like, you've got no others... all we do is work... like you say the O levels are the most important and Mrs P says you need to do cooking and Ian he says we should concentrate more on our placements, honest, sometimes we never know if we're coming or going, poor Jane, I think she'll have a nervous breakdown soon - it's trying to work out which are the most important you know, which ones can I fail at, otherwise I'd fail them all."

Lynn:
(CC) "It's not fair making us do all these O levels, they know we're going to fail them, they keep saying if you don't try you'll fail, Bob, he said only five'd pass psychology if we were lucky, it's stupid... If we spent more time going out on placements and things we'd be a lot better off, then at least we'd have something to show, like lots of experience, that's what jobs always want you know".

This appraisal of the knowledge on offer to the students involves an assessment of their own competence and assessment of the relevance that the knowledge itself has for their perceived future positioning. As such they can be seen to be involved in monitoring and conditioning their own aspirations by emphasising the practical side of the course to the detriment of the academic side, a form of self-disqualification rationalised by a weighing-up of costs against perceived employers' demands (for Cath O levels, for Lynn, experience). Thus their rejection of the academic side of the curriculum has little to do with wholesale cultural rejection, rather an attempt to find something within the courses that they can be successful at.

Such negotiations are representative of Gramsci's (1971) contention that institutional education can operate at the intimate level of subjectivity. For instance, Donald (1985) argues that the curriculum establishes hierarchical relations between different forms of knowledge (in this case between practical and academic). At the same time, he maintains, this organization also generates a network of subject positions in relation to these hierarchies - for example, it defines what it is to be educated, cultivated, clever, against what it is to be practical, useful, responsible. This also makes it possible for this system of differentiation to be presented, not in terms of social conflict and antagonism but as the natural consequence of the aptitudes of the people who occupy those subject positions. The students, as the section on placements will proceed to demonstrate, continually stress how 'practical' they are, coming to see such behaviour as a feature of their own personality, rather than part of a process of educational differentiation. This is how the curriculum is implicated in the struggle to secure 'intimate and secure' social relations - intimate because it feeds into the ordering of subjectivity, secure because of the apparent naturalness of its categories (Donald 1985). Moreover, Wexler (1983) argues this naturalisation of divisions contributes to the sustenance of divisions within the working class, as well as between classes.

However, the process of subject positioning is not entirely straightforward. The practical side of the curriculum is further assessed on the basis of its occupational relevance. The inclusion of subjects, previously experienced in school, with low status and little occupational purchase such as needlework and domestic science are considered to be a waste of students energy:

Wendy: "I'm sick of doing all this bloody knitting, did it at school
(PCSC 0) for umpteen years, it's stupid, we're all meant to sit here quietly knitting, they think we're morons as if we haven't got anything better to do, what use is bloody knitting eh? I tried to get out of it, I started going into The Willows (EPH) to help, but they stopped that said I was nicking off, I told them to check but they said I had to do the course. It's stupid isn't it just, eh? have to stay here bloody knitting, making sure not to drop any stupid stitches when we could be out doing something decent.... I'd rather even do maths or extra biology and you know how much I hate those, it's just a stupid waste of time".

In Wendy's case she has made an appraisal of what she is willing to spend her time and energy on. Such examples indicate that students really are in no sense passive receptors of the curriculum, rather they actively assess the information that they receive, indicative of Willis's (1977) point that all that is transmitted within the educational framework passes through the selective sieve of the students informal culture to produce either a direct rejection, inversion or transformation of the original meaning. Moreover, such responses are indicative of Moore's (1983) contention that students work the system with great subtlety and sophistication, deciding what they need, what they want from it, how far they can go and how much they need to give, albeit that their assessment remains limited by what they consider they have access to. If it is recalled that (from Chapter two) many students entered the courses by default in an attempt to avoid unemployment, their working of the system contains particular assumptions about their own employability which firmly locates them within the structural limitations imposed by their class and gender:

Wendy: "Me, I want to have a good job when I leave, I'd really like to be
(PCSC 0) a care assistant at a kids home, I like kids. I don't just want to sit around at home, I want to have a proper career".

Fiona: "I want to have a career, I'd like to be a Warden, like me
(PCSC O) mam and you've got to work for that, I'll start at her place
next year if she can wangle it, no I don't want to settle down,
not like this lot (reference mixture of PCSC/CC students) no
I'm not going to get married till I'm twenty five or somat, like
that you know, when I'm old, oooh sorry".

Although such comments will be developed in more detail in Chapter six which deals with 'careers' and marriage, here it is suffice to note, that students are operating with clear perceptions of their own potential and own limitations. As such their working of the system can be seen more as negotiations of and within the structural parameters in which they are located. However, such negotiations involve contradictions within their gendered and class positioning. For instance as the above comments indicated, the traditional feminine aspects of the curriculum such as needlework and domestic science are not taken as seriously as sex-role ideology theorist would suggest (e.g. Belotti, 1975, Gaskell 1977/78 etc.) However, attempts to convert such "wasted time" into more positive pursuits, remain firmly located within different forms of the culture of femininity, for instance:

Sheenah: "Oh come on cooking, it's great, a good laugh, Mrs P she's so
(CC) fucking stupid. She's la-di-daring around all the time,
sticking her fingers in and that, she hasn't got a clue what's
going on, we ate Barry's cake the other day while he was talking
to her, he didn't dare say owt, last week she left a load of
stuff on her table, sultanas and that so we got those and she
kept saying 'gosh I wonder where I put those' she were looking
all over."

Linda: "I've stocked me bottom drawer from the cookery room, she never
(CC) says owt, I've got a rolling pin, bread tins, trays and the
food I get I give to our Pam (sister) me mam'd kill me...
that's all it's good for really".

Sue:
(CC) "I've never done any sewing all year, I get Cathy to do it for me, well she likes it she says... I catch up on Pauline's mags (True Love, True Romance, Blue Jeans) 'cos me mam won't let me 'ave 'em, she says they're trash but I love 'em so I keep 'em under the desk with me cushion on top, she never notices, if she comes round Pauline gives us a nudge or somat and I pick me stuff up... I've been doing it all year... we had a laugh last week when she admired me ragdoll".

Such comments confirm Anyon's (1983) arguments that most females neither totally acquiesce in, nor totally eschew the imperatives of 'femininity'. Rather the students engage in daily attempts to resist the worthlessness and low self-esteem that would result from total and exclusive application of the approved ideologies of femininity, what Genovese (1972) identifies as both daily resistance and accommodation in which they use the categories in which they are located to make sense of and draw meaning from the limitations that such categories imply. Sue's comments provide one specific example where traditional definitions of feminine behaviour are contested with the students' own culture of femininity. As such the attempt to find autonomy within this situation traps them within the resources that they use, because, ultimately, it does not seek to remove the structural causes of the contradictions (Anyon 1983).

The contradictions within the appropriation of practical knowledge are also visible when the students acknowledge rather than reject domestic practices when they occur in an occupational setting. For instance placements are totally endorsed by the students as being worthwhile. Firstly, they provide students with the knowledge and experience of occupational situations, indicating to students that they may be employable and useful (cf. Gleeson 1979, Gibb 1983). Secondly, they indicate to students that they are generally capable, practical and responsible, a measure of success within an educational system which till now has defined them as incompetent and incapable.

As such the next section will illustrate how the organisation of the curriculum can be seen to have an influence on the framing of responses that students make to curricular divisions.

S3: PLACEMENTS

Placements can involve EPH's, hospitals, nurseries, primary schools, remand centres, mentally and physically handicapped centres, children's homes, playgroups. The Preliminary Health Service Course students have priority for nursing placements, then the Preliminary Course in Social Care; the Community Care course students fill the vacant spaces. Attempts are made for students to experience at least three types of institutional care. The placements are for one day per week plus a three week block placement every year (7).

The previous section illustrated how students in an attempt to gain some self-esteem and autonomy assess knowledge on the basis of their own perceived competence and the relevance of that knowledge to their anticipated future positioning. Their rejection of academic knowledge was less a form of wholesale rejection than a search to find something that they were both good at and something that would also benefit their future job prospects. Placements are seen to provide both these aspects for the students. For instance, placements frequently draw upon students' previous familial experience or general abilities to cope with caring-type situations. The students usually are able to handle the situations and thus come to believe that they are capable of performing occupational-related tasks, a belief which also leads them to maintain that they will be more employable and useful, for instance Theresa (PHS 0) notes:

"There I was left on me own in this hospital ward, just me, everyone else had gone, for tea or something, and there were all the medicines to be given. They told me to give them out, by myself measuring milligrams. I was ever so careful and I did it. I was scared at first though, now you just imagine if one of them had died I'd have had to handle it all on me own, you know, by meself till someone come to help."

For Theresa, the ability to handle the situation, signifies more in terms of self-esteem than academic competence ever could. Here she is dealing with matters of life and death over which she has absolute control. From this incident, one amongst many, it can be seen how placements allow students a means for demonstrating maturity and responsibility:

Andrea: "They're good, they make you stand up for yourself, you know, (CC) you've got to learn to survive like on my first day when they told me to read the charts I didn't have a clue so you've got to learn who to ask so as not to look stupid, sometimes though they give you all the dirty work like at Alsworth (EPH) I had to do it all, they must've thought here's a mug, I peeled the spuds, made the tea, took the trolley round and then did the washing up and then they asked if I could change light bulbs!"

Karen: "Left me alone on the first day on the ward...you think how can (PHS O) they do this to you, like they never tell you how to read the charts and that".

Ann: "I'm surprised I didn't kill half of them, like it says on their (PHS O) bed ends about no liquid and that, they didn't tell us so I just gave em all a cuppa, they couldn't say owt mind, 'cos they didn't tell me".

In this sense it can be seen that even though the students are unable to subvert the mental/manual knowledge divisions for their own use, they find a way of prioritising practical responsibility, in a similar manner. Although aware of the use that is made of them, as Andrea's comments suggest, this is overcome by the access they have to responsibility which allows them to feel mature and capable. As such practical responsibility comes to take on a form of grandeur, and a significance beyond itself in a similar way that manual labour did for "lads". The primary difference being that the responsibility that comes from caring for others bears a specific relationship to the culture of femininity and the family-household structure.

Moreover, their ability to handle placements becomes another mechanism they can use to dismiss academic knowledge, this time asserting not only their practicality but also their employability, for instance:

Linda: "They think they're really clever you know, but they're not
(CC)
(ref PCSC A) I know, like, I was on placement with Ann-Marie, you know the one with hundreds of O levels and that, she thinks she's dead clever and that but she was useless, she didn't know anything, like she had to be told before she did anything, you know she'd never go up to the old dears and ask them things or talk to them, she was useless, the matron said to me... she said you're really good Linda, she said she told Ian when he come, but your friend, she said, I thought what my friend, I didn't say anything like, she said, well can't you get her to do anything, can you tell her... I've heard she got a bad report... they've asked if they can have me back".

Andrea: "You see, when we get out there (work) we'll be able to do it
(CC) 'cos we know and we've had the experience of them things, the others (PCSC/PHS A) they won't know which leg to stand on, they'll be lost, won't have a clue, but we'll be all right, they may have the little bits of paper but we can actually do the job".

Not only are academic students perceived to be uncaring, pretentious and impractical, both Linda and Andrea stress that their practical ability ultimately makes them both more capable and more employable. In this sense dismissal of academic knowledge becomes legitimised through recourse to occupational capability.

The students are further encouraged to develop responsibility in relation to occupational settings by the residential week, which involves students learning how to role play youth leaders and social workers by discussing difficult situations such as complaints about noisy youth clubs, the profitable running of a snack bar in a youth centre, coping with a pregnant girl who had been rejected by her parents etc. The staff consider that they are developing the confidence of the students, the students believe that learning this responsibility will make them more employable as one student's placement file concludes:

....."one day we might find ourselves in a similar situation of running a youth club and being in charge of activities for a group".

The inclusion of role playing and negotiating occupational difficulties specifically leads students to believe that they will be employable. On a more insidious level, the inclusion of occupationally related placements gives further weight to the 'subject-positions' identified in the last section where students came to identify themselves as practical and caring. Their ability to perform well on placements secures further support for such an identification, for example:

Sam: "I never thought of myself as a really caring person, it (PCSC O) was only when I got into the second year I realised that I knew and behaved in the way caring people are supposed to, you know, looking after my gran and the house when me mums at work. I knew how to do all these caring things before, it was when I was involved with them as part of this course I realised I must be good at it, you know, it was something I could do mind you, if I'd have known I could do it without this course, I wouldn't have bothered, it's been a waste of time in learning anything though, mind you we've had a laugh".

Sam's comments illustrate, how, not only does she consider herself to be a caring person, but also how she has reassessed her previous experience in her familial setting in order to support the construction of her caring identity. In this sense the courses can be seen to be facilitating self-formation by the inclusion of placements which draw on students previous familial experience, contributing further to the 'intimate and subjective' relations of education (cf Gramsci 1971).

This identification is given further weight by the relationship students have with those in the occupational setting (e.g. elderly, mentally/physically handicapped, nursery children, etc.) in which the 'clients' helplessness and dependency leads students to feel more capable and responsible as Karen (CC) suggests:

"I've done two placements now and they've really opened my eyes I didn't realise there were so many, you know, so many, well, like completely helpless old dears and that, like they can't do anything, you know they really need help and there's not enough, so like, you know, what you're doing is really useful. Like they need you to be there or they wouldn't get any help. God knows what happens when we leave..."

Such comments are indicative of Sennett & Cobb's (1976) contention that people identify themselves through the failure of others and reminiscent of attempts students made in the previous section to draw status from the perceived inadequacy of others. Moreover, the belief in usefulness and responsibility is similar in many respects to what Willis (1979) identifies as a "quality of being" which contains essential subjectivities of self-esteem and dignity. Generally however this self-esteem is based upon sustaining dependencies and divisions amongst the working-class, as the relationship between the Extended Education Transition to Work Course (EETW) and the caring course students (both housed and organised by the caring section) would suggest.

The EETW is a course for:

"School leavers from remedial and special schools who find it difficult to obtain and keep their first job because they are handicapped or immature or simply have a special need for supportive education so that they can cope" (Introductory Leaflet 1983)

All the caring course students are encouraged to spend some of their free time with the EETW students and write-up the experience in the form of a case-study, they are expected to develop a close relationship with one of the EETW students and 'supervise' this student outside of lesson times. This provides constant reinforcement of their own responsibility. It also supports Cohen's (1982) argument that the powerless are being trained to supervise and control those with even less power. A practice, he argues, which is not experienced as a form of mutual aid at the service of class solidarity but as a means for further dividing the working class (8).

This section has illustrated how the inclusion of placements gives further weight to students identification of themselves as practical, responsible, caring people. Placements also lead students to believe that they are employable because they have the abilities and dispositions required for a caring occupation. By taking on a caring identity, which they come to see as natural, as part of their own personality, any analysis of the structural basis of the sexual division of labour is blocked (cf Moore 1983). This confirms Gleeson's (1981) contention that Further Education confers occupational claims to perform various work tasks which contribute to securing social domination and inequality. As such their cost benefit analysis of the curriculum, comes to give priority to placements which are perceived to have greater occupational relevance. By doing so they effectively monitor and condition their own aspirations by self-disqualification through lack of academic tickets for entry into the labour market.

Moreover, the attempt to gain self-esteem through practical knowledge perpetuates divisions between students and divisions between the 'clients' in the placement settings, indicating that their process of self-formation is dependent on the negation of others and the reproduction of division between young women of a similar social class.

DISCUSSION

By suggesting in the first section that Further Education is organised on the basis of the social relations of production which includes the sexual division of labour (9) a study was enabled of the divisions of knowledge in Further Education which located caring courses primarily within the tertiary-modern sector identified by Gleeson (1983). A location based on the categorization of students on the basis of assumed future positioning, age, gender, race and class, rather than on any specific relationship between education and production (Avis 1981 David 1981, Gleeson & Hussain 1984) (10). In this respect the study significantly departs from traditional economic-reproductive theories.

Economic-reproductive theorists argue that Further Education inculcates students with the attitudes and dispositions necessary to accept the social and economic imperatives of a capitalist economy (Bowles & Gintis (1976) in which the institution is involved in the reproduction of systems of meanings, representations and values which induce in all students an "imaginary" relationship to the real conditions of their existence (Althusser 1971). Feminist theorists who have added to this perspective by taking into consideration the relationship of the family to education, have, however, also based their analysis on assumed "needs". In this case the "needs" of production become replaced by the "needs" of the family (e.g. Dyhouse 1977, David 1978, Davin 1979), an analysis which Beechey (1977) argues reduces gender relations to an effect of the operation of capital, assuming that women always exist primarily within a family structure. Moreover, such a position presupposes a sexual division into a natural division that is used by the capitalist economy (Coward 1983),

in which the "needs" of capital coincide with those of men, and what are essentially the 'conditions' of female oppression become the result (Adamson et al 1976, Arnot 1981).

Whilst thorough critiques have been made of the determinism and reductionism of economic-reproduction theories (e.g. Erben & Gleeson 1975, Arnot 1981, Apple 1982, Giroux 1983) it is suffice here to note that this study differs. Firstly, this chapter has assumed that there is no direct correspondence between education and production through which Further Education can define and transmit appropriate "needs". (See Moore 1983 for extended discussion). It was initially argued that Further Education is itself a product of the social relations of production informed by class and gender. Secondly, it would be difficult to see (from the accounts presented) the students as cultural dopes being inculcated by appropriate attitudes - rather they read-off the experience of Further Education from their own cultural experience, providing a realistic rather than imaginary assessment of their competencies, their future positioning and the way they can gain some meaning, responsibility and occupational credibility from Further Education, not as Althusser (1971) suggests. The analysis can be reversed to some extent by arguing, as Boudon (1974) and Moore (1983) do, that it is education which participates in the cultural field of social groups, who choose and affirm their social membership and identify rather than the vice-versa. Through using a similar method of inversion, in which the students accounts take priority the study also departs from the cultural-reproduction theories.

Although struggle, contradiction and class antagonism are taken into account (Baudelot and Establet 1971) the primary concern is legitimation. The theories attempt to explain how ruling class interests (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, Bourdieu 1979, Anyon 1981) or patriarchal values (Belotti 1975, Gaskell 1977/78, Byrne 1978, Delamont 1980, Kelly 1981) come to be legitimized and working class feminine values de-legitimized.

The basic problems with such analysis are that class and gender are separately treated as homogenous static and ahistorical (11). Moreover, class and gender come to be seen as educational problems with educational solutions through which the resolution is seen to lie with individuals (Wolpe 1978, Arnot 1981). Giroux (1983) notes the assumption inherent within such theories whereby working class cultural forms are portrayed merely as a pale reflection of the dominant cultural capital and Arnot (1981) criticizes the feminist theories for assuming the generality of one construction of gender in which each new generation, regardless of class, acquires the same definitions of masculinity and femininity. As with the previous economic theories if a similar reversal is made, and by using the accounts presented in this chapter, it can be argued that ruling class interests and patriarchal values are not necessarily legitimated from the students position, the rejection of academic knowledge does not directly imply its legitimation as cultural reproduction theorists would suggest. Rather, they legitimate their own practical competences, for as Willis (1977) suggests, the working class does not have to believe in capitalist legitimation as a condition of its own survival; their culture denies that academic knowledge is meaningful. Moreover, neither class or gender can be considered as a homogenous category, for as the accounts in this chapter illustrate both class and gender operate together to set limits upon the cultural resources that students have access to and their perceptions of their own occupational futures (12). They respond to the curriculum as young, white, working class women. However, they do not take on categories of gender, unconflictually; they both use and dismiss femininity in the search for self-esteem and autonomy, both negotiating and challenging the curriculum, as in the dismissal of domestic science and needlework. As such they do not directly legitimate ruling class interests, rather they interpret the experience of Further Education from their own cultural standing and try to find some meaning from this interpretation ultimately legitimating their own culture (13).

As such their "working of the system" to their own ends in order to gain autonomy is based only on a partial, if realistic, awareness of the situation they are in. This partial awareness, however, could be seen as an exercise in critical awareness, a "pre-political" stage in the Genovesian sense, whereby the subversion of categories towards one's own ends, in part, implies a critical awareness of those categories. Moreover, such an assessment of knowledge in terms of what it offers to them, Foucault (1971) would argue contains within it the possibility of change. He argues that all knowledge is political, not because it may have political consequences or may be politically useful, but because it has the conditions of possibility in power relations. The search for autonomy indicates an awareness of the powerlessness which the students feel, an indication that students are seen to be constantly struggling with others and themselves to define their actions and experiences and to redefine it into practices over which they can have some autonomy and control (Walkerline 1981). As such Further Education defines the parameters through which such action can be structured and contained, rather than determining the form and content of the action itself.

In conclusion, two central points have been illustrated throughout this chapter. Firstly, it has been argued that the major role Further Education plays is in propagating social divisions, not just between classes and genders, but within those structures. A role which Mann (1970), Held (1984) and Thompson (1984) argue contributes more to maintaining social stability than any form of ideological incorporation. The propagation of divisions, it was argued contributes towards regulating the various openings and closings in the labour market by separating off distinct categories of paid workers/domestic labourers/unemployable on the basis of the social and sexual divisions of class, gender, race and age (Avis 1981, David 1981, Gleeson & Hussain 1984). Further Education, it was argued, was in a position to do so, not because it bore any direct relationship to production, but because its organisation was part and parcel of the social relations of production, incorporating social and sexual divisions.

Such divisions provided the institutional parameters for framing students' responses. Secondly, the negotiations of these organisational divisions with their implicit 'subject positions' involved the students in constructing a caring subjectivity which naturalised these social and sexual divisions and implicated themselves as particular personality types closely related to the culture of femininity and their role within family-household structure. It is this issue which will be taken up in the next chapter, which examines how students become further implicated as caring-types through their negotiations of the curriculum which assumes, through its organisation and through the reproduction of cultural assumptions about the role of women, that caring is a natural-feminine disposition and the primary responsibility of women lies within the family-household structure, further contributing to the propagation and naturalisation of social and sexual divisions.

Footnotes to Chapter Three

- (1) In this sense the structural positioning of students vis-a-vis class and gender sets limits upon the cultural resources that they will have access to. Culture is viewed as a system of practices, that constitutes and is constituted by a dialectical interplay between the class and gender specific behaviour and circumstances of a particular social group and the powerful ideological and structural determinants in the wider society (Giroux 1983). It also embodies and reproduces lived antagonistic social relationships (Bennet 1980).
- (2) In this context the social relations of production are taken to mean the relations which underline the distribution of the social product among the members of society and the organisation and the purpose of production. Social relations determine not only how production is organised but how social production is distributed (Hussain 1976, Wood 1982, Beechey 1982, Lee 1982).
- (3) It is quite implausible to argue that educational practices prepare people for their place in production because there is no enduring relationship between sets of educational practices (inscribed within distinctive career routes) and sites within the occupational system, and no way of securing that educationally 'prepared' pupils end up in the appropriate sector of the occupational system Moore (1983) (p 27).
- (4) Marglin (1974) argues that the hierarchical organisation of work was imposed on labour not by technological innovations but by capital and its need to accumulate. Braverman (1974) has argued that the features of the mental/manual division are not static but are in the process of being continually restructured and are fraught with contradiction.
- (5) Thomas (1980) argues that while they may share ultimately domestic occupational destinies and may have personal identities similarly moulded by a common 'culture of femininity' girls from different social class backgrounds nevertheless experience appreciable different social, material and cultural conditions which mediate their lives and are reflected in differential class responses to notions of femininity, romance, domesticity and motherhood. In their responses to school and work, girls draw on specific values and traditions of their parents class culture and these values are mirrored in their differential rates of participation and achievement in the formal educational system.
- (6) Arnot (1981) points out that in most of these studies the source of sex-role ideology is not identified except, paradoxically, in so far as it is also the result of the educational process. Thus sex role ideology becomes both the cause and the effect of gender differentiation in education (Eichler 1979).
- (7) Those who experience difficulties on placements are initially transferred to another type of establishment, if this is not suitable they are offered one more opportunity and then advised to leave.

- (8) Cohen (1982) was referring specifically to Youth Training Schemes and CPVE. However the arguments are similarly applicable. He further argues that such divisions amongst the working class will contribute towards the blocking off of any establishment of mutual aid, a process David (1985) shows to be well under way with the support of the Department of Education, (see Motherhood and Social Policy - a matter of education. CSP issue 12, Spring). Cohen (1982) also suggests that caring courses are being canvassed as a progressive solution to unemployment a means of absorbing sections of the reserve army of youth while simultaneously rebuilding the Welfare State.
- (9) The sexual division of labour is not seen as an essential condition of capitalism. It is a particular manifestation of the social relations which arise from the organisation of the forces of production (Brener & Ramas 1983, Walker & Barton 1983).
- (10) Arben & Dickenson (1981) have illustrated how differential labour markets are increasingly supported and legitimated by educational differences within Further Education.
- (11) See Giroux (1983) for thorough critique of class theorists and Eichler (1979) Arnot (1981) for critique of sex-role ideology theorists. In terms of their relevance for this analysis Arnot has identified several limitations: Firstly, they cannot explain why gender has taken the form it has historically. Secondly, they cannot explain the diversity of experiences between girls of different social classes and different racial groups. Thirdly, the analysis assumes that the family and the school transmit the same definition of gender.
- (12) What Connell et al (1982) have identified as structuring processes.
- (13) Theorists, such as Willis (1977), McRobbie (1978), McRobbie & McCabe (1981), Corrigan (1979), Hebdige (1980), Robins & Cohen (1978) and Hall & Jefferson (1976) have developed such a notion of reproduction in which working class subordination is viewed not only as a result of the structural and ideological constraints embedded in capital social relationships, but also part of the process of self-formation within the working class itself. In this sense domination can be seen as a process that is neither static or complete.

CHAPTER FOUR: WINNING SUPPORT FOR THE FAMILY

This chapter takes up the central issues developed in the previous chapter. It explores how the caring courses contribute towards the propagation of social and sexual divisions, and how the students in this process come to construct a caring subjectivity. By focussing on the role of familial ideology the chapter provides an analysis of how the curriculum reproduces cultural assumptions about the students' familial and caring roles. It also examines how students are drawn into this process, which involves them in constructing frameworks for assessing their own (and others') ability to care. The chapter is divided into two main sections with a final discussion. The first section describes how the courses perpetuate a 'culture of familialism' (Donzelot 1979) similar in many respects to Gorz's (1977) 'culture of technicism', whereby the curriculum outlines roles, expectations and lifestyles associated with family life. By defining the family through the detailing of family life, the courses can be seen to be presenting a particular form of family ideology in which the family is seen to be the focus of good things that are close to people's hearts, and of family relationships as warm and deep, privileged in a way that other relationships can never be (McIntosh 1984). It can also be seen to be perpetuating the sexual division of labour by presenting the family as the only way of having and rearing children. Such detailing is both explicit, through the inclusion of specific aspects of family life; and covert, through the identification of good and bad caring practice which implicitly assumes a particular type of family organisation.

