

**COMMUNITIES THAT CARE:  
AN INSIGHT INTO MALE CAREER  
PATTERNS IN A SMALL  
NEIGHBOURHOOD**

Antony Steven Hope

**Doctor of Education**

School of Education

University of Derby

**2014**

## STRUCTURE OF THE WORK

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	6
<i>Abstract</i>	7
<i>Introduction</i>	9
<b>Chapter 1 The Neighbourhood in Context</b>	15
1.1 Introduction	15
1.2 Travel Log	17
1.3 Socio-Economic Factors	19
1.4 School Characteristics	22
1.5 Local Policy Issues	24
1.6 Summary	27
<b>Chapter 2 Literature Review: Factors Which Affect Career Choice</b>	28
2.1 Introduction	28
2.2 Definition of Career	29
2.3 Key Career Theories	30
2.4 Careers and Sociological Theory	39
2.5 Careers and the Education System	47
2.6 Class and Culture	56
2.7 Opportunity	59
2.8 Family and Peer Group	62
2.9 Community	65
2.10 Careers and Community	70
2.11 Summary	72

<b>Chapter 3 Methodology: An Ethnographic Approach</b>	74
3.1 Introduction	74
3.2 Adoption of Suitable Research Methodology	80
3.3 Method of Enquiry	83
3.4 Data Collection	90
3.5 Data Analysis	97
3.6 Validity and Reliability	102
3.7 Ethical Considerations	106
3.8 Summary	109
<b>Chapter 4 Life Stories</b>	110
4.1 Introduction	110
4.2 Early Years	114
4.3 Secondary School	117
4.4 Key Variables	122
4.5 Transition from School	126
4.6 Work	128
4.7 Independence	132
4.8 Family	135
4.9 Summary	137
<b>Chapter 5 Key Themes</b>	139
5.1 Introduction	139
5.2 Turning Points and their Effects	140
5.3 Masculinity	147
5.4 Career Development	150
5.5 Community Loyalty, Friends and Family	176
5.6 Summary	185

<b>Chapter 6 Conclusion</b>	186
6.1 Introduction	186
6.2 Class, Culture and Education	186
6.3 Career Decision-Making	188
6.4 Implications for Policy	195
6.5 Implications for Practice	197
6.6 Summary	199
6.7 Achievement of Aims	199
6.8 Implications for Future Research	200
6.9 Dissemination	201

## **FIGURES**

Figure 1 Community Sub-Factors (1)	10
Figure 2 Snow Ball Sample Relationships for the 10 Final Interviewees	85
Figure 3 Community Sub-Factors (2)	176
Figure 4 Family Sub-Factors	183

## **TABLES**

Table 1 Context of the Neighbourhood	16
Table 2 Neighbourhood Mix	20
Table 3 Household Composition	21
Table 4 Local Employment Rates	21
Table 5 Ethnic Origin	22
Table 6 GCSE Results 1995	24
Table 7 GCSE Results 2012	24
Table 8 Area Characteristics	78
Table 9 Line-By-Line Analysis	99
Table 10 Theme, Category and Macro/Micro Analysis (1)	100
Table 11 Theme, Category and Macro/Micro Analysis (2)	101
Table 12 End of Key Stage 3 SAT Levels	123
Table 13 Exclusions/Antisocial Behaviour	124
Table 14 Variables	125

Table 15 GCSE Results	126
Table 16 Teaching Staff Questionnaire	143
Table 17 Teaching Staff Questionnaire	144
Table 18 Teaching Staff Questionnaire	144
Table 19 Stability of the Family	148
Table 20 Political Affiliation	182
Table 21 Four Key Themes	194

<b>REFERENCES</b>	202
-------------------	-----

## **APPENDICES**

1. Interview Sheet for Prospective Interviewees	228
2. Interview Rights Handout	229
3. Interview Schedule/Guide for Interviewee	230
4. Interview Schedule/Guide for Teacher	232
5. Teaching Staff Questionnaire	233

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

There have been many people who gave their time to enable me to complete this research. Firstly, the interviewees themselves who not only gave their time to help me visit their local neighbourhood and all that it could offer, but allowed me to talk to them and their family about their life in the past, now and in the future. I also wish to thank my school who allowed access to a great deal of data without which some aspects of analysis would have been difficult.

Further thanks must go to Dr Val Poultney, Doctor of Education Programme Leader at Derby University, who gave me encouragement to continue, when I had a sudden change of direction after the initial taught stage of the programme. However, my biggest thanks must go to Dr Tristran Hooley, Head of the International Centre for Guidance Studies at Derby University, who not only gave me encouragement, advice and support, but academically has inspired me to continue in many aspects of careers research.

## **ABSTRACT**

This study will offer an insight into the complex living of a group of mid-thirties males in a small neighbourhood and describe their personal career journeys. In particular, the study will highlight the complex influence of social capital, the men's personal development through the 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) and how chance along with place of residence impact on career advancement.

There have been numerous studies that have sought to discover why people make stereotypical career choices. More specifically, how male stereotyping can influence career choice and shape identity. However, many studies fail to tackle the influence of neighbourhood and family bonding which engulfs the male individual to create a very close knit masculine gang of individuals. By taking the epistemological position of interpretivism and using a narrative interview approach, along with a life history tradition, this research addresses these shortcomings. Additionally, Bourdieu's (1985) concept of social field is employed within this study to represent the various social arenas in which young people spend their time. This notion of fields, along with the concepts of 'habitus' and 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1985, 1986) are seen to create an effective framework for understanding the social worlds of young people and the community in which they belong.

The data is drawn from 10 in-depth interviews with men in their mid-thirties, who were born and raised in an inner city neighbourhood. Despite poverty, deprivation and social exclusion, these 10 men now have a career but choose not to leave the neighbourhood of their birth. They have each turned their life around by being confident, persistent, and determined to succeed, thereby empowering other individuals and their community, to build their own ladders out of poverty and towards a brighter future. However, this is a close knit network of friends and family that according to the headteacher in the local secondary school are 'unwilling to move the boundaries of opportunity and rely too much on the ways of the past'. Each interviewee has a story to tell and these stories are interwoven and analysed through common themes explored in depth in the thesis. These stories map out a career trajectory that is based on rites of passage into adulthood and an adult sense of masculinity.

Throughout the interviews evidence is provided to support the argument that 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) plays an important role in the career path of young people. Furthermore, it is argued that career choice is a developmental process with many twists and turns along the way. However, it is further argued that an identity based on age, location, ethnicity, along with common interests and a shared purpose, creates a closed shop ethos, where education and employment are shaped by elders within the family and close friends. In fact, because everyone knows everyone else, a strong common bond between family and friends is displayed, this creates strong loyalties which are manifested in the behaviour of each individual. This situation creates a large gang of individuals whose organisation has a hierarchical structure, starting from new entrants or recruits, through to elders at the top. Membership through birth is non-negotiable and to refuse to be part of this wider family could result in psychological and physiological consequences for the individual, as Carl one of the interviewees commented:

*At secondary school I had to be in a gang. It started small with my mates at school and now I am part of something much bigger. I can't leave, I could have some real mental torture like being ignored or something physical I suppose.*



## INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the experience of a group of men who have now attained security of employment and have come to realise the value of achievement, individualism and rationality. Yet, within their community, social and cultural norms work against this, through the way they meet and mingle together. In addition, such a close-knit network protects them but also acts as a barrier to change. These men and the wider network of society, create a physical, emotional, historical and imaginative aura. This creates a local close knit culture that is very supportive of its residents and helps to identify a particular way of life which can be referred to as traditional because it has been accepted as given by those involved. In fact, it creates a social class and cultural identity that is a traditional Working Class way of life which is based upon: being and belonging; strong loyalties; secure community; solidarity and immediate gratification. The issue is therefore how the neighbourhood maintains its grip on its male residents and how this engagement can benefit, or otherwise, the career development of these men.

The participants in this study spend much of their time in the Working Men's Club and the local pub 'The Painted Lady'<sup>1</sup> with feelings of friendship and mutual support for each other. This translates into a sense of collectivity reinforced by strong social networks emphasising communal aid in every day life and the importance of joining in as an obligation. Within the neighbourhood this can be seen as very strong, as it is based on historic male employment patterns, as well as physical characteristics including housing style and type. Women play a vital role in sustaining a wider community network through family ties and child rearing roles, which at times might seem mundane, but are essential to give a feeling of security.

The interviewees of this study were all disaffected teenagers in the early 1990s and were attending the local secondary school. They spent most of their time within the neighbourhood that is the focus of this study. They tended to hang around the neighbourhood with their mates and were constantly protecting their patch. They were the victims of crime and antisocial behaviour as well as the perpetrators. These disaffected teenagers had certain geographical areas where they repeated crime to break into shops, cars or cause anti-social behaviour to disrupt residents.

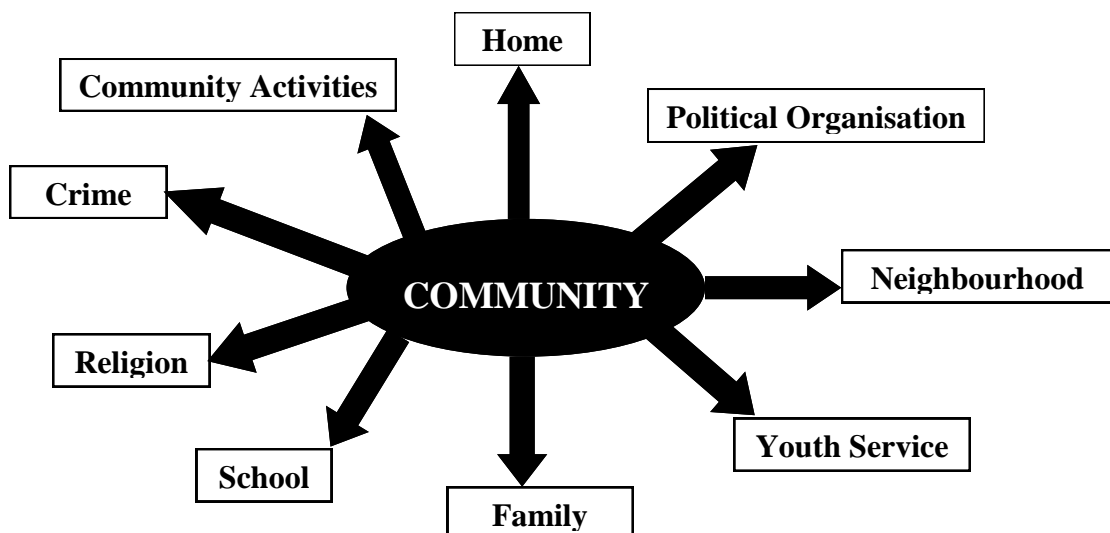
---

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Public House has been changed

Research suggests that the circumstances in which the participants in this study grew up were echoed elsewhere in the country during the 1990s, (Farrell and Pease, 1993; Farrell and Sousa, 2001). Nationally, during the mid 1990s, the numbers of young people living in socially disadvantaged communities and family poverty increased (Power and Tunstall, 1995; 1997) and with it more distress leading to increased anti-social and criminal behaviour, along with lack of respect for traditional family values (Dixon and Power, 1995). To some extent it is possible to see this neighbourhood as a microcosm, reflecting what was happening in wider society at that time.

According to school and welfare reports, each of the interviewees of this study was at an increased risk of drug abuse and crime, as well as educational failure. However, their ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) were limited by what the neighbourhood demanded of them: loyalty and solidarity, which was typified by the comment made by Eric ‘you look after your own don’t you’. The neighbourhood influenced the teenagers in a number of ways during this period, which involved a range of sub-factors. These sub-factors belonged neither in school nor the home, but were related to other people living in the wider community. The impact of this contributed to a delinquent sub-culture where their actions represented behaviour which was normal in the community where they lived, but was against society’s values as a whole. These sub-factors influenced the way the interviewees reacted as a teenager both inside and outside of the community. (Figure 1)

Figure 1: Community Sub-Factors (1)



These sub-factors were generated through discussions with each of the interviewees, their teachers at the time and their immediate family and friends. Each one, or combinations of them, contributed to a particular situation within the community as a whole and shaped them as individuals.

The combination of these sub-factors contributed to the demands of neighbourhood life and the need to conform to mutually agreed goals within family networks. The range of these sub-factors shaped their behaviour and attitude, particularly towards work and career. At the time, there was also the need for security, self-esteem and solidarity which today has changed very little and it is these sub-factors that the present study seeks to explore and expose.

Some of the sub-factors were very personal: home, family, crime and neighbourhood, but outside influences sometimes dominated the inherent culture and shaped the community: school, youth service and political organisations. As more minority cultures from other countries moved into the residential areas, the balance changed and separation from a religious stance started to emerge, which resulted in restricted community activities that were dependent on ethnic origin. Thrown into the mix were upwardly mobile ethnic groups with middle class values, who politically were against such a working class culture.

Buck (2005) talks about disaffected communities having a strong bond through which family members are stuck together with a 'social glue'. This is supported by this research where the interviewees were often restricted in their 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) as they did not have any wider contacts outside of their family and friends.

### Interest in Topic

Having taught in the school and local area of this study for many years, I was aware that there were a number of career education and guidance programmes such as Kudos, Careerscape and U-Explore available to young people to help them plan their career. However none of these programmes appropriately helped young people plan their future well, without the support from a career advisor. Also due to local values, culture and quality of life expected in this neighbourhood and the wider community, the

choice of job was not a simple option. No single theory could explain the varied ways in which these young people in this neighbourhood made their career choices. Moreover, I continued to believe that due to personal circumstances, career decisions are based on a host of factors not all to do with cognition and reasoned thought.