The second section examines how the caring practices illustrated in the first section come to be related to a particular personality type through their association with femininity.

By using motherhood as a model for caring the equation caring=mother=natural is enacted and used by the students to gain some autonomy over what they consider to be their future positioning and primary responsibility. The discussion examines the implications of students' explicit endorsement and support for their future familial responsibility in relation to wider debates concerning the role of the State, family and education.

DETAILING OF FAMILY LIFE

The Preliminary Course in Social Care and Community Care students can do a maximum of six and minimum of three projects on "the family". Such projects generally involve: the presentation of photographs of the student's own family, catalogue cut-outs, pictures of extended and nuclear families and details of 'problem families'. Social Care Practice includes 'Safety in the Home'; 'Growing up and Preparation for School' 'Families with Difficulties'; The Child Development (Psychology O level) concentrates on care within families through such issues as maternal deprivation and development, and Creative Skills includes the construction of toys, children's garments and articles for the home (Appendix F provides photographs of the displays of such work). The Health Care component, spends one of the two years of the course outlining pregnancy. Some aspects are worth detailing to provide an indication of the type of information that is being transmitted. For instance, the sexual division of labour of responsibility is detailed in Health Care. Out of the whole year of dictated notes the role of the father is covered in nine lines, including:

"...small things may cause her worry. He should note that she has enough rest and a little pampering will not go amiss. Planning and shopping will bring a closeness as they share the excitement of the new arrival."

The experience of pregnancy is so detailed that students are provided with outlines of different breastfeeding techniques and a timetable for organising their days once the baby has arrived including:

"6.00 p.m. - 10.30 p.m.: relax with husband after meal"

Such detailing takes no account of the different experiences of pregnancy, different types of health care provision, different types of family support, etc. contributing to what Oakley (1980) describes as the 'myth of maternity', i.e. that pregnancy is presented as non-problematic, as the focus of self-fulfillment, as the culmination of success in the career of womanhood (Purcell 1979). Ve Henricksen (1981) maintains that this is just one aspect of the culture of familism, which locates human reproduction within a particular type of family structure in which the woman is perceived to have absolute responsibility. Childrearing is detailed in a similar manner. Students are provided with programmes for potty training, when babies should walk, talk, teethe etc. Children's bad habits are described with 'appropriate' remedies, the following is just one illustration of this type of 'advice':

"Masturbation: A pleasant sensation. If they can't get to sleep at night leave them with plenty of books and puzzles to do.

In the morning get them up immediately. No tight underclothes".

Such advice, Donzelot (1979) argues is the most effective means of legitimating social inequality because it works not by direct imposition but by assuming that those who are receiving the advice have some form of rights and responsibilities (1). In some instances this responsibility was constructed around specific consumption practices, in which students were advised of the suitability of particular products. All students were given details of Heinz, Robinsons and Cow & Gate baby products and 'Ladybird' clothes and 'Startrite' Shoes. Students were also encouraged to develop responsibilities through their own assessment of good and bad caring practice. Such assessment is monitored through marking, through which students learn what the staff consider to be good practice.

The distinction between good and bad caring practice involves both domestic skills and caring dispositions. Both are responded to differently by the students as the next sections will illustrate.

'Bad Domestic Practice'

Through curriculum materials, students are taught how to recognise bad practice by the presentation of particular situations from which they are expected to locate and list faults. For instance, in Health Care students are given a picture of a disorganised room and are required to find twenty-eight faults and detail how they can be rectified. This careful detailing ensures that students are able to assess similar situations. In Basic Caring Principles, after studying photographs of non-accidental injury children, students are required to give lists of possible causes. Highest marks were given for personalised faults, such as drunken father, unmarried mother, broken families. A discussion of the structural features associated with social problems was not made.

In this sense the courses can be seen to be constructing a moral consensus about the conduct of personal life. There is endless discussion of acceptable modes of behaviour within the sphere of personal and family relationships. One incident, for instance, invited the students to engage in speculation and judgement about the appropriate methods for domestic tasks

Dorothy: "No doubt you're all used to making beds like this (demonstration PHS Tutor

with comments about untidy corners). Well, if you had, now come on let's see, how many? (the majority raise their hands reluctantly) well if you had you'd be in trouble if you were in a hospital or a home. Beds are supposed to be made like this, what? does anybody know? (Gazes by students to the floor) well like this, now watch closely (demonstration). See... it looks far better, doesn't it? It's far easier to change too you know, right who's going to try... You should all practise this at home now, you need to get used to the right method or you'll be in trouble."

Not only does such detailing indicate to students that such tasks are their responsibility, but also by recontextualizing domestic practices generally associated with the family-household structure, the organisation of the family becomes personalized, based on specific practices, whereby all problems can be seen to be soluble as long as the correct methods are used (cf Grignon 1971). In this sense the sexual division of labour is perceived to be inevitable, conflict is interpreted in personal terms rather than as a structural problem.

Furthermore, Dickenson & Erben (1983) argue:

"Irregularities and injustices are perceived, but are explained as individual failings; social conditions are implicitly excluded from the frame of reference and individual morality is made the principle of explanation for the irregularities and accidents of the social system".

However, in this process of detailing of family life and mapping responsibility, the students are not passive receptors. They interpret what is being detailed through their own familial knowledge, for instance Marie's (PCSC O) comment on the bed-making lesson suggests less than acquiescence:

"Oh yea , I can just see me mam's face when I tell her she's been making beds wrong for the last umpteen years, she'd clatter me. She lives in cloud bloody cuckoo land... It's a waste of time all this stuff, they must think we're stupid. It's like Sara last year she went to Layland Hospital and one of the first things they said to her was forget what you've learnt at college, we teach you here. It is, it's a waste of time, me mam, you know, she never came on a course, but she's kept a clean home, fed us all well, she's taught me, better than that old snobby duddy. It's just a waste you'd think we could at least learn something useful if we've got to do this stuff."

As Marie's comment illustrates the emphasis on right and correct methods is perceived as an attempt to negate the familial experience of the students. If the world of the family is considered to be the experiential core of working class women's culture, just as the world of manual work is perceived to be for boys (Willis 1977, 1979, Moore 1984), then any challenge to it is perceived as a challenge to a central element of their cultural knowledge, their way of life. Generally it is considered to be demeaning, as the following conversation between two Pre-Nursing Course students illustrates:

Cindy: "You know what we've been doing this morning eh ?..
we've been bathing dolls, yea, straight up, I bathed two dolls
this morning, neither had any clothes on either!"

Rachel: "come on, it wasn't dolls really, it was getting us used to
babies, that's the idea, you learnt to hold their head up and
that didn't you?"

Cindy: "Hold its fucking head up, what,...it couldn't exactly fall
down, it didn't bend you know wallybrain, I don't know what
she takes us for, we're all standing there watching her bath
a doll, I just thought to meself 'what are we doing here'?
like you know, coming to college to bath dolls, ses it all
really, doesn't it?"....You don't come to college to bath dolls,
that's what I'm saying, playing with Hoody dolls, I'm seventeen,
I didn't even like dolls when I were seven, never mind, you
don't need to come to college.....now all the rest, like the
debates on breastfeeding, that's OK, that's useful 'cos where
would you find out otherwise without reading loads of books eh,
but not that doll crap."

By including items of domestic practice, which the students consider they have knowledge and experience of, a class based form of resentment and indignation is generated in which the students reaffirm their own cultural positioning, as domestically competent, just as Marie's earlier comment indicated and as Michelle, notes:

"Right, you know me mam she encouraged me to come on this course, she said it'd get me a job and the like, but all it does is tell you how to do things you already know, like, because me mam she's taught me, better than these when they say what she said was wrong, how do they know, me mam would go mad if she knew what they said, she thought it'd do me good it's done me for nothing, just tells me me mam's wrong, it's all right for a laugh though".

Such comments indicate the type of problems that are encountered when any attempt is made to standardize and recontextualize practices not traditionally associated with education. The students in this sense can be seen to be constructing a division of labour between the family and education, in which education (as the previous chapter indicated in detail) is associated with some form of occupational purchase.

Basic domestic skills

Such responses are indicative of the class-based assumptions inherent within 'basic skills' initiatives, which assume that students have no prior knowledge or experience to Further Education (Gleeson 1983).

For instance the Further Education Research Unit (1981) outlines the following coping and learning skills:

EVERYDAY COPING SKILLS	can achieve basic tasks, such as making tea, under supervision	can undertake simple everyday tasks such as using taps and can operate some domestic equipment, such as a washing machine	can undertake a range of tasks, use and maintain everyday machinery	self-reliant, could fend for him/herself, even in unfamiliar surroundings
LEARNING SKILLS	can learn in a limited range of contexts, with help	familiar with basic-techniques; needs help with planning	can use most standard techniques, and select appropriate ones	can learn effectively by a variety of means and can plan own learning strategies

(2)

Moreover the Further Education Research Unit (1982) curricular suggestions for Community Care, suggest that a core element would be to "clean a room". The inclusion of such basic tasks, not only assumes that students are incompetent, immature and incapable (Lee 1980, Moore 1983) but also serves to cut students off further from access to occupational credentials by assuming that such practices bear some relevance to their future lives. This is illustrative of what Moos (1982) has identified as the 'new trend in transferable skills', that is, training students in 'skills' they already have for jobs (or in this case the family) which previously never required any training. The 'skills' in this case are not actual practices but ideological statements about students' expected future positioning and lifestyle (3). What Cohen (1984) identifies as training in behavioural etiquette - in this sense training in familial etiquette which students already have. Willis (1977) argues that this is a basic problem with any form of relevant education which assumes and reproduces the structural and cultural limitations of the students. As such relevant education appears to have specific gender connotations. For instance, relevant education for boys relates to the world of manual labour whereas relevant education for girls relates to the world of the family- this is not considered to be adequate by working class girls who want a future role in the occupational structure and who feel they do not need educating for their role in the family as their cultural knowledge suffices. When Willis (1977) argues that relevant education reduces problems of control, he fails to take into account that the concept actually creates confrontations for young women in education as Marie, Cindy and Michelle's comments indicate, who consider the inclusion of domestic tasks within education to be a waste of their time and energy. A point which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Frameworks for assessment

However, the detailing of aspects of family life in which the mother is located as the person with primary responsibility does in fact provide students with general frameworks to assess their own family lives and reassess particular family problems e.g.:

Yvonne: "I sometimes wonder if me mam had been different, you know if (PHS O) she cared more, went out less, looked after me dad more and that... I wonder if he'd have left still, you don't know do you... I expect you'll never be able to tell but it makes you think, when I'm married I'm going to make sure I'm really careful about what I say, you know not lose me temper all the time or moan about everything like our mam."

Fiona: "I know what you mean, at the time when Sarah's going on about (PCSC O) somat irrelevant you think, you know like always listening and trying to understand why people are saying things to you she says, and then later you think, well I thought maybe if I'd listened to our Darren he wouldn't have got into all that trouble, you know maybe it's like she said he just needed someone to talk to, I never really took any notice of him 'cos he was younger than me and he'd always been a pain in the arse, now sometimes I think well why was he such a little buggar, you know was it me ignoring him, could I have done owt to help him like, you know, you never know; me mam said it's daft to think like that 'cos you can't do nowt about it, but sometimes you just think maybe you could've made it better."

As the above comments suggest many students come from families which do not conform to the standards suggested by the staff. By devaluing or creating doubts about the student's own experience, they either respond by outright rejection or by some form of compromise which endorses particular standards and rejects others.

By creating doubts and undermining the students' familial experience, seeds of doubt are sown. Benedict, in Genovese (1975) argues that any process which attempts to inculcate standards and morality, relies on the development of a conscience and is subsequently a guilt culture by definition. Merrell Lynd, again in Genovese (1975) argues that the development of a sense of inadequacy is a means whereby one class can dominate another without the relations of oppression being acknowledged.

This section has illustrated how the detailing of family life through the provision of advice, and by engaging students in distinguishing between good and bad practice contributes towards constructing a particular type of family ideology in which the students are implicitly and explicitly assumed to have specific responsibilities. Rather than by the direct inculcation of ideology, students themselves become involved in interpreting and making assessments of particular family practice, and although the practices which devalue the students' own familial class based experience are rejected, such activity provides the students with a general moral framework for interpreting their own contemporary and future family situation. A framework which personalises structural features such as a sexual division of labour in which the management of family life is assumed to be the women's primary responsibility.

The next section extends this analysis by examining how the organisation of labour and responsibility within the family come to be seen as natural and inevitable, in which the ability to care becomes conflated with the disposition to care. How the students' construction of their own subjectivity implicates them in giving consent for familial responsibility which locates them primarily outside the labour market is explored to further the analysis of how Further Education is involved in propagating and naturalising social and sexual divisions.

The previous chapter illustrated how Further Education was part and parcel of the wider social relations involved in reproducing social and sexual divisions within its organisation. Such a role also involves (as the previous section indicated) the reproduction of particular ideological and cultural assumptions about family life. This section develops this argument in more detail by demonstrating, how, unlike most vocational courses which relate to the occupational structure, caring itself is part of more general cultural assumptions associated with motherhood and femininity (Finch & Groves 1983). Generally, caring is defined as a disposition rather than as a skill, involving specific attributes and attitudes such as unselfishness, warmth and understanding (taken from Summers 1981 "Working with People", a recommended course book). As such, this section will illustrate how the 'subject position' of caring (cf Donald 1985) involves the reproduction of a caring personality based on an ideological model of motherhood. This link, made between femininity, caring and motherhood contributes towards naturalising the social relations of caring, whereby the structural features associated with caring such as the sexual division of labour become associated with biological functions. Moreover, whereas the students were able to use their own familial experience to challenge the class based assumptions of the curriculum; rejection of aptitudes which are an integral part of their feminine culture are more difficult (4). McRobbie (1978) for instance, illustrated how in order to combat the oppressive features of schooling, young girls asserted their feminineness. As such, by including on the educational agenda caring, which is inherent in most ideologies surrounding women, the students are immediately implicated in the construction and reconstruction of their own subjectivity.

CONSTRUCTION OF A CARING PERSON

The cultural connotations implied in the concept caring assume a specific personality type, as Summers (1981) noted above. Parker (1980) maintains that such a personality type is sustained through the conflation of two different meanings involved in any definition of caring i.e.:

Caring ABOUT: which involve social dispositions which operate at a personal level and assume a relationship between the carer and the cared for, and

Caring FOR : which involves the actual practice of caring, involving specific tasks such as lifting, cleaning, cooking etc. and does not necessarily relate to caring - about.

This conflation of the actual skills involved in caring and the expected dispositions of carers is illustrated by the students' attempts to describe caring. They were asked, in their respective groups to describe what they thought caring involved, and produced the following tasks:

- looking after others
- organising things for others
- listening to other people's problems
- taking responsibility for others
- cleaning, cooking, washing and generally caring.

They changed the question by suggesting what being a caring person involves. The following table lists the social dispositions the students related to caring, ordered in rank of what they considered to be the most important and the qualities they consider themselves to have:

TO CARE-ABOUTTABLE I

A CARING PERSON IS - ?	Perceived as essential for caring	Qualities students consider they have
-kind and loving	100	100
-concerned about others	100	100
-considerate	100	100
-understanding	100	100
-warm and friendly	100	100
-reliable	100	98
-sympathetic	100	98
-tactful	100	80
-gentle	98	85
-dependable	97	97
-always there when needed	96	82
-always puts herself last	96	82
-patient	95	83
-affectionate	95	89
-clean and tidy	95	82
-respectful	81	81
-never selfish	100	85
-never cruel and nasty	100	81
-never unkind	100	80
-never sharp-tempered	100	72
-never unpleasant	100	79
-never impolite	100	75

n = 83, figures are given as percentages

As the table indicates not only do students consider certain personality dispositions to be essential to caring, in the majority of cases they consider that they already have such dispositions. Moreover, such features are indicative of feminine characteristics, such as always puts herself last, always there when needed, gentle, never selfish etc. When students were asked to rank in order of importance what skills they considered were essential for caring, most believed that they were already equipped with the necessary caring skills:

Ungerson's (1982) categorisation of caring practices was used:

TO CARE-FOR:

TABLE 2

CARING TASKS	identified by Ungerson (1982)	Perceived as essential skills for caring	Skills students consider they have
f)	Punctuality and reliability	90%	98%
g)	Ability to operate over long periods in fairly isolated circumstances, engaged in routine and often unpleasant tasks, with the old, the mentally handicapped and the ill- with very little measurable success, let alone positive response from the client	82%	82%
c)	High levels of skill in social tasks, e.g. talking and listening to clients in order to assess their present and future needs	80%	84%
a)	Time, available at short notice and in flexible lumps	76%	76%
e)	Ability to act autohomously over a wide range of tasks of widely differing skills level	71%	75%
b)	High levels of skill in domestic tasks, e.g. cooking, cleaning and washing	67%	87%
d)	Skills in information gathering about other services on the clients behalf	60%	70%

n=83, figures are given as percentages

In terms of what they considered essential for caring, punctuality, reliability, being able to work in isolation, and high levels of communication skill were considered to be the most important. Skill in information gathering and domestic skills were considered to be of the least importance. However, in terms of personal skills they appeared to be most capable at domestic tasks, considered themselves to be punctual and reliable and equipped with a high level of communication skills. Skills in information gathering scored low marks on both objective and personal scales, reflecting little interest in casework and considering the practical attributes as more important than 'mental' associated tasks..

None of the actual skills is considered to be as important as the dispositions required as two students cogently note:

Monica: "Like that list (reference to Ungerson table) well, they'd be
(CC) useless without the others, you know the ones we did (reference dispositions table), like it wouldn't matter if you were able to collect info and that, you know what I mean, like you can't have one without the other.

Cath: "Yea, if you're caring, like it doesn't really matter if you can
(CC) do them things or not, I know you've got to be there and be reliable and that, but it's more important to be good when you're there than to be there and be useless, you know, it's better to be caring even if you can't do some of them other things."

Such comments indicate the general cultural assumption that exists about caring, i.e. 'you cannot do caring without being caring' and it is this link between personality type and skill that personalises the structural relations involved in caring, whether in the home or in the occupational structure. Caring, as the students' comments and assessments of themselves suggest, involves the assimilation of actual practices which cannot be disassociated from personal feelings. The cultural resources that students drew on in the previous chapter to resist certain aspects of the curriculum, implicate them in the personalisation of caring, in which any problems such as unemployment come to be seen as personal rather than structural faults, for example:

Sarah: "They must have a feel for this sort of work, you know some
(CC Tutor) when they come here, they clearly aren't suited, you know they have this laxadascal attitude, you know they don't seem to be interested in anything other than themselves, like Paula in a way, you know, sometimes when you tell her to do things, she looks at you in a way as if to say... she's not dependable like the rest, there's no sense of duty... I'll be really surprised if she ever gets a job, she just seems... somehow... you know... insensitive."

Ian: "I always feel that those who are successful are those who
(CC Tutor) can really cope with anything, good at coping with others
and all sorts of difficult situations. Consideration for
others is one of the most important aspects. They also
need to be dependable, reliable, sensitive and aware of others,
really want to help others, yes, that's it."

In this sense both Sarah and Ian are assessing occupational success on the basis of personality characteristics. Such characteristics as both comments illustrate are closely aligned with the culture of femininity, in which a sense of duty towards others is seen to be an essential feature. Moreover, coping is stressed as a disposition, rather than a practical ability. Just as students were involved in the last section in making judgements concerning good and bad caring practice, the students are also implicated in monitoring their own dispositions, the following extract, taken from the end of year PCSC Health Care examination, illustrates the processes involved. The question asked the students to choose between unexpectedly being asked to babysit for a friend or going to see a film with another friend:

"My reply to the mother would be, yes, I would love to babysit for her. Although I would be a little disappointed about missing the film at first I would definitely say yes. The reason for doing this would be that I could phone my friend and arrange to go to the film another night. If she was a true friend she would understand. In dealing with this situation I would display self-discipline. I would be helping the mother who needs help by putting her before the luxury of seeing a film which I could most probably see at another time."

By choosing to 'put herself last' the student was given eighteen marks out of twenty. However the answer was not adhered to totally by the student concerned when discussing this answer (not with the tutor concerned):

Ann: "She's (Health Care tutor) always going on about self-discipline (PCSC O) and putting yourself last. Like I know you should but you don't always, like if it were a really good film, you know Flashdance or something I really wanted to see, I'd probably go - well I'd find somebody else to babysit, me mam or something...anyway it doesn't say why she needs a babysitter, maybe she wanted to see the same film, so then what'd you do eh?"

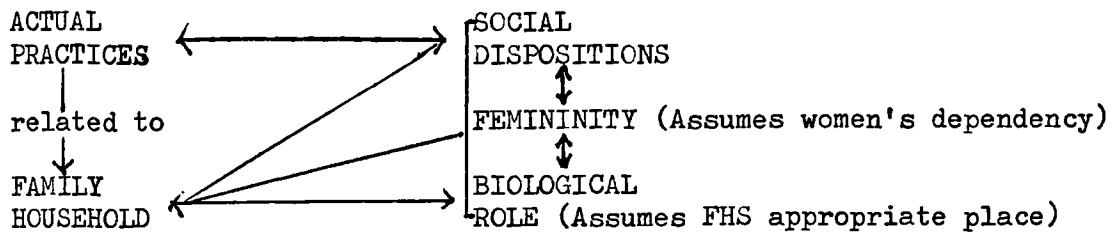
Just as the detailing of family life provided students with a framework for assessing their own family situation, the emphasis on dispositions and aptitudes involves students in making assessments about their own behaviour. Not only do the students become involved in monitoring their attitudes on the course, but by implication, their feminine cultural competencies (identified in the above tables) which they bring into the college with them, also come under scrutiny. Anne's comment suggests a particular dilemma, when even her weighing up of the situation creates doubts in herself about her own commitment. For Ann to straightforwardly admit that she would rather go and see the film would be a massive admission of both course and cultural failure. This process is given further support by the naturalisation of caring, as the next section will demonstrate.

NATURAL CARING: MOTHERHOOD

Coward (1983) has illustrated how caring came to be defined between nature and society: e.g. Firstly caring was associated with biological reproduction and secondly, caring was a form of organisation and regulation based on the division of familial labour, i.e., the ability to have children became equated with the ability to care for them within the family.

Just as the conflation occurs on the course between actual caring practices and social dispositions associated with caring, a similar conflation is made between women's biological role and caring dispositions, by assuming that carers are predominantly women, that women are naturally inclined to be caring and that the primary and only site for caring is within the family-household structure. e.g.:

CARING:



Through both the ideology of femininity in which one of the core beliefs is that women are naturally inclined to care, and familial ideology in which the family-household structure is considered to be the primary structure for caring, the equation woman=carer=natural is perpetuated. This ascription of natural status to the domestic domain, Harris (1981) argues is a form of ideology through which the subordination of women is reproduced and their domestication secured. She also notes how naturalistic assumptions derive particularly from physiological characteristics but also from the organisation of family relations, in which caring and motherhood become inseparable and fixed. Moreover, the cultural definition of women as natural carers is also part of a set of assumptions about the sexual division of labour in the domestic sphere which continue to be reproduced and reinforced by a whole range of State Welfare policies which embody the notion of women's dependence (Finch & Goves 1983, Land 1983, Barret & McIntosh 1982, McIntosh 1984). Moreover, Ungerson (1982) has argued that motherhood is used as a model for caring, which ensures that the women involved come to endorse similar characteristics.

For instance, the ideology of motherhood described by Wearing (1984) indicates the similarities between the attributes associated with motherhood and those the students associate with caring, she indicates the core beliefs to be as follows:

1. Motherhood and womanhood are intermeshed; to be considered a mature balanced, fulfilled adult a woman should be a mother.
- 2 a. A 'good' mother is always available to her children, she spends time with them, guides, supports, encourages and corrects as well as loving and caring for them physically. She is also responsible for the cleanliness of their home environment.
- b. A 'good' mother is unselfish, she puts her children's needs before her own.
3. Children need their mothers in constant attendance at least for the first three to five years of their lives.
4. The individual mother should have total responsibility for her own children at all times.
5. Mothering is a low status but an important, worthwhile and intrinsically rewarding job in our society. The non-material rewards outweigh the lack of financial and status rewards.

This conflation between caring and motherhood is representative of the familial ideology reproduced on the courses, whereby caring practices, social dispositions and femininity come to be seen as part of women's natural role (Barrett & McIntosh 1982, McIntosh 1984, Beechey 1985). Beechey (1985) maintains that even when no overt references are made to biology or 'natural' family relations, the assumption always exists that the family and the sexual division of labour within it, are at root, biologically determined. Moreover, as sex role ideology theorists have demonstrated most sixteen year old girls express beliefs which assume that the sexual division of labour is a natural division based on biological differences (e.g. Sharpe 1976, Belotti 1975, Beecham 1980, Chivers 1982, Gaskell 1977/8).

Gaskell (1983) maintains that a culture based on biological associated differences makes it easy for students to incorporate beliefs concerning instincts and dispositions into the way that they construct their lives, what Russo (1976) identifies as the process by which motherhood is seen as women's 'raison d'etre', what she labels the 'motherhood mandate'. The staff sustain this belief in caring as a natural disposition by the emphasis given to maternal instincts and intuitive care. For example, Sarah (CC Tutor) when discussing placements maintains:

"You know, you don't need telling what to do, you should, if you are cut-out for it be able to feel what is wrong, know what is needed, obviously you'll develop this skill with experience, that is you'll not know immediately, but now you should be able to tell what people want, maybe it'll just be an old lady who needs her hand holding, or a child that wants some attention."

Such statements make it more difficult for students to 'play the system' as it is not only specific tasks that they are assessed on but their whole attitude and personality structure. In this way they draw upon their previous familial experience to make sense of this emphasis on instinctive care, in doing so they come to take the sexual division of labour for granted, e.g.:

Sam (PCSC O):

"Me dad he never does anything, me mum works but he just comes in and expects everything to be done for him. She's just taken for granted by my brother as well, she could drop dead over the cooker and they'd never notice, they'd complain about their tea not being on the table on time... she just puts up with it, she's a real angel."

For even though Sam is clearly aware of the extent her mother is being used, she emphasises the positive qualities of her mother. Such comments are similar to those illustrated by Prendergast and Prent (1980).

They note how young women have knowledge which contradicts the stereotype of naturally fulfilled caring women. This knowledge, they argue, is either repressed or highlighted, but always ameliorated and made tolerable in different ways. One of the ways students handle the contradiction between the knowledge from their own familial experience which suggests that caring is an unfulfilling form of labour and the belief that caring is part of a natural division of labour is to construct a distinction between child care which they consider will be fulfilling, rewarding and a compensation for domestic labour. Child care is perceived as an area where they will be able to exercise authority and responsibility, and, as such, they appear prepared to accept the domestic labour involved, for instance as Cathy (PCSC 0) notes:

"I'm really looking forward to having kids, I want three, don't mind if they're boys or girls, mind you labour doesn't sound like much fun, but mam says you never remember it anyhow,.....what I dread is all the muck that goes with them, you know you're forever cleaning up after them, me mam says she never stopped for the first five years while we were growing up, but you can't have one without the other."

Cathy, reflects the concerns of most of the students who all want to have children, however as Wearing (1984) notes, the distinction they make, in which childrearing becomes a compensation for domestic labour does not operate in practice for the mothers she interviewed, "good" mothering also meant "good" housekeeping and were, as such, inseparable.

However, by claiming caring as an area in which they can gain some autonomy, the role of men in caring becomes devalued, as Jill and Ruth indicate:

Jill: "No you can't be taught to be caring, that's why this course
(PHS 0) is no good if you haven't got it in you anyway."

Ruth: "After all you can teach a man to be caring to a certain
(PHS 0) extent, but he'll never be the same as us, he doesn't really feel things the same, you know. He can be kind and considerate, but it's just not really there, is it - you know it just isn't."

This delegitimization of men as caring, not only contributes to the reproduction of the sexual division of labour within the family household structure in which students come to claim it as their 'natural' domain but also contributes to the process whereby students come to distance themselves further from the occupational structure. The students come to reject the 'occupational' view of caring presented by Ian (CC Tutor) as the following incident indicates:

Linda: "Ian, he's always telling us not to get so involved, you know
(CC) with the backward students (EETSW), like when John (EETSW) got hit by them lads, he said we weren't to get involved, he says we should be able to divorce ourselves from it or we'll be no good, we'll not be able to sleep for worry and that, but I think to be really good you've got to be involved, if you don't worry you don't care that's the way I see it.... I used to think he was really good, but now I'm not so sure, he can just shut himself off. I don't think that's right."

Marie: "Yea, I think it's 'cos he's different from us, you know...
(CC) well he's a man and in a way it'd be like expecting me dad to care about people never mind himself, he doesn't give a shit about owt... I mean if he really cared about what was going on he'd fight for things like Sarah does, you know trips and books and things like that, he just says there are'nt any and thats that."

Sue: "... and he'd be the one staying at home to look after his
(CC) kids, he's always saying how wonderful they are and that but he never does owt towards them, he's always here."

Marie: "Yea, he's just like the social worker who came about our
(CC) Kevin, (brother) he didn't give a shit 'bout what happened,
it was just a job to him.."

Linda: "Right, that's what I mean, you can't turn off from caring
(CC) that's just it, you either care or you don't and if you
can turn off to me I reckon than means you don't.

This conversation highlights many of the contradictions and assumptions that students hold about caring and the sexual division of labour. Firstly, they reproduce the division constructed by the staff (as indicated in Chapter Two) whereby the male members of staff draw upon their previous occupational status to legitimate their caring ability. The way they dismiss Ian is ironic when his reasons for stressing the ability to distance oneself from too much involvement were based on a claim to a more professional form of caring which he believed would benefit all involved (5). When the students 'read off' his behaviour from their own experience, his prioritisation of professional caring comes to be considered as uncaring. In this sense the students are operating a familial definition of caring in which total involvement is considered necessary (see Land 1983, Finch & Groves 1983). As such by drawing on their own cultural knowledge and familial experience of caring, e.g. (Marie's comment about her father) the students reinforce a sexual division of labour which assumes women's familial responsibilities to be natural. Sue's comment gives further weight to the construction of the sexual division of labour, for her being at home to look after children is a measure of real caring, rather than occupational involvement. Secondly, Linda's comments illustrate how caring is perceived as a personality trait rather than an occupational skill, something which is inherent within the person. Such beliefs contribute to the students taking on standards of care which both locate them within the family household structure and impose a form of continual self-surveillance,

for example,

Ann (PHS O) notes:

"Of course I'll bring up my kids by myself, you can't go shopping them out, you shouldn't have them if that's what you'll do. No, I'd never expect a man to help, they wouldn't know what to do, you know, have you ever seen a man with a baby? they look stupid, sort of awkward, you know they're just not made for it like we are."

Theresa: "God, no, I'd never let anyone else look after my kids, you (CC) shouldn't have them if you don't want to bring them up, they're your responsibility. You've had them you should look after them."

Inherent within such comments is the assumption that childcare is the mother's absolute responsibility, and that responsibility is based on the natural ability to care. Moreover, good caring practice is assessed by the students in implicit class and gender terms, for instance:

Sally: "I think it's awful how rich women who should know better shop (PCSC O) out their children, I just can't see the point in having them if you don't want to care for them, that's what it's all about, I think it's really awful, what are the kids going to grow up like knowing that their mothers don't really care about them, it's like those who send their kids off to paying schools, they never see them. I don't reckon that sort should be allowed to have children."

Just as the students subverted the class based knowledge divisions in order to gain some autonomy from their social positioning, by anticipating their future role as mothers and prioritising the responsibility for caring over occupational involvement, and by devaluing the shared child caring practices of middle class women, the students implicate themselves in the reproduction of class and gender divisions, confirming Moore's (1983) contention that the students themselves do the work of cultural reproduction.

The students by considering their future caring role in the home to be of primary significance come to see those who fail to endorse the importance of this role as uncaring and irresponsible. From the students' point of view, as working class women, it is those who neglect their children, as the above comment suggested, who are perceived to be inadequate. Not only do the students legitimate their own position as unpaid carers in this process which involves them in modifying their own aspirations in line with cultural expectations and structural limitations. They also construct a framework for assessing other women's caring abilities, from which they are able to draw for themselves status and responsibility, as Sheenah's (CC) critical comments suggest:

"When I was working in this nursery I was amazed by some of the mothers, they'd just drop the kids off, never cuddle them or reassure them, just hand them in like a parcel and then leave, then sometimes they'd not even collect them themselves, they just didn't seem to care, I reckon the only love the children got was from us, you can just imagine, they go home and their parents aren't interested, that's why I think nurseries are a good thing, they care for the children who don't get any real care at home and the like."

In this sense the students can be seen not as passive victims of the sexual division of caring labour, rather in their search for meaning and autonomy they come to reaffirm cultural assumptions about their 'natural' role. By considering themselves as practical, caring people, naturally predisposed to care the students are able to develop for themselves some status and responsibility, which ultimately involves them colluding in the propagation of social and sexual divisions in which they are ultimately subordinate.

Discussion

This chapter has illustrated how the caring courses are involved in winning consent for the reproduction of the sexual division of labour by the presentation of a particular form of familial ideology which conflates caring skills with caring dispositions, and by positioning motherhood as a model for caring equates caring with femininity and natural/biological functions. By reproducing a form of familial ideology which incorporates many features from the students' own feminine culture, the students were implicated in its reproduction. That is, unlike Willis's 'lads', they were unable to challenge the ideological aspects of institutional education through reference to their own culture, as it was aspects of their own culture that were being emphasised and to some extent modified by the course structure. And as McRobbie (1976) and Hudson(1984) note, any challenge to femininity is difficult because the public terms of the ideology of femininity precludes the expression of any deviant views on marriage, motherhood and caring. Even when young women have been able to operate some form of gender disaffiliation, McCabe (1981) illustrates how, without any positive alternatives to the stereotypical role, such challenges usually result in reluctant conformity. As such the students negotiate the curriculum in the terms set out for them by the culture of femininity which, as McRobbie (1978) has illustrated, usually has the effect of strengthening gender stereotypes by exaggeration rather than challenging them. However, this chapter has shown that the students are not completely passive in this process, and as in the previous chapter it is their own use of the cultural resources that are available to them that limits the attempts they make to gain autonomy and meaning from their social situation. In this respect the students use the ideologies of motherhood and femininity which assume the naturalness of the caring role to develop some sense of self worth. Such ideologies posit that they have an important and essential role to play through caring and biological reproduction. Moreover a role which unlike employment, they can maintain some control over.

From a realistic appraisal of their future unemployment prospects and the cultural motherhood mandate (Russo 1976), the prioritising of their future familial role in which they consider they will have status, responsibility and a sense of self-worth can be seen as a highly rational choice (6). Both Fuller (1980) and Riley (1981) from studies of Afro-Caribbean schoolgirls show how the students who refuse to submit to the oppressions of sexism and racism within institutionalized education, use the education system to gain control over their lives and maintain some self-worth. On a more general level similar arguments have been presented by Foreman (1977) and Breugel (1978) who maintain that the working class family has been protected by women as it gives them a sense of identity and meaning which commodity production denies. In this respect the relationship between Further Education and the family-household structure can be reassessed. Previous consideration of the relationship between education and the family has either resulted in the perception of the family as an 'input' to schooling (Douglas 1964, Douglas et al 1968, Plowden 1967, Bourdieu 1976, Craft 1974, Swift 1967, Reid 1969, Banks 1968, Bynner 1972, Jackson and Marsden 1962). Or has concentrated on the role of the State, in which the education system has been used alongside the family structure to maintain social relationships in both the family and the economy (Dyhouse 1977, Davin 1979) through the imposition on parental rights and the development of 'loco-parentis' (Shaw 1978, David 1980) in which the basic reproduction of labour power as a function of capital is achieved (David 1980, Blunden 1982). When the assumed passivity of both these positions is examined, the family can be seen to be not just a product of State imposition, or itself a naturally determined input of schooling, but something which can be seen to have been constructed and/or used by people, perceivably for their own benefit. Humphries (1977) for instance, maintains that the family structure has played a vital role in maintaining working-class autonomy and integrity.

In this respect she argues that the working class have defended and strengthened the family as it helped them to protect their standard of living and their class cohesion against the ravages of capitalism. Brenner and Ramas (1984) develop this point-further. They maintain that capital class relations set up a counter tendency to the force of production which attempt to draw women into wage labour, reduce the standard of living of the working class and force working people to accomplish the labour necessary for their own reproduction in their own time. In this respect the students can be seen, by anticipating future autonomy in the family, to be using the structure of their future family for their own benefit, to gain a sense of identity and meaning which would be far more difficult to come by in the local labour market. However, they are only able to take on a particular family form, i.e., that circumscribed by social policies, which although differing, Beechey (1985) argues between and within classes, contains particular general assumptions about morality, responsibility and sexual and social divisions (7). Social policy, Land (1977) maintains, enables the State to rewrite the possibilities of social relations within the family, a point Fitz (1981) extends by arguing that since 1839 the State has acquired the legal right to examine and regulate the internal relations of the family. At present (as Chapter One illustrated) the State can be seen to be involved in constructing a particular form of working class family structure, through which its own responsibility for welfare provision can be relinquished, and the onus put onto the female members of the household (Land 1983) (8).

The students' assessment of both occupational and familial possibilities is thus ultimately circumscribed by the State, both in relation to the local labour market and education provision, and also by the use they make of familial ideology to gain some status from their future positioning within the State-inscribed family household structure.

Miliband (1969), Gramsci (1971), O'Connor (1973), Poulantzas (1973), Therborn (1978), and Corrigan (1980) have all maintained that the education system cannot be understood without an analysis of how the State sets limits and channels the responses that institutions can make to the ideology, culture and practices that characterise the social order. In this respect it can be argued that not only does the State set limits upon institutional and ideological organisation, but in so doing, frames the responses that students can make. For students' responses, as this chapter has illustrated, are a product of the wider structural and cultural features of class and gender, which take into account the wider influences of the State in setting limits upon both employment and familial futures (9). For instance, the Welfare State plays an important role on caring courses in both providing and constraining future employment; but also in influencing (through legislation, benefit provision and surveillance) the form of family household structure that students are already a part of and will in future enter, supporting Corrigan, Ramsey & Sayers' (1980) contention that the State is involved in winning consent for the policies by economic, ideological and psychological means.

Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated how Further Education contributes towards the propagation of the sexual division of labour through the reproduction of a familial ideology. It has shown how the courses perpetuated the cultural assumptions inherent within familial ideology by conflating ability to care with dispositions for caring, and using motherhood as a model for caring. As such caring was presented by the staff as a natural, feminine personality characteristic, through which the subject position of caring (cf Donald 1985) implied a naturally predisposed, practical, responsible woman; more a 'quality of being' (cf Willis 1977) which located the students primarily within the family household structure (10).

By being already located within such ideologies through the culture of femininity, the students used the cultural assumptions which implicated them as natural carers to develop some sense of self worth and autonomy. In so doing they came to construct standards and responsibilities which took the sexual division of labour for granted, and by prioritising natural caring ability, their future role as mothers and carers in the family came to take on greater significance than their occupational role, contributing further to the structural-allocating role of Further Education as identified by Gleeson (1983). As such in their attempt to gain autonomy through the construction of a caring identity, the students not only contributed to further disqualification from the labour market, but also contributed towards naturalising social and sexual divisions through the construction of a moral consensus about family life, in which the whole of family life came to be perceived as naturally given, socially and morally desirable, in which the whole of family life is constituted ideologically as part of the natural order for which they have specific responsibilities (cf Grignon 1971). In this respect, by constructing frameworks based on perceived natural abilities, all structural features come to be interpreted as the product of their own failing, incompetence or irresponsibility, contributing towards what Genovese (1975) identifies as a guilt culture, whereby a particular group can come, not only to assess others, but also monitor itself. It is at this level that we can see how Further Education further contributes to the reproduction of 'intimate and secure social relations' (cf Gramsci 1971).

The next chapter examines a different aspect of students' responses to analyse the contradictions within the reproduction process. It takes up the central issue of the study, that the students are not in any sense passive, by exploring how they use all the cultural resources that they can muster to enable some challenge to be made to the curriculum. However, as with this chapter and the previous one, their responses are firmly located in their class based culture of femininity.

Footnotes to Chapter Four

- (1) Advice, Donzelot (1979) argues was used firstly because it cost the ruling class nothing, and, secondly, because it prevented the working class from developing bad habits. Chapter One details the general arguments concerning such philanthropy.
- (2) The Further Education Research Unit (1981) suggests assessment of competence at such tasks on the basis of Grades 1 - 4. They provide the following interpretation of such grading:
 Grade 1 means that the student shows both a good level of skill and the ability to deploy it appropriately.
 Grade 4 signifies a very basic level of skill, and that the student probably needs frequent supervision during its use.
- (3) In relation to wage labour, the concept of skill has been demonstrated to be an ideological category imposed on certain types of work by virtue of the sex and power of the workers who perform it (Phillips & Taylor 1980). Moreover, Craig et al (1980) maintain that the label skill bears little or no relationship to the amount of training or ability required for a particular task.
- (4) Loftus (1974) maintains that the cultural definition of femininity involves the internalization of the characteristics of 'docility, submission, altruism, tenderness, striving to be attractive, not being forceful or bold or physically strong, active or sexually potent' (p 7).
- (5) However, the ideology of motherhood and the ideology of professional care do incorporate similarities, in that the morality and practice of the 'ideal mother' and social worker are presented as models of good practice, to be adhered to by the setting out of duties and responsibilities of those in their care and subsequent attempts to regulate other's behaviour in accordance with their own.
- (6) Barrett & McIntosh (1982) argue that for both classes and genders the "bourgeois family is a highly rational choice given the material and ideological privilege accorded to it in our society."
- (7) Davidoff & Hall (1983) argue that the familial model evoked by Tory commentators, see for example Mount (1982) constructs a specific patriarchal form of authority and sexual division of labour in which women are dependent.
- (8) Coussins & Coote (1981) identify State moves, through benefit payments to encourage women to be full-time housewives and thus reduce the official unemployment figures. Adams (1978) identifies such moves as part of an attempt to maintain and reproduce the social order, confirming Gough's (1980) point that the Welfare State is the institutional means by which the State fends off incipient crisis and buys time to restructure productive processes and market forces.
- (9) Both Lasch (1977) and Finch (1983) argue that the employment and familial spheres cannot be separated, because of the continual surveillance of the family and the way the State intrudes at every point, obliterating any form of sanctity and privacy.
- (10) Their future occupational possibilities were not disregarded but the family household structure was assumed to be of primary importance.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESISTANCE AND ACCOMMODATION: RESPONSES TO POWERLESSNESS

The previous chapters have focussed on how the students attempt to gain autonomy from the institutional parameters of Further Education by firstly subverting categories of knowledge so that their own positioning came to take on greater status through their practical - experiential knowledge and skills; and secondly, by claiming that such practical ability was natural, something which only they as women had 'real' knowledge of and control over. Such attempts to find meaning and self-worth were likened to Gramsci's (1971) articulation of autonomy, in which the students were considered to be "feeling their strength", a process which Genovese (1975) defines as 'pre-political' whereby the students are involved in developing a consciousness of their own position, responsibility and value. This chapter develops this theme by focussing on specific instances of oppositional behaviour. It does so, firstly to illustrate emphatically that students are not passive receptors of ideological messages, but to emphasise that they play an active role in making sense of their experience of Further Education. Secondly, such accounts are included for their ability to demonstrate that instances of confrontation are more likely to be an attempt to resist degradation, and/or gain autonomy than any clear cut homogenous cultural response at the vanguard of the class and gender struggle. Giroux (1983) maintains that the pedagogic value of resistance lies, in part, in the connections it makes between structure and human agency on the one hand and culture and the process of self-formation on the other.

In this respect the study can be seen to depart significantly from previous studies of oppositional behaviour within an educational setting, which have tended to classify all oppositional behaviour as either deviance or cultural resistance. For instance, Lacey (1970); Hargreaves (1967); Woods (1979) and Ball (1981) consider all oppositional behaviour to be a form of deviance, a product of rule-breaking and labelling.

The problem with using such a blanket term, historically associated with adult crime, is the tendency to attribute resistance to a pathological syndrome and equate deviance with delinquency (e.g. DES 1978), treating all similar behaviour as a problem with remedies in institutional change. Moreover, in such studies deviance is related only to social class, primarily family background. Both Willis (1977) and Corrigan (1979) consider the dual articulation of class and gender, but they tend to consider all oppositional behaviour to be a clear cut response to domination. The problem with using such a definition is the tendency to reduce all non-conformist behaviour to a homogenous collective political response, as in Anyon (1980, 1981). Not all oppositional behaviour is clear cut, it may be both reactionary and progressive like Willis's 'lads' who although attempting to create their own identities in opposition to manual labour are ultimately sexist and racist. Furthermore, the opposition to the school displayed by a group of young women studied by McRobbie (1978) illustrates behaviour which underscores a logic that has little to do with resistance to school norms; but a great deal to do with the sexism that characterises working class life and mass culture in general (Giroux 1983).

This chapter illustrates how oppositional behaviour is a product of class and gender, and also a response to specific educational practice within the college; itself informed by wider social relations. The behaviour displayed by the students was never similar to the structured cultural resistance described by Willis (1977) possibly because of the restrictions imposed on students' responses by the culture of femininity and the lack of any occupational corollary such as manual labour with its own positive celebration of masculinity. In this respect, Donald (1986) maintains, the resistance displayed by the students is not indicative of the irruption of some essential subjectivity which has escaped the networks of power and culture.

Instead, he argues, it can be seen as an integral component in the strategic exercise of power through which subjectivity and social relations are produced and the diversity of social antagonism are regulated. The students can be seen to be trying out and testing their own limited power, albeit within ultimately constricting structural and cultural frameworks.

For instance the first section develops a theme discussed in the previous chapter, whereby attempts to undermine the 'relevance structure' of the students previously through their familial experience, here on a general basis, produce responses from students which reinforce their class position. The second section illustrates a combination of class and gender responses which are both spontaneous and a product of the staff's transgression of perceived educational norms. The authority of a male teacher is challenged precisely because he overstepped what the students considered to be his legitimate teaching role, a response, moreover, which illustrates the negotiation of consent in the teaching situation. The third section develops such responses in more detail by illustrating how sexuality is used by the students to exercise some power and control over the male members of staff in response to any attempts to reinforce their powerlessness through trivialization or infantilization, although demonstrating that such challenges are specific to the educational setting and cannot be read off as an attempt to challenge wider social definitions of female sexuality.

S1: RESENTMENT AND INDIGNATION

In the previous chapter examples were cited whereby students were told how to perform specific tasks such as bed-making and bathing babies (dolls). In each case it was noted how the students resisted the actual methods by prioritising their own domestic experience and discounting the legitimacy of the staff. A similar form of resistance is encountered when staff draw on their own family experience to provide examples of particular standards, for instance:

Sheenah: "They treat us like kids, always talking about their sons and daughters, you should have heard Mrs B. (Needlework) she's always going on about how clever her daughter is and what good clothes she wears, she tries to make us feel really poor and stupid, just 'cos we don't wear bloody snotty nosed perfume, and that. Have you seen her in that big fur coat, she wears it in the middle of summer, you know, just to show how rich she is. I'm sure she thinks we'll all want to be like her, we just think she's got a fucking screw loose".

Julie: "That's what really gets up my nose about Mrs S. (Domestic Science) she keeps saying to us things like 'when you get a job you'll be able to have skirts like these, shoes like these', you know when she comes in, in something new and expects us to admire it.....she must be out of her head. I don't know what she thinks we are? I'd never be seen dead looking like her, she must be at least forty and she's dead old fashioned."

Both Sheenah and Julie articulate clear sentiments about the material inequality which they feel they have to contend with. Such sentiments are not, however, clear cut forms of resistance, rather they represent an attempt to devalue any attempt that is made to devalue them, what Connell et al (1982) describe as an appeal to something felt to be potent and objectionable, mediated by the dynamics of class and gender.

As such the students consider the staff to be outside of their culture and lifestyle which is seen to have more credibility and be more convincing (cf Willis 1977). The indignation they feel is indicative of this cultural difference, for example:

Community Care conversation:

Chris: "We call him Jackanory" (reference Richard)

Karen: "Christ, yea, he's always going on about his bloody son getting married."

Chris: "We say, yea, you told us and he starts telling us again."

Karen: "He'll tell us over and over again."

Chris: "Mrs S. she's always talking about her daughter, Julia, how she's just walked out of Vogue, yea."

Karen: "Yea, you know (posh accent) "Julia's got such and such a perfume, she always passes it onto me when she gets bored."

Chris: "and she's been to Barbados for Christmas..."

A similar reference is made to Richard (PCSC Tutor) by a student from another group:

Theresa: "All he ever talks about is his bloody son, I'm sick, have you
(PCSC O)
seen him, he looks like a right dickhead, really weedy, and his so beautiful daughter-in-law, she's even worse, reckon his son must have something wrong with his eyes to marry someone who looks like her she's even worse than him, God you should see them, a right pair of arseholes and we're meant to look like them, no thank you, you can stuff that, who the hell would want a wally like that for a husband? what a creep."

The staff do not, as the examples would suggest, directly impose their own families as models of success, but by discussing them in such a way (primarily because they are proud of them and because they operate as immediate reference points), they are perceived by the students to be ideal types to which they feel they are expected to conform as the comments indicate.

In this respect, it is from this cultural difference, rather than cultural imposition that indignation is generated. For students, success is based (as the next chapter will illustrate) on significantly different criteria from that of staff, in which physical attractiveness of boyfriends plays a significant role in the status accorded by peers, a point illustrated by Theresa's comments in which the cultural difference is highlighted. Moreover, not only do such comments illustrate the cultural differences of staff and students but are also indicative of how students attempt to control certain classroom situations. By singing the 'Jackanory' theme tune everytime Richard mentions his family the students effectively dismiss his contributions and impose their criteria of relevance upon classroom time. By doing so they can convert classroom time, either for their own amusement or convert it by instigating activities which have specific relevance to their own culture (Aronowitz 1981, Giroux 1983).

Such examples also illustrate the ability of students to impose upon messages of staff their own cultural interpretations, which contributes towards subverting the original intention. For instance, the students have found particular methods of using the ideology of caring to their own advantage within the classroom situation. The PCSC (O) group, for example, have developed a group response in which they all react to any failures by staff to display caring characteristics:

BS (Sociology teacher):

"Come on Julie where is it (homework) you promised last week that you'd finish it, now where is it?"

Julie: "It's in Emma's file... she was borrowing my notes and she forgot to bring my file in" (Emma conveniently absent)

BS: "Look, I'm sick of all your excuses, you've managed not to do four pieces of work already this term... right... are you listening... I want it next week, Monday without fail, regardless, no excuses... I don't care if you've been run-over, your dog's eaten it, Emma's father's lost it..."

Interrupted by majority of group: Chorus:

"Well that's not very caring is it, this is meant to be a caring course, you know YES you're meant to be caring, you're meant to care about us..."

Theresa: "You can't go round saying things like that you might upset her, ... it's not very caring is it?"

Group: "Right, this is a caring course you know, you should care about us, not abuse us."

Such responses Genovese (1971) would argue are illustrative of attempts by the powerless to resist the labels of those in power. In this respect, the students are not completely resisting as they are implicating themselves as being caring, but are challenging the authority of those with the power to assess their behaviour. As such, these examples demonstrate how the students use the cultural and ideological resources to which they have access, to their own advantage in their negotiations within the classroom. However, in so doing they further implicate themselves within the ideology of caring, for by setting up this 'joke' they become trapped within it and experience difficulty in expressing anti-caring characteristics and behaviour should they want to.

This section has illustrated how the students resist any comments and behaviour by staff which they consider devalues their own social position. Their responses were not just based on resistance to attempts to recontextualise their previous family experience, but any attempt which undermined aspects of their culture which they considered to be important (such as boyfriends/husbands etc.). As such their responses were more representative of Postman and Weingartners' (1972) contention that students interpret all educational practice from their own social positioning, and Aronowitz's (1981) pragmatic point that students convert time in college into something that is useful to themselves, rather than being indicative of any coherent class based confrontation (1).

However, their responses were clearly informed by both class and gender, in which the resistances that they demonstrated, Connell et al (1982) would argue could be seen as a relation within the college, that is, generated by the interaction of the authority structure of the courses with the class and gender dynamics of the students. In this respect, class and gender tensions can be seen both to generate resistance and to shape the form of the resistance (2). In this section the resistance was indignant and pragmatic rather than directly confrontational. The next section, however, provides specific examples of direct confrontation between staff and students.

S2: CONFRONTATION AND LEGITIMACY

As the previous section illustrated, students frequently attempt to use classroom time for their own personal purposes, what Connell et al (1982) identify as one of the guerilla war aspects of classroom life, which varies according to the context and the personalities involved. Most of the time this attempt to take control involves 'passive resistance' whereby the students operate what Woods (1980) identified as "being away", a form of mental removal from the scene, either by daydreaming, reading magazines, note passing or secretive conversations. In such instances, to some extent, students accept the authority of the staff by operating within the confines of silence. Although they find ways of handling boredom, indifference and irrelevancy by imposing their own activities and interests. The reading of romantic magazines such as "My Guy", "Blue Jeans" and "True Love" was the major form of passive resistance by students, who found various methods for hiding magazines in folders, textbooks, sewing, bandages etc. The central importance of romantic magazines to the 'cult of femininity' identified by McRobbie (1978) suggests such activities have more relevance to the students' own culture in which success is measured in terms of 'getting a man' rather than participation in subjects which hold little value or interest for them (Chapter Three developed this point in more detail) (3).