It became apparent during parents' evenings, that students who had left the school in the early 1990s as disaffected young people, now had children at the school. These young men had a job and a career and now were totally dedicated to the school, neighbourhood and family. What changed? Yet their children truant, are late and have very little interest in school. These children are just like their parents many years earlier. I therefore became intrigued as to why these parents remained in a disadvantaged area, were defiant over school sanctions for their own children and yet sought qualifications to improve their own employment prospects.

## Overall Approach

The research adopts a methodology which is mostly influenced by interpretivism, and uses a narrative interview approach that has been used successfully by a number of authors in both the careers and education fields.

This study will present interviews with 10 white working class males who have turned their life around and continued their education into their mid-thirties, after leaving school at the age of 16 from within a multi-ethnic, socially deprived area in the West Midlands.

The study examines educational attainment, class, culture, peers, family, 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) chance and location. The aim of the study is to explore the following:

- the nature of turning points and their effects;
- the place of masculinity in men's lives;
- the dynamics of male career development; and
- the influence of community loyalty, friends and family on career development

In a wider sense the study would also try to understand more fully both the career choices of today's school leavers and male adult career development in general and to look at why changes are made from a disaffected school leaver identity at the age of 16 and an initial career choice, to a new identity and a quest to be better educated later in life.

## Key Terms and Ideas

Two years after the interviewees left school in 1995, an incoming Labour government made education their main priority. 'Education, Education, Education' (Hill, 1999) became the mantra of Prime Minister Tony Blair. New targets were set for schools to improve student performance; the inspection framework was reinforced and a plethora of funding initiatives evolved (Hill 1999). However, prior to this there had been concerns regarding the growing inequalities of income and personal resources in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (OECD, 1995). Some of this concern was about social cohesion which could lead to the emergence of an underclass which could agitate the foundations of society. The number of disaffected students that were being excluded from school was growing: In 1991 the figure stood around 3,000 but by 1996/97 the figure had achieved 12,700 (DfEE, 1999).

From both a social and economic prospect, it was a difficult time for young people to be leaving school. The transition from school to work became even more difficult if you had underachieved at school and were leaving with very few formal qualifications. Furthermore, the prospect of actually starting and maintaining a career throughout one's lifetime, if career is seen as a progressive sequence of occupations, jobs and positions, was becoming further distant (Ecclestone, 2007). Also during this time, due to economic circumstances, some pockets of the UK population found that their career development was becoming very much linked with social circumstances, with young people struggling with 'influences from the past, orientations towards the future and engagement with the present' (Biesta and Tedder, 2006) that directly affected their 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996).

Whilst each of the men interviewed in this study has had a unique career, there is at least one similarity between them; they all felt that they had underachieved at school.

With regard to education it is apparent that at least two effects of social class still prevail: working class children underachieve at school and are less likely to stay on in education than middle class children (End Child Poverty, 2003; Smithers, 2003; Bradshaw, 2006) and both of these effects limit the range of jobs available to working class school leavers. Both Banks *et al.* (1992) and K. Roberts (1995) outline the important part qualifications play in opportunity structures and it is hoped that the present study will demonstrate by showing that educational attainment may limit the choices available to young people and also affect their later careers: hence the interviewees in this research returning to study later on in life. It is also argued that for young people, particularly early in their career, class still remains a distinct feature in deciding career choice and this choice can be driven by despair and meaningless employment so as to achieve status and self esteem (Jones, 2011).

Nonetheless, the influence of working class attitudes and culture became less strong as the men in this study grew older. Their life experiences, turning points and periods of routine led to new identities and outlooks, which meant that they became to consider the type of middle class careers that were absent from their thinking as school leavers. However, their geographical area remains the same, as well as their attitude and knowledge. They still operate within a complex set of relationships made up of parents, relatives and friends. These represent a network of social (connexions within and amongst social networks) and cultural (attitude and knowledge) capital relationships that together are involved in any decision making process. It is argued that these working class men have poor levels of social capital, that is their network of influence is limited because of the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984) that they and their contacts occupy and therefore they are constrained by the environment within which they have lived all their lives. Further, their associations with each other are based on a historical context where families have developed and grown together. Moreover, they are bound by aspects of their own cultural capital: values, beliefs, tradition, education and language that restrict career advancement, and ensure that they remain within a working class culture and able to pass this onto the next generation.

## CHAPTER 1: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN CONTEXT<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

‘Hello Sir’ came a voice from behind, ‘remember me?’ Seemed a little odd that a thirty something male had just called me ‘Sir’. However, I had been attending a local football match and Anthony was one of their attendants supervising crowd control. After a short discussion and with the parting comment of ‘see you again soon’ we went our separate ways. What was interesting was that Anthony had given me a short update of some of his friends: what they were doing and where they were. Further, a number of months later he attended a Year 7 parents’ evening, representing a friend of his, in relation to the friend’s daughter. From this second meeting, it became apparent how a group of boys that I had taught many years earlier, were now generally successful but had not geographically moved on and remained totally committed to their own neighbourhood and its ethos. Why is it that these thirty something males remain in their community and yet have a career that would enable them to leave? Further, why do these men now seek qualifications to improve their employment prospects but remain loyal to an area that is socially disadvantaged?

The neighbourhood for this study comprises of six streets of densely populated housing, with presently a population of approximately 17,000 within the full area. The quality of housing relating to this area is very much mixed, with a various assortment of items in front gardens which are sometimes protected with a wooden fence but are mostly open planned. Motorbikes, damaged cars, wheelie bins are to be found here in most of these front gardens, along with bricks, concrete, plastic bags, clothes and the occasional dog tied to a down pipe of the house. This is the neighbourhood where the interviewees spent their youth and in many cases now, their adult life. Anthony made the comment:

*This is my neighbourhood, this is where I belong. My family, my friends are here, why would I want to move? My family feels secure here, we are known and any trouble we managed to sort it, without any outside help.*

---

<sup>2</sup> Some sections cannot be fully referenced in order to preserve the anonymity of the area

The table below further outlines the context of the neighbourhood. (Table 1)

Table 1: Context of the Neighbourhood<sup>3</sup>

AREA	CITY	NATIONAL
<b>Average annual household income</b> £24,700	<b>Average annual household income</b> £30,965	<b>Average annual household income</b> £40,000
<b>GCSE 5 A*-C including English and Maths</b> 35.1%	<b>GCSE 5 A*-C including English and Maths</b> 47.8%	<b>GCSE 5 A*-C including English and Maths</b> 81.1%
<b>Recorded crime</b> 91.7 recorded crimes per 1,000 population	<b>Recorded crime</b> 77.5 recorded crimes per 1,000 population	<b>Recorded crime</b> 78.2 recorded crimes per 1,000 population
<b>Average age of death</b> Males: 71.0 Females: 79.0	<b>Average age of death</b> Males: 72.2 Females: 78.5	<b>Average age of death</b> Males: 78.1 Females: 82.1
<b>Anti-social behaviour</b> 79.8 offences per 1,000 population	<b>Anti-social behaviour</b> 70.7 offences per 1,000 population	<b>Anti-social behaviour</b> 72.1 offences per 1,000 population
<b>Benefits</b> 21.4% of the working age population claim out of work benefits	<b>Benefits</b> 16.1% of the working age population claim out of work benefits	<b>Benefits</b> 3.78% of the working age population claim out of work benefits
<b>Overcrowding</b> 12.5% of homes are overcrowded	<b>Overcrowding</b> 8.1% of homes are overcrowded	<b>Overcrowding</b> 5.1% of homes are overcrowded

<sup>3</sup> Sources: UK Poverty Site / UK National Statistics



## 1.2 TRAVEL LOG

This research is based in a large social priority neighbourhood. The city centre can be reached by a five minute walk and the local secondary school is even closer. The neighbourhood is comprised of three fairly distinct parts and is bound on each side: one by a railway line, the other a canal, with areas of an old industrial premises relating to the other side, some of which are being redeveloped. This area is called the 'triangle'. There is a small commercial and shopping area for the neighbourhood, and can attract shoppers from across the area while continuing to serve the local neighbourhood.

In 1920 most of this district consisted of agricultural land. However, the city council decided to build a housing estate there in 1924. A new main road was constructed with a complex of streets laid out on both sides, and to the north a further larger housing estate. By 1927 there were 1,000 houses built by the city council and 625 by private builders. The district had been completely built up by the Second World War, the only remaining open areas being playing fields and allotments. This outline of streets which creates the triangle has changed very little since the post-war years. However, what has changed is the format of the local secondary school from a Girl's Grammar School to a 11-19 Comprehensive School.

Today, travelling from the local secondary school over the railway bridge, which in itself is partly covered in graffiti, is the traditional Working Men's Club, a building set in large grounds, surrounded by trees. The building itself is a little run down with a few areas of graffiti and a window boarded up. This is the place where the local secondary school students meet to settle their arguments. From here there is a narrow road on the right, leading to a further council estate. This back to back housing estate is mainly a non white area and this ethnic mix is one of the reasons why there is much unrest between the estate of this study and the community as a whole.

As you look over the barrier on the opposite side of the road, there is a big drop in height to well cultivated gardens, some with sheds and garages. The housing here is 1930/40s semi detached and are well maintained. This type of property is in a minority and it is interesting that these houses and the property of sheds and garages appear to be unmarked in any way, which is of contrast to the remainder of the area.

This is a well looked after area of the community, yet further down on the opposite side of the road is a newly built Territorial Army Centre, which has marks of graffiti on two sides.

On the opposite side of the road are both a pub and a restaurant. They seem to represent the gates into the area, as well as marking the beginning of the six streets and their population that are part of this research.

The pub is a working class establishment. There is a large concrete car park that does not appear to be used very much during the day. However, during the evening it is often frequented by 'chavs' (Jones, 2011) (term used by some students in the local secondary school) and late teen males with custom designed cars who hang in and around the pub. However, on a fine day it is possible to see young children outside this pub with packets of crisps and a shandy. Some men during the day and night are outside smoking, stood in the car park and/or sat on the steps to the entrance to the pub with drink in hand. To an outsider this is a little threatening and it is an establishment the researcher is not willing to visit.

The Greek restaurant, although a little shabby, is much more welcoming. The proprietor commented that in the past there had been trouble, but in the last decade, as the neighbourhood had shifted between populations of old, new and more ethnic residents, the area had settled. 'There has been change' he commented 'but well established families remain and are quite dominant, particularly if you are new to the neighbourhood'. When the business was first established over 25 years ago, it had been difficult. His family were immigrants in what was mainly a white area. His premises were covered in graffiti, windows and doors broken, bins set alight, burglary and the family were threatened with violence. However, after 25 years he feels that he has been accepted by the neighbourhood. Any 'trouble nowadays comes from the other estates' he said. The restaurant is a family business which serves Greek cuisine. As well as food they also have live entertainment on a Friday and Saturday evening. 'Everything you need for a great Greek night: plenty of fun' he further commented.

Upon entering the estate the road is full of wheelie bins; bins in the garden, the pavement and the road. Several speed humps are also at strategic places, along with police notices of 'no stopping' at certain entrances to alley ways. Other features of the

estate are the number of satellite dishes on the front of the houses, the abundance of 'Beware of the Dog' signs, boarded up doors and windows, little evidence of upkeep and both cars and motorbikes in front gardens. Very few front gardens have been used for the intended purpose. Several are used as mere areas to dump unwanted home items with fencing broken or a non-existent barrier to the property. However, it must be said that a number of houses are also very well kept and maintained, with features of hanging baskets, flowers in water butts and pots.

### 1.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

In March 1995, the year that the interviewees left school, the city's unemployment rate was 12.9%. In the neighbourhood, it was 17.7%, the third highest unemployment rate in the city. Though unemployment levels in the whole area and city fell between March 1994 and 1995, they fell more slowly in this neighbourhood than in many other areas (Annual Labour Market Review, 1995).

However, at this time there was a significant increase in unemployment among the 16-24 age group and the number of long-term unemployed continued to increase. In July 1995, 44% of all those unemployed in the city had been out of work for more than a year. This compared to the figure of July 1994 of 36% or the UK figure in July 1995 of 36.9%. So while this neighbourhood at the time had a higher than average number of households headed by lone parents, this level was doubled in one particular microcosm of streets. This area, the area of this study, had particularly high levels of households with dependents, unemployed people, overcrowding and lacking car ownership. Also given at the time, UK national policies of economic restructuring, cutbacks and changes to people's benefits, resulted in an increase in the number of people in poverty and social deprivation in the neighbourhood and within the city as a whole (Annual Labour Market Review, 1995).