As such any attempts by staff to interfere in what are considered by students to be essential elements of their lives and of more importance than education can take on the form of direct confrontation, depending on the personalities involved and the context, for instance:

"God, you should've been there this morning...well Karen came in late and Ian made some sarcastic remark... anyway she just ignored him, then she starts telling Mandy 'bout this fight like, and Mandy were dead worried 'cos it were her boyfriend's 'ex and she's been threatening to get Mandy for ages...anyway Ian says to her to shut up and that but she just carried on... then after he'd told us what to do, to get on with our work and that, he told her again, Mandy looked up but Karen kicked her... anyhow, she carried on, a bit quieter, but not much, he goes storming over and tells her to shut up, gets her file out her bag on the desk, opens it up and shoves it in front of her... all the time she's ignoring it all, carrying on talking, like the girl ended up in Layland (hospital). Ian's getting madder, you can tell he didn't know what to do, so he starts on Mandy but Karen keeps talking to her, like staring at her, it were a real battle of wills. Ian picked up the file and slammed it down, made me jump it did.... then he starts having a go at her about how lazy she is and how good Mandy was till she influenced her... and Karen through all this keeps telling Mandy who was with Jill and who went to hospital and that with her and what they did. In the end he just walks out, well he couldn't do owt else could he, he'd just lost face. She wasn't going to give in you could tell, she hates him... mind you she's been sent to the head (Head of Department) she'll be as nice as pie in the next lesson and he won't be able to cope."

Such incidents demonstrate what can happen when the student decides that the information she has to transmit is of more relevance to her than the educational work of the College. This illustrates how the 'normal' teaching situation is based on the consent of students and is also indicative of the potential power students can use against any attempts to impose upon their time. Initially this conflict could be perceived as a 'personality clash' (cf Davies 1980) instituted only by students who consider such a confrontation to be worthwhile. However, 'personality' does not give us any indication of the parameters for the confrontation. For instance, this confrontation was not planned, and was both a response to a need to divulge important cultural information and a response to what was considered to be a process of intimidation. Karen explains the incident in such a way:

"I'd just had it up to here with him, he gets on my nerves, always asking me about my boyfriends and trying to put his arm around me, he's a real dirty old bastard and when I came in and he said somat about whose bed had I got out of the wrong side of, well that was it, I just thought fuck it, I was so bloody angry I didn't care. Normally I'd have told her quietly, you know when we were supposed to be working, but he got me annoyed I just ignored him. Anyway Mandy had to be told, she could have been the next, she could be waiting for her outside at dinner, so I had to tell her. If I'd have opened me mouth to him though I don't know what'd've come out... one good thing anyway, I doubt if he'll ever speak to me again."

In this respect, for Karen such a form of behaviour is perceived to be justified. Not only did she have information for Mandy which she considered more important than the 1908 Welfare Act, which was being taught at the time, her behaviour was also an expression of indignation in response to the behaviour exhibited by the teacher, which she considers to be outside the boundaries of teacher-student rapport.

By continual encroachment on her personal life she finally responds to a position in which she has been made to feel totally powerless. Werthman (1971) illustrated how students have clear concepts of what they consider to be justifiable behaviour, and what they consider to be fair. Such concepts are informed by both class and gender.

For instance, in the relationships between male members of staff and female students there are clear demarcations of what both consider to be legitimate behaviour. Most students particularly resent any attempts made by the male members of staff to inquire or make insinuations about aspects of their sexual activity, for example:

Michelle: "He calls it counselling, I call it plain fucking nousey, I'd (CC) like to tell him where to get off but you can't, can you really?"

Sally: "He keeps saying to me how's Dave, does Dave do this, I expect (CC) sooner or later he'll say one day how does Dave do it and then I'll really tell him to fuck off".

Wendy: "Yea, I think they've got a bloody nerve, we'd never turn round (PCSC) and make insinuations and that against their sex lives, if they've got any".

Trisha: "We were meant to be doing social policy and he kept going on (PCSC) about that report on cervical cancer saying that we'd better be careful or we'd get it... like saying that we're a load of scrubbers".

Such comments, selected and indicative of many, express the indignation and the powerlessness that the students experience. As the students are assessed by and dependent on the staff, the use of sexual innuendos by the male staff makes them feel particularly powerless, only eventually resulting in direct confrontation. As Wendy's comment indicates they clearly perceive such exchanges to be unequal.

The students did not experience similar comments from the female members of staff, indicating that such 'rapport' is related to general cultural ideologies of masculinity and femininity which pervade the teaching relations and influence the responses and reactions of the students. If the ideology of femininity is considered to be based on the imposition and construction of a grid of definition on possibilities of action and speech, in which the discussion of the sexual behaviour of young women is generally limited to members of the same sex, or those involved in a close relationship, (McRobbie 1978) suggestions made by male teachers are considered to be an affront.

However, the majority of strategies used for coping with these predicaments are similarly limited by the ideology of femininity, as Sally's comment suggests, and by the organisational structure of teaching relations in which the students are dependent upon the staff for grades and exam passes. Their main strategy for coping with such incidents is passive indignation, expressed amongst themselves, displaying in most instances a fatalistic resignation to the situation, only exploding into confrontation when the situation has become unbearable. As such, these responses are in complete opposition to the celebration of sexual prowess demonstrated by Willis's 'lads', suggesting that responses to educational norms, and the theorising about such incidents as straightforward political resistance, are both mediated by the relations of class and gender (5).

This section has illustrated how students operate definitions of what they consider to be legitimate behaviour, both by themselves and staff, within the classroom situation. Direct confrontations appear to occur only when students consider that such an episode is worthwhile, and that their behaviour is justifiable. They take into account the costs of such a confrontation.

However, most of their resentment and indignation is contained within the limitations of femininity, because when taking into account these costs, they have to consider what cultural resources they can draw upon to challenge those with power and authority over them on such sensitive issues as sexuality. However, a group of students do appear prepared to stretch the boundaries of the traditional view of passive female sexuality, as issue which the next section explores.

S3: RESISTANCE BY SEXUALITY

Throughout the period of the study five Community Care students and four Pre-Social Care students utilized aspects of their sexuality as a means for gaining autonomy, and status from other students and operating an albeit limited form of power over male teachers. This resistance will be dealt with in some depth because firstly it provides further accounts of how femininity is not taken on intact by the students and is used and challenged and secondly, such incidents illustrate how the use of femininity within an educational institution can radically differ from acceptable cultural behaviour outside of college. More generally it illustrates how students can appropriate femininity, using and shaping it to their own ends. The following incident highlights the nature of the response:

Community Care group:

Therese: "God have you seen that"(spoken loudly for everyone to hear staring at a particular part of the male teacher's anatomy)

Mandy: "Bloody hell, what the heck could you do with that, not much".

Therese: "Can't believe he's got kids with one that size you'd think he'd never be able to get it up."

Karen (to Graham):

"You've got kids haven't you? How did you get them, get someone else to do it for you?"

Michelle: "Bet he plays with it in his pocket"

Therese: "I expect that's all it's good for".

and PCSC Group discussing the various merits of male teachers in hearing distance of Richard (PCSC Tutor) primarily for his benefit.

Cindy: "No there's not much there our baby's got more than 'im"

Ruth: "Christ have you seen Ian's, it's really long he must wear them boxer shorts, it hangs down his leg."

Wendy: "KM's got big balls you know, when he wears them red trousers, mind you they must be uncomfortable."

Wendy: "He's another one, (reference English teacher) probably sterile his trousers are that tight, he's a real tart, I called him a clit teaser the other day when he sat on me desk, he nearly fell off, stupid bugger, I bet he knows where it is and what to do with it."

Ruth: "More than you can say for poor Richard, probably shrivelled up and died by now, wonder if he knows where it is, probably doesn't matter doubt if he'd know what to do with it."

Not only are such incidents part of a general social activity, whereby sexual innuendo can bring lessons to a laughing standstill, dependent upon the support and encouragement of the rest of the group (Connell et al 1982). They are also representative of attempts to gain some control over the classroom situation and to exercise power over male teachers, what Werthman (1976) and West (1979) would identify as a precocious assertion of adulthood. However, in the second example the objectification of the staff is a reversal of a position they continually find themselves in as young women. The labelling of NC as a 'tart' illustrates how they are using the categories and methods that are normally used to trivialise themselves against those who attempt to trivialise. In this case they treat the male members of staff as representative of some homogenous group called men, and although none could be considered to have a 'feminist' consciousness, (cf Stanley & Wise 1983) they are clearly aware of the unfairness with which they are treated, and begin to use methods of oppression against others.

Moreover, their responses are also a reaction against the infantilization of the course, which they consider 'treats them like kids'. Again the male staff are considered to be legitimate targets, simply because they are male, as Mandy (CC) rationalises:

"No we'd never do nothing like that with the others (female members of staff)... Mrs P. she'd probably break down, no we couldn't do anything to her she's really soft, she's soft, dead sweet... I expect we would with Mrs R. (Health Care) she'd be really shocked, doubt if she's got a mifter probably had it sewn up, no there'd be no point really like you couldn't talk about their bodies and that... you just couldn't, it'd be like slagging yourself off to some point... I don't really know why we pick on that lot... getting our own back, they treat us like we're stupid, you know they're full of themselves so you pull them down a peg or two... like Ian he's always got to have the last word, always got to have his own way... it's harmless really, keeps 'em in their place... below us !"

Michelle: "I think it's 'cos they're like most men, you know they think (CC) they're better somehow and like if you do anything wrong they really look down on you, make you feel really stupid, now you or Sara never do that it's just not in your nature like, I think men you know, they like proving they're better all the time and by playing up we're just saying "up yours pal, you're no better than us.

As these comments indicate, targets are those who articulate visible power over the students, and usually engage students in sexual discourse.

Stanworth (1981) notes how on the surface flirting and teasing seem innocuous, but can contribute towards transmitting messages concerning the appropriateness of gender as a differentiating principle, and contribute to the conceptions pupils hold of masculinity and femininity. Michelle's comments, for instance, indicate the symbolic power that is incorporated within masculinity (Tolson 1977) and is thus perceived to be a justifiable target...

for attack. On the other hand the emphasis throughout the course on femininity as a natural disposition reaches its logical, if unintended, conclusion. Men are considered to be something completely different, a group that operates against the students' own interests which has the ultimate power of controlling them both inside and outside of education. This sustaining of suspicion between the sexes is an unfortunate outcome of legitimating gender role through biological difference.

One interesting point that emerges from this use of sexuality is that such blatant displays of objectification and experience would be discredited in their mixed sex groups outside of the college, where fear of labels such as "slags or drags" (Lees 1985) limits expressions of sexuality (Robins and Cohen 1978). Moreover, as Cowie and Lees (1981) note in relation to young working class women's culture, sexuality is something that just happens, if you are in love, unlucky or drunk, a consequence of others, rather than a feature of themselves. Expressions of sexuality only receive support when they are maintained by the triangular relationships of love, sexuality and marriage (Wilson 1978). Possibly because the caring courses are predominantly female, a safe space in which the few male students are considered to be inconsequential and have little contact with the students outside of the college, they are an area where attempts can be made to construct power within the confines of femininity (6). As such, these examples would suggest, that in predominantly female environments, those considered to be identifiable and justifiable targets, who have moved outside the boundaries of legitimate behaviour can be confronted with the security of support from other students without the fear of the extent of labelling or criticism that would occur outside of college. Any labelling by other students is put down to jealousy, inability to find a suitable partner or lack of experience, and is a minor point weighed against the popularity of the more vociferous students, as Trisha notes:

"Rachel said to me about how I must've had loads of fellas and that, I haven't mind you... she was being bitchy in her underhand way, trying to insinuate I was a scrubber or somat, so I said to her, I said it's always the quiet ones who are the worst, I said remember last years CC's (four 'quiet' ones were pregnant)... she shut up, it's true though she's the sort of pillock who'll believe owt, if he were one of the God squad I bet she'd let him... for God, eh! "

As the comment indicates Trisha believes that her experience makes her more knowledgeable, capable and mature. This celebration of their sexuality is however limited and restrained within the confines of femininity, what McRobbie (1978) has identified as an invisible level of oppression which stems directly from their experience of sexual relationships. They maintain that males exhibit stronger sexual urges, ultimately determine sexual practice and are the only ones really fulfilled by it. This intimate group discussion illustrates some of these points:

Ruth: "No don't be daft women don't have urges like men do, theirs
(PCSC) are uncontrollable once they get going."

Mandy: "It's always the males, they're real randy sods."
(CC)

BS: "Well don't you think you have any?"

Cindy: "Women only have them when they're turned on, you know if he's
(PCSC) doing something to her."

Ruth: "Well I expect I've got feelings but I wouldn't go round hunting
(PCSC) for someone, it wouldn't bother me much if I never had sex again, truthfully."

Cindy: "You must have had the whip it in, whip it out and wipe it type,
(PCSC) it can be really good, I expect it's 'cos Mark were married once, he's divorced now, you know, he's older, he's got more idea, I think they only have an effect on you if you fancy them."

Ruth: "Well maybe, but me mam though, she says she dreads it when our
(PCSC) dad comes home on leave, and they've been married for years."

This lack of belief in their own sexual feelings and lack of control over their own bodies is illustrative of how the culture of femininity, ultimately informs and constrains their responses, suggesting that they do not feel as confident about sexuality as their form of resistance would lead us to believe (7). The power they exhibit over teachers through objectification and humiliation is compromised in exchanges with those considered culturally significant, such as prospective boyfriends. Although they exhibit their sexuality, they distinguish between those "types" who enjoy and are in control of sex and themselves, for instance the following conversation illustrates the extent to which they come to surveille their own sexuality:

BS: "Well what if you were in bed with someone and you didn't like what they were doing, would you say anything?"

Therese: "God, no, never, no, I could never do that, you just couldn't
(CC) it'd ruin everything it's like when they put their fingers inside you and you're meant to like it, you know they're looking at you and it hurts, you move away gradually like, you know squirm a bit to get them out, but God no I'd never be able to say anything, they'd think you were a real tart".

Ruth: "I wouldn't dare."
(PCSC)

Mandy: "Like on the telly on Wednesday, these women were playing out
(CC) problems and the like and one says to the man, she says 'you've come too soon'... I couldn't believe me ears, I was dead embarrassed, our mam was there, how could she, how dare she, I could never do that to anyone."

Ruth: "A girl couldn't you know, like say things like that, prostitutes could, but girls like us they couldn't."

Cindy: "Really if you want anything you can't ask for it, you've got to work out ways round it."

As the comments suggest, they consider themselves to be relatively powerless in sexual encounters, resigning themselves to a level of manipulation in which they have little control over their own bodies. So although they maintain a level of sexual confrontation within the classroom, such activity remains within the classroom and is not representative of their sexuality in wider social relations. In this respect it can be seen as an example of what Genovese (1972) describes as a simultaneous process of accommodation and resistance:

"Accommodation and resistance developed as two forms of a single process by which slaves accepted what could not be avoided and simultaneously fought individually and as a people for moral as well as physical survival". (p659)

The above examples illustrate how students do attempt to challenge the powerlessness that they feel, by developing what Cohen (1984) describes as the survival tactics of every subordinate group, a way of neutralising the consequences of powerlessness without challenging the prerogatives of power. In so doing they both draw upon and are confined by the ideologies of femininity and caring which are an integral part of their culture. In this sense, by subverting categories of sexuality, they resist any impositions by male teachers and stretch the boundaries of femininity, but also because such resistances are limited to the classroom situation and cannot be applied outside for fear of cultural ostracism, they ultimately accommodate ideologies of feminine sexuality which define them as powerless. However, such challenges may be a start in the process whereby they come to question the construction of their own sexuality, suggesting that most females neither totally acquiesce in, nor totally eschew, the imperatives of 'femininity' (Anyon 1983).

Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated how the students are continually in the process of developing autonomy over situations in which they are made to feel powerless, a process which underlies the students' experience of Further Education. This process incorporated different facets, ranging from the almost passive attempt to control and use time for their own ends to aspects of direct confrontation. All attempts, though, are characterised by the ability of staff to devalue, trivialise or infantilise their class and gender based cultural experience. The first section, for instance, outlined the responses students made when they considered staff were undermining their past experience and future positioning. Similarly the second section illustrated responses to staff behaviour which the students considered existed outside of the legitimate teaching role, and also, attempts to control the classroom time for their own use. The third section illustrated how students drew on the resources that were used to devalue them as both women and students, and subverted the resources for their own attempt to trivialize and humiliate.

Attempts to gain power from a situation which renders the students powerless can, on one level, be seen to be an attempt to challenge the prerogatives of power, the 'pre-political' stage, identified by Gramsci (1971) and Genovese (1975) in which they come to "feel their strength". However, the nature of their responses indicates individualistic spontaneous forms of resistance, rather than any basis for coherent collective political action. Such responses indicate that power is never unidimensional, coherent or always fully realised (Foucault 1977), but can be exercised not only as a mode of domination but also as an act of resistance. They could even be as Giroux (1983) suggests, an expression of a creative mode of cultural and social production outside the immediate force of domination. Moreover, it can ultimately be seen to be an exercise in self-survival, in which subjectivity is ordered in relation to the forms of power deployed on the courses, within the boundaries set out by the class and gender relations of which the students and the courses are a part (8).

In this respect the students' responses are characteristic of what Genovese (1972) defines as accommodation in acts of resistance, and resistance within accommodation. A response, he argues, that is part of ALL human beings' responses to contradiction and oppression (9). Structured in this instance by the class, race and gender of the students and the institutional parameters of Further Education which they negotiate in order to find some autonomy and meaning (10).

This theme is developed in more detail in the next chapter which explores how students come to see marriage as of equal, if not more significance than the occupational structure. Marriage and future family are perceived to be an alternative structure from which the students can gain some autonomy, but ultimately this search for autonomy accommodates them within the sexual division of labour in both the family household structure and the labour market.

Footnotes to Chapter Five

- (1) Corrigan (1976) illustrated how the most common and intense activity engaged in by the majority of working class children was the simple but absorbing activity of "passing the time".
- (2) Connell et al (1982) argue that class and gender relations create dilemmas, provide resources and suggest solutions.
- (3) Meyenn (1980) in a study of school girls' responses found that the school's control over the accoutrements of femininity were critical determinants of girl's responses to schooling.
- (4) If for Willis's (1977) 'lads' the construction of masculinity in response to anticipated future positioning in manual labour provided a justification for their forms of opposition, the construction of femininity with its non-occupational corollary of "getting a man" (as identified by McRobbie (1978)) can be seen to be a significant influence on oppositional behaviour.
- (5) McRobbie (1980) notes how the theorising about sexuality is also constrained by the gender of the theorist, whereby Willis (1977) and Hebidge (1979) concentrate only on males, excluding any account of the construction of gendered sexuality.
- (6) Studies by McRobbie and McCabe (1981) and Griffin et al (1982) illustrate how young women attempt to construct 'safe-spaces'. The 'bedroom culture' which is a central feature of the culture of femininity (McRobbie 1978) is to some extent recreated within the safe environment of girls toilets in predominantly male environments, such as youth clubs and nightclubs, becoming a focal point for the trading of confidential information, support and security.
- (7) McRobbie and Garber (1976) maintain that both the defensive and aggressive responses made by young women are structured in reaction against a situation where masculine definitions (and thus sexual labelling etc.) are in dominance.
- (8) Thomas (1980) for instance, found different patterns of opposition in working class and middle class girls' oppositional culture (see Chapter Three).
- (9) Anyon (1983) maintains that the cultural practices which arise under capitalism operate on a contradiction, in that forms of cultural life whilst reproducing attitudes, activities and artefacts which support particular arrangements of the social order in which they occur also produce recognitions, reactions and responses which provide for the development of a critical and challenging stance towards that order.
- (10) The contradictions, the forms and extents of the oppression are different for the different genders and classes and races, and the forms which accommodation and resistance take, he argues, will differ (Genovese 1972).

CHAPTER SIX: MARRIAGE AND MEANING

This chapter departs from the institutional analysis developed in the previous chapters by focussing upon the importance of marriage for the students. It develops many of the themes posited in Chapter Four which related caring to the family and femininity, by demonstrating how the students appropriate aspects of familial idealism together with aspects of romantic-feminine culture to produce an analysis of what they want and expect from the economic and cultural inevitability of marriage. The purpose of such an exploration is to develop Giroux's (1983) point that such analysis can develop the links between structure and human agency on the one hand and culture and the process of self formation on the other. It also demonstrates how through their construction of subjectivity in relation to the institution of marriage students come to reproduce themselves in a subordinate position within the sexual division of labour and naturalise the sexual division between themselves and prospective marriage partners.

To explore these central issues the chapter is organised into three sections. The first examines the similarity in the anticipation of marriage by the course structure, the staff and the culture of romance, demonstrating how both the institution and a wider arena provide repertoires which assume that the responsibility for managing a successful marriage lies with the students. The second section takes up this issue by examining how and why students come to accept such responsibility. It is argued that they do so on the basis of a cost-benefit analysis whereby the negative alternatives are weighed against the possible autonomy they consider they may have. The third section explores how they attempt to construct some autonomy from marriage, and gain status in the process, by negotiating a marriage market in which their romantic ideals operate alongside economic assessments.

Such a process, although designed to combat powerlessness, ultimately reproduces their subordinate positioning within a sexual division of labour. This section examines the pressures on students, both by the courses and by their relationship to the ideology of femininity, to anticipate marriage. With the emphasis placed upon caring and family responsibility (as Chapter Four illustrated) marriage comes to be perceived as both inevitable and important for the appropriate form of caring i.e., a loving stable family relationship, prescribed by the staff. However, inherent within such conjectures are particular assumptions about the type of marriages that students will enter, and about the importance of paid employment for them. Such assumptions when viewed against the significance that marriage has for the students, i.e. as a central life interest (McRobbie 1978, Griffin 1985) further demonstrates the cultural gap between staff and students, and how students negotiate the curriculum from their own cultural standpoint, illustrating Boudon's (1974) contention that education participates in the cultural field of social groups, in which the pattern of participation on the courses is maintained by the manner in which students choose to affirm their social membership and identity, in this case through marriage.

S1: CURRICULUM ANTICIPATION OF MARRIAGE

The most overt legitimization for marriage discovered through the research was the coverage of marriage as a topic in Health Care for the first year PCSC and CC students. An exam question asks them to discuss the relevant criteria when choosing a marriage partner. The following answer is repeated verbatim from the student's script:

"Choosing a partner for marriage is very difficult, personality should definitely come before appearance when judging a partner for life. Qualities to look for though are those of loyalty, trust, understanding and a sense of humour. You want a person of the opposite sex who can act as your best friend and ...

... someone who you can talk to about the bad times as well as the good. Someone who will be there in times of need, someone who will make you laugh. It is a matter which should not be rushed into. Too often you look through a person's faults. Everyone has faults in their character but some more than others. You should know the person well enough to recognise the faults and problems which may lie ahead, for example in a mixed marriage be aware."

The teacher justifies the inclusion of such a topic which involves both racist and class based assumptions in the following way:

"Well I think it is important for them to think about it, some of them, you know the type, just go rushing into it, having babies before what's what and then not going to be able to cope and it's the children that normally suffer, so I think it's important that you point out the difficulties in certain types of marriage, you know forces marriages or mixed marriages say, the unsurmountable problems need to be explored to assess if they are able to handle such things.

The inclusion of this topic explicitly, coupled with the many comments about the organisation of family life which takes marriage for granted not only imply that marriage is inevitable, but also by emphasising marriage as the only acceptable future positioning the assumption is made that students are in need of such information, as the above comment indicates. Inherent within such comments is the implication that students are immature, incompetent and incapable of making decisions and taking any responsibility. Such assumptions are based on a particular social class stereotype which implies that working class marriages are likely to be ill conceived and representative of future 'social problems'. They imply a particular "type" of marriage as Sarah (CC Tutor) notes:

"Sometimes when I look at them, I think you know, well what's going to become of them, I can see them in about five years time, maybe ten if they're lucky, dragging their kids around town, fag out their mouths and that 'Railtown' look, like they've had enough and they're not enjoying anything, you know I look sometimes and I think poor little buggers, they've not got much to look forward to."

and Ian (CC Tutor) reiterates the point more clearly:

"I put the whole thing down to class, they come in here, solid...uhm...typical working class and we try and change them, make them think they can get jobs and be successful, but they know at the back of their minds they'll end up just like their own mothers, so they don't bother... I could weep sometimes when I see them after they've finished, unemployed, with kids, looking about forty, they'll never escape, it's class, it's too powerful." (1)

Such comments not only assume the inevitability of a particular stereotypical working class marriage but also display a fatalism which contradicts both the vocational and familial idealism presented throughout the course, illustrated most specifically through the morality of the course which stresses that all problems are soluble if the appropriate methods are used (Grignon 1971, Dickenson & Erben 1983). It also highlights the futility of the courses whereby the staff assume the majority will end up in bereft marriages, but they continue to present occupational idealism as a goal to aspire to alongside familial idealism, both of which they consider, in the main, to be unobtainable. The frustrations associated with such fatalism and futility do result in a high turnover of staff particularly those concerned with Community Care, but also result in greater emphasis being placed on marriage and the family which they feel offers students, at least,

security, e.g.: Graham (PCSC Tutor)

"Yes I do sometimes worry about what I'm here for with unemployment facing the majority of students... I often wonder what will happen to them, but even now most of them are involved with boyfriends, they'll settle down quickly probably and have kids, it's not as if they're the career sort."

For Graham, marriage is seen to represent the solution to unemployment. He perceives it as an alternative to employment and creates two distinct categories: the married and the career woman. However, Griffin (1985) in her study of young women, education and work, illustrates how although pressures to get a man and a job operated at the same time, they were not directly interchangeable. Young women, she argues do not invariably see marriage or motherhood as a substitute for full-time employment. Most of the students considered work to be an important aspect of their future lives, although they operated different definitions of when it was most important to work. Some thought work was essential before and after child rearing replicating to some extent the bi-modal pattern of women's employment identified by Hakim (1979) for example:

Mandy: "I expect I'll be about twenty six when I marry as I want to
(PHS O) spend as much of my life free to do as I please without being asked or told by somebody."

Karen: "I'll be twenty one before I get married, gives me time to get
(PCSC O) a career before I settle down".

Lynn: "All I really want to do is have kids of my own, I'm getting
(CC) married next year you know, we've got everything sorted out. I want to work till then though, you know, to get enough money to do everything properly 'cos our mam hasn't got much."

Diane: "I'm only going to work till I've got me qualifications (SEN)
(PCSC O) then I'll settle down. Gary wants to now but I said no I've got to have me qualifications, then I can go back to it if I want to, you know, if we need the money and that, mind you I'd

.... never work while the kids are little, I don't think you should, they'll probably end up with that deprivation thing."

Sam: "I want to work after I'm married, you know when the kids have
(PCSC O) grown up, I'd be bored at home all day, wouldn't know what to do with meself."

Such comments do indicate that the students have considered structuring their occupational commitment around family life, and that their use of the concept 'career' differs from the general usage which defines a continuous lifelong commitment. Their occupational aspirations suggest that they see marriage and motherhood as dominating life interests, whereby a 'career' is a constructive means of filling in time. Caring occupations, as Diane's comment suggests, are considered to be useful for converting into part-time work in order to cope with the demands of child care. Any comments, such as Richard's which suggest they have no occupational role to play are clearly resented, for instance:

Lisa: "Like Richard he's saying when we ask him to explain things,
(PCSC O) 'Oh it's not important you don't need to know, you'll be married and settled down and that'... and he thinks he's joking but you know that's what he means deep down, we know he thinks we're thick, the other day he said we'd be lucky to find anyone to have us... so all the time when he says do this, do that, you think well if he thinks I'm thick why should I bother ... yea maybe I will have kids and get married everyone does, he is, but that doesn't mean he's thick why should it to us."

This acute awareness of the class and gender distinctions between Richard and herself, indicates that Lisa probably has a clearer perception of her own future limitations and possibilities than Richard, who believes that by playing devil's advocate he will create rebellion from them and make them challenge his stereotypical predictions e.g.:

"I want them to respond, to say 'we're not taking this we're as good as you', to question their belief in their own failure. They do usually. They say we're not going to get married and that. The main aim is to make them question things."

However, what such intentions fail to realise is that the students are not (both culturally and economically) in a position to challenge the inevitability of marriage which is seen to represent, in terms of cost benefit analysis, both economic security and cultural success and status (2). Such inevitability becomes evident in the ironic comments students make about their marriage futures, e.g.:

Andrea: "Yea, I can see myself now, fag out the side of my mouth, two
(CC) kids screaming and covered in mud, leaving dirty footprints over my clean hall, a great big pile of ironing and no food for dinner."

Sam: "I can see myself leaning over a sink full of pots, wearing a
(PCSC O) dirty apron, pottering around in slippers three sizes too big, my hair greasy and lifeless... you know the 'polyester type', you've seem 'em."

Michelle: "I expect I'll get married, do the cleaning and cooking, I hate
(CC) cooking, and look after the screaming kids while he watches telly or goes out and gets pissed with his mates."

These realistic/fatalistic perceptions about their future are however, countered by the individualistic belief that they will be able to exert some influence and control over the marriages that they enter. Just as family life was treated by staff as a matter of 'standards' and appropriate practice, marriage is similarly treated unproblematically as one of the mechanism of appropriate behaviour. Moreover, such beliefs are supported by ideologies of caring and romance which maintain that the 'deep and meaningful' relationships involved in marriage and family life are so special that they cannot be experienced elsewhere (McRobbie 1978) (3). This point will be developed in the next part of this section.

Romance, Caring and Marriage

Similarities can be drawn between the 'romantic' culture of teenage magazines, T.V. and the ideological messages of caring courses. Generally the feminization of caring by the courses, i.e. the process whereby caring dispositions and skills correspond to feminine dispositions such as unselfishness, passivity, consideration etc., resembles the femininity presented by romantic magazines in which young women are idealised as caring, kind, sensitive and warm. More specifically McRobbie (1978) has noted how romance magazines focus on the 'personal' locating it as the sphere of prime importance to the teenage girl, just as the courses constantly emphasise the individualised and natural aspects of caring through the legitimisation of feminine dispositions. Also, the prioritising of the 'personal' is similar to the prioritising of 'caring', which by implication suggests all else is of secondary interest and importance. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on marriage, children and family as the culmination of caring success bears similarities with the romantic messages in which a woman can only be truly fulfilled with a mate of the opposite sex. The course asserts the absolute and natural separation of the sex roles, as do romantic magazines, treating any deviations from these traditional roles as individualised failings (4). The initial fatalism indicated earlier which co-exists with an idealism about marriage, appears to have its roots in the wider cultural presentations of romance and marriage which students avidly participate in.

Approximately one quarter of their weekly expenditure is on romance magazines, and considerable swapping occurs, 'My Guy' and 'True Romance' are clear favourites. To some extent these magazines operate in a similar way to the consumption of popular culture described by Brundson (1981) in relation to 'Crossroads'.

Generally most students will have spent a substantial amount of their adolescence discussing different aspects of marriage, as the form of these magazines is based on the endless unsettling, discussion and re-settling of acceptable modes of behaviour within the sphere of personal relationships, inviting the reader to engage in moral and ideological speculation and judgement. The reader is also encouraged to rehearse the possible outcomes and join in the debate about how a particular event is to be understood, basing the debate on assumptions about personal and family relationships, in which the notion of individual character is central and responsible for 'managing' the sphere of personal life (5). The collective reading of magazines in lesson time gives rise to speculations over expected outcomes (if the story is to be continued next week) or debates about a particular ending and result, such as should the pregnant girl get married if she did not love the boy?; should the woman leave her husband for a poor but beautiful lover ? etc. Most students have clear repertoires worked out concerning most issues surrounding romance and marriage. For instance, the majority of students reject cohabitation because of the social stigma and the insecurity attached to it. Their views incorporate perceptions based on economic and cultural aspects, coupled with aspects of romantic idealism: eg.:

Pauline: "Well it's not the same is it, you know he could just up off
(CC)
out of it and you're stuck there with nothing... You know when you're married it's legal, so if anything goes wrong you usually have something, you know somewhere to live and that... and if they leave it's usually the women who gets called sluts and slags and that and blamed for it, where if you're married it's different, your parents would have you back and like everything would be all right."

Debbie: "God, no, my parents would kill me, a girl down our road did it
(PHS 0)
and her parents won't speak to her, and that's over a year ago now, no you've got to do it the right way or no-one will speak to you."

Ruth: "No, you've got to get married like you'd never get any
(PCSC O) presents otherwise, like being engaged, look at all Anne's
presents see if you get engaged you get things for your
bottom drawer, then when you get married you get more, like
if you just live together then you get nothing and most
people don't speak to you, and you can't have kids like,
think about the poor little buggers at school, you know.
Anyway if you're not married he could just up off out of it
in the middle of the night and you'd be stuck with nothing,
that happened to Sally's sister, he went off with her friend
and she was left with nothing but bills."

Pauline: "Anyway if they really love you they'd want to marry you
(CC) they'd want you just as much as you'd want them, it's only
men who want lots of women and don't respect them that lives
together."

Apart from the financial incentives of marriage, noted by Ruth which will shortly be discussed in more detail, a clear awareness of the issues involved in the debate of 'marriage v cohabitation' is illustrated. Firstly, pressure from the students' own background is a strong point against cohabitation supporting what Mungham (1976) maintains, that there is no place for single working class women in both economic and cultural terms. A single woman, she argues, is a marginal person in working class communities. Moreover Leonard (1980) notes that marriage is concretised in social and economic relations as normal, and anything outside of these boundaries is considered as deviant. For instance, the sexual reputation of working class women is degraded by cohabitation. The messages of romance magazines represent one facet of this explanation whereby 'nice girls don't' myths are perpetuated (McRobbie 1978). The accounts illustrate that romantic considerations of 'true love' co-exist with realistic material assessment, such as having somewhere to live, paying the bills etc.

This appraisal of financial aspects is sustained and legitimated by the romantic idealism of mass cultural products, and the cultural values of their own families. Moreover, the disadvantages of cohabitation are given further weight by the courses which, as the first section illustrated, sustain beliefs in marriage as the only legitimate way of having children.

This section has illustrated how marriage is perceived by both staff and students to be both inevitable and of central importance to the students. The staff consider that the students need advice and guidance to avoid making a marriage with social problems. However, the students, through the culture of romance and femininity, have expended a great amount of time and energy discussing aspects of marriage and have considerable knowledge about their future prospects. This knowledge is constrained by their class positioning in the respect that they are aware of the problems that they may encounter. They do, however, believe in their own ability to overcome most problems as a result of this knowledge. Such a belief is given further legitimacy by the courses which maintain that most social problems are solvable if the appropriate methods are used, emphasising further their personal responsibility and the support the courses give to sustaining the sexual division of labour.

The next section develops these points by firstly analysing why marriage is considered to be so inevitable and secondly, it explores how students come to see marriage as an arena for combatting the powerlessness they feel, as an aspect of their lives over which they feel they may be able to exercise some control (albeit limited), have some autonomy and develop some responsibility.

S2: THE ECONOMIC-CULTURAL NECESSITY OF MARRIAGE

Romantic idealism as displayed in the previous section can best be seen as a coping strategy which counteracts the economic and cultural necessity of marriage. Romance is used by the students to exert some control over what they consider to be an inevitable situation. This perceived inevitability of marriage is obscured by the process of being seen as one of choice, attainment, love, sexual excitement and individual development. Sharpe (1976) maintains that girls' lives have traditionally been set out for them, the major question often being who they will marry rather than what they may become (6). Marriage is perceived to be inevitable by the students either on the basis of its economic and romantic connotations or by the negative values associated with being single: e.g.

Michelle: "Marriage, what?... washing sweaty socks, great, but that's
(CC)
what we're made for innit?"

Mandy: "Well you've got to get married, haven't you. Otherwise you'll
(CC)
be left on the shelf."

Sue: "If you don't it'd be awful growing old alone."
(PCSC O)
Sheenah: "It's not right is it, I mean well, OK it's not roses but it
(CC)
means you're not stuck at work for the rest of your life."

Ann: "Well it's only natural to get married, those who don't it's
(PHS O)
just 'cos they can't find a man who'd have 'em."

Wendy: "The older you get, the worse you get, you know, in looks I
(PCSC O)
mean, and most of the fit fellas have been taken by then."

Rachel: "Of course marriage is a good thing, if it wasn't why are so
(PCSC O)
many people getting married."

Karen: "Well you've got to if you want kids and a home, anyway it
(PCSC O)
can't be bad all the time, usually you sort them out in the end."

Such comments indicate, not only the perceived compulsion of marriage but also a weighing up of the positive and negative sides to marriage. For Mandy, Sue, Sheenah and Ann, the negative aspects such as competition for scarce resources, in this case "fit fellas", and the supposed loneliness are seen to be too drastic. In this sense Comer's (1974) argument that "one does not choose not to get married, one fails to get married" is maintained (7). However, marriage is also seen to offer positive rewards, as Karen notes. In this respect marriage can offer both financial and emotional security alongside the culmination of romantic love. Leonard (1980) has identified the economic pressure faced by young women if they want to maintain (or improve on) the standard of living in their family of origin, given their disadvantaged labour market position. Marriage as an economic contract, (Cicely Hamilton 1909) is still an important issue for the students, it is not just a matter of survival, but a means to material possessions (such as house and car) which would be difficult to obtain if the student, with limited occupational chances, remained single. That is not just a 'meal ticket' but a 'commodity' ticket as Julie (CC) indicates:

"How could I ever afford to buy my own house and have a car and kids and go out to work. No, if I want things I'll have to get married, and he's gonna have to be rich."

and Tina: "My mum always says make sure he's rich and make sure he'll part (PCSC O) with it, she always says "when poverty comes in the door - love flies out of the window."

Such economic concerns dominate the students' perceptions of appropriate mates. When students were asked to list the qualities most desired the following attributes were recorded (listed in order of importance):

- good steady job with prospects/ambition
- generous, gives you lots of money, not control it
- homeloving kind/doesn't drink a lot
- patient and understanding/placid temper
- cares for children

- good looking
- protective
- kind parents (in-laws)
- dependable
- no illness in his family (to avoid disabled children)

These primarily realistic appraisals indicate the importance of both financial and emotional security, they also indicate awareness of the many problems associated with marriage such as drinking, in-laws and physical problems, and the willingness to be 'protected' (8).

Due to their inevitable future financial dependence on men, the students did not generally consider unemployed men to be suitable future partners. One student 'ditched' her 'steady' of two years after he had been unemployed for three months.

Ann: "What's the point, Bev, OK he was a nice bloke but we could
(PCSC O) never go anywhere, never do anything not like we used to, he was dead miserable, he used to drive me mad, so depressing but he wouldn't get up off his arse and do anything, he seemed to lose interest, like he didn't care anymore, about nothing, it got to the stage where I used to think what's the point in seeing him, but Bev you can't go on like that, you know there's no point to it, imagine being married to that, stuck like that for the rest of your life. I know I shouldn't have stuck the boot in when he was down, like it wasn't his fault or anything, but there just didn't seem any point anymore, you'd have done the same, it was just pointless he was never going to make anything of his life and that got on my nerves and made it worse."

This rejection was not based on a straightforward financial appraisal but a thorough consideration of the negative aspects produced by unemployment. These negative aspects are considered to be insurmountable. The boyfriend changes from 'the right one' to the 'wrong one', as 'right ones' are not associated with major problems that cannot be overcome. The romantic notion of the 'right one' is thus imbued with realistic economic expectations, illustrating how romantic ideology has a basis in material practice. The concept of the 'right-one' also contains within it assumptions about the strength and durability of the potential husband. In Ann's case her boyfriend was clearly unable to cope with the substantial pressures of unemployment and thus not necessarily a 'good risk'. Moreover, she was unable to motivate him into doing anything, suggesting that she did have little individual power against the ravages of unemployment. In this respect the individualizing of structural problems comes to take on more insidious connotations, for as Ann's comment suggests her boyfriend had individualized the 'problem' of unemployment, however such individualization contradicts the belief that Ann has in her own ability to 'manage' relationships (and subsequently marriage). In this sense, unemployed boyfriends are not only a poor economic prospect but they also confirm to students their own ultimate powerlessness against structural features. Features which are not recognized within the culture of romance in which all problems are considered to be solvable.

However, when discussing marriage in more detail, romantic allusions are frequently made, for instance Sharon (PHS O) acknowledges both the realistic and romantic aspects of marriage:

"Yes I do want to get married I think it is what all girls are taught to be their main ambition in life. They are conditioned into believing that marriage is the ultimate sum within their life, their chief source of happiness and achievement.

... "Girls dream of getting married, having children playing housewife to their husband. We are brought up into believing that marriage is the ultimate achievement and so something which is expected of us. I do believe in marriage as I think it gives you security and possible happiness if you marry in the first place for the right reasons, and with the right reasons and with the right person. I think a lot of marriages are not thought about seriously enough beforehand. I do not believe in young marriages as I think they often end up working out wrongly. Altogether after having a career I look forward to the prospect of my own home, children and marriage although I know it isn't always perfect."

Awareness of the inevitability of marriage is articulated through the romantic associations of finding the 'right one' and getting married for the 'right reasons' which are associated with economic security and having children. Sharon indicated in the interview that she would like to be married by twenty three so that she will be 'properly trained' before leaving to bring up a family. Twenty three is considered to be 'old' (9). She also indicates how she believes her future happiness to be dependent upon marriage, in this respect she echoes many of the students' attitudes towards marriage, which although involving realistic economic appraisal also involves perceiving marriage as, to some extent, a haven in a heartless world. This contradiction between their own knowledge of the problems associated with marriage and the economic necessity of marriage is set against marriage as an area where they feel they will have, not only cultural status, maturity and responsibility as married women, but also will ultimately have some control over an area of their lives. Again, as a major theme of this study, it is this search for autonomy, constrained by the structural and cultural relations of which they are a part, that ultimately involves them in consenting to and reproducing themselves in a subordinate position within the sexual division of labour. These issues will now be developed in detail in the next section which analyses how the students begin negotiations for this autonomy.

S3: AUTONOMY IN MARRIAGE

In a study of working class women, Hunt (1980) found that the women considered their home to be their 'castle' in which they were the 'master' (sic) determining their own timetable and taking responsibility for the whole family. The students perceive a similar form of autonomy which they assess against the demands of the work situation, for example:

Nickie: "I expect I'll be unemployed...I'll live at home, I expect
(CC) I'll help me mum around the house and cook and then when I get married, if I'm still unemployed it'll be me own house that I'm looking after."

Kath: "Yea, OK he'll be the one with the money, but when he's out
(CC) all day working, I'll have the house to myself, yea I'll do some housework I expect but I can also do whatever I like."

June: "I expect I'd just do the things a wife does, so... I'd be
(PCSC O) feeling important, which is a thing I don't feel now. It would be a responsibility I'd have to take on and I think I'd enjoy it."

Sally: "I'd love to be at home all day, you know making nice meals,
(PES O) playing with the children, I like gardening too, but I'd prefer to be cooking."

Sue: "I can't see the point in working in a shitty factory all day
(CC) like me mam, if you can stay at home and do what I want to do, you know not having some foreman and that telling me to put tea into packets, I did it last summer I'll never do it again."

Such responses combine elements of fantasy and romance with awareness of their future prospects. For instance, where Sally acknowledges being at home as an ideal, Sue maintains that the family is a preferable alternative to work, and Kath maintains that she will be able to do what she wants, a situation which is unlikely without guaranteed economic support.

In this respect Gittings (1983) argues that such beliefs in the economic security of marriage are myths in themselves, whereby in order to attain a certain standard of living women have to enter the labour market (10). However Pollert (1981) in a study of young women factory workers, noticed how even when the economic security was not guaranteed, marriage was still considered to be an 'escape' from the monotony of work (11). Moreover this endorsement of future domesticity, assumes that they will have husbands who are in employment, who will bring home sufficient income to support the family. Julie's comment also indicates that she believes her future role will give her some autonomy and responsibility. Such comments also support the arguments of Humphries (1977) and those in Chapter Four, whereby the students come to perceive marriage as something which can provide substantial benefit to themselves. Not only do they get economic support and emotional security but also cultural support in terms of entering the mature ranks of working-class womanhood in which responsibility for children and husbands is a significant point of cultural contract (Pollert 1981, Cavendish 1982, Westwood 1984, Porter 1983).

In this respect marriage becomes another part of the cost-benefit analysis of students, and by perceiving the family household structure as the primary place for experiencing autonomy, the sexual divisions of labour within the family are accepted, considered to be individualised problems which can be worked out between the couple concerned, a matter for individual negotiation. The students clearly endorse marriage as a form of labour, e.g.:

Jill: "Well it's not hunky dory all the time, you've got to work at (PHS O) it like some people say if he went out with another woman they'd chuck him out, but really you've got to think well why's he done it, was it me, you know work it out, weigh it up; divorce is so high because people just give up too easily, they expect it to be easy, well I'm sure it isn't."

Debbie: "Even though I had a really unhappy childhood through me mum's
(PHS O) disastrous marriages and I still bear both the physical and mental scars it hasn't put me off, no it's made me even more determined to make sure that my own marriage works."

These comments indicate how students accept the responsibility for managing future relationships. Not only is a great amount of support given to this role by the culture of femininity; (see McRobbie 1978) but also the caring subjectivity which they have constructed for themselves (as Chapter Four illustrated) in which through appropriation and the search for autonomy they come to believe they have natural qualities which predispose them towards perceptiveness and sensitivity, leads them to believe that they have the ability to cope with the problems they expect to be generated by marriage. They interpret such problems within an individualistic, feminine framework, for instance students frequently indicated that it was important not to 'let yourself go' after marriage, or become the 'Polyester type'; they meant:

Therese: "You know you see them walking round town, dead fat, greasy hair,
(CC) smelly clothes, dirty kids, you know the type, crimpelene trousers and all, they just don't care, they've got their fella and they don't care no more, I'd never be like that."

Marie: "A woman down our way looks just like that, we call her Hilda,
(CC) 'cos of the way she goes on, well her hubby left her and she was dead upset and surprised... I tell you surprised, I wasn't surprised I wouldn't be at all surprised if I looked like her and he walked out on me."

In this respect the students differentiate between 'good' and 'bad' marriages on the basis of individual effort and 'standards'. The 'standards' are a development on those they attribute to caring (as in Chapter Four) whereby appearance and effort come to be significant factors involved in 'managing' (womanging?!) a relationship.

Thus, not only are those who do not put their husband and children first considered failures, but also those who fail to comply to feminine standards. Again, by attempting to gain some status for themselves by claiming the responsibility that they believe accompanies the autonomy within marriage, the students trap themselves within the standards set by the culture of femininity. However, the effort needed to make marriages 'work' is seen to be worthwhile because it offers, firstly, cultural success in the eyes of their own family and friends. Secondly, this effort is perceived to be a form of power whereby they have the knowledge and ability to manipulate the situation in order to produce particular outcomes. The ability to 'sort things out', 'get things under control' operates as a covert form of restricted power which results in negotiation rather than challenge, and tacit acceptance of the sexual division of labour and sexual stereotypes based on cunning and manipulative women. This covert power legitimates wider structural social and sexual divisions by leaving them unchallenged. This section has illustrated how the students consider marriage to be an inevitable part of their future lives, and rather than challenge such a culturally entrenched tradition, to which few positive alternatives are available (both culturally and economically) for working class women, they, in line with the central theme of this study, attempt to make the most out of the situation. From an appraisal tinged with both realism and romanticism they come to see marriage as a possible area where they can feel responsibility, autonomy and to a limited extent, power (over husbands and children) (12).

They do, however, put a great amount of energy into this process from an early age by assessing the suitability of prospective partners, although also in so doing they have to construct themselves as suitable 'marriageable products' thus immediately implicating themselves within a clearly defined sexual division of labour. The next section explores the strategies the students develop and how such activity involves them both stretching the boundaries of femininity but also locating themselves firmly within such boundaries.

Marriage Markets and Pulling Power

'Getting a man' McRobbie (1978) has argued is a central life interest for young women. For the students such activity permeates most aspects of college and social life. Leonard (1980) maintains that most contact with males of a similar age are considered to be 'probables' in relation to marriage. Not only is great effort put into the construction of the selves as suitable prospective wives but also success at 'pulling' becomes the most coveted form of success which outweighs both academic and practical caring achievements. Success is measured through the 'stories' of nightclubbing, the presents, and the cars waiting to take students home from college (XJS's and TR7's being the most prestigious) which are admired by both the staff and the students, as Barbara (PHS Tutor) notes:

"I was lucky if I walked home from college, never mind all these flashy cars that Therese manages."

The attitude of students towards 'pulling' demonstrates little sense of 'caring'. However, they do operate within the framework of femininity in which women are perceived to be submissive, yet manipulating. The awareness of manipulation from a position of subordination is highlighted in the following account:

Diane:

(PCSC 0) "You've got to pretend to him that he's the boss, they all want to protect you. You've got to make him feel wanted, not too wanted mind, or then he's too secure and might get bored. You've got to look pretty, you know attractive, but not too sexy, that's all right at first but not when you're steady, so that his friends like you but don't fancy you. You've got to look good but not tarty, smell nice I expect. Not to be too bossy or shout too much, make him feel like he's getting his own way, you know. Make him feel like he's the clever one, you know listen with big eyes when he talks like he's really clever, even if he's talking a load of shit, ehm... pretend to like his mum even if you think she's an old bag, they all like their mums you know, you should be able to cook.... 'the way to a man's heart is through his stomach', or so they say, ... I dunno I expect you've got to do what he wants and still try to be you."

How to operate the marriage market is well articulated, unlike the occupational structure of which the students have limited knowledge. Men are seen to be a well mapped out field who can be managed and manipulated as long as the right methods are used, failure on the marriage market is frequently put down to 'reading the situation wrongly', behaving inappropriately, and in such a case, knowledge can be easily gained from friends or magazines as to the appropriate way to handle the situation.

The old clichés still exist:

"You've not to be pushy"

"They don't like girls who tell dirty jokes"

"They don't like show offs"

"You've got to be clean... I wear my old knicks for college and save my best for when I go out in case I meet a fit fella."

Generally men, within the marriageable age group are perceived as either 'fit fellas' or 'creeps' on the basis of physical appearance, clothing, personality and money. As the above comments indicate it is accepted and expected that men overtly dominate, and as such the modification of their behaviour in accordance to these spurious cultural rules legitimates their own subordinate role to males further. The strategies that are developed by one student to induce proposals of marriage is indicative of the cultural imperative that the decision to marry does not rest with them, e.g.:

Jill:
(PHS O) "Like firstly take him to see your sisters and babies, give him the baby after you've had it and have sat there looking serene and beautiful and cooing, then everytime you're shopping walk closely past all the jewellery shops, hinting with delicacy when he suggests a birthday or Christmas present you suggest a ring. Make sure you never go out with singles, always go out with couples, preferably married with nice houses, then start getting awkward about sex, you know you want a nice bedroom etc. You've got to be dead careful though 'cos if they think you're getting pushy they'll cool off, it's like a careful operation, it worked for my sister, me and me mum had bets that she'd never do it, but she did, she pulled it off."

Just as direct approaches have to be negotiated through similar manipulative strategies, as Therese suggests:

"Always look at their balls that always works, or walk past them really closely so you just rub them up, in a room though, not in the street you daft bugger."

Such advice offered by the students could be direct copy from romantic magazines (although it may be less explicit) which inform young women of such strategies, such as 'How to capture your man'; 'Make him think that he's the boss; 'Whose really the boss in your family', and the students have been made aware of such strategies from an early age.

However, not all students are successful at 'pulling', those whose physical appearance conforms most closely to the mass-cultural image of young women appear to be the most successful if they operate such strategies. The examples cited are primarily from those who have carefully assessed their situation and are able to control it. However, most students exhibit manipulative styles in their relationships, even to the extent of one of the A level students in hiding her ability, as Ann-Marie (PHS A) notes:

"No, my boyfriend hates me being at college... he's a plumber's mate, you know training... sometimes he makes it really difficult he always wants to go out if I want to stay in and work, you know, homework, and if I answer him back on anything, like sometimes on the news and that he goes mad. I have to pretend I'm not learning anything and don't know nothing about things 'cos I can't talk to him about it... and he keeps telling me I'm full of myself and think I'm too clever, he said none of his mates like me now 'cos I'm stuck up, I haven't changed though... I think he's just jealous... he'll get used to it in time."

For both emotional and economic security it appears that the students are prepared to deny particular aspects of their personality, legitimating the traditional sex roles. This 'false' behaviour further endorses the 'natural' divisions between the sexes, men are perceived as a very different species whose rules and whims, constructed to a great extent through romantic magazines, they are expected to comply to.

Not all endorse this difference, Michelle (CC) notes:

"If a man I fancied wanted some sweet little thing, well then bugger him, I'd not be interested. I like men who treat women as equal, you know with respect. I don't want to be a doormat, look at Sue everytime he shouts, she jumps, she's stupid. There's lots of men around who like girls like me. I expect it's 'cos I'm different you know they can have a laugh. I've got lots of men friends, I don't like girls much they're wet."