The neighbourhood today is a mixture of council, owner occupied and privately rented houses. Unemployment in the neighbourhood remains high, with many parents coming from a manual background. That is, the neighbourhood continues to have fewer than national average households headed by people in professional or managerial occupations, but also fewer headed by people in unskilled occupations. Instead, proportionately more households are headed by people in manual skilled or partly

manual skilled occupations. (Tables 2, 3, 4)

Table 2: Neighbourhood Mix<sup>4</sup>

AREA	CITY	NATIONAL
<b>Population white British</b> 72.3 %	<b>Population white British</b> 77.5%	<b>Population white British</b> 84.5%
<b>Population black and minority ethnic</b> 27.7%	<b>Population black and minority ethnic</b> 22.5%	<b>Population black and minority ethnic</b> 16.5%
<b>Working age population</b> 63.0%	<b>Working age population</b> 62.9%	<b>Working age population</b> N/A
<b>Likely to move house in next 4/5 years</b> 14.3%	<b>Likely to move house in next 4/5 years</b> 27.8%	<b>Likely to move house in next 4/5 years</b> N/A
<b>Population satisfied with area</b> 89.3%	<b>Population satisfied with area</b> 91.5%	<b>Population satisfied with area</b> N/A
<b>Households with two or more cars</b> 8.0%	<b>Households with two or more cars</b> 21.3%	<b>Households with two or more cars</b> 29.5%
<b>Different backgrounds support each other</b> 93.3%	<b>Different backgrounds support each other</b> 91.0%	<b>Different backgrounds support each other</b> N/A

<sup>4</sup> Source: Demographic and statistical data from LEA

Table 3: Household Composition<sup>5</sup>

<b>HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION</b>	<b>NEIGHBOURHOOD</b>	<b>CITY</b>
Lone parent with dependant children	10.0%	8.3%
Lone pensioner	15.3%	14.8%
Married with dependant children	13.8%	16.5%
Single occupancy	18.9%	16.5%
Other	42.0%	43.9%

Table 4: Local Employment Rates<sup>6</sup>

<b>AREA</b>	<b>CITY</b>
<b>Construction</b>	<b>Construction</b>
6.5%	3.0%
<b>Other services</b>	<b>Other services</b>
13.0%	4.2%
<b>Transport and commercial</b>	<b>Transport and commercial</b>
8.9%	7.9%
<b>Banking, finance and insurance</b>	<b>Banking, finance and insurance</b>
12.3%	20.3%
<b>Manufacturing</b>	<b>Manufacturing</b>
25.5%	12.0%
<b>Distribution, hotels and restaurants</b>	<b>Distribution, hotels and restaurants</b>
24.3%	21.3%
<b>Public admin, education and health</b>	<b>Public admin, education and health</b>
9.5%	31.3%

<sup>5</sup> Source: Demographic and statistical data from LEA

<sup>6</sup> Source: Demographic and statistical data from LEA

The community is undoubtedly affected by problems and changes within the local economy. The neighbourhood continues to show high levels of disadvantage, unemployment and poor levels of educational attainment. However, there is a sense of solidarity, loyalty and a total commitment to the area by the residents.

#### 1.4 SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS

The local secondary schools intake has changed very little since the mid 1990s. Today students come from a wide range of economic and social backgrounds but a higher proportion are from areas of considerable deprivation. The proportion of students known to be eligible for free school meals is well above average and is rising. Almost half the students are from ethnic minority backgrounds mainly Indian, Pakistani and Bengali; over 200 students come from homes where their first language is other than English, and nearly 100 students are refugees. However, the school population is more diverse than this suggests for it also includes EAL, Dual Heritage, African Caribbean as well as students new to the UK. Students new to the UK include asylum seekers and refugees, many of whom do not speak English as their first language. (Table 5) However, their level of English acquisition is dependent on age, schooling and country of origin. Not all young people new to the UK are from an asylum seeker or refugee background (Institute of Race Relations, 2013). Some families move to the UK for other reasons e.g. to study. However, the total number of languages spoken in the school is over 60.

Table 5: Ethnic Origin<sup>7</sup>      White population as % of school population:

January 1995	51.4%
January 1996	54.2%
January 2011	56.7%
January 2012	57.3% {The largest other ethnic group Indian since 2005}

The school's tests show that students' standards when they join the school are well below average overall and for many, attainment is very low. Further, the 2012 Ofsted Inspection noted that:

<sup>7</sup> Data collected from school data records on population

*Over a third of students speak English as an additional language and around five per cent are at an early stage of learning English.*

*Around 39% of students are known to be eligible for the pupil premium, which gives the school additional funding for children in local authority care and students known to be eligible for free school meals. This proportion is high compared to the national average.*

Still, according to the Ofsted Inspections of 2003, 2007, 2010, 2012, the school provides a 'good education'. The 2012 report goes on to say that although standards are low, 'most students do as least as well as might be expected and many do better'.

However, the 1996 Ofsted monitoring report indicated that the standards in the school were unsatisfactory. The majority of students in Year 7, as in previous years, had reading ages below their chronological age and nearly one-third had reading ages at two years or more below. The majority of students who arrived in Year 7 were achieving at levels below the national expectation and this was reflected in subsequent achievement. Some did go on to attain standards which were above the national averages in Year 9 tests, in GCSE examinations, at A-level and on GNVQ courses, but in keeping with the ability range of the students, the majority continued to achieve at levels which were below national expectations.

The results of National Curriculum tests for 14 year olds in English, Mathematics and Science were also below the national average. The GCSE results in the A\* - C and A\* - G ranges were again below both national and local authority averages, although in 1996 there was a very good increase in the proportion of students gaining 5+ grades in the A\* - C range especially amongst the girls. In 1996, over 82% of students left with at least one GCSE grade G or above. At post 16 attainment of students in GCE A - Level examinations were lower than the local and national averages but achievement in vocational courses was better.

The Ofsted monitoring report in 1996 adds that many students presented teaching staff with real challenges in terms of their poor behaviour and attitudes, unsatisfactory rates of attendance and poor punctuality. The school had made considerable progress with

reducing the extent of bullying and racial harassment, but poor behaviour and unsatisfactory attendance were still major barriers to progress.

A year earlier, when the interviewees were leaving school the results were:

Table 6: GCSE Results 1995<sup>8</sup>

GCSE 5+ A*- C (including English and Maths)	13%
GCSE 5+ A*- G	71%
GCSE 1+ A*- G	85%

In 2012 the GCSE results were:

Table 7: GCSE Results 2012<sup>9</sup>

GCSE 5+ A*- C (including English and Maths)	41%
GCSE 5+ A*- G	95%
GCSE 1+ A*- G	100%

Although much had improved since the interviewees left the school, formally the school remained in challenging circumstances until the recent 2012 Ofsted Inspection, where the school moved to an inspection judgement of ‘Good’. Recent GCSE results show an upward trend and this is partially due to the fact that from 2009 students were entered from Year 9 in GCSE Maths, English and Science.

## 1.5 LOCAL POLICY ISSUES

There have been local policy initiatives to enable residents to develop, interpret and change their lives since they were first identified by the local authorities Adult and Family Education Service in their 1994 publication *Regional Trends*, and highlighted again in their *Adult Learning Plan* (2001-2002). It is quite clear from these reports that

<sup>8</sup> Ofsted Performance Tables, 1995

<sup>9</sup> LEA Monitoring Report, 2012



whole families and communities, as a result of unemployment or difficult economic or social circumstances, were and still are under considerable stress just to survive each day without worrying about the importance of education. Both reports underlined the link between low student attainment and the number of economically disadvantaged parents showing very little interest in the education of their children. This was a factor that was possible to reverse, according to the local neighbourhood *North-West Area Strategic Area Plan* (1995-98), with individual education plans that were tailored to meet the needs of the young person with funding being directly injected into the educational needs of the individual. Yet, at the time and even now, government legislation, relating to tailor made education is difficult to imagine as there is a drive from the present Coalition Government to concentrate on a more traditional type of school curriculum. Gove (2013) in an article in *The Telegraph* states that teachers should move away from pushing students into softer subjects and concentrate on English, Maths and Science. A further indication that a curriculum that is more vocational and designed to meet the needs of each individual is gradually being eradicated.

The Communities That Care programme, which was based in only three communities in the UK, focused on early intervention and prevention services for children and their families, was supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and established in the area in the 1990s. It was an attempt to counteract the local trend of youth crime, drug abuse, and failure at school, via such tailor made education. However, their first report on the local conditions (1999a) stated that the evidence pointed to four risk areas for young people:

- Low achievement beginning in Primary Schools;
- Lack of commitment to school, including truancy;
- Poor parental supervision and discipline;
- Disadvantaged neighbourhood.

Such findings at the time suggested that the Government's drive for the raising of standards in schools was at odds with its drive for social inclusion, the latter of which created extra responsibility for schools to be proactive in reaching out and supporting the community at large. This issue was raised in the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's

Report *The Interaction Between Housing Policy and Educational Problems: A Case Study* (1999b). This report concluded that housing families on the basis of need meant that more children with difficulties entered those schools. The impact of even a small number of children with difficulties can have a ‘destabilising effect on the school serving those communities’ (p.1).

Further, the report went on to say that housing plus activities, that is, schools being involved in the improvement of social cohesion, ‘is very unlikely’ until the pressures can be relieved from ‘public accountability which characterise the national education system’ (p4). This comment reflects the external pressure of league tables, examination results and Ofsted which schools are constantly subjected to. However, the report does go on to say that the widening of a school’s main function of educating children could only be achieved with considerable support. Additionally, the report acknowledges that such a widening of responsibility would be a worthwhile investment for schools generally.

A further report by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *Links Between School, Family and the Community: A Review of Evidence* (1999c) further highlighted the

*...potential tension in government policy between the crusade for standards, which requires schools to focus on their core business of curriculum delivery, and the broader social exclusion agenda. (p.4)*

During the mid 1990s, *Regional Trends* (1994) stated that three in 10 workers in the West Midlands had no qualifications, and claimed that the County had some of the worse levels of educational qualifications and the highest unemployment in the country. However, unemployment rates in the city were considerably higher than those of the County as a whole.

At the time of the interviewees leaving school, the local area consistently showed indicators of poverty and disadvantage that were higher than the city norm. At the time of the 1991 census, the level of house ownership and car ownership was considerably lower in the neighbourhood than the city as a whole, but the percentage of overcrowded households was very much higher.

The economic decline in jobs such as manufacturing, has continued in the area to this present day. Although in the mid 1990s the neighbourhood was greatly affected by this decline, there was an upturn in the local economy in terms of small business start-ups, new businesses moving into the city and an increase in car sales but this did little for this particular neighbourhood.

Research at the time, conducted by Community Education during the life of the *Community Education and Local Enterprise Project*, (1995-98) showed that it was possible to attract and support high levels of disadvantaged adults in innovating adult education programmes in other areas of the city, particularly when these programmes were tailor-made and were built around issues considered important by the local people and held in easily accessible local venues. However, the research also indicated that such high quality, responsive adult education was relatively expensive in resources and workers' time. The same research re-affirmed the importance of free or affordable high quality childcare in achieving good outcomes in work, particularly targeted at disadvantaged adults. Despite the cost, at the time, Community Education acted upon these findings and offered a Basic Skills programme, learning and re-training opportunities, basic literacy and numeracy and various support groups. Nonetheless, many adults refused to participate for economic reasons and/or because of their school experience or lack of it according to the *North West Area Strategic Development Plan*, (1995-98).

## 1.6 SUMMARY

Despite various socio-economic difficulties and other factors that compound the area, the data indicates that there is solidarity, a feeling of trust and support within the neighbourhood. However, this neighbourhood, although part of a wider community and society, is very much inwardly looking. Despite national and local policies, neighbourhood levels of positive attitudes, aspirations and expectations remain low, embedded within a culture of limited social mobility. The residents have a strong bond and an identity with each other and to this present day, who belongs remains important.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Deprivation and poverty can result in decisions of necessity rather than ones of choice. Economic decline and neighbourhood disadvantage encourage certain types of social behaviour and interaction that affect residents' attitudes, including their aspirations. A decline in local jobs can lead to a spatial mismatch between a residential location and a job location (Houston, 2005). Jensen and Seltzer (2000) found that mean incomes, unemployment, educational attainment and the percentage employed in professional occupations in a neighbourhood had statistical associations with young people's decisions to stay on in education. Therefore, research suggests that long term career thinking is not necessarily in the foreground of a young persons' mind after leaving school, but a job, a way of making money, is.

A career can mean many things to many people. It can give a sense of identity or it can be seen as a rite of passage. Whatever it may mean, there is no predictable pattern. Each person can view the world differently. However class, culture and/or education attainment could determine any future employment opportunity.

This chapter explores the issues of career, but makes a distinction between decision making models which explain individual reaction to specific decisions and career development models, which explain personal characteristics and developmental tasks associated with each stage of development. Further, the four main themes of:

- the nature of turning points and their effects;
- the place of masculinity in men's lives;
- the dynamics of male career development; and
- the influence of community loyalty, friends and family on career development

are discussed within the wider context of class and culture, opportunity, family and community.

## 2.2 DEFINITION OF CAREER

What is a career? A starting point in any definition of career is the distinction between a job, an occupation and a career and both Super and Bohn's description is appropriate here:

*An occupation is a type of work activity in which people engage, a group of similar tasks organised in similar ways in various establishments...a career, by contrast, is a sequence of occupations, jobs and positions engaged in or occupied through the lifetime of a person. (1971:133)*

However, it can be argued, that a career is also about life experiences, learning, as well as the world of work (Patton, 2001). Wider still, it is also about self and society and the part played by society in giving credence and form to a career and therefore a sense of self worth. Barley (1989) states that careers have been seen as status passages (rites of passage into adulthood and an adult sense of masculinity), roles and as a vehicle for identity formation. Conversely, Law *et al.* (2002) place their emphasis on 'life learning' which is more about skills, competencies and process rather than content. Additionally, Hache *et al.* (2000) identify 'meta-competencies' described as balanced wheels that encompass life, social, physical, intellectual, emotional, spiritual and work which all require essential skills by an individual to negotiate through both life and career successfully. No matter what definition is used, there is agreement in the literature that individuals need to be more proactive than ever before and take responsibility for their own learning and employment in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 'Individuals increasingly need to focus on learning the skills which will assist them in taking responsibility for the direction and evolution of their own careers' (McMahon *et al.*, 2003: 5). Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, a general working definition of a series of jobs and/occupations undertaken throughout one's working life that includes a continuous process of learning and development will be used.

However, since a career can possibly no longer follow a predictable pattern, the above conception might include periods of unemployment, illness, voluntary work and bringing up a family. Super (1980) expanded his career development theory to include a 'life-space' segment where social elements that constitute a life are arranged in a

pattern of core and secondary roles within a life/career rainbow. Further, Killeen, (1996) supports this wider view of a career definition by looking at subjectivity in career patterns and making links between the different component parts and then how these influence decisions.