For Michelle her difference from the norm is celebrated as a positive aspect of attractiveness. However, among the groups studied responses such as the above were rare. Michelle still wants marriage, but just operates different strategies in attracting men, and in doing so rejects her female peers who are seen as stupid and immature. The same rituals of nightclubbing are pursued and 'fit fellas' remain the main topic of social conversation. A couple of female friends are perceived as 'mates' rather than friends because 'there's nobody else' and 'you can't talk to fellas about certain things.' This rejection places Michelle in a difficult position whereby she relates closely to neither males or females although still aware that a male is needed for financial security:

"I'd never be able to leave home and have a house and a car and that if I didn't get married... you've got to... can't survive without it."

The overwhelming economic and cultural pressures on young working class women to marry; the culmination of romantic advice and the endorsement of a caring identity in which they believe they have the ability and aptitudes to cope and manage most situations; in which the family household structure is perceived to offer, true, deep, meaningful happiness and the only legitimate way to have children, coupled with their awareness of the limitations of the local labour market suggests to students that marriage could offer the best of a bad situation.

Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated how students attempt to make a virtue out of the structural and cultural necessity of marriage. It has demonstrated how marriage represents an essential contract within the familial idealism presented by the course, and is seen to be a necessary element in establishing a 'proper' family; and although this contradicts the occupational purchase of the course it is rationalised and legitimated by both the staff and the students in different ways. For instance, the staff consider that marriage may offer some security, and thus by operating particular class based assumptions, they become involved in preparing students to anticipate problems they feel they may encounter. The students, however, through their experience of the culture of femininity are already well versed in most aspects of prospective marriage, leading them to believe that they are equipped with the appropriate knowledge to handle most situations. However unlike the staff they do not consider marriage as necessarily a substitute for employment. Rather, they anticipate a bi-modal working life, which although assuming marriage, family and children as a central interest, does not dismiss altogether the importance of work. Such perceptions indicate that they are not totally sold on the culture of femininity, which prioritises marriage as the ultimate culmination of success, but operate realistic economic appraisals alongside romantic ideals.

The ability to hold such contradictory beliefs, the second section suggested, was due in part to students' attempts to find some autonomy from what they considered to be an economic and cultural necessity, in which the emphasis on individual effort from the courses, and romantic idealism, suggests to students that they are able to manage and use marriage for their own ends.

In this respect students did operate clear notions of what they wanted and expected from marriage, whereby the romantic ideals they held always included aspects of economic realism, such as attributes accorded to the 'right one'. They also perceived marriage to be an area of their lives where they would not experience powerlessness, and could be able to exercise autonomy, responsibility and control. To this extent they demonstrated how they were prepared to labour in order to construct a marriage that would live up to their ideals.

The final section illustrated how much energy was put into working at producing a 'good' marriage. Efforts which involved both constructing themselves as marriageable products and which also involved considerable manipulation of prospective marriage partners. For the students, the marriage market is considered to be of equal importance to the labour market, a factor overlooked in attempts to explain the relationship of Further Education to, only, the labour market. The marriage market contains different notions of success in which those students who can construct themselves as products are likely to reap higher rewards, in terms of both economic security and cultural respect, and in so doing are able to exercise limited power, covertly based on manipulation. However, by operating such strategies the students themselves reproduce and legitimate a sexual division of labour.

Such attempts clearly illustrate how students implicate themselves in constructing their own subordination. In this case by trying to use the economic and cultural inevitability of marriage to combat the powerlessness they feel and anticipate, they ultimately trap themselves in a position of powerlessness within the wider social relations of production. On a more general level they reproduce biologically reducible beliefs in the differences between the sexes, whereby men come to be seen solely on the basis of their 'meal ticket' value, contributing further to the divisions between and within the working class.

Footnotes to Chapter Six

- (1) The tutor comes from a typical working class background, but sees more opportunities for males to 'escape', as he did, through apprenticeships, which can lead (if there are any left) Bates et al (1984) to trade union organisation and polytechnic courses in social studies. Such 'career routes' are generally unavailable to women of the same structural position.
- (2) Purcell (1978) for instance, has argued that marriage represents the culmination of success in the 'career of womanhood'.
- (3) Alternatives to marriage are usually discussed in the context of 'social problems'. Single people are only considered in the context of youth and as social problems such as non-accidental injury. Similarly, heterosexuality is taken as the only way of existing, constricting what Berger (1971) identifies as 'alternative plausibility structures'.
- (4) Leonard (1980) has illustrated how this separation manifests itself within the courtship rituals, in which men are the ones to ask for dates, to pay, to take responsibility for females' safety, to gain permission to 'take her out' and to ask for marriage etc.
- (5) This can be seen as one attempt to win consent for specific ideological and resultant material outcomes such as marriage. It has also been argued by McRobbie (1978) that such knowledge occupies the sphere of the personal and private, what Gramsci (1971) refers to as 'civil society', in which he argues that hegemony is sought uncoercively on this terrain which is relatively free of direct state interference and is consequently perceived as an arena of 'freedom', of 'free choice' and of 'free time'.
- (6) Rossi (1971) notes how what a man does determines his status, where for a woman who she marries determines hers and Finch (1983) demonstrates how "wife of" is a crucial element in the construction of a personal identity.
- (7) Comer (1974) illustrates how a whole battery of neglect, suspicion and derision is directed at the non-married and childless and they are stereotyped as shirking their duty, selfish, lonely, bitter, abnormal, unattractive or pathetic.
- (8) Anyon (1983) argues that most women who accept femininity as their natural role do not passively adopt the stereotypical set of expectations. Rather the doctrine of femininity is often used to try and ensure their own protection by men, as a way of enforcing a reciprocity of duties and obligations.
- (9) Average age of marriage for women, at the time of the research was twenty two (OPCS 1982).
- (10) Hunt (1980) found that women had to supplement the family income in order to provide for 'family items' such as clothing for the children.
- (11) In this respect, she argues, marriage served to direct their attention away from altering or changing work conditions.
- (12) Coward (1983) has noted how power is not just exercised by the literal control of one group by another. She argues that there are different distributions of power and position according to different practices. These practices need not be literal economic advantage, power can be exercised by the form of language, the ability to control or manipulate situations or to exclude and marginalise groups (p 284).

The idea for this research originated from my teaching experience in Further Education. As a part-time member of the GCE department in the college I was asked to 'supply' teach the social science component of the caring courses, work that had been rejected by the rest of the social-science section (I). The rumours that preceeded my teaching of the students on these courses were similar to the sentiments expressed by Crowther (1960) and Newsom (1963) suggesting that the students were only interested in marriage etc. However, after teaching the students (initially only Community Care students) it appeared that they were not passive acquiescers in the culture of femininity, but were clearly aware of what their own limitations and possibilities were, and seemingly were attempting to organize their lives in such a way to gain some autonomy and control. Such speculations located the study within the analytic - induction tradition outlined by Robinson (1952) in which a study begins with a sensitizing concept (Blumer 1969), or pre-emptive suppositions (Schutz 1972), and proceeds to use the participants' understandings of their experience to develop and contest such speculations. However, these initial concerns did not just develop 'in the field', rather they were the product of more general political concerns, and in this sense the object of the study became known through theoretical deliberation (Sassure 1960).

Theoretical interest in both feminism and studies of hegemony led to an interest in the study of 'meaning production in historically specific conditions of existence' (Barrett et al 1979) which took into account the wider structural features of class and gender within an institutional setting (2). To enable what Whitty (1985) has described as 'possibilitarian' research; the research has an explicit concern with social change, characterised by structural conflict, which locates the

possibility of transcending experienced realities and thus actively contributing towards change. Such a commitment led to the asking of questions similar to those posited by Willis (1977), such as 'why did students, who were clearly not just passive victims of some ideological conspiracy, consent to a system of class and male oppression, which appeared to offer them few rewards and little benefit'? The basis for such speculations and their influence on the form of the research will be developed in three main sections.

The first section explores the theoretical concerns and assumptions that informed the development of the research process. The second develops these issues in relation to the research methodology, where consideration is given to the reasons for the inclusion of particular methods. The third section examines the use that was made of the accounts generated in the course of the research and addresses questions of validity and bias. The central issue of this chapter is that the plausibility of the research and the methods used can only be assessed on the basis of the links they are able to generate between theory and empirical activity, a scientific method of enquiry located initially in the early writings of Marx. As such the research can be seen as part of the process of knowing, identified by West (1984) whereby social research involves the rigorous pursuit of understanding everyday practices through structural forms. In this respect it is important that both the theoretical and practical activity of the researcher is open to analysis on the same terms as those of the other participants (Atkinson 1982) in order to locate the work within its hermeneutical construction.

SI: PRE-EMPTIVE CONCERNS

Theoretical concerns and political interest I: Morphogenesis

This study can be located within what Hall (1981) has identified as the

paradigm of hegemony, which in this sense is defined as the motor of common sense, defining reality and organising consent; the concept which Gramsci (1971) used to refer to a 'lived system of meanings and values...which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming' (p9). Through this the common sense meanings and practices are so deep-seated in people as to appear as the 'only way the world can be' (Williams 1973) (3). In this respect, empirical analysis was considered to be necessary to enable an understanding of how meanings and values were constructed by those students on caring courses, who by their participation had begun to give their consent to a future role which (almost) ensured their future subordinate role within the sexual division of labour. This interest in both wider structural relations, institutional parameters and production of meaning informed the direction of the research and the type of methods drawn upon. For instance, the interactionist method (eg. Hargreaves 1967, Lacey 1970, Delamont 1976, Woods 1979, Ball 1981, Burgess 1982), with its methodological premise based on perception was considered to be inadequate for understanding how the students were both informed by structures such as class and gender and how they responded to such structures within an institutional setting. However, neither was the structural analysis of Althusser (1971) considered adequate, as in such an analysis consciousness was relegated to the level of mere epi-phenomena (Gleeson and Mardle 1980) (4). Walkerdine (1981) has argued that the problem of previous structural and interactionist analysis is that their methodologies fail to articulate any shifting power relations. Further, although many detailed descriptions have been provided, how experience is understood is rarely addressed. Moreover, Arnot (1981) has also argued that previous studies have frequently taken for granted the official and liberal versions of the school's/college's neutrality and its ability to act as an independent agent of social reform.

As such the research came to be located within the paradigm illustrated

by Sartre (1964); Gramsci (1971); Luckacs (1971); Williams (1973); Bernstein (1982); Sharp and Green (1975); Willis (1977) and Gleeson (1977) which attempts to connect macrosociological processes on the one hand with individual biographies on the other (5). Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) has outlined a theory of 'structuration' in which notions of structure and action are unified by giving a causal status to each in the production and reproduction of social reality. Structuration seeks to mediate the dichotomy between subject and object by assigning a prime role to the knowledgeable ability of actors in producing and reproducing their society, whilst acknowledging that they necessarily employ societal properties in the process. However, whilst this study wanted to base its method upon the accounts given by the students, it wanted to avoid the excessive voluntarism Archer (1982) identified inherent within such a perspective (6). In this sense the theoretical propositions of this study are more closely related to morphogenesis, in the respect that, although students play an active part in the construction of subjectivity, they draw upon structures which predate them and which constrain them, (such as class, gender and race). A position indicated by Marx (1965)

"men (sic) make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past". (p 222)

In this respect empirical analysis provided the means for firstly, capturing the structural and cultural phenomena at the level of everydayness, identified by Apple (1982); secondly, situating the students within the specific context of Further Education in order to be able to say something about that context in terms of its individual structure and dynamics, the opportunities it makes available and the constraints it imposes (cf. Sharp and Green 1975); and thirdly locating the negotiability of meaning, what Cohen (1981) has identified as an empirical question, closely tied in with

the material conditions of people which circumscribe the field of their possibilities and their ability to negotiate an acceptable social reality.

Marx and Engels (1977) outlined the usefulness of empirical methods for understanding the construction of subjectivity within specific historical-material conditions, a method which, they argue, forms the basis for scientific understanding:

"Empirical observation must in each separate instance bring out empirically, and without any mystification and speculation, the connection of the social and political structure with production. The social structure and the State are continually evolving out of the life processes of definite individuals, however, of these individuals, not as they may appear in their own or other people's imagination, but as they actually are, ie., as they act, produce materially, and hence as they work under definite material limits, presuppositions and conditions independent of their will...This manner of approach is not devoid of premises. It starts out from the premises and does not abandon them for a moment. Its premises are men (sic), not in any fantastic isolation and fixity, but in their actual, empirically perceptible process of development under definite conditions...Where speculation ends, where real life starts, there consequently begins real positive science, the expounding of the practical activity, of the practical process of the development of men..."

(Marx and Engels: German Ideology 1976, p 35-37)

Such propositions, West (1984) argues, form a clear justification for the usefulness of empirical fieldwork for understanding the construction of subjectivity and structural analysis (Smith 1974, 1981).

This section has illustrated how a basic interest in understanding how students came to consent to their own future subordination both developed from and informed the type of method used, whereby the construction of subjectivity was seen to be constrained by specific structural circumstances. Empirical enquiry was considered to be the most suitable means for exploring the production of meaning and subsequent consent within specific institutional parameters, contributing towards an explanation of subjectivity and institutional reproduction. Such a method was also informed by, and further substantiated by, feminist concerns.

Theoretical Concerns and Political Interest II: Feminism

Not only is Further Education characterized by a general paucity of research in comparison to other areas of education, but studies which attempt to explain the contemporary experience of Further Education, for young women, to date number only one (eg. Gibb 1983) (7). Moreover, general educational studies either polarized into a concern with the effect and influence of the labour market (and more widely the social relations of production which referred only to paid labour) eg. Willis (1977), Corrigan (1979), Gleeson and Mardle (1980) and ignored or minimised the effects of gender reproduction (8). Or the work concentrated on descriptive accounts eg. Woods (1979), Ball (1981), Burgess (1982), etc., which also ignored or considered inconsequential the differential experiences of boys and girls (see Acker (1980a) and Spender (1982) for further accounts of the sexism inherent within the sociology of education) (9). The concern, noted in the previous section, to locate students within the structural parameters which constrict their possibilities of action necessitated that all structural constraints should be taken into account. As such the inclusion of a study of gender is not just about a political commitment but also as Roberts (1981) has identified an argument for more rigorous methods and theories to develop an understanding

of the experience of different groups of students in Further Education. Where would the explanations of Willis's "lads" lie if gender were to be excluded? Kelly (1978) argues that feminist research is about just these issues if the researcher is concerned to uncover and claim valid the experience of women (MacKinnon 1983); if it makes women's experience visible (Roberts 1981) if it challenges assumptions and stereotypes about women and/or at most provides a new creative edge with which to revitalise existing theory (Acker 1980b), if it is performed by someone who believes that women suffer from systematic social injustice because of their sex (Smith 1974); or if it is a politically important means of looking at the way women are oppressed, how they resist, how they can resist and survive (Griffin 1980). These concerns did inform the research process, to the extent that they identified the unjust way women were treated within Further Education and by the theories which purport to explain Further Education (IO). However, the research was not just informed by gender concerns; it represents an attempt to understand class and gender together. Insistence on prioritising structural levels (Stanley and Wise 1983) fails to account for the complex relationship between them and thus confuses the attempt to understand how specific relations are experienced. Moreover, claiming that feminist concerns should presuppose a particular type of methodology only serves to ghettoize gender as Dickens et al (1983) argue:

"Demands that feminists produce a unique methodology act to circumscribe the impact of feminism...We feel it is time to abandon what amounts to a defensive strategy. It has to be recognised that feminist research is not a specific, narrow methodology, but research informed at every stage by an acknowledged political commitment".

(Dickens et al 1983)

As such this section has indicated how both theoretical interests, and experience 'in the field' informed the research process by outlining the form methods would need to take if structure and action were to be studied as part of the same process. The next section develops these points by analysing the research process itself in order to demonstrate how the development of methodological procedures arise from the empirical, although informed by theoretical premises.

S2: THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The case study was considered to offer the most appropriate type of analysis for the examination of structure and practice: initially because of practical reasons of time, location and contact, but also on the grounds that Hall (1975) has noted, in that the case study represents a means for conveying the immensity of the task confronting those who embark upon the journey from description to generalization, just as Abell (1983) notes how local understanding provides the most effective framework for wider generalizations. It also allows the researcher to get a feel of a particular institutional setting (James 1980). Moreover, a case study allows for a diversity of methodologies.

Methods were used depending upon their relevance to a particular situation. Biographies were developed from previous school records; questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to follow-up biographical details and lifestyles. Students' parents were interviewed whenever possible to triangulate biographical details and fill out the 'cultural framework'. Interviews and observation took place in a variety of situations, including the college classrooms and coffee bar, their homes, my home, placements, pubs, nightclubs, women's toilets and parties. Although the bulk of the research was participant observation, and could

not have been any other if responses were to be understood and appearances uncovered, other methods did have specific functions in providing the basis and the groundwork for the mapping of an institutional and structural framework. Just 'hanging around and talking' (Griffin 1981) was especially useful for collecting information.

Willis (1976) has described adherence to a particular method as being similar to being confined in a cage. As such utilization of diverse methods also pertains to greater stringency over validity, enabling what Cicourel (1973) defines as 'indefinite triangulation' whereby interpretations of responses can be made from a variety of sources. No method was considered superior to any other, in the sense that they each had their specific purpose in relation to specific problems (cf. Trow 1957). For instance, the establishment of a sexual division of labour and knowledge would not have been possible without quantification, nor would a detailed biography of courses, staff and students without documents and questionnaires.

By pursuing the contacts over a period of three years, time-based indefinite triangulation was possible whereby the contradictions in responses and discrepancies between words and deeds became clear. However, contradictions were not used as Hargreaves (1982) suggests to disconfirm previously collected evidence, but to provide a basis for further enquiry about how contradictions were experienced and lived. Femininity, for instance, as the study suggests, was rarely cohered to in a straightforward way. Awareness of such discrepancies was usually a product of the amount of time and energy expended, and the use of the 'culture of femininity' (cf. McRobbie 1978) as the theoretical framework for understanding students' responses. In this respect the relationship between theory and practice came to be elaborated, a process developed throughout the research and discussed in the next sub-section.

Theory and Practice

Many of my initial assumptions were challenged in the process of the research by empirical activity. For instance, a prolonged discussion on romance, beginning from debating a 'True Love' story outcome, indicated that the "right one" was an economic as well as a romantic concept. Also a discussion on violence, based on one of the student's recent experience led to the development of explanations concerning fatalism. In a similar way, intimate discussions on sexuality led to exploration of wider issues surrounding young women and the construction of female sexuality. These discussions contributed towards challenging my own political theorising, and as such the research was an education in itself; similar to the process described by McRobbie (1982) in which she argues that such research can help to transform the relations which characteristically divide thinking from action.

Likewise, continual reading provided frameworks for understanding and interpreting students' experience. Donald's (1985) theories on 'subject' positions, enabled an analysis which corresponded with students' insistence that they were caring/practical people. Likewise, Donzelot's (1979) work on advice provided a framework for understanding the transmission of particular curricula messages. A more general reading of Genoveses' (1971, 1972, 1975) work on slave cultures provided the framework for an analysis which took into account how the students appropriated and subverted categories for their own benefit. Moreover, during the course of the research the students' experiences began to take on the appearance of Adlam et al's (1977) 'nexus of subjectivities' rather than that of any coherent individual. These provide just a few examples to demonstrate how both the theory was informed by the practice and the practice by the theory. When the research process is studied in detail, the basis from which the relationship between theory and practice arose can be located.

In the field: Establishment of Trust

Although I had previously taught caring courses as a 'servicer' from another department my contact with the caring staff was limited due to their moving which dominated their time, and due to my work for the GCE department. I was thus known and accepted as a member of staff, but still remained an 'outsider' by not being tied up in their battles over facilities, rooms and resources (II). I was also substantially younger than many of the staff which detracted from my points of contact. At first I considered this to be a problem, it did however work to my advantage as far as the students were concerned, for if I was 'one of them' (staff) I was not to be trusted. I was greatly helped in establishing relationships of trust with the students when the head of department entered one of my lessons during a noisy discussion and demanded to know where the teacher had gone. My clothing distinguished me from other members of staff and associated me more closely with the students (cf Parker 1974, Patrick 1973), although sometimes it was considered to be 'odd'. Oddity is a useful social role to have as a researcher whereby you cannot be pinned down to a specific stereotype and are seen to be harmless. Being a sociology teacher, a stereotyped 'different' subject is also useful. Birkstead (1976) and Corrigan (1979) have argued that other roles than that of a teacher should be taken for research due to the unequal power relationship and the difficulty of obtaining sensitive information from students. However, Further Education is different from the schools to which they were referring, in certain authoritarian aspects such as smoking and discipline. Aware of such a problem, in the first year of the research I carefully avoided close contacts with members of staff and spent most of my time talking to students in the canteen which was not frequented by other members of staff, or in the students' 'little room' (for especially private conversations, which was an ex-cupboard they had colonised). I overlooked their frequent 'skivings' and was

trusted to a certain extent. As the students had been used to different relationships with teachers, it took some time to develop trust. As a smoker at the time, sharing cigarettes took on a particular significance in gaining confidence, as Michelle notes:

"At first we thought who is this idiot, you know we were wary, didn't know what you wanted, didn't know whether you'd creep back, like you're not used to teachers treating you like humans, you know like adults..... then when you flashed the fags, I were gobstruck, we all nudged each other, did you see? Then when Trisha and Mandy went to your place for that party, they said it were a riot and everyone were really pissed....we knew then you were alright....mind you I think we talked to you for the fags and the coffee at first...you know we used to say, oh Bev'll give you one you just have to sit there....Trisha said you knew loads of fit fellas".

This initial suspicion is a product of both their previous experience and my inexperience. Initially I just talked to them, giving them some vague indication that I was interested in the attitudes of young women, hoping that Dean and White (1958), Dean et al (1967) and Dingwall's (1977) points about a person being accepted more because of the kind of person she turns out to be, than because of what the research represents would be applicable.

Conviviality and trust were not established with every student and conflicts emerged between groups which made it difficult to appear on the 'right' side. One of the problems with this research, of which a similar criticism has been made of Willis (1977) by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) is the problem of 'over identification' with one group. My 'loud' personality made identification easier with similar students, who appear to be more 'street-wise' rather than the quiet, passive students.

In order to establish a relationship of trust with the quiet students, far more effort, and individual interviewing were required. However, persistent interviewing, to establish a real interest in the student appeared, after the first year, to be fruitful in eliciting 'hidden' information on areas such as sexuality, romance and attitudes towards marriage. Such methods can result in what Everhart (1977) has described as 'saturation'. However, being a part-time teacher and not living in the town itself did provide the condition of marginality which is considered important by many researchers (Freilich 1970, Powdermaker 1966, Lofland 1971, Everhart 1977, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983).

My relationship with the staff was somewhat different. I had less contact with them overall, and was only six times involved in immediate leisure activities. At the end of my first year, several departmental conflicts had arisen (over promotion and distribution of resources) and as I was considered to be uninvolved I was able to talk to all the members of staff, but I had to be careful, especially in the staffroom, so as not to be seen to be talking to the 'wrong' person. The positive outcome of such battles was that the unofficial organisation and structure of the department became abundantly clear, although negatively any attempt to develop trust was hampered in a situation where everybody is considered untrustworthy. All malicious gossip was triangulated. However, such conflicts limited the type and amount of contact I could maintain with the staff, contributing to a fundamental weakness in the study. A weakness, which emerged primarily through pragmatic concerns over developing and maintaining contacts. I was able to acquire access to demonstrations and classroom observations on an individual basis, negotiated, primarily, on the basis of my ignorance about the subject, and in the case of baby bathing, nappy changing and bed making, my lack of femininity. I was told by Beryl (PHS tutor) that such observations would probably 'do me good'. I told the staff I was studying 'young women's experience of Further Education and attitudes', which was

sufficiently vague for them not to be interested, rather than letting such 'interest' interfere with their practice. All these aspects indicate that the research process is a social process involving careful negotiation, tact and diplomacy. Unwittingly being in the wrong place at the wrong time can create problems that methodology textbooks fail to deal with. For instance, after talking to Sarah (CC tutor) in the staffroom about 'food and restaurants', I was ignored for a week by Ian, and when contact was finally made through the arrangement of an interview, he wanted to know why I was interested in 'her'. Burgess (1984) has indicated how the research project and methodology are continually defined and redefined. Straightforward tasks such as the collecting of biographical information, created an initial questioning of my assumptions. For instance, after distributing a questionnaire to collect details on family background, previous schooling etc., many discrepancies and gaps were noticed. Interviews, designed to elicit missing material, produced a series of 'problems' experienced by the students, such as incest victims, being thrown out of home, domestic violence. Griffin (1985) notes a similar situation when asking similar questions to working-class girls. (12) Such information led to questioning of the concept of the family being used and the image of the family being presented by the course. Moreover, the research began by using the typical dichotomy of success and failure which led to questioning why the students were so academically unsuccessful, whilst appearing so 'sharp'. The initial research interviews suggested that they operated different concepts of success and failure, to which educational criteria appeared irrelevant, (as Chapters three and six illustrated in detail).

Gender and Class Conviviality

Being female helped the research in that one of the intentions of the research was to get behind 'appearances' (cf. Geras 1972). Roberts (1981), Oakley (1981) and Finch (1984) have indicated how women will

talk to other women about certain 'private' issues such as sexuality and femininity, but not to men. Usually in order to discuss such issues similar information about myself was required in order to ensure my 'feminine credibility', a task which a male researcher would find impossible. There are levels of debate which are not open to men generally. For instance, Jenkins (1983) notes how in his research into a similar age group in Northern Ireland, 'no amount of good, confidential relationships with individual girls can compensate for the defacto exclusion from their shared group activities'. Likewise, Frith (1978) notes what he calls the 'bedroom culture' of girls is private and inaccessible. Jenkins (1983) further notes how, for a male researcher, the barrier of reserve and giggles seems to be inordinately hard to breach (McRobbie 1978, McRobbie and Garber 1976). As Chapter six illustrates, men were categorised by the students in terms of their future marriage potential or as father figures and responded to as such: neither breached the divide between the sexes.

Mentioning that the study concerned women created initial problems. Griffin (1980) notes how a woman doing research on women is automatically seen to be a feminist and therefore substantially different from the young women who are involved with the culture of femininity and romance (13). Many of the students confirmed Oakley's (1981) observation that they could not believe they were interesting enough to be of any use to any study. Both problems were overcome, mainly over time, through shared interests and discussions on feminist issues.