Fevre (2000) looked at subjectivity as more of a social identity which worked in two ways. First, any action must resonate with a sense of social identity: 'it tells you what behaviour is right for you' (p.99); for example, a job must be for people 'like me'. Second, in choosing a job offer a person is able to take on an adult identity. A job therefore provides the holder with a ready-made adult identity. Colley *et al.* (2002) argue a similar position and claim that in choosing a vocation a person is implementing shared understandings about what courses of action lead to success.

## 2.3 KEY CAREER THEORIES

A number of career theories that affect career choice will be discussed covering both sociological and psychological perspectives. Also these perspectives will be placed historically by looking at the key ideas in the literature.

Theories and conceptual frameworks on career choice and development cover a variety of factors for example, class, culture or educational attainment (Bandura *et al.*, 2001). Theories that exist on careers have usually been formulated within the parameters of a particular discipline. According to Derr and Laurent (1989) this has produced two dominant views about the nature of careers:

*While psychologists say that 'people make careers', sociologists claim that 'careers make people' and the careers literature shows a dearth of cross-referencing between these two frames of reference. Indeed theory and research on careers have developed along two dominant and sometimes conflicting streams of thought over the last fifty years. (1989:455)*

Career practitioners and academics have acknowledged that career choice is not a one-off event and that individual careers are developmental. It is therefore important

initially to look at the theory of developmentalism and Hodkinson *et al.*'s (1996) 'Careership Theory', specifically 'turning points' and 'routines'. Within this both sociological and psychological models will be explored.

Many theories from the 1950s and 1960s were generally based on data drawn solely from studies of men (Barakett, and Cleghorn, 2008) due to the role men had as traditional wage earners. Although this has changed in recent times, (Gottfredson; 2006, Lapor and Heppner; 2009, Reardon *et al.*; 2007, Su *et al.*, 2009) these studies are more about gender appropriateness and status and are limited on the question of the impact of living within a close knit, male dominated, working class community. However, research by Langston, (2001) found that the social class of an individual's family of origin has the dominance to affect chosen occupations, education and social class status in later life, whether male or female.

More recent theories, have been developed to explore these issues (Betz; 2004, Brown; 2002, Gainor; 2006, Lapor and Heppner, 2009). Such theories begin by stating that the individual is more likely to select an occupation in which they are confident they will succeed. Further, such confidence comes from the type of role model available. Whereas Gottfredson (2005) argues that career choice is about having a high level of cognitive proficiency and that career choice is a process of elimination. Gottfredson (2006) further elaborates that throughout early schooling; gender identity creates and restricts occupational preferences, suggesting conformity to a careers path which is gender specific. Further, that young people develop an idea of career choice that fits with their gender and class.

Similarly, careers has also implicitly been perceived to be middle class and white, and just as many theories were based on research with males, the cohorts used in studies were also middle class and usually white – see an early example of this, Ginzberg *et al.* (1951) where data was taken from middle class males in New York.

Yet again, recently career development theories still lay open the charge that they are based on white, middle-class values; make certain assumptions (relative affluence, access to education and occupational information, free and open labour market); fail to include crucial structural and cultural variables; and include concepts not applicable to certain groups (Fitzgerald and Betz 1994; Leong 1995; Naidoo 1998). Further, Perron

*et al.* (1998:410) state that ‘the very notion of career development may be inappropriate for some ethnic minorities’ and that race and ethnicity must be considered in any development theory. Fitzgerald and Betz (1994) question the relevance of career development to people who are permanently unemployed or underemployed. Naidoo (1998) critiques research that measures minority groups against white, middle-class norms (any differences being attributed to race) and studies that confound race with social class. However, the above authors agree that present theories have some utility and need to be expanded and elaborated to include relevant variables.

Another feature with early research was that data was drawn exclusively from university students which, in the 1950s and beyond, meant that working class males (and females) were conspicuous by their absence: for instance, Super, whose Career Pattern Study followed the careers of male ninth grade students (Patton and Lokan, 2001). Therefore it follows that existing theory was conceived at a time when careers followed a more traditional path and new theorists must take account of today’s disjointed employment routes when devising new career theory.

Recently there has been work that looks at women’s careers. Research has suggested that both male and female adolescents aspire towards gender-traditional occupations or are restricted in their occupational aspirations by gender stereotyping (Lupaschuk and Yewchuk, 1998), although some research has also indicated that female adolescents do aspire to non-traditional, male-dominant occupations (Reyes *et al.*, 1999). Further, that new theories must also take account of the new man, one where the male attempts to find a balance with family life, career and a job. Such men can be criticised as not being ambitious or not desiring to work hard. The research of Lease (2003) found that men who highly value family involvement and career achievement experienced higher rates of depression as they struggled to find this balance.

From the turn of the last century Parsons (1909) developed a framework to help individuals decide on a career:



- A clear understanding of yourself, your aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations, and their causes;
- A knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work;
- True reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts.

(Parsons, 1909, p. 5, in Zunker, 2002)

This framework used personal traits which developed into the trait-factor theory during the inter-war years. Although this theory is less of an influence today, it is a major component of Holland's personality theory (1985). That in itself has been one of the main contributing theories in implementing a self-concept or personality type to career decision making during the past few decades. Parsons' matching model continues to this day in pervading career choice, development of theory and support within career counselling practice (Gaudron and Vautier, 2007; Rottinghaus *et al*, 2009; Sullivan and Hansen, 2004).

Conversely, the opposite stance to this psychological model is one of understanding career choice through environmental elements, social factors and chance. Such sociological models as championed by Hodkinson *et al*. (1996) K. Roberts (1968) and Schoon and Parsons (2002) look at the values and norms within a culture and the influence these factors can have on education and attitudes towards work.

Developmentalism, as the term implies, is about career decisions over a long period of time. Central to this and this study, is that life events interweave and influence individuals in many ways 'they are textured by events in the historically changing proximal and distal contexts of life' (Lerner, 1981:225). Dannefer (1984) suggests that the role of the social environment has not been fully explored by what he calls ontogenetic models of development, that is the shaping of the individual over time until each behaviour carries an inherent meaning. Further, the theories of Gould (1972), Sheehy (1997) and Levenson (1978, 1984, 1986), all suggest that there is some predictability to the life course. Sheehy calls these 'predictable passages'. Although the timing of stages differ in the various models, there is some similarity: various periods lasting around seven years. Unlike trait-factor theory, (Kuder Preference

Record, Betz *et al.*, 1989) which sees career choices as a one-off decision, developmental career theories broadly explain behaviour through the idea of a developing self who makes career decisions at different times in their life, which will also be affected by their stage of development. However, like trait-factor theory, developmentalism still see career building as a largely rational process, but the type of rationality will be influenced by factors such as the person's age or occupational knowledge; thus different reference points are used to judge a person's career decision-making at different times in their life.

The best known examples of developmentalism in the career literature are those of Ginzberg *et al.* (1951) and Super (e.g. 1957, 1963). The Ginzberg, Axelrad and Herma theory (Ginzberg *et al.*, 1951; Ginzberg, 1952) introduced ideas from psychology into careers thinking. In so doing, it moved away from trait and factor theory's notion of a one-off career decision-making to development stages that were influenced by social factors and the fact that the individual came to understand their own capacities which translated into a vocational aim. Ginzberg *et al.*'s major contribution to career thinking is undoubtedly their focus on the developmental aspect to career choice.

In contrast, the central theme of Super's writing is the belief that in choosing an occupation an individual is implementing their self-concept: 'in expressing a vocational preference a person puts into occupational terminology his idea of the sort of person he is' (1963:1). Both Ginzberg *et al.* (1951) and Super (1957) argue that over time a person's career decision-making will become more mature as they come to more fully understand themselves and the world of work. It is assumed in both theories that there are stages which people need to pass through before firm career decisions are made. In fact, Ginzberg *et al.* (1951) specified 18 as the age they believed a person would make a more rational career decision and enter a realistic stage. This would in turn lead to a crystallisation of choice between the ages of 19 and 21. Super's (1957) model is also divided into stages where young people are perceived to make preliminary career choices between 14 and 18; specifying them between 18 and 21 years; implementing them between 21 and 24 years; and finally entering a stabilising period between the ages of 25 to 35. However, Super did acknowledge that as people adapt to changes in themselves, as well as trends in the workplace, these cycles are repeated at appropriate stages during a working lifetime.

The primary concern of the psychological theories so far mentioned is the individual. Conversely, sociologists begin from a position that the individual is influenced by environmental elements outside of their control. Although sociologists have had less of an influence on the practice of career guidance than psychologists, their contribution to our understanding of careers, career choice and development has been significant. Sociologists begin from a position that the individual is influenced by environmental elements outside their control and also to accept more that some career decisions are the result of chance (Osipow, 1983).

The theory of chance is based on the fact that unpredictable social factors, chance events and environmental factors are an important influence on everyone's lives (Adams *et al.*, 1977). Recently, 'Chaos Theory' (Bright and Pryor, 2005, 2007; Pryor and Bright, 2003, 2007) identifies four crucial elements in career development and choice that most existing theories fail to take into account adequately: Complexity, Change, Constructiveness and Chance. These four elements are not only central to the 'Chaos Theory of Careers' but allow for individuals who are complex, changing and inherently unpredictable. Additionally, Bright and Pryor, (2008) in *Shiftwork: a Chaos Theory of Career Agenda for Change in Career Counselling*, represented the implications of the 'Chaos Theory' in the form of 'Shiftwork', which attempts to expand on the paradigm of the four original elements of the 'Chaos Theory'. Here, Bright and Pryor talk of 'phase shifts', uncertain human behaviour which can result in a 'pre-configuration of the human system'. 'Shiftwork' has added a different dimension to thinking about change and the realities of career and life.

Moreover, Krumboltz *et al.* (2004) has been developing his ideas around supporting career indecision. He promotes the idea that not only is indecision sensible and desirable, but that it is possible to benefit from unplanned career events. Further to this, Bimrose (2006) states that there is no verification to say that any logical, methodical planning is the most effective method in choosing a particular career path. In fact, there is further evidence that spontaneous career decision making may be more effective (Gladwell, 2005) and that keeping an open-mind and a willingness to be flexible can be the key (Neault, 2002). Nonetheless, in their 'Planned Happenstance Theory', Mitchell *et al.* (1999) proposed that because of the rapid shifts in the world of work, chance events should no longer be ignored in the process of career development; the chance factor should be regarded as both inevitable and desirable. Therefore

Mitchell *et al.* (1999) in their 'Planned Happenstance Theory' acknowledge that unplanned events can be turned into opportunities for learning and therefore assist in career development. The individual can passively prepare for any unexpected event and keep an open mind, therefore engaging in an active process of development and, to a certain extent, create their own destiny.

However, a further consideration is the role that personal agency plays in decisions about education and careers. Additionally, a central concern for sociologists remains an answer to the question posed by Gambetta (1987): 'were they pushed or did they jump?' Ball and Maguire (2000:18) have reiterated the nature of real life choices: 'We increasingly felt it necessary to eschew simplistic characterisations of young people evident in the policy documents – as individual, rational calculators'. To sociologists the reality of career choice is, therefore, more akin to Hodkinson *et al.*'s (1996) notion of 'pragmatic rationality', in that it is a socially embedded activity (p.41). Ball and Maguire also found that whilst their cohort of young people talked about themselves as 'individuals in a meritocratic setting' (2000:4) the reality for many was that the environment they lived in affected their careers:

*....we want to acknowledge the specificity of space, region and locale in the ways that choices are negotiated and navigated and thus we highlight the role of the urban as a place marked by acute polarisation in terms of poverty and housing, lifestyles and occupations. (ibid: 6)*

These are the 'socioscapes' (Ball and Maguire, 2000) that individuals inhabit and which seem to contribute to K. Roberts *et al.*'s (1994) description of 'structured individualism', whereby people are perceived to make individual choices within the social reality. Ball and Maguire (2000) argue that educational performance, family and place of residence play a part in people's career choice. Furthermore, they emphasise the fact that geographical factors such as transport costs, can affect career decision making, or the event. Thus, multiple factors can be seen to influence career choice. Part of the event is the context of career decision making (Campbell, 1969; Brofenbrenner, 1977; Vondracek, 1990). Brofenbrenner (1977), for example, explains the environment through a number of dimensions. First are 'microsystems' (peer groups, family etc.) Next are 'mesosystems' (the contact between microsystems).

Third is the 'exosystem' (social structures). Last is the 'macrosystem' (pervasive beliefs and values). These systems can be considered to be the contexts through which socialisation takes place.

A number of authors have emphasised the effect of important events in career development: 'turning points' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996), 'epiphanies' (Denzin, 1989) and 'critical incidents' (Measor, 1985; Ketchermans, 1993).

Hodkinson *et al*. consider turning points as key to understanding career development:

*At a turning point, which may be a short duration or extend over a period of time, and which may be recognised at the time or only with hindsight, a person goes through a transformation of identity...and turning points are when the young people make significant, pragmatically rational, career decisions. (1996:142)*

Hodkinson *et al*. identify three types of 'turning point', classified according to their causes: first, structural ones, such as leaving school; second, incidents which impact on a person but are outside their control; and third, decisions within a person's control. Although they say that changes in identity are a key feature of 'turning points', they qualify this by saying that at the structural 'turning point' of leaving school not all young people will experience major transformations of identity.

However, Hodkinson *et al*. (1996) also speak of routine, a period in a person's life when nothing happens (p.143). Nonetheless, it is recognised by Hodkinson *et al*. that during routines things do happen which can contribute to career development. In addition they also say that 'turning points are inseparable from the routines that follow and precede them' (ibid p.144).

Periods of routine can be suddenly interrupted by a sweeping change due to reflexions of personal self or changes to internal/external conditions. In many ways this can result in a sudden change of direction, a 'turning point' or as Giddens (1991) refers 'fateful moments'. Giddens (1991) goes on to add that 'fateful moments' put the individual 'at a crossroads in his existence' and 'fateful moments occur because of events that

impinge upon an individual's life willy-nilly' (p.113).

Plumridge and Thomson (2003) in their paper *Longitudinal Qualitative Studies and the Reflective Self* analysed longitudinal biographical data of young people to explore 'fateful moments'. The authors discuss the view of the interviewee as identifying a moment in time as a true 'fateful moment' and further, if the researcher recognises this as such. This raises the question about the moral 'position' of the self and how the self might be conceived differently at a pivotal moment in time:

*It has been suggested that our ability to tell a story and identify consequential moments have implications for our identities and our lives. (Plumridge and Thomson, 2003: 215)*

Such writers argue that identity is not simply a reflexion of prior socialisation, since through the reflexivity characteristic of the age; our identity can change as a result of new experiences. Identification of such experiences, 'turning points', 'fateful moments' can result in a career change. Therefore careers become more complex and dynamic and are potentially given different meanings at different points in life. Such longitudinal studies 'capture the essence of the interplay between agency and ecology, the particular and the general' (Thomson, 2007: 581).

In order to differentiate between that which is observable (descriptive concept) and that which is a postulated (theoretical concept), Thomson *et al.* (2002) use the term 'critical moment' which is purely derived from the narrative. In this way they argue that this will enable them:

*To comment on the medium-term impact of critical moments on real-world transitions as well as on the reworking of these experiences into subsequent narratives of self. (p.351)*

The use of 'critical moments' in this way provides a passageway between the manner young people talk about their lives and what in reality happens to and through them. Used in this way, 'critical moments' give an insight into the range of resources on which individuals' draw and that progressive interviews over time give a better understanding and possibly 'the truth of that person' (Thomson and Holland, 2003).

In an era argued to be one of detraditionalisation and individualisation (Thomson *et al.*, 2003) youth transition is diverse and non-linear. Complexity of lives, the impact of family life and environmental events shape change and stability. ‘Turning points’, ‘critical moments’ and ‘fateful moments’ add to the ‘density of the sequence of cause and effect’ (Thomson *et al.*, 2002) within the confines of small neighbourhoods and the creation of solidarity within working class roots in the form of ‘estatism’.

Further, multi-disciplinary approaches or analyses add to our understandings. Blau *et al.* (1956) offers an early example of this, which was an attempt to produce a conceptual framework of career choice. However, Willis (1977) with his study of working class youth demonstrated that they were embedded in their culture. Although psychologically different, sociologically they shared the same values and experiences. More recently, Williamson, (2004) revisited his 1970s study of socially excluded working class lads with similar observations. Both Willis (1977) and Williamson (2004) demonstrate the influence that neighbourhood and background can have on career advancement and the lack of motivation that inhibits a shift from a shared culture.

Watts (1996) uses the metaphor ‘career quake’ to describe the range of effects that the different factors have on career development in recent times; Collin (1997) remarks on the new career; while Collin and Watts (1996) talk about the ‘death and transfiguration’ of careers. Mitchell *et al.*, sum this up:

*Unfortunately, due to major technological advances, the world of work today is not what it used to be. In virtually every employment sector job descriptions are changing, some occupations are becoming obsolete and unforeseen occupations are being created (e.g. web page designer). (1999:3)*

## 2.4 CAREERS AND SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

In contrast to the psychological theories so far mentioned, sociologist’s main concern is the influence of social structure and the influence of environmental factors. Sociological theories give foreground (Law, 1996) significance to environmental

factors that affect career choice and development.

Bourdieu (1989) in examining the relationship between the individual and the position the individual finds themselves in uses the conceptual triad of 'habitus', 'capital' and 'field'. As individuals we all have and make choices, we all make decisions and we all function as agents. This is done via 'habitus', which describes an understanding of reality, which for the most part is not consciously experienced; 'Habitus' is socially located and reproduced, not least by our own actions. Bourdieu goes on to add that individuals are 'predisposed' to act in certain ways, which show a regular patterns of occurrence. The extent to which these patterns are actualised depends on the social location of the individual at any one time. For Bourdieu, such locations are also structured, both physically and organisationally and should be understood as 'fields': 'a configuration of objective relations between positions' (1992:73). Individual activity consequently proceeds through an engagement between 'habitus' and 'field'. 'Capital' defines what is included and excluded from the 'field', what is valued and not valued, what those present in the 'field' need to ensue status and/or power in order to wield control over it. 'Capital' is the medium of communication between 'field' and 'habitus'.

Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) examined how young people and other significant actors in their lives (family, employers and training scheme organisers) interacted with external events and material conditions in a government initiative designed to enable young people to exercise choices about occupational training. They argue that the complex interaction of 'habitus', 'field' and 'capital' shapes how young people and others involved in their educational experiences operate within specific 'horizons for action'.

Fundamental to Hodkinson *et al.*'s Theory of Careership (1996) and in particular to the concept of 'pragmatic rationality' is Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus'. Various authors have regarded the concept of 'habitus' as deterministic, by which they mean that the agents' decisions are firmly rooted in and shaped by culture (P. Brown, 1987; Nash, 1999).

Barnes (2000:55) states:



*[A 'habitus' of] durable transposable dispositions are deposited alike in individuals as a mental structure and disposes them to act alike.*

Furthermore, he says consideration of both Giddens' (1984) 'structuration theory' and Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', leads to the conclusion that:

*Routine practices constitute systems because they are enacted by individuals within each of whom the same templates, whether in the form of principle or disposition or rule or knowledge of how to go on are found. (p.55)*

Bourdieu draws similar conclusions: that it is indeed a deterministic concept. In *The Logic of Practice* (1990) Bourdieu describes the 'habitus' as:

*A system of cognitive and motivating structures [producing] a world of already realised ends, procedures to follow, paths to take. (p.53)*

In the same book, Bourdieu highlights the fact that 'habitus' is grounded in social class and makes the interesting assertion that the 'habitus' seeks out situations it feels comfortable with:

*Through the systematic choices it makes the habitus tends to protect itself from crises and critical challenges by providing itself with a milieu to which it is as pre-adapted as possible. (p.61)*

This would suggest that working class people, for example, seek out environments that reinforce their existing 'habitus'; so reinforcing class employment structures. Bourdieu did attempt to address the concerns of those who see 'habitus' as deterministic:

*...one cannot rule out that it may be superseded in certain circumstances - certainly in situations of crisis which disrupt the immediate adjustment of habitus to field - by other principles such as rational and conscious computation. (1990:108)*

‘Habitus’ therefore is the psychological structure that is in all of us. It is formed by previous social experience of all kinds, and which in turn frames and interprets new experiences, helping each individual to decide what needs to be done. Crucially, ‘habitus’ itself is changed by progressive encounters, and in turn reframes and reinterprets subsequent ones. Similarly, Pollard’s notion of *Epistemic Identity* (Pollard and Filer, 1996; Pollard and Triggs, 2000) embodies the idea that a person carries their accumulated learning experiences, strategies and resources from one social learning experience to another. Both these concepts illuminate the relationship between social structure and mental action which it frames: what comes into the head and what choices seem right. But it in turn is created and recreated by repeated actions, either in terms of relative social advantage for some, or disadvantage for others.

Within the transformation of the ‘habitus’ lives are affected by numerous events that impact on ‘identity’ in a major way. Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ has been used by a number of authors to describe how a person’s sense of identity is culturally and socially influenced (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996; Colley *et al.*, 2000). Identity is no longer seen as simply a reflection of prior socialisation, since, through the reflexivity characteristic of late modernity, identity can change as a result of new experiences (Kellner, 1992). Giddens (1991) sees the self open to the reformation via constant ‘reflexive monitoring of action’. Changes in identity can result in the desire to change career. Therefore, careers become more complex and dynamic and are potentially given different meaning in the late modern age. Giddens claims that in the context of the post-traditional order of late-modern societies ‘the self becomes a *reflexive project*’ (Giddens, 1991:32 emphasis in original). Giddens goes on to argue that this is not simply an option, i.e., something that individuals can decide to engage with or not. He takes the view that in late-modern societies the self ‘has to be reflexively made’ and that self-identity is no longer seen as something that is given but appears as something ‘that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual’ (p.52). The reflexive construction of the self is a way to deal with the

anxieties caused by a world that is socially unstable. The extent in which the reflexive construction of the self becomes a matter of life-planning will entail a mastery of uncertainties and raises the question whether it is indeed possible to plan the contingencies of life or whether by trying to do so one actually denies that such contingencies are part of what it means to be an individual.

Hodkinson *et al.* (2004) have suggested that 'habitus' can be seen as social structures operating within and through individuals, rather than being something outside of us. In this way we can understand the processes that influence individuals in a community including their life history, disposition and practice. Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) proceed to outline a possible mechanism for the transformation of 'habitus'. A key point that they discuss is at 'turning points' the 'habitus' can be transformed. Moreover, the mental conceptual and organisational patterns that are part of 'habitus':

*...modify incrementally as new information is absorbed and new experiences or situations encountered, during periods of routine.*  
(p.149)

Although Hodkinson *et al.* (1996:3) interpret 'habitus' in a less deterministic way 'cultural background does not determine the choices they make in a mechanistic sense'. Hodkinson *et al.* (1963) do go on to argue that 'pragmatically rational' decisions are influenced by a person's 'habitus', culture is implicated in the formation of 'horizons for action' and collectively these form a subjective perception and action.

A further element in Hodkinson *et al.*'s Theory of Careership (1996), again borrowed from Bourdieu, is interaction with the 'field'. Constituents of the social 'field' influence the decisions of those that they encounter by providing jobs, access to training etc. 'Habitus' and 'field' interact with each other, and 'horizons for action' are established through those interactions. 'Horizons for action' can and do change, particularly when the person's 'capital' changes position or when the 'field' or 'habitus' changes. Bourdieu (1984, 1993, 2001) discusses and compares the 'field' more to a 'game', where stakeholders, parents, employers etc are all but players trying to attain different ends:

*It is the state of the relations of force between players that defines the structure of the field. (Bourdieu, 1992: 99)*

Career decisions depend on a range of intricate patterns within the relationship of the stakeholders and their view and reaction to the inherent system of convention within the group. Additionally, each of these stakeholders brings with them 'capital' to influence the power of the 'game' and change the system.

*The value of a species of capital (e.g. knowledge of Greek or of integral calculus) hinges on the existence of a game, of a field in which this competency can be employed. (Bourdieu, 1992: 98)*

Hodkinson and Sparkes (1996) go on to argue that career decision making is made not only within the confines of such interactions within the 'field', but that the 'habitus' is modified as a result. Opportunities become available and choices are made due to these interactions:

*...all the players [make] pragmatically rational decisions, from their own differing standpoints, within their own differing horizons and with their own differing objectives. (Hodkinson and Sparkes, 1997:37)*

Therefore, what an individual views as possible and available, derives from what they know of the employment market and also from their own pre-disposition. An example is that some parents may have access to work opportunities for their child via their own networks and there may be some parents that do not. Here possible career choices are made within the confines of the 'field' as and when they become available:

*Within a field, people make pragmatically rational decisions within their culturally derived horizons for action, at turning-points. These turning-points are both preceded and followed by periods of routine, which themselves are located within the field and the macro-context. (Hodkinson and Sparkes, 1997:41)*

‘Field’ and ‘habitus’ therefore exist in a world which values and is valued differentially. All those active within the ‘field’ share a resonant ‘habitus’; in fact, the ‘field’ chooses the ‘habitus’ as much as the ‘habitus’ chooses the ‘field’.

Such social interaction can be seen within the writings of Norbert Elias. Elias through his ‘Game Models Theory’ and his ‘Established Outsider Relations Theory’ suggests that social interaction is far more complex, multi-faceted and historically rooted than what current social discourse presents. Differences in age and class are less central, and instead preconceived notions of social status based on longevity of membership, adherence to behavioural norms and standards are powerful determinants of inclusion.

Elias's theoretical framework is based on long term developments and wider social processes. He first discussed this within *The Civilising Process* in 1939; (reprinted in 2000) whereby developments on a social level over the course of many centuries were linked to the ways people thought and felt about certain aspects of their social lives. Elias traced an overall pattern of gradual change in standards of behaviour relating to everyday interactions. He further observed that over time, certain behaviours that were seen to be more ‘animalistic’ came to be associated with shame and disgust and were increasingly ‘shifted behind the scenes’. At the same time, the regulation of these and other behaviours came increasingly to be regulated by self control rather than external force.

Elias noted that individuals live out their lives as part of small and large scale ‘figurations’ simultaneously and his work, *The Court Society*, (Elias, 1968) makes this process clearer, where individuals were caught in a web of etiquette and ceremony due to their position in society, rather than their personal wealth. Additionally, Elias and Scotson's (1965) investigation of *The Established and the Outsiders* could be taken as an experiential study underpinned by hypothetical concepts made earlier in *The Civilising Process*, (2000, reprinted).

In *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965) it was noted that the differences between the groups were less central to the extent of status difference than of access to other sources of power. Elias and Scotson explained the status between the two neighbourhoods in terms of simply the ability of one group to label another group as being inferior and to sustain this identity as mutually acceptable. So, ‘the established’

group had greater power chances relative to the outsider group through their positions of authority in political and social organisations as well as their ability to control neighbourhood gossip.