However, whereas being female contributed towards the construction of conviviality, being highly educated and subsequently perceived as middle-class, operated as a point of contention for the students, as the following comment from a discussion on marriage suggests:

Jo (PCSC 0):

"It's alright for you not to get married, you can afford things by yourself, you're dead well paid, you've got your own flat and all your clothes, we'll never have that where would we find a job as well paid as yours...nursing if we're lucky and everyone knows how badly nurses are paid, you can't live on them wages,...you don't realise how bloody lucky you are...you don't take no shit 'cos you can, we can't, where would we end up if we were as stropky as you, nobody'd talk to us,.....on the shelf".

Such comments led to the questioning of McRobbie's (1982) contention in relation to her study where she notes that "being working-class meant little or nothing...but being a girl overdetermines every moment". As the study was based on an examination of gender and class responses to institutional parameters, it seemed only likely that their responses to a researcher would be similarly informed (14). As such class differences severely disrupted any notion of 'empathy' which Stanley and Wise (1983) maintain is established by women researching women. Willis (1979) argues that moments of 'empathy' are basically false impressions in which the researcher feels she/he knows what it is like to be (in his case) a white working-class lad. These moments are false and misleading precisely because the researcher/researched power relationship goes unrecognised and untheorised, and as Griffin (1980) notes seems to mysteriously disappear.

This section has sought to illustrate how the findings of the study were part of an on-going research process in which the initial theoretical and political concerns, although continually informing the research, were modified, challenged and confirmed in the course of the study by the empirical activity of both the researcher and the researched.

What Glaser and Strauss (1967, 1971), Willis (1980) and Griffin (1985) identify as 'theoretical sampling' in which theory is developed throughout the fieldwork via the continual interaction between research 'in the field' and the generation of a theoretical framework. In this sense theoretical analysis was not a discrete event but an integral part of the research process.

This section also illustrated how the methods that were used, were also informed by both initial theoretical concerns and the everyday practicalities of doing research, whereby personality, tact, diplomacy and just being in the right place at the right time influenced the direction and the findings of the study. Through such activities a theoretical framework was developed to best explain the activity of the participants, in relation to their structural and institutional positioning. In so doing an interpretation of their experience of Further Education was presented which was considered to be more plausible than any alternative explanation (cf. Gleeson and Mardle 1980). Such a position would clearly be open to charges of bias by anyone interested in 'hygienic research' (Stanley and Wise 1983) and it is such debates that the next section addresses by outlining how students and staff accounts were used in the writing-up of the research (15).

S3: SELECTIVITY AND OBJECTIVITY

Using Accounts

Accounts were chosen for the explanatory power they bore in relation to the theoretical framework, for their ability to exemplify the structural relations as they were lived at the level of everydayness (cf., Apple 1982)

organized by the institutional parameters of which they were a part. Accounts were selected on the basis of illustrating the experience of the students in relation to their position^s vis-a-vis class and gender and how they responded to the curriculum as a result of this position^s. The study was more concerned with responses, rather than interaction per se, as one of the initial theoretical concerns was to show how young women's experience of Further Education anticipated both the labour market and the family household structure; and how within this process students were involved in constructing a form of gendered subjectivity by which they came to categorise themselves as primarily domestic labourers. As such a description of interaction would not have enabled any addressing of such issues. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) maintain that theory development involves a narrowing of focus and a process of abstraction which, they argue, gives a poor representation of the phenomena under study (16). However, if the object of study is to relate lived experience to structural organization, then theoretical analysis is a pre-requisite for selecting the most plausible explanation for that experience. For instance, Taylor (1967) argues that research needs to provide explanatory frameworks which involve sets of assumptions about the relative importance of different causal variables such as economic or political relations. The theories based on them, he argues, should demonstrate that only a limited number of social and political arrangements are possible. Such a perspective highlights the difference between descriptive accounts and analysis.

Where accounts are used they are indicative of the underlying assumptions and contradictions of the students, and are used tentatively to inform the theory or to illustrate particular points. Accounts are considered to be a product of the particular moment in which they were made, and are used in this respect, to indicate the reasons and history behind their production. Moreover, the reasons for why, where and how students produce

accounts are always located by their structural position vis-a-vis class and gender, and are used to indicate the processes through which students come to construct particular accounts. Heritage (1983) maintains that accounts are occasioned and produced under specific circumstances and their content is specifically social in being tied to particular roles and institutions and in being subject to alteration as a product of social and historical change. As such they could have other theoretical implications to the ones drawn. When many similar accounts were available, those which were the most succinct and interesting were used, what Collins (1983) describes as the 'dramatic indicators' similar to the selection of the best photo. It is a selection, he maintains, that aids communication and therefore contributes to better understanding. If differing perspectives on a similar theme were given they were usually included to illustrate the different position of the students. Before coming to any conclusions about the inclusion of accounts, all possible explanations which took into account the structural and cultural positioning of the students, the location of the account and the contradictions associated with the account were taken into consideration. For instance, an interpretation was needed to explain why when both the staff and the students expressed opinions about the futility of the course in relation to future employment prospects, did they continue to support and legitimate the course. Operating within the theoretical parameters of the study, in which empirical activity was seen in relation to the wider structural features of class, gender and race, an explanation needed to take into account such features. For instance, the students continued with the course because they could not perceive any viable alternatives, also they found ways of constructing for themselves some status, responsibility and autonomy. Moreover, the accounts they gave indicated that underneath their cynicism and 'realism' they ultimately believed in the value of education as a means for labour market entry.

The staff continued to support the course, because again, they had few viable occupational alternatives and they had at least perceived 'limited autonomy' as lecturers in relation to their other previous occupations. They believed, primarily as a result of their previous caring experience and to some extent as a rationalisation, that any form of education was worthwhile if it developed confidence (see chapter two and chapter four). Thus they also found some autonomy and meaning from their position on the courses whereby they perceived themselves to be useful in transmitting knowledge which they hoped would help students to avoid potential social problems.

Validity and Bias

If the validity of accounts is in terms of its nature to generalise from the particular to the general (cf. Gramsci 1971) then the above explanation appeared to be the most plausible. However, as Gaskell (1983) notes, how such findings can be generalised can only be determined through similar work. In this respect Griffin's (1985) recent work, operating within similar theoretical parameters did produce similar explanations. Ball (1983) maintains that what ultimately constitutes a satisfactory account will be derived by the research community. However, if the findings of this study can be generalised to explain or at least provide frameworks for understanding working-class women's experience of Further Education, it will be considered to be a plausible account, representing what Weber (1949) defined as of "value relevance" ie., if the study is considered to be important 'in the sense of being worthy of being known' (p 76) (17).

In this respect the study is open to critiques of 'bias' for not only does it challenge what Becker (1970) defines as the hierarchy of credibility, it began with expressed political and theoretical commitments.

Ricoeur (1981) maintains that any critique of the social world must always be partial, fragmentary and limited by the hermeneutical character of historical understanding. Moreover, any claim to 'objectivity' means that the conclusions arrived at as a result of inquiry and investigation are independent of the sex, age, race and class, occupation, nationality, religion, moral preference and political predispositions of the investigator (see Keat and Urry 1975). Gouldner (1964) maintains that the myth of value freedom is supported because not to be objective is to be seen as unmanly or lacking in integrity. Objectivity, he argues, is a value judgement if it is concerned with accepting the status quo and leaving the issues of oppression and suffering unchallenged. Thus, he argues the adoption of specific value commitments, rather than being inimical to sociological objectivity, are instead required by it (Gouldner 1968). Phillips (1971) argues 'an investigator's values influence not only the problems selected for study but also the methods for studying them and the sources of data the researcher uses. Keat and Urry (1975) argue that value judgements are objective if they can be supported by social theories, and studies by Bell and Encel (1978) suggest that all research is a social and political activity rather than a set of techniques to be applied to the world 'out there'. In this respect Strauss (1953) maintains that to describe a social phenomena is necessarily also to evaluate it, therefore value judgements cannot be avoided as they are an essential part of knowing what something is. Likewise Myrdal (1958) argues that all research involves inescapable a priori political valuations. Gleeson and Mardle (1980) question the traditional use of the concept 'bias'. They maintain that bias resides within the vital links between theory and material practice, and can thus be avoided by ensuring that such links are both rational and coherent. Such a methodology involves 'theoretical sampling' procedures identified previously, rather than an attempt to fit data to theory.

In this respect this study differs significantly from the ethnographic tradition within education that has been 'claimed' by those working within

an interactionist perspective (cf. Hammersley 1983, Woods 1979, Ball 1983, Penscrombe 1983, Burgess 1982). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) consider the main perspectives on ethnography to include: the elicitation of cultural knowledge (Spradley 1980), the detailed investigation of patterns of social interaction (Gumperz 1981); the holistic analysis of societies (Lutz 1981), or as a form of story-telling (Walker 1981). While such perspectives inform certain instances of the research process, they do so within the framework of structural analysis which is considered to be inseparable from interaction itself. However, West (1984) maintains that if we recognize the formal heritage of ethnography in Kant (1929) and Simmel (1963, 1971) a clearly articulated epistemology is found that is both interactive and structural, phenomenal and formal, wherein science is seen as arising in experienced problems. And as such, attempts can be made to develop links between theory and empirical activity, although as Gleeson and Mardle (1980) indicate, such a relationship can never be fully realised for it requires a continual re-negotiation of accounts at both the theoretical and empirical levels.

Thus the validity, bias and value of the study can only be assessed in terms of its ability to draw from the particular to the general in attempting to relate the empirical activity of the students to the institutional parameters of Further Education, recognizing that both are informed by the wider social relations of production. Such a procedure allows for the development of an explanation of how students came to give consent to their own structural subordination through the construction of their own subjectivity. In this respect the study provides not only an analysis of the students but also of the role of Further Education in setting the framework for such action.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has sought to provide an account of how the explanations and arguments of the study come to be constructed. For instance, one of the initial theoretical concerns of the study was to understand how a group of young female students within Further Education gave their consent to aspects of subordination. Such a premise required that methods of analysis were used which looked beyond the obvious interaction of the students in the college, by locating them within specific social positions vis-a-vis class and gender. In order to develop any understanding of the processes involved, particular theoretical frameworks were drawn upon and modified in the light of the empirical activity studied, whereby structure and action were located as elements of the same process in which being was seen to determine consciousness.

By using a variety of methods which enabled indefinite triangulation over both different accounts and time, and through the establishment of conditions of trust, the students were examined in the process of constructing their own subjectivity. A process which involved their drawing upon the structural and cultural resources that were available to them. This study of the construction of subjectivity in relation to structural parameters represents an attempt to provide a rigorous and coherent account of the way the students lived the structural and material practice of which they were a part. An attempt to exemplify how people live elements of contradiction and oppression, and in so doing attempt to construct some form of autonomy for themselves. In this respect the study can only be assessed on its ability to provide a rigorous and plausible explanation of such processes. The explanations offered and the interpretations given were informed by specific theoretical concerns, assumptions and interest. As such they can be read as one person's interpretation of the situation, on the other hand the plausibility of

the study can be assessed by its ability to provide frameworks which may have wider currency in understanding the way young white working-class women live the contradictions and iridescent qualities of everyday life.

FOOTNOTE: CHAPTER SEVEN

- (1) Such work, as Chapter two noted, being indicative of the accorded pay and status. I would have liked to study comparative 'high' status groups, but access was limited by my part-time status, and to just observe, whilst teaching another group would have, I felt, produced decidedly different relationships (see for example Davies 1985, Corrigan 1979).
- (2) Such an interest initially stemmed from the work of semiotics on the production and appropriation of messages and meanings (cf. Hall 1973, Johnson 1976, DeCamargo 1974, Vernon 1971 and Voloshinov 1973) and the work of Morley (1979) and Hall (1979) on culture codes. Morley's (1979) work on audience response informed the research throughout. His influence being that the students must be conceived as composed of clusters of socially situated individual readers whose individual readings will be informed and framed by shared cultural formations and practices, pre-existent to the individual shared orientations which will in turn be determined by factors derived from the objective position of the individual in the class structure (and through their gender position).
- (3) Hall (1981) argues that this position attributes the fundamental determination in securing the 'complex unity' of society to the relationships of the economic structure, but regards the so-called 'superstructures' as having vital, critical 'work' to do in sustaining, at the social, cultural, political, and ideological levels, the conditions which enable capitalist production to proceed. This is regarded as difficult, contested 'work' that operates through opposition and antagonism. Hegemony is thus structured practice.
- (4) West (1984) maintains that structural and interactionist formulations have much in common when stripped of the extremes of their positions (eg. Althusser and Garfinkel: see Robinson 1952 and Sayer 1979). There is, he argues, the same search for necessary relationships and the same allowance for history, will and political action to provide the real sufficient conditions, the same search for underlying structure. They both rely upon a claimed isomorphism of subjects categories and social behaviour and social form and as such the 'macro-micro' split is dissolved. In terms of methodology West maintains that the development of interactionism's pragmatic roots (Simmel 1895) developed by Kaplan (1963) and Greer (1969) is dominated by issues originating in Kant, Hegel and Marx, wherein science is seen as arising in experienced problems.
- (5) Bernstein (1974) has argued that the analysis of structural relationships does not necessarily imply a static theory (as would be suggested in the work of Althusser 1969, 1971). Structural relationships implicitly and explicitly, carry the power to control messages and shape in part, the form of response to them at the level of interaction. It is this dialectical relationship between structure and interaction that is explored, what West (1984) identifies as phenomena and form. Gleeson (1977) has argued that the relationships people enter into are structural relationships, and that specific identities are created by the nature of these relationships.
- (6) The theory of structuration, Archer (1982) argues, gives all structural properties the same value by having a 'virtual existence' only when instantiated by actors and by arguing that what is instantiated depends on the power of agency but not on the nature of the property, when in fact structural properties have different amounts of constraint, in which some are closed to change. Moreover, such a perspective fails to recognize that although people may be aware of the characteristics of constraint they can do little to change them. Such a bias results in perceiving institutions as what people produce rather than what they confront.

- (7) The only empirical Further Education studies to-date are Tipton (1973), Gleeson and Mardle (1980) Lee (1964), Gibb (1983), Lander (1983). Blunden (1983) provides a historical study. Of these, Gibb provides the only account of the experience of young women in Further Education.
- (8) Even, where the exclusion has been acknowledged (Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1980) a 'logical' explanation for this exclusion has been offered which Blackstone (1976) suggests leaves a lot to be desired as the structural exclusion of women is used to justify the continued structural exclusion of women. (Spender 1981). MacIntyre (1977) has argued that the absence of detailed knowledge of a phenomenon or process itself represents a useful starting point for research.
- (9) Griffin (1985) has argued that such accounts are not necessarily invalid, rather that their ability to generalize to other groups is severely restricted, just as Davies (1985) argues that what is really needed is a bank of ethnographic studies to provide details of different groups within education.
- (10) Kelly (1978) suggests that the question 'what is feminist research can be reformulated as 'at what point does feminism enter the research process?' which she divides into three stages:
 1) Choosing the research topic and formulating questions
 2) Carrying out the research and obtaining the results
 3) Interpreting the findings. In this respect for this study feminist concerns informed every aspect of the research process.
- (11) As such I did not experience any of the access problems described by Benyon (1983), Hitchcock (1983), Ball (1983), Hammersley (1983), Delamont (1976), Atkinson (1984), Burgess (1984).
- (12) McRobbie (1982) highlights similar problems which she refers to as 'holidaying on other people's misery'.
- (13) Griffin (1980) argues that the passivity claimed to be essential to the initial stage of the research process by Willis (1976) is a difficult strategy to work without reinforcing femininity.
- (14) In a similar manner to the way my own perceptions of the research were informed by my class, gender, age and race. As such any form of research Ricoeur (1981) argues must always be hermeneutical because we are part of the very world we seek to understand; and any attempt to step out of the world, whether by the Althusserian (1971) appeal to science or the appeal to the 'transcendental idea' of Habermas (1973) is likely to go astray, striving for a kind of abstraction which overlooks our condition, as socio-historical beings.
- (15) Stanley and Wise (1983) argue that the premise of arguments which suggest 'hygienic research' are a reconstructed logic, a mythology which presents an oversimplistic account of the research.
- (16) Although they do acknowledge that a theoretical perspective gives much more knowledge about how a particular aspect of social process is organized and why events occur.
- (17) Keat and Urry (1975) argue that Weber's analysis can be divided into claims for value-relevance and value judgements. They maintain the concept of value relevance can be defended as a successful challenge would require a rejection of the ontological assumptions that enable Weber to regard values as performing a purely selective function upon an independently existent reality.

As noted in the previous chapter, a narrowly focussed study such as this will operate with particular limitations defined by the theoretical parameters which it operates within. As such, it can be read simply as a study of a group of young women and their experience of Further Education between 1980-1983. However, it can also provide specific indications of more general issues prevalent within current theoretical debates. For instance the study provides particular accounts of the more general state of play between the State and Further Education; the role Further Education plays in allocating and categorising students, and in propagating and naturalizing sexual divisions; how subjectivity becomes constructed in relation to institutional parameters; how Further Education implicates students in their own self-surveillance; and how class and gender come together to inform students' responses. All these general issues are particularly pertinent to recent debates surrounding YTS and the State management of young people.

The State and Care Courses.

Even though many changes have occurred in both Further Education and the local labour market since the beginning of the study (see Gleeson 1983, Green 1983, Finn 1984, Bates et al 1984), the research provides parallels to many of these developments. For instance, the Community Care and Pre-Social Care Courses have now moved under the YTS rubric, the Community Care Course is now labelled "Family and Community Care". Moreover, although since 1980 there has been a sharp rise in unemployment, disproportionately affecting those with few skills and qualifications (Friend and Metcalf 1981), and a continual decrease in the personal social services (Ungerson 1985), there has also been a substantial expansion of the voluntary community work sector (see David 1985, Finch and

Groves 1985), a development of semi-formal caring networks to support the informal 'community' caring networks that are assumed to exist (Barclay 1982), and an increase in the demand for domestic servants (see Root 1984). Such trends, it appears, are beginning to influence the type and form of employment that are available to students. For example:

Table I: Employment/Unemployment Twelve Months
after Completing Course. (1982 leavers)

	PCSC	o/o	PHS	o/o	CC	o/o
Unemployed	7	22	3	13	11	40
Unemployed & Married	1	3	3	13	2	7
Unemployed Total	8	25	6	26	13	47
Care Assistants	3	10	1	4	0	0
SEN	4	13	4	17	4	14
SRN	2	6	3	13	0	0
Domestic service (Nanny/Au Pair)	3	9	5	23	4	14
Shop/Factory	3	9	3	13	2	7
A Levels	2	6	0	0	0	0
No information	7	22	1	4	5	18
	32	100	23	100	28	100

Such developments serve to indicate the role of the State as it affects both the organisation of Further Education and the employment prospects of the students. As Chapter four argued, the State at this present moment is involved, not only in restructuring the youth labour market and youth 'training' through the MSC, but also in restructuring the Welfare State and the family household structure (through benefits, care organisation and monitoring of responsibility). This attempt at

designed to alter existing social relations (Bates et al 1984). Such restructuring is representative of the increase in "order maintenance" identified by Kinsey (1986). In this respect the States' responses are not dissimilar to those expressed at the origination of caring courses in 1908, where a legacy for caring education was established on the basis of dual anticipation of both the family-household structure and local domestic service requirements (see Chapter one). Moreover, just as the earliest courses operated a scheme whereby young working-class women were trained to 'educate' the rest of the working-class in domestic etiquette, the contemporary courses appear to sustain a similar legacy (I).

The restructuring strategies of the State, also influence students' perceptions of their own futures (in terms of employment) and thus indirectly informs the way they construct their cost-benefit analysis of Further Education. Moreover, the role the State plays in establishing particular forms of family responsibility (Barrett and McIntosh 1982, McIntosh 1984, Land 1985, Finch and Groves 1985, Ungerson 1985, David 1985) indirectly informs the staff-student relations, influencing the staff's perceptions of the students' future responsibilities. For instance Chapters four and six illustrated how the staff assumed that the students were 'deficient' and would experience particular social 'problems' not dissimilar to the class and gender based assumptions made by trainers on YOP (Stafford 1981) and YTS (Moore 1983) schemes. In this and many other respects the study provides particular information on the processes Further Education is now involved in, through pre-vocational education, in categorizing, allocating and conferring occupational and familial claims. There are, as the study has illustrated, two parts to this process: firstly, the structural-allocating role of Further Education and secondly, the role students play in making meaningful and surviving this process.

This study has illustrated how one of the major roles Further Education now plays is in allocating and categorizing young people in relation to the social criteria of class, gender, age and race (Avis 1981, Gleeson 1983, David 1981). In this case, the students become categorized primarily as domestic labourers. Such a categorization is not imposed upon students, but a product of their responses, which in an attempt to gain some autonomy from the organisation of the curricula draw upon their cultural materialism as young, white, working-class women (Willis 1986). The organisation of the curricula is itself predicated upon social and sexual divisions which operate specific 'subject positions' (cf. Donald 1985) contributing towards students constructing themselves as caring, practical, responsible people, whose primary responsibility is familial. In this respect the students contributed towards the propagation of divisions between themselves and ultimately between classes and genders. A role Mann (1970), Held (1984) and Thompson (1984) argue contributes towards the reproduction of stability by the maintenance of social fragmentation and sustenance of the legitimacy of this fragmentation.

Not only did the organisation of knowledge and students' responses to it serve to propagate social and sexual divisions, but by including caring on the curriculum, such divisions became naturalized. The general value of caring, locates caring within the cultural equation of caring = mothering = feminine = natural (see Chapter five). By reproducing the general cultural currency of caring within the courses, in which caring for and caring about become indistinguishable, caring is both presented and read off by students (who are firmly located within the culture of femininity) as a natural disposition.

Furthermore, by using motherhood as a model for caring (see Chapter five), the 'subject position' of caring assumes that those who are caring are naturally predisposed. As such, including subjects such as caring on the curriculum, which have specific meanings within the students' own culture, immediately implicates them in the process of accommodating, rather than resisting this particular form of education, unlike Willis's 'lads' who could draw on masculinity to construct some form of challenge. Also, by naturalizing knowledge divisions, any structural analysis of the social and sexual inequalities associated with caring, motherhood, the family etc., become blocked (cf. Moore 1983) and read-off as individualized failings.

However, the role of Further Education does not just rest at the allocation and categorization of students and the propagation and naturalization of social and sexual divisions. The study illustrated how the courses were also involved in constructing moral frameworks (cf. Grignon 1971, Dickenson and Erben 1983), through which students could come to assess and monitor their own responsibility and effectiveness. Chapters four, five and six illustrated how most aspects of family life were detailed, in such a way as to establish particular 'standards' of behaviour and types of responsibility. Doyle (1937) has argued that a system based on constant attention to details of etiquette, patterns of address, appropriate postures and gestures and formation of responsibility provides the most effective means for presenting a "natural" order of subordination. More recently, Gleeson (1986) has indicated how what was once the hidden curriculum, with its emphasis on attitudes, demeanour and presentation has now surfaced as the official curriculum suggesting, he argues, that such criteria are designed to alter the relationship of young people to society. In this respect, Further Education, not only confers occupational claims (cf. Gleeson and Hussain 1984) but also confers familial responsibility, whereby students become versed in the art of domestic etiquette. It is in this

process that Further Education operates to construct 'intimate and secure social relations' (cf. Gramsci 1971), a process through which students construct their own gendered caring subjectivity.

The Students' Responses To Further Education

The central feature of the students' responses to Further Education has been their continual attempts to overcome the powerlessness that they feel: both a product of the organisation of Further Education, and a product of their own material culturalism of femininity. Their responses were both informed and limited by their class and gender positioning, what Williams (1973) identifies as their 'limits and boundaries'. As such their experience of Further Education can be seen, in general terms, as an attempt to construct some autonomy, meaning and status for themselves within the institutional parameters circumscribed by the curricula divisions. In this respect, their responses can be seen as part of a more general cost-benefit analysis, whereby they assessed the powerlessness and autonomy that could be produced from their participation.

In attempting to construct autonomy and resist the powerlessness that they experienced, the students used the cultural resources that they had access to. These cultural resources frequently locked them further within sexual divisions, which ultimately secured their own subordination. For instance when negotiating familial ideology (see Chapter five), in an attempt to construct some autonomy and responsibility for themselves, they established particular standards, through which they became implicated in exclusive mothering. Similarly, when 'playing' the marriage market, they came to construct themselves as marriageable commodities. In this respect the students were not only involved in monitoring and conditioning their own aspirations but were also involved in constructing for themselves particular frameworks of responsibility through which they became involved

in monitoring their own caring standards: a form of subjectivity which involved self-surveillance and by implication, the construction of a Genovesian 'guilt culture'. As such they were involved in their own 'order maintenance'. Such processes, illustrated in detail throughout the study, suggest how caring pre-vocational education involves students in the reproduction of their own subordination at the level of everydayness. By illustrating how these processes operate, it also provides indications of where change is necessary if young working-class women are to be stopped from holding themselves responsible for structural problems. And also stopped from maintaining the soft policing role, traditionally performed by the social services (CSE Group 1979) in monitoring not only themselves, but their future families; and in so doing perpetuating divisions between women and the working-class.

Directions Forward

Willis (1977) has identified the 'Monday morning syndrome', whereby if we have nothing to say about what to do on a practical everyday basis everything is yielded to a 'purist structuralist immobilizing reductionist tautology: nothing can be done until the basic structures of society are changed but the structures prevent us making any changes' (p 186). Moreover, he argues, to contract out of the messy business of day to day problems is to deny the active, contested nature of social and cultural production: to condemn people to the status of passive zombies, and to actually cancel the future by default. If the central theme of the study, ie., that these students are continually striving to develop some autonomy to reduce the powerlessness that they feel, is taken as a basic starting point, we need to construct a form of education which will empower students, for as Gramsci (1971) notes, such an attempt to develop consciousness of their position could be seen as a pre-political stage. In so doing we need to take into account the material culturalism of the students, for as Bernstein (1971) maintains, if the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the student, then the culture of

the student must first be in the consciousness of the teacher. As such teacher-education needs to include substantial coverage of the way structures of class, gender and race inform not only the actions and perceptions of prospective students, but also their own. Such a critical education should also attempt to show how naturalized divisions are not inevitable but are social constructs, predicated upon specific forms of social, economic and political organization.

The divisions of knowledge that exist within Further Education need to be challenged, and if possible, integrated to enable theory to exist with practice, rather than opposed to it. Specifically, in terms of caring courses, whilst they still proliferate, they should alter their focus. Already they exist as traditional 'women's studies' courses. In order to challenge the construction of a subordinate subjectivity by students, they should become critical 'women's studies', incorporating the rigour and relevance of feminist women's studies which will give practitioners the ability to question many of the cultural assumptions associated with caring, femininity and romance. This is not necessarily to force them into other areas but to create an awareness of how their choices and responsibilities are constructed (McCabe 1981). Such a focus would enable a deconstruction of the naturalization of gender, opening the way for less suspicion between the sexes. The courses should remain single-sex in order to achieve such aims, for as Chapter six illustrated, students will attempt to stretch the traditional boundaries of femininity within an all female secure environment.

Such strategies would enable students to develop a constructive (rather than fatalistic, as they now operate) attitude towards inequality, for as Lukes (1975) notes, 'the most insidious form of power is to prevent people from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences' (p 24). Moreover, such studies should be pursued in a

way which recognises their 'hidden' histories and credits and criticizes their 'misrecognised' knowledges, for as Willis (1986) argues, the overall collective interest for working-class and oppressed groups is for critical self-knowledge and critical 'new' learning to provide the most general symbolic and democratic resources as one of the conditions necessary to the taking of more control over their collective conditions of life. Such an education would provide for a collective, rather than individualized, recognition of their social situation. However, such strategies would remain limited until they have the potential to be linked to similar struggles elsewhere to produce transformative effects (Whitty 1985). In this respect, Whitty (1985) argues, we need to abandon old conceptions of professionalism and develop new ways of working with the popular constituencies - the labour movement, the women's movement and black movements (CCCS 1981)(2).

Future work needs to concentrate on the development of a curriculum, and curriculum materials to encourage the take-up of such ideas. Ad-hoc individual attempts are being made within YTS and Further Education, usually however, with little support or encouragement. Such a curriculum would need to include not only critical women's studies but also critical men's studies, whereby both sexes can come to realize that there are alternative ways of constructing autonomy and reducing powerlessness without detriment to the opposite sex. For what this study has suggested, generally, is that students need to maintain some sense of their own self-worth. Education could thus provide some challenge to the self-effacement of femininity (McRobbie 1978, Anyon 1983). Education in personal effectiveness, could take on yet another new meaning: personal effectiveness to challenge rather than to acquiesce in subordination.

Footnotes: Conclusions

- (1) For instance the recent DHSS "Under-Fives Initiative" started in 1983, David (1985) argues operates to recruit (primarily) middle-class mothers of school-age children to voluntary agencies to "teach" the skills of full-time, exclusive motherhood to poor and working-class mothers on a voluntary basis. The use of such women, under the guise of home visiting or befriending, she argues, disguises the amount of surveillance involved. Moreover, it disguises the divisions that are being perpetuated between mothers. It is but a step to (voluntarily) recruit those with some occupational claim, who may not necessarily be members of the middle class.

- (2) Culley and Portuges (1985) argue that we need to develop a feminist pedagogy along the lines described by Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' to enable a search for generative themes between women, class, race and the structural situation in which they interact.

APPENDIX A

SOUTHERN COLLEGE OF FURTHER EDUCATION: SEXUAL DIVISIONS

THE COLLEGE COMPRISES OF FIVE DEPARTMENTS:

1. Food, Fashion and Health
2. Engineering and Building
3. Business and Management
4. Liberal Studies
5. G.C.E.

FOOD, FASHION & HEALTH DEPARTMENT : SEXUAL DIVISIONSFULL TIME: FEMALES 85.1%courses include:

General Catering	All female
Hairdressing	"
Youth Opportunities Programme Community Project	85.7% Female
<u>Community Care</u>	<u>88.4% "</u>
Professional Chefs	32.0% "
General Catering	67.1% "
Hotel Reception	All Female
Hairdressing II	97.0% "
<u>Preliminary Health Service</u>	<u>All Female</u>
Nursery Nurses Education Board	All Female
Preliminary Certificate in <u>Social Care</u>	<u>93.8% "</u>
OND Catering	74.5% "
Hotel Reception & Housekeeping	All Female

SHORT FULL TIME: FEMALES 54.5%: Youth Opportunities Programme
Catering Assistants

PART-TIME DAY RELEASED: FEMALES 77.9%courses include:

Cookery for Catering INd	59.6% Female
Hairdressing	93.3% "
Adv. Hair Studies	All Female
In-service Social Care	61.1%
Youth Opportunities Programme Care Assistants	55.0% "
'O' Level Cooker	All Female
Adult First Aid	22.% "
Home Help Training Course	All Female

Food, Fashion & Health Sheet 2.PART-TIME DAY NON RELEASED: FEMALES 30.0%courses include:

Cookery for Catering Ind.	66.7% Female
Hairdressing	All Female
Adv. Hair Studies	All Female
Linked Course Catering	13.3% Female
Linked Courses Handicapped	28.5% "
Youth Opportunities Programme Care Assistants	50.0% "

PART-TIME DAY/EVENING RELEASED: FEMALES 96.6%: Nursing Diploma

EVENING ONLY

Playgroup Leaders	All Female
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Department Total: FEMALES:81.4%MALES :45.9%

G.C.E. DEPARTMENT : SEXUAL DIVISIONS

(All courses are split on enrollment to those including maths and science and those not)

FULL TIME : FEMALES 49.3%

Not incl. maths and science	60.4% Female
incl. maths and science	36.7% Female
'O' Level full time	51.0% Female

PART TIME DAY RELEASED: FEMALES 28.6%

Assembly language production 21.0% Female

NB: Computer Programming 100% Male NO FEMALES

PART TIME DAY NON RELEASED: FEMALES 52.8%

Linked course Computing	50.9%
Linked course Sociology	70.6% Females

PART TIME DAY/EVENING RELEASED : FEMALES 50% :

O/A 1 Year incl. maths and science

PART TIME DAY/EVENING NON RELEASED: 50.% FEMALE

O/A 1 and 2 year (not specified)

EVENING ONLY: FEMALES 59.1%

Intro to Computing	27.3% Female
Not incl. maths and science	61.2% Female
incl. maths and science	15.8% Female
All 'O' Level Maths	64.2% Female

ENGINEERING AND BUILDING CONSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT: SEXUAL DIVISIONSTOTAL = 34 Females TOTAL DEPARTMENT STUDENTS = 1914 (1.8%)3 Full Time: 1: EITB Eng. Craft

2: TEC Mach. Cert.

3 Part-TimeNon Released: All motor car maintenance1 Day Release: Mechanical Engineering Craft Studies7 Part-Time Dayand EveningRelease: TEC Cert. Elect/Mechn.2 Part-Time Dayand Evening Non-Release: Painters and Decorators.18 Evening Only: 1 Vehicle & Body Craft

1 Electronics

6 Woodwork

5 Motor Car Maintenance

5 Maintenance

APPENDIX B : LOCAL AND NATIONAL MODES OF ATTENDANCE

TABLE 1: TOTAL MODES OF ATTENDANCE FOR SOUTHERN COLLEGE
(ACADEMIC YEAR 1980/1981)

	ENG/BUILD	MAN/BUS	LIB STD	GCE	FF&H
SIZE OF DEPARTMENT	30.3	14.4	23.5	19.6	21.1
FULL TIME	4.7	14.3	2.0	42.2	36.8
SHORT FULL TIME	29.1	29.1	30.2	-	11.5
BLOCK RELEASED	100				
PART TIME DAY RELEASED	34.2	29.8	13.8	3.4	21.7
PART TIME DAY & EVENING RELEASED	84.7	11.3	1.4	0.2	2.5
PART TIME DAY NON RELEASED	5.6	0.9	63.5	27.2	0.1
PART TIME DAY & EVENING NON RELEASED	79.1	10.5	5.3	10.5	-
EVENING ONLY	15.0	17.7	38.8	26.6	1.9

TABLE 2: SOUTH CHESHIRE CENTRAL COLLEGE OF FURTHER EDUCATION

ENROLMENT ANALYSIS FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1980/1981

MODES OF ATTENDANCE : FOR FEMALES

	ENG/BLD	MAN/BUS	LIB SDS	GCE	FF&H	F.TOTAL	M.TOTAL	TOTALS
FULL TIME	0.3%	11.6%	1.1%	20.7%	31.3%	65%	35%	1207
SHORT FULL TIME	-	27.1%	8.3%	-	6.3%	41.7%	58.3%	96
SANDWICH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BLOCK RELEASE	-	-	-	-	-	-	100%	230
P/T DAY RELEASED	0.1%	10.1%	8.9%	1%	16.9%	37.1%	62.9%	1041
P/T DAY & EVENING RELEASED	0.6%	6.%	1%	0.1%	2.39%	10.1%	89.9%	1129
P/T DAY N/RELEASED	0.3%	0.6%	43.4%	14.4%	0.1%	59.6%	40.4%	1111
P/T DAY & EVENING N/RELEASED	4.16%	6.25%	4.16%	4.1%	-	18.7%	81.3%	48
EVENING ONLY	1.24%	15.3%	27.9%	15.7%	1.9%	62.1%	37.9%	1445
TOTAL	0.5%	9.1%	16.1%	10.3%	9.9%	45.9%	54.1%	6307
%BY DEPT.	1.8%	37.2%	68.4%	52.6%	81.4%			

TABLE 3: COMPARISON OF LOCAL & NATIONAL MODES OF ATTENDANCE
(ACADEMIC YEAR 1980/1981)

A : NATIONAL MODES

	MALE	FEMALE
Full time courses	41%	59%
Part time released	81.3%	19%

B : LOCAL (SOUTHERN COLLEGE) MODES

South Cheshire College	MALE	FEMALE
Full time courses	35%	65%
Block release	100%	-
Day release	62.9%	37%

TABLE 4 : NATIONAL MODES OF ATTENDANCE IN NON ADVANCED FURTHER EDUCATION : 1979

16-18	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	1969		1969		1979		1979		1969	1979
Full Time Courses	76876	46%	88270	53%	98373	41%	141203	59%	165146	239576
Sandwich	6550	87%	960	13%	8526	72.6%	3211	27%	7510	11737
Full Time & Sandwich	83426	48%	89230	52%	106899	42.5%	144414	57%	172656	251313
Released	313077	81.6%	70347	18.3%	249746	81.3%	57138	19%	383424	306902
Other Part Time Day	10894	47.9%	11835	52%	10750	50%	10619	50%	22729	21369
Total Part Time Day	323971	79.7%	82182	20.2%	260514	79.3%	67757	21%	406153	328271
Evening Only	60868	42.9%	80780	57%	35035	33.9%	68306	66%	141648	103341
All Courses	468265	64.9%	252192	35%	402448	58.9%	280477	41%	720457	682925

TABLE 5 : NATIONAL FIGURES FOR STUDENTS AGED 16-18,
as % of the 16-18 Population : 1979

16-18	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
	1969	1969	1979	1979	1969	1979
Full Time & Sandwich	6.2%	6.8%	8.7%	12.4%	6.5%	10.5%
Released	23.1%	5.4%	20.4%	4.9%	14.4%	12.8%
Other P/T Day	0.8%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%
Evening	4.5%	6.2%	2.9%	5.9%	5.3%	4.3%
TOTAL	34.6%	19.3%	32.9%	24.1%	27.1%	28.5%
16-18 NOT in Full Time Education	35.0%	7.9%	27.7%	7.0%	21.5%	17.9%

TABLE 6 : NON ADVANCED FURTHER EDUCATION : SUBJECT/DEPARTMENT GROUPINGS :

NOVEMBER 1979

	FULL TIME		SANDWICH		DAY RELEASE		OTHERP/T		EVENING		TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
ENGINEERING & TECHNOLOGY (INCL. EDUCATION & MED)	9.9%	0.7%	0.7%	0.4%	77.4%	1.1%	1.7%	0.17%	7.7%	5.5%	375101
AGRICULTURE AND SCIENCE	12.6%	5.8%	0.9%	0.7%	42.1%	27.3%	1.8%	1.27%	5.3%	2.2%	13833
SOCIAL ADMIN. & BUSINESS STUDIES	8.14%	20.7%	0.05%	0.09%	30.1%	25.1%	1.4%	1.5%	9.4%	3.6%	101089
PROFESSIONAL & VOCATIONAL SUBJECTS	10.8%	27.4%	1.5%	0.3%	13.5%	26.3%	1.03%	7.8%	5.2%	6.4%	89083
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE	0.6%	9.7%	-	0.3%	1.6%	1.6%	1.7%	5.7%	35.7%	43.1%	5451
MUSIC, DRAMA, ART & DESIGN	39.1%	46.5%	-	-	0.7%	1.01%	2.0%	4.6%	2.6%	3.4%	21123
GCE, CSE, CEE & unspecified	3.2%	6.7%	0.08%	0.03%	3.4%	3.7%	3.3%	14.8%	19.0%	45.8%	716831
TOTAL	8.1%	10%	0.4%	0.1%	23.4%	5.7%	2.6%	8.2%	15.3%	26.3%	1,638,841

Appendix C

COMMUNITY CARE: 31 STUDENTS (18 female/3 male)			
Mothers Occupation		Fathers Occupation	
Domestic/School dinners	9	Trad WC (RG LIIf-VI)	17
Housewife	8	Unemployed	2
Sales Assistant	4		
EPH/Matron/Warden	3		
Secretary/Clerk	2	Clerks (RGIIIa)	4
Factory	2		
MC(Business)	2	MC(Business RG II)	3
		Absent	2
Total	30		30

+ One Student without parents

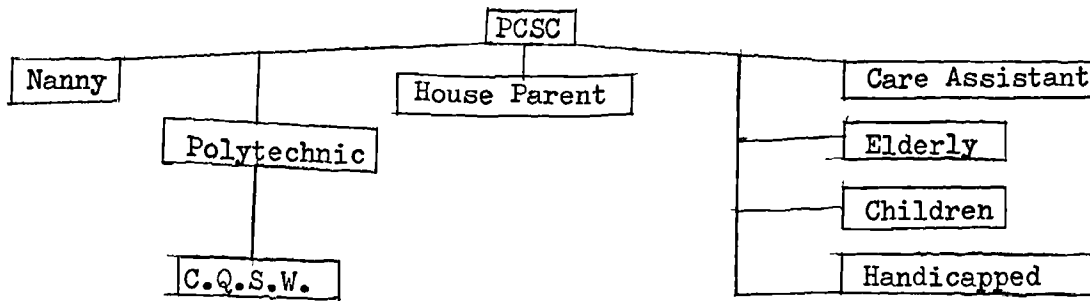
PRE-HEALTH SERVICE: 23 STUDENTS (All female)			
Mothers Occupation		Fathers Occupation	
Domestic/School dinners	5	Trad WC (RG IIIv-VI)	11
Housewife	4	Unemployed	
Sales Assistant	2		
Nurse/Auxiliary	8		
Secretary/Clerk	1	Non-Manual (RG IIIa)	4
Factory	3		
		MC(Business RG II)	3
		Disappeared	1
Total	23	Total	23

PRELIMINARY CERTIFICATE IN SOCIAL CARE: 36 STUDENTS (32 female/4 male ⁺)			
Mothers Occupation		Fathers Occupation	
Domestic/School dinners	8	Trad WC (RGIIIb-VI)	13
Housewife	8	Unemployed	1
Sales Assistant	2		
Nurse/Auxiliary/Warden	5		
Secretary/Clerk	6	Non-Manual (RG IIIa)	3
Factory	0		
MC(Business)	3	MC (RG I & II)	14
Disappeared	1	Disappeared	1
Total	32	Total	31

+ One with no father

+ males not included in study.

(3) The Preliminary Course in Social Care Introductory leaflet to the course provides the following career structure.



On a more general level, a comparison between status and 'employability' can be drawn between:

High Status (Academic) (11%)	PCSC (A)	→ Poly/University/Social Work
	PHS (A)	→ SRN/University
Medium Status (89%)	PCSC (O)	→ Certificate Social Services/ House-parent/Care Assistant/ Nanny
	PHS (O)	→ Possible SRN/SEN/Nanny
Low Status	CC	→ Care Assistant/Poss SEN/ Auxiliary/Nanny

The course rhetoric furthers these distinctions:-

The PCSC (1982) handbook states:

"candidates without the potential or motivation to obtain educational qualifications may be more appropriately referred for consideration to another course within the college or elsewhere."

Whereas the lower stream PHS course, considered by the tutor to be possible SEN material suggests:

"If a girl aims to help the sick and is doubtful of her ability to reach a high academic standard, then the SEN is the right training for her...."

The aim of the PHS course is to provide a basic understanding of those areas of study which are required by those whose duties are likely to be concerned with the care of people in a practical way". (H. T. Taylor (1977) Inter-Regional Scheme Certificate of Further Education Pre-Nursing Courses, received by Food, Fashion & Health Dept. 1982)

"very practical and less academically demanding".

"Generally not suitable for potential A level candidates. It was agreed that the examination should not be of too high an academic standard".

(PHS introductory leaflet 1982)

The FEU (1982) notes in relation to the community care:

"Curriculum; helping nonacademic achieve their academic potential using vocational focus as a motivator. It could be seen as a 'Life Skills' course to help the underachieving handle their lives effectively".

Appendix: E

Curriculum Organisation

<u>PCSC</u> <u>Compulsory</u> <u>Academic O levels</u> English Maths Psychology Sociology Biology	<u>PHS</u> <u>Compulsory</u> <u>Academic O levels</u> English Maths Psychology Sociology Biology	<u>CC</u> <u>Compulsory</u> <u>Academic O levels</u> English Communications Maths
<u>Possible A levels</u> Sociology Communications English	History of Nursing <u>Possible A levels</u> Sociology Communications English	<u>Compulsory CSE's</u> Social Studies Environmental Science Numeracy
<u>Occupational-related work undertaken</u> Health care Social Policy	<u>Occupational-related work undertaken</u> Elementary nursing principles Human Growth and development	<u>Occupational-related work undertaken</u> Health care/Home Nursing Social care practice
<u>Practical Work</u> Home Economics Needlework Creative Studies Applied skills (Basic caring principle) ESB First Aid (St. John's Ambulance)	<u>Practical Work</u> Home Economics Needlework Creative Studies First Aid (St. John's Ambulance)	<u>Practical work</u> Home Economics Needlework Creative Studies (BCP's) Applied skills ESB First Aid (St. John's Ambulance)
<u>Placements: 1 day/week</u> <u>3 week block</u>	<u>Placements: 1 day/week</u> <u>3 week block</u>	<u>Placements: 1 day/week</u> <u>3 week block</u>

Health Care = Child care and hygiene (certificates awarded by Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene and National Association for Maternal and Child Welfare)

Home Nursing = Health visitor, child care, hygiene, family care

Social Care Practice = child care, elderly, handicapped, placement preparation and back up.

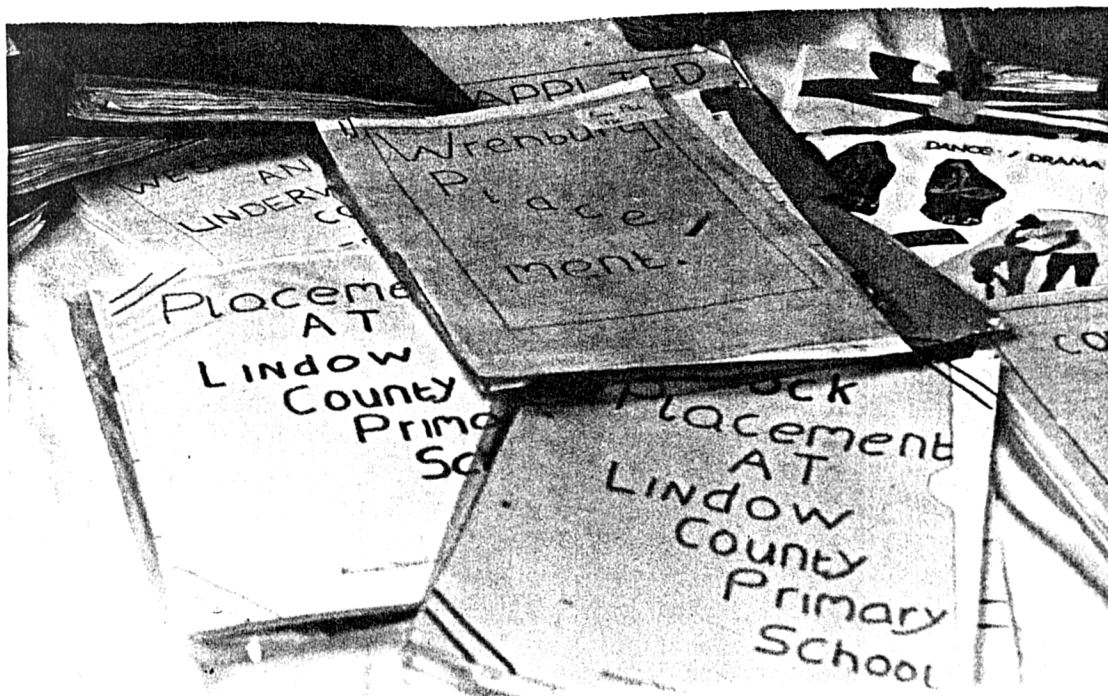
Applied Skills = P.E. and art for children, handicapped and elderly

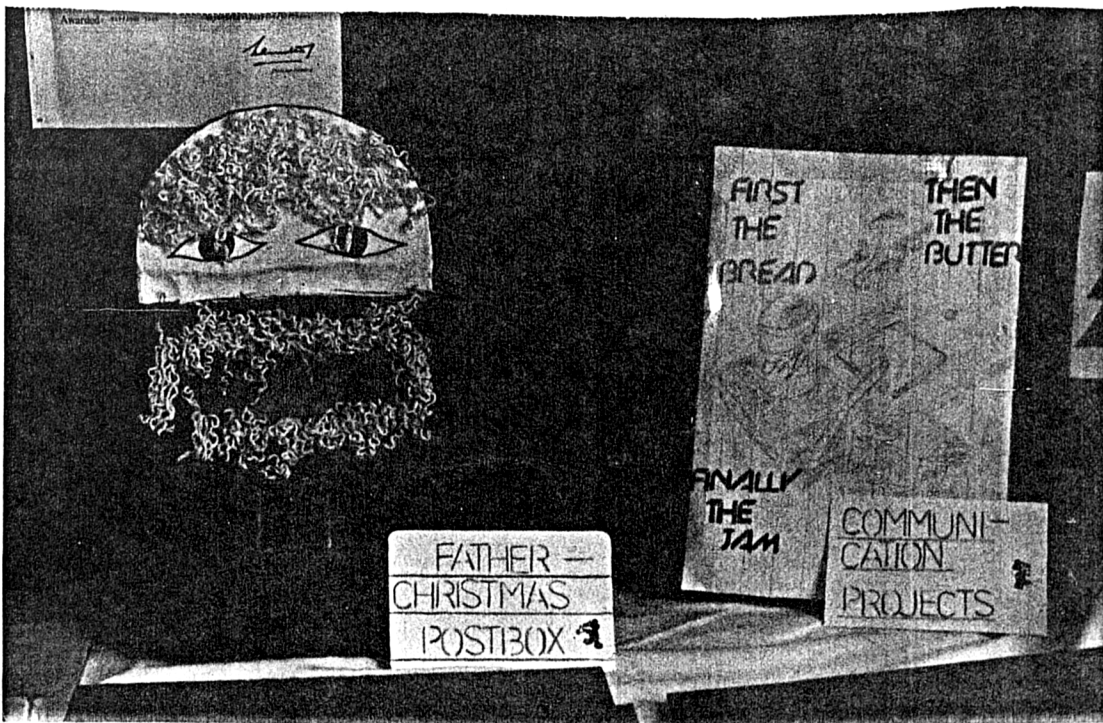
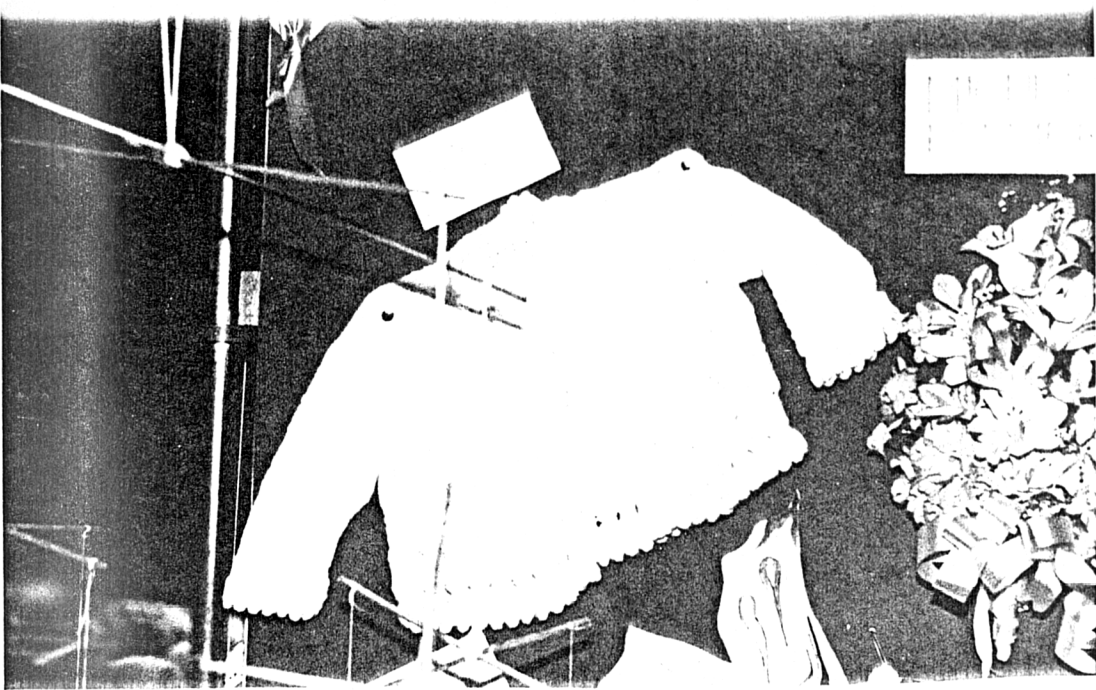
ESB = (English Speaking Board) elocution, drama, social and life skills e.g. answering telephones and writing letters.

The PCSC and the PHS Certificates are nationally recognised to be equivalent to one O-level in occupationally-related fields. Although the staff claim that the CC Certificate is, also, students have experienced problems having it recognized as such.

Appendix F: Final Year Displays, all students.







ABBREVIATIONS

ATTI	Association of Teachers from Technical Institutes
CCETSW	Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work
CGLI	City and Guilds London Institute
CNNA	Council for National Academic Awards
CPVE	Certificate in Pre-vocational Education
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education
CC	Community Care
EPH	Elderly People's Home
FEU	Further Education Unit
GNC	General Nursing Council
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NAFE	Non-advanced Further Education
NNEB	Nursery Nurses' Examination Board
PCSC	Preliminary Course in Social Care
PHS	Preliminary Health Service Course
RNC	Royal Nursing Council
SEN	State Enrolled Nurse
SRN	State Registered Nurse
TUCWA	Trade Union Congress Women's Association
UVP	Unified Vocational Preparation
WEPP	Work Experience on Employer's Premises
YOP	Youth Opportunities Programme
YTS	Youth Training Scheme

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