The dominant position of 'the established' group and their access to relatively greater power chances was maintained due to the strong cohesion amongst their group members. This solidity allowed the development of a detailed code of etiquette that was used to determine status within the neighbourhood and wider community. Elias and Scotson (1965) put forward the suggestion that in this instance power chances were not due to categories such as race, class or age, but were linked to a power source derived from 'length of association'. This type of power source for the dominant neighbourhood developed as part of their structural interdependence with the other neighbourhoods over time. It was because members of the other neighbourhood were newer that length of residence became such a decisive factor, and it was because these members attained certain advantages from greater length of association, which could then be used as power resources of value for each member. This provided the means by which established members could draw from and what Bourdieu refers to as 'cultural capital'.

Using Elias theoretical concepts, it can be seen how 'figurations' in communities and the wider 'figurations' of society become much more interdependent on numerous levels in establishing behavioural standards. The connection that held the earlier studies together on a micro and macro level was Elias's (1978) theory of 'Game Models', which understood power as a structural characteristic of all human relationships. The theory explored the dynamic nature of human interdependencies and power relations, bringing into focus how wider social processes on a macro scale tend to influence an individual or group's relative power over others on a micro scale.

For Elias, power is best conceptualised in terms of 'power chances' or the extent to which an individual or group has the ability to influence something, someone else or the direction of social change more generally. According to Elias (1978), power is always expressed in relative terms, whereby every individual or group has power chances to a greater or lesser extent. Power is not something that some have and some not, but rather it is a 'structural characteristic of all human relationships' (Elias, 1978:74).

Elias further elaborates that people become more and more reliant upon one another via increasing differentiation and increasing interdependence:

*...more and more people must attune their conduct to that of others, the web of actions must be organised more and more strictly and accurately, if each individual action is to fulfil its social functions. Individuals are compelled to regulate their conduct in an increasingly differentiated, more even and more stable manner. (Elias, 2000: 367)*

Changes in wider social processes exert pressures towards changes in behaviour, compelling people towards increasing foresight, mutual identification and increased self restraint, therefore contributing to more even, stable behaviours and relations between people.

Additionally Elias argues, every individual is socially defined – either in collaboration or in opposition, through these relationships (Elias, 1991: 16). In this way, Elias suggests that every person’s identity is shaped by and through their social relationships. The implication of Elias’s argument is that relationships are an integral part of how we see the world and equally, how the world defines us.

## 2.5 CAREERS AND THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Since the 1950s there has been a gradual increase in educational participation in the UK, with a substantial increase in participation in post 16 provision between 1985 and 1994 (Hayward, 2006; Hayward *et al.*, 2004, 2005, 2006). Wolf (2002) acknowledges that there are personal economic benefits to individuals who spend more time in education, but questions the assumption that raising the general level of education of the workforce will necessarily lead to higher levels of economic growth. Additionally, a series of changes and reforms has not really changed the attitude of the general public, which increasingly chooses general academic programmes when it has a choice (Wolf 2002).

Linked to these questions of the extent and purpose of education has been a policy debate about the appropriate balance between academic and vocational options. For

example, Curriculum 2000 increased flexibility, with academic and vocational options that combined different types of qualification. Hayward *et al.* (2008) recognise that the link between vocational learning and future employment opportunities is important, but they object that much of this emphasis is based upon a patronising view of young peoples' motivation: that learning about work will capture their attention. Benn (2011) holds a similar view:

*Children from low-income families have been pushed down the vocational route, often because it is easier for hard-pressed institutions to stereotype them, and because vocational qualification have, until recently, boosted a schools rankings in the league tables. (p.197)*

The issue of the usefulness and the quality of vocational education is important both for society (the economy), in terms of how well prepared the new workforce will be, and for the individual, in terms of occupational potential, life chances and personal development. The process of educational policy making has been presented as a 'battle' between those who see education as preparing young people for future positions in the occupational structure and those who view education primarily in terms of self development and individual fulfilment (Young, 2003).

This 'battle' between the academic and vocational routes starts within the primary school. Ravet's (2007) research with primary school children found that some had already started to disengage from learning and were already beginning to be stereotyped by their institution as being more 'practically orientated' and were destined towards a career at the bottom end of the labour market. For such young people the projected image, perhaps of being different must be maintained, sometimes to the point of permanent exclusion. As Sennett (1977) points out 'breaking the rules is an act 'nobodies' can share with each other' and it is 'an attempt to create among themselves badges of dignity that those in authority can't destroy'.

The issues between the academic and vocational routes are further exacerbated in the secondary school and have been well documented (Spours and Young, 1995; Young, 1998, 2006; Winch and Clarke, 2007). Paradoxically, some commentators have noted



(Cockett, 1996) that academic courses at this stage of education actually provide routes into a wider choice of vocational options than actual vocational courses themselves, particularly for those young people at the lower level of attainment, which may lead only to unemployment.

Raffe (1985) summed up the quandary as follows:

*Courses introduced at the bottom of the educational ladder acquire low status, and their students become stigmatised by employers and educational selectors as the less able. ...able and better motivated students are reluctant to enter the courses less they too be stigmatised. ...a vicious circle is thus created, and the net result of introducing educational reforms in this way might be merely to reinforce existing biases within education, by conveying the message that the new approaches are only relevant to those who lack ability or the motivation to try something better. (p. 20-21)*

For example, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2002) in a report to the Secretary of State for Education implied that academic courses are mainstream provision, while vocational courses are for the minority.

The education system functions to instil the values and norms of society and to develop personal qualities. Further, it transmits knowledge or rather those aspects of knowledge which society defines as part of culture. The culture of the school will reflect not only the expectations of society but will also be influenced by its interaction with its environment (Bhaba, 1994). Bourdieu's (1984, 1993) concept of 'habitus' describes this interaction which includes individual aspects of identity, as well as collective predispositions structured by factors such as social class and gender. At the same time, 'habitus' must be understood in the context of the 'fields' within which individuals act. Ball and Maguire (2000) provide evidence for this in their finding that educational achievement at the age of 16 was directly linked with area of residence and this affected the eventual career and education outcomes for each individual.

The experience of school is a complex one for young people, as they enter a highly organised site and seek to find their place within its structure. This experience necessarily influences their constructions of self, as:

*Identity formation in school is a process in which young people bring resources, find new ones and constantly work to make sense of their positions relative to others. (Soudien, 2001:314)*

There have been numerous studies looking at underachievement in school, particularly with working class boys (Connell *et al.*, 1982; Smithers, 2003; End Child Poverty, 2008). Additionally, there is evidence to support the belief that working class boys adopt different orientations towards their schooling, as suggested by a number of authors (Willis, 1977; Connell *et al.*, 1982; Hollands', 1990; Mac An Ghail, 1994).

The lack of value placed on school, acts with disaffection with the school curriculum, lack of encouragement from teachers and peer pressure results in school disaffection and a desire to find a job (Donnelly and Millichamp, 2000). Shildrick and MacDonald (2007) in their article *Biographies of Exclusion: Poor Work and Poor Transitions*, make the following comment in relation to young people in poor neighbourhoods:

*For working class school leavers, however, vocationally oriented training and educational courses are particularly important. For virtually all our interviewees, A-levels, the more academic post 16 route historically typical of middle class youth transitions, fell outside their radar screen of possibilities. Not only were they not educationally qualified for such next steps, they did not wish to take them. (Shildrick and MacDonald, 2007:593)*

Ultimately for many working class boys alienation and their underachievement is compounded by the desire to obtain working class work as soon as possible (Hollands, 1990), which makes the attainment of qualifications redundant (P. Brown, 1987; Hollands, 1990). Mac An Ghail (1994) believes that schools are middle class institutions in which middle class teachers lack the understanding of the working class

and therefore ‘trivialise working class student cultures’ (1996:305). In such middle class institutions non-academic forms of knowledge and skills are marginalised and working class knowledge is ‘pushed aside’ (Connell *et al.*, 1982:169) which can further affect a person’s alienation and disaffection from school. Additionally, Benn (2011) argues that the middle class status of academic education originates more from the desire to reproduce social class through an educational hierarchy than from any concrete pedagogical principles.

Tomlinson (2013) in *Education, Work and Identity* supports the above view:

*..a marked feature of working class learners’ educational identities has been the propensity to engage in forms of learning that have more immediate economic relevance, while discarding those that are likely to have minimal bearing on their anticipated working lives. (p.98)*

Rees *et al.* (1997) recognise that schools aim to create certain types of learning identities in their young people. However, tension may exist between the learning identity a young person has of themselves and the identity that the young person’s school may wish to promote (Swain, 2007). While young people are positioned in a specific way within the ‘field’ of school, however, they continue to hold those positions that they occupy in other social fields (Dillon and Moje, 1998). As such, they show themselves to be ‘like people with multiple subjectivities elsewhere, adept in several, often discontinuous, environments’ (Soudien, 2001:311). Further, it can be seen that the presence of peers within the ‘discontinuous environments’ can represent yet another source of tension and conflicting objectives for young people to navigate their way through. Conversely, however, such environments can provide an alternative to an educational focus of a ‘field’, and a means of solidarity against the regulations imparted on them by the school authorities.

Schools in the main are to ensure that young people will focus on the gaining of qualifications and skills, as well as the progression to what is deemed a positive, fulfilling destination (Bloomer, 1996). Young people generally are seen to conform to the expectations of their school (Bloomer and Hodkinson, 1997). However, some young people will reject the prescribed aims and methods of learning that a school

instils, forming negative learning identities which in turn impact their future learning careers (Bloomer and Hodkinson, 1999). Additionally, where young people engaged only intermittently in their school education, they were unlikely to complete in any further post 16 courses, demonstrating the potential pervasiveness of learning identities damaged at school (Rees *et al.*, 1997).

The above discussion implies that youth transition is multifaceted. It is important to explore the characteristics not only of young people in school in terms of their potential for learning, their attitudes and motives, but also the characteristics of the teachers with whom they interact in the classroom and the total school environment. Moreover, as the young person also interacts with his family and neighbourhood as well as with the school, the educational process cannot be understood without taking account of the family and the neighbourhood influence (Miles, 2000). Stokes & Wyn (2007) argue that the study of youth transition offers a limited and outmoded conceptual framework for understanding young people's engagement with work and learning. However, this argument fails to acknowledge research that has considered identity change as part of the post 16 transition (Lawy, 2002).

Historically, Goodwin and O'Connor (2007) divide the literature on youth transition research into two periods: research conducted before the mid 1970s (e.g. Wilson, 1957; Carter, 1963; Ashton and Field, 1976) enlightening how young people generally made a 'smooth, linear and uncomplicated transition from school to work' (p.556). Secondly, literature mid 1970s onwards (e.g. Furlong and Cartmel 1997; Evans and Furlong; 1997; Worth, 2005) where school to work transition became more 'fragmented, extended, complex, individualised and risky' (p.557). The most notable research from the earlier group is Ashton and Field's (1997) *Young Workers: From School to Work*, which was based on Elias's (1961) *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project. Three distinct groups types were identified by Ashton and Field at the point of transition: the 'careerless', the 'short term careers' and the 'extended careers'. Each of these groups had different characteristics relating to experience and identity. However, the 'careerless' were more interested in immediate gratification and were content to have limited job prospects; the 'short term careers' sought jobs that offered the chance of personal development and advancement in qualifications relatively quickly. Finally, the 'extended careers' group had a pathway

of deferred gratification, where continuous advancement and high secure incomes tended to be the norm.

In the 1960s lower stream schooling was a barrier to apprenticeships, meaning this was not a destination for the 'careerless'. According to Ashton and Field, 40% of the young people entered the same occupational channel as their parents and many more found jobs through other family and friends, suggesting the reproduction of social class over generations.

Ashton and Field (1976) posit that each of the three categories they identified implied a simple transitional process that is based on family, class and school experiences. Further, that the process is smooth and straightforward as they move into the labour market. However, Goodwin and O'Connor (2007) found that many young people in Elias's (2000) study from the 1960s did not follow the path predicted by Ashton and Field. What became apparent for all three groups was the individual complexity and insecurity that had developed over time which could not be fully explained by family background, class or educational achievement. Further, that 'little could they have known or expected the economic turmoil that they would face throughout their working lives' (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009:417).

The observations made by Ashton and Field have parallels in contemporary transitions. To begin with, they indicate that work opportunities are restricted to geographical areas. Additionally, the 'careerless' were identified into three types: failures who tried to keep their heads down; those who broke rules to pass monotony; and those who openly rejected school. These three types bare a resemblance in relation to the issues of disaffection today, where there is a form of 'biological determinism' (Griffin, 1993).

Recent government education initiatives have been more about various aspects of 14-19 policy, for example, the raising of the participation age (Feinstein and Sabates, 2006; McIntosh and Houghton, 2005) and have emphasised frameworks based on the notion of rational, 'ladder like' trajectories, despite it being over two decades since Hodkinson *et al.* (1996:132) rejected this notion, proposing instead a theory of 'careership' which sees individual development as transformation, based on 'turning points'. Such individual development and transformation in young people tended to be heavily influenced by contingent events and significant others, reflecting a situation

where young people are constrained and enabled by external opportunities and personal subjective perceptions (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996:3). Such opportunities and perceptions are related to 'habitus' where the young person's beliefs, ideas and preferences are individually subjective but also influenced by the objective social networks and cultural traditions in which that person lives.

Whilst 'careership' brings together the chaotic nature of many career trajectories, the concept of 'careership' and the significance of this to individual transformation, tends to imply positive forms of development. Within the context of recent increases in youth unemployment, young people with the poorest post 16 educational outcomes experience 'turning points' which are often completely negative and which reflect the random nature of chance, serendipity and the limited possibilities of the various forms of low level opportunities open to them. Within this framework, the young person moves between various forms of low level participation, being in and out of unemployment (Thompson and Simmons, 2011:175) as they make uneasy and fractured transitions to work and adulthood (Macdonald and Marsh, 2005:32).

*People living in a deprived neighbourhood do not have one identical reaction to their circumstances. The direction of young people's lives depends on a complex interplay of transitions related to school, un/employment, family, housing, leisure, drugs and crime. (MacDonald and Marsh, 2002:1)*

In a study of a large council estate which had become notorious for high rates of crime, particularly drug related offending in Teesside, MacDonald *et al.* (2001) investigated youth transitions within a context of social exclusion. The aim was to look at the more traditional and varied careers these young people had and how this evolved over time through 'critical moments', social capital and social networks. What MacDonald *et al.* (2001) found was that 'critical moments' and life events created career trajectories that were 'messy', 'complicated' and 'circuitous' where any step often led to a 'sideways' or 'backwards' move, rather than 'upwards' and 'onwards'.

*Young people in the study aspired to 'proper jobs' that felt secure. Unemployment was a common experience, but very few respondents regarded dependency on welfare as desirable. (MacDonald and Marsh, 2002:4)*

Further, that for the majority of the young men in the Teesside study, local youth culture played a decisive role in establishing early patterns of school disaffection. Such early disaffection within school and the development of an anti-school culture, contrasted with a total engagement with local youth/ drug cultures which became the foundation for long term processes of 'social exclusion'. Post 16 career choices were strongly informed by family experiences and expectations of suitable work for working class young men or women (Cockburn, 1987). As job search largely functioned via 'who you know' it limited options to the insecure, low paid poor work done by the people that they did know (Morris, 1995).

This view is supported by Spanò (2002: 73):

*Networks based on kinship as well as on friendship can easily become a constraint...by enclosing the subject in a limited social space, they can preclude the possibility of having new opportunities, of working out new projects, of maturing new aspirations'.*

The role of the family in the socialisation process is clearly crucial and can be a major factor in occupational aspirations. The different ways in which young people perceive and deal with their own situations is of central importance, as are the availability of economic, social and in particular, cultural capital, (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) together with the willingness and ability to plan for the future, and to defer gratification. Young people with low socio economic status and low 'social and cultural capital' are far more exposed to risks than others (Beck, 1992). Within such socialisation the 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson and Sparkes, 1993) of some young people have been so orientated by 'habitus' and 'cultural capital' that they never seriously considered post 16 alternatives to those for which they are culturally destined.

It could be viewed that young people's lives were more straightforward a decade or two ago than they are presently. A significant proportion of 16 year olds went straight from school into employment. Finishing education and going into work was regarded as the 'normative model' of youth transition (Jones and Wallace, 1992:27). Today the 16 year old school leaver encounters a bewildering range of options. The issue hinges upon the significance of individual choice in the transition to work, along with the importance and relative influences of national and regional contexts such as the local labour market and structural factors such as gender, ethnicity and class. This issue can be linked with the concept of individualisation which suggests that progress through the school to work phase is based on both individual choice/activity and structural influences (Jones and Wallace, 1992:15-17; Evans and Heinz, 1994:8-12).

## 2.6 CLASS AND CULTURE

Class and culture discusses the environment and the background in which career decisions are made. In addressing career decisions it is necessary to look at both the individual who made the decision and the context in which that decision is made. This will naturally have an impact on 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al.*; 1996) and any career aspirations.

The effects that class can have on careers have been well documented in the British literature (Banks *et al.*; 1992; Furlong and Biggart, 1999, Ball and Maguire, 2000). Related to the notion of class influence is the idea that each class has a distinct culture. Hodkinson *et al.* (1996:148) define culture as 'the socially constructed and historically derived base of knowledge, values and norms for action, that people grow into and come to take as a natural way of life'. Hodkinson *et al.*'s 'Theory of Careership' (1996 and restated and developed by Hodkinson and Sparkes, 1997) is probably the most comprehensive attempt in sociology to develop a theory of career choice. There are three interrelated dimensions to the theory. First, the young people they studied made culturally influenced 'pragmatically rational' career decisions. Second, changes in career are seen as taking place at turning points, which are triggered by structural, personal or external mechanisms. Third, is interaction with the field: employers, training providers for example. Constituents of the social field influence the decisions of those that they encounter by providing jobs, access to training etc.

Although Hodkinson and Sparke's 1997 article gave greater acknowledgement to



chance, or ‘Serendipitous Opportunities’, than the original theory, it is still explored briefly. Hodkinson (1998) found further evidence for the basic theory of ‘Careership’ in a study of the stories of four Post-16 GNVQ students. In its complexity, Hodkinson and his colleagues’ theory goes farther than most in accounting for why people make choices and how the process takes place. One of its strengths is the fact that the analysis of data is grounded in general sociological literature, drawing on the ideas of Bourdieu and Giddens. One possible weakness is the paucity of references to other career theories, which the authors dismiss rather quickly. In adding a temporal element it also allows for changes in career decision-making over time and gives an insight into how young people might adjust to work. That their cohort was less than 18 years of age, raises a question over its applicability to adults. Finally, although there is a strong temporal element to the theory, the question of an evolving self is understandably explored only in relation to turning points and routines.

The theories explored so far give foreground significance to class and cultural factors in career decision-making. As mentioned in a previous section, Hodkinson *et al.*’s theory includes the notion of ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al.*; 1996) which is similar to the notion of ‘opportunity structure’: the focus of an influential career theory, K. Roberts’ ‘Opportunity Structure Theory’ (1968, 1977, 1981). However, Ball and Maguire argue that opportunity structures vary (2000:148) and are independent on a range of factors such as class, geography etc.

K. Roberts’ original theory (1968) was more than a mere acceptance that opportunities affect career choice as it explores what happens prior to the chooser making their choice. His theory was developed from research which was aimed to test the basic premises of both Ginzberg’s and Super’s developmental theories. First formulated at a time of relatively full employment in the 1960’s, it argues that rather than enter the job they might desire, most youngsters’ ambitions are shaped by the opportunities available: ‘[people do not] choose their jobs in any meaningful sense’ (K. Roberts:1977:3). One part of his theory explains the role of socialisation in affecting both educational and career aspirations and ultimately outcome. One’s family is seen as a key socialising force and the effects of socialisation is therefore class based. Thus class and culture are implicated in the development of both educational and career aspirations. Another key part of his theory argues that young people from a particular class are affected by anticipatory socialisation that aligns their

career ideas with the reality of the class-based employment structures available to them. The desirability of various jobs is also related to the social structure, networks of information and educational success. In reality, therefore, the agent is seen as having limited opportunities for choice and what perceived choice there is, is constrained by a number of factors, of which educational attainment is given pre-eminence: for example, a young person achieving five GCSEs grade C and above will have different opportunities from someone achieving none. K. Roberts (1968) also states that a person's lack of occupational knowledge limits the opportunities available.

K. Roberts' (1968) model emphasised social capital, the network of contacts a family's background affords: for example, a tradesperson has certain contacts they can utilise in supporting their child's job hunting. The model also tries to explain adjustment to jobs and future job choice, which K. Roberts sees as related to the initial job secured by the individual. K. Roberts emphasises the role of occupational socialisation at work because it helps to make jobs acceptable and accounts for shop floor attitudes to work. This has also been noted by a number of other authors such as Bates in her 1990 study of elderly care trainees. In the case of working class men, occupational socialisation also allows them to consolidate their masculinity (Willis, 1977). K. Roberts also contends that men readily settle into a given job because an occupational role is seen as an essential part of their identity and a job allows them to take their place in adult society.

Other authors have illuminated the role that work opportunities have on career. Blustein *et al*, 2002 suggested that rather than implementing a self-concept as Super predicted (1957; 1963) the young people chose work within the 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977). Banks *et al*. (1992) conducted a large scale longitudinal study of five thousand young people aged 15 to 16 in four contrasting parts of England and Scotland. Their findings support some of K. Roberts' theory in that they acknowledge the part of both structure and social influences on career choice. Thus, in Swindon, with very low unemployment rates, job movement was more common than in the other three towns where a YTS/unemployment trajectory was prevalent. Furlong and Cartmel (1995) conducted similar research with 13 year olds in four areas, three with 'restricted opportunities' (p.361). Their findings differ slightly from both K. Roberts and Banks *et al*. in that they conclude that the social and economic status of families is a greater factor in young people's aspirations than is the surrounding 'opportunity

structure' (K. Roberts, 1977). However, young people were aware of opportunities in their locality and, supporting findings in Banks *et al.* they were aware that they might need to find work. The effects of school were also outlined: at one school in an area with poor employment prospects, aspirations were surprisingly high and this is accounted for by a number of factors including the effects of school specific academic traditions and high staying-on rates; this again points to the complex nature of real life career aspirations.

Gottfredson and Becker (1981) studied the relative importance of both opportunities available and aspirations in determining vocational behaviour. Men were affected by the opportunities available and many had to accept jobs that were not their first choice. In order to achieve congruence they changed their aspirations to meet the realities of their current job. A further study (Hemsley-Brown, 1998) contradicts some of the above in that it found that young people's aspirations were largely based on intrinsic interest in an occupation.

## 2.7 OPPORTUNITY

The social environment has a very strong impact on career decisions and opportunity. Within this the variables of chance and 'Serendipitous Opportunities' will be restricted by 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al.*; 1996). In the following a number of themes are discussed demonstrating how opportunities become available and what forms they may take.

Most career theories assume that people have sound occupational knowledge. However, Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) point to the fact that a person's 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al.*; 1996) restrict perceived opportunities. A number of other variables such as age, social class, geographical location and the local economy can also impact on job knowledge. For example, the lack of public transport can severely limit the perceived opportunities open to those people, often working class, without a car. Further, there are neighbourhood opportunity issues to consider too, including: the location of employment opportunities, the geography of skills and the potential mismatch between labour supply and demand (Green and White, 2007).

Some authors suggest that occupational knowledge is stereotyped (Gottfredson, 1981,

1996) and that it increases with age (Jordan and Pope, 2001; Helweg, 2004), although even by adolescence it may still be limited in either/or breadth and depth (Hemsley-Brown, 1998; NFER, 1999). However, a study in the last decade suggested that young people's career aspirations are often unstable (Schoon and Parsons, 2001). The NFER (1999) study found restricted occupational knowledge: 'Levels of factual awareness were low, with few young people demonstrating a comprehensive understanding of the options open to them' (p.26). Indeed, high levels of opportunity awareness were found in only 23% of the cohort.

Hemsley-Brown (1998) outlined the role that young people's perceptions of careers (which result from exposure to role models and the media) play in their career choice. The process of career choice results in a narrowing of job ideas to one or two by the age of 15. Lottery jobs are those with a high prestige but few opportunities, such as actor or footballer - these were not usually influenced by parents, yet remained popular even up to age 17 (20% of the cohort aspired to them). High status jobs such as doctor again failed to significantly reflect parents' occupations, yet around 25% of 15 and 17 year olds aspired to them. Customary jobs, such as teacher, reflect to a greater extent parents' occupations. Choice of occupation was mostly based on personal interests (41%). Overall, young people's career aspirations were said to be based on intrinsic interest in the job rather than occupational structure, suggesting that opportunity structures played less of a role in career aims than previously thought.

The influence of the media on career choice is also emphasised in Hawthorn's research (1998). Her findings suggest that media images do not by themselves motivate large numbers of people to undertake a particular occupation, but combined with a charismatic personality the influence increases; what she terms the 'Cracker effect' (a popular 1990s TV programme about a forensic psychologist). These 'charismatic personalities' become part of our 'virtual family' (p.8) and we will accept their advice in the same way that we accept parental advice. More subtly, experiencing related images through television can alter existing interests. These experiences enter our 'conceptual envelope' (p.7) and become part of our menu of career decision-making. This once more highlights the role of social factors in career choice.

Although a few authors have focused on the role of chance in career decision-making, this is still a relatively minor area of study (Mitchell *et al*, 1999). Miller (1983)

defined happenstance as: ‘an unplanned event that measurably alters one’s behaviour’ (p.17). These chance encounters might involve finding about new job ideas, or result in a major change of identity that Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) suggest can take place at turning points. Crites (1969) has suggested that the layperson’s explanation of career choice includes a chance explanation, which he defined as ‘the fortuitous, unplanned, unpredicted events, which affect a person’s vocational choice’ (p.80). Super (1957) distinguished between those events which are outside a person’s control, and those opportunities unknown to the individual. Blum (1961) also acknowledged the role of chance or accident in career choice.

There is increasing evidence that chance does affect careers but evidence is inconclusive. Mitchell *et al.*, are adamant that ‘chance plays an important role in everyone’s career’ (1999:115). Osterman (1989) claims young working class males in the USA often find work via local chance encounters. During late adolescence-early adulthood conscious planning may not occur and pragmatic responses to chance events are more likely (Richter, 1994).

A majority of the workers in Hart *et al.*’s study (1971) felt that chance had affected their career (57%) – with a higher percentage amongst the unskilled. Betsworth and Hansen (1996) found that two thirds of their cohort had been influenced by chance occurrences and categorised 11 chance events that could affect careers.

Salomone and Slaney (1981) looked at the influence of chance on the careers of non-professional workers. They argue that individuals are more likely to give an order to their lives, which hide chance events. However, unlike other studies, their data suggests that chance factors have a negligible effect on job choice. Thus, there is conflicting evidence about the precise effects that chance does have on career development.

There seems to be little doubt about the importance of the social environment in career choice and development as this environment seems to play a part in every aspect of career decision-making: for example, from educational attainment to the formation of career interests to the actual choice. There is also evidence to suggest that nurture has an important role in shaping any predispositions, such as personality and interests.

## 2.8 FAMILY AND PEER GROUP

A number of authors have tested the effects of family and significant others on career development; the general consensus being that the family exerts much influence over children's career ideas, goals and motivations (Ball and Maguire, 2000; Jordan and Pope, 2001; Blustein *et al*, 2002). Although not directly related to the study of careers there are similarities between this effect of family influence and the research conducted by O'Connor (2011) where it is illustrated that 'intergenerational transmission is of key importance'. O'Connor's research goes on to show that 'transmission of values' from mothers is frequently influenced by their own mothers' actions'. Certainly, research (Ball and Maguire, 2000; Jordan and Pope, 2001; Blustein *et al*, 2002) indicate that fathers have a similar transmission of values, aspirations and identity which produce a negative or positive influence through the generations and therefore have an effect on career preference and possible 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996). Additionally, mothers in O'Connor's research claim that it is they who create the community bond, the values and culture by every day contact with each other in the neighbourhood.

Ball and Maguire make explicit the influence of class on career choice:

*Some parents (typically middle class) have clear aspirations for their children and are proactive and interventionary in choice making at 16 and beyond. Others (typically working class) cede decision-making to their child while expressing concerns or giving their backing to the choices explored by their sons and daughters. (2000:144)*

A US study (Blustein *et al*, 2002) also found that working class parents offered less financial support or instrumental help in finding opportunities. Conversely, Moore (1988) suggests that some working class parents do help their sons/daughters to find work. Broadening the idea that parents can affect their children's decisions, Kidd saw family and significant others as:

- Sources of information about self
- Sources of information about occupational and educational opportunities
- Communicators of the suitability of occupations
- Models
- Agents in the acquisition of work experience; and
- Facilitators in decision-making (1984:30)

Family and significant others are therefore to be seen as major players in young people's careers.

Peers are well known to have an influence on teenagers' development, although the precise nature is open to debate. For example, writing about how peers influence teenagers' adjustment to secondary schooling in America, B.B. Brown (1989:188) wrote: 'there is some controversy and considerable confusion about the ways in which and the degrees to which peer groups exact their influence'. Similarly, Phelan *et al.* (1994) note that peers' influence in schools varies from person to person. Josselson (1980) sees the peer group playing an important role during adolescence, providing autonomy from parents and family, whilst also offering a potential hiding place for those with a low sense of self-esteem and poorly defined identity. Besag (1989) notes that peer groups offer: a surrogate family; standards and rules; self-knowledge; protection; identity; friendship; and common aims. Although Werts and Wately (1972) and B.B. Brown (1989) argue that families are possibly a bigger influence on adolescents' careers, the influence of peers should not be underestimated.

Research into the effects of peers has shown that they gain prominence at different times in a person's life. Crockett *et al.* (1984) found that cliquing increased in early adolescence (age 12-14), while Coleman (1980) suggests that the age of greatest conformity with peers is 13-14. B.B. Brown concludes his review of American literature with a caution: 'To achieve an accurate reading of peer group influences in students' achievement patterns, researchers must be more sensitive to a student's place in the peer group system – to the membership groups and references that matter to the student' (p.209).

Connell *et al.* (1982) noted that different young people adopt different forms of

relationships towards their schooling, which can help explain their success and failure. This is explained as the result of working class difficulty in relating to a hegemonic, middle class, academic curriculum. Mac An Ghail (1996:305) argues that 'English schools are characterised by a collective, unconscious knowledge, whereby teachers spurn, ignore and trivialise working class student cultures'. According to the participants in Mac An Ghail's earlier study (1994), the causes of working class inability to relate to the curriculum is due in part to the many middle class teachers' lack of working class knowledge. In such middle class institutions non-academic forms of knowledge and skills are marginalised, with the result that working class knowledge is pushed aside (Connell *et al.*, 1982:169). Hollands (1990) goes further by stating that the desire to leave school early can be seen as a characteristic of many working class boys and as a result young men who are alienated generally tend to give up on education early in secondary school. Connell *et al.* (1982), however, point out that not all 'working class kids obtain working class jobs' (as Willis, 1977 argues) because some have different career aspirations. This leads to the conclusion that there are many forms of orientation towards school. Connell *et al.* (1982) note three such forms: 'resistance', 'compliance' and 'pragmatism'. Mac An Ghail (1994) suggests the following: 'new entrepreneurs', who value work experience and have an enterprise mentality; the 'real Englishmen', who value personal agency and an elitist attitude; the 'macho lads', who bear a striking resemblance to Willis' 'lads' (1977) and B. B. Brown's 'rems' (1989), with a similar interest in fighting, sex and sport, and the academic achievers, who display a positive attitude to school. To the 'macho lads' academic work is feminine. B. B. Brown's typology of orientations to school argues that working class pupils display four orientations (normative, alienated, normative instrumental and alienated instrumental), three cultural groups, ('rems', 'swots' and 'ordinary' kids') and three terms of reference (Getting in, Getting on, Getting Out). For those young people with a 'Getting in' frame of reference, school holds little interest and they want to get into working class life as soon as possible. However, the majority of ordinary kids want to get on and see their future in traditional working class jobs, such as building and engineering. Those with aspirations to enter the middle class are said to possess a getting out frame of reference.

The above leads to conclude that middle class boys should find it easier to relate to the school curriculum since schools offer a middle class curriculum and environment. However, Martino (1999) noted that middle class boys also rebel against school.



Nevertheless, it must be noted, as Connell points out, that middle class boys have a head start in life, since 'their families collective practice is likely to be organised around credentials and careers from before they were born' (1989:297).

## 2.9 COMMUNITY

Beyond class, culture and social structures, the environment that is the neighbourhood and the wider community, influence career choice. Various authors have addressed this issue (Krumboltz, 1979, Holland, 1985) and focused on the interaction between the community and the individual (Law, 1981) and the developing individual within a changing environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Each individual therefore has to be placed within their context as this produces the decision and career choice. Colin refers to this process as 'contextualism' (Colin, 1997:443). 'Community' was defined as 'place' and characterised by 'kinship, friendship and community spirit'. The underlying concern of these studies was somehow to preserve this strong 'sense of community' during a period of social change and urban redevelopment. Further, it was about contextualising the environment with occupational choice. The value of regarding the community or social world as a 'multi-dimensional space' (Bourdieu, 1985) allows for the fact that 'young people have many identities and live within a variety of contexts – all of which contribute to their development of self' (Kivel, 1998:38). Further, Bourdieu (1984) argues that within such a 'multi-dimensional space', social and structural issues become replaced by the internalisation of individuals' personal critique as an explanation for their circumstances. This perception illustrates why these individuals often perceive themselves to be inefficient and inadequate in a wider economy, particularly in relation to opportunity and community identity. The need for an individual to balance all of these elements can perhaps explain why young people are being seen to emerge from school with constructions of self that are 'the end products of a form of social compromise' (Soudien, 2001).

The 'field' of community encompasses smaller systems of social relations, neighbourhoods, family networks and most notably the school. As such, in a society in which 'schooling constructs much of young people's social and cultural environment' (Jarvis, 2001:257), it is important not to discount 'the complex social, cultural, political and environmental contexts in which schools operate' (Kirk, 1999) and the

impact they can have. In choosing a group of peers that share similar tastes or characteristics, young people in school increase their chances of acquiring relevant cultural, social and physical capital that may or may not enhance their career prospects (Adler and Alder, 1998). In this way, young people can reflect the structure of the 'field' and their relative location or position within it is important (Giddens, 1999). Wherever young people are within the hierarchy of positions in the 'field' they will be encouraged to 'play the game' through conformity to rules and regulations that will direct and control their behaviour either positively or not (Frost, 2001).

Early examples of community studies are *Middletown: A Study of American Culture* (Lynd and Lynd, 1929) where discussions centred on a range of issues from 'family, education, work, leisure [to] politics' (Charles and Crow, 2012) through to *Life in a Mexican Village* (Lewis, 1941) discussing poverty and sub- culture formation. This led the way for a range of British community studies in the 1950s and the 1960s (e.g. Firth, 1956; Dennis *et al.*, 1956; Mogeey, 1956; Young and Willmott, 1957; Kerr, 1958; Willmott and Young, 1960; Stacey, 1960; Rosser and Harris, 1965; Bell, 1968) where these studies were based on ethnographic as well as survey data and provided a clear description of the lives of ordinary people set in their community contexts.

Such community studies were generally superseded in the 1970s by the move to more 'problem focused' policy research although the study by Ashton and Field (1976) is a notable exception (Atkinson and Moon, 1994). However more recently, consideration of neighbourhood and community has since re-entered the urban policy arena (Atkinson and Moon, 1994) and there has been a reassessment of the value of community studies with notable re-visits to earlier studies (Ravetz, 2001; Mumford and Power, 2003).

The relationship between the work situation and the wider community can be seen most dramatically in early studies of what can be called 'extreme' occupations: those that make extreme demands on the individual. Data exists on two early studies during the 1950s/1960s: *Coal Mining* (Dennis *et al.*; 1956) and *Distant Water Fishing* (Tunstall, 1962). In both cases there is a picture of work at the coal face, and on trawlers where one man's mistake can cause the death of others. The men are attracted to the job which pays well and which they define as virile, manly work. However, they hate aspects of it and seek the forgetfulness of alcohol in the long round of pub visits

on Saturdays and Sundays. The close knit community leads to informal relations but notions of privacy exclude strangers who are not close friends or kin. In other words, for many the pub is also the club, providing a focus for what ever association is needed outside the informal relations of the social network. This private network is a source of support, an obligation, a commitment to remain. Newcomers can not only threaten this behaviour (Elias and Scotson, 1965) but threaten the bonding of the original group (Blokland, 2003).

In a study from the early 1960s *The Established and the Outsiders*, (Elias and Scotson, 1965) identified strong social bonding within particular groups of people. The study looked at social relations between three groups: Predominantly Middle Class (Zone 1), old Working Class (Zone 2) and new Working Class (Zone 3). The Middle Class and old Working Class groups were seen as ‘the established’ and were ‘socially old’ to emit a strong powerful influence on Zones 1/2 and snub those in Zone 3, ‘the outsiders’. This led to status and power within ‘the established’ group where:

*Powerful minorities as a kind of gossip leaders, can control the beliefs of a wider network of neighbours.* (Elias and Scotson, 1965:41)

Elias and Scotson's (1965) overall conclusion was that differences in power chances between groups can, in some instances, be related wholly to the extent to which groups are ‘established’; that is, the extent to which groups are cohesive as a result of the ‘oldness’ of their ties and can, therefore, monopolise positions in local associations. This practice is determined by an individual’s ‘habitus’ or ‘capital’, which in turn is influenced by the particular ‘field’ within which they are located. For Bourdieu, (1985, 1986) the social world is perceived as comprising a number of ‘fields’, each with a specific structure that is based upon the differentiation and distribution of various forms of ‘capital’. These forms of ‘capital’, ‘like the aces in a game of cards’ (Bourdieu, 1985:724), represent the ‘stakes at stake’ and, as such, are imbued with value and have the capacity to confer power on their holder.

Such structures working for their own end within the whole may provide their members with goals, strategies and roles that support neighbourhood and community action. Looked at this way, such structures provide a well established set of goals

where achievement indicates success or failure for the individual and a set of socialised roles making group behaviour highly respectable within that particular sect of the community. Family networks, friends and neighbours are given varying degrees of importance in constructing and sustaining the neighbourhood and the wider community. There is general recognition that, as a whole, their presence helps to maintain a sense of togetherness, individual's own sense of place attachment and involvement in that area (Robertson, 2003). Coates and Silburn (1970) in their study of a deprived neighbourhood, 'St Anns' in Nottingham, found that the close-knit neighbourhood, characterised by a high level of face to face interaction, where people knew a very high proportion of their neighbours, had very 'little interaction with anyone who lived in circumstances different to theirs' (Mckenzie, 2012). Individuals had no way of comparing their social situation with any other external situation. In a follow up study, *Beyond the Bulldozer* (Coates and Silburn, 1980) they discovered that this was not an isolated occurrence but part of a wider picture of society. However, what was essential was an identity and a sense of 'belonging' to a cultural system that was based on employment, family and community. Moreover, asserting that you are 'from' a particular region, town, locality or neighbourhood can be an important way in which an individual can locate themselves both socially and culturally and through which they can find a sense of being in the world (Young and Wilmott, 1957; Frankenberg, 1966; Bell and Newby, 1971; Coates and Silburn, 1970, 1980). Rosser and Harris (1965) found similar occurrences in their study exploring *The Family and Social Change: A Study of Family and Kinship in a South Wales Town*. Although the study was more akin to exploring family and social change, it was noted that young people preferred to live near their parents as a matter of choice not as a necessity. Parents were a source of advice, support and identity within the wider extended family and were very much 'mum centred'. Rosser and Harris further go on to add:

*It could be argued that in working class areas, role segregation within the elementary family is accompanied by role segregation in the social network, and that it is the latter which maintains the high degree of connectedness. (Rosser and Harris, 1965:207)*

In recent times there have been a number of re-studies that seek to question the arguments of classic pieces of social research from a new vantage point: *The New East*

*End: Kinship, Race, and Conflict*, (Dench *et al.*, 2008) and *Families in Transition* (Charles *et al.*, 2008) are recent examples. However, more related to this study are the re-studies of *The Employment of Married Women in a Leicester Factory* ((1959–1962), *The Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* (1962–1964) and *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965) undertaken by O'Connor and Goodwin (2012). These three 'Leicester Studies' are simply not replications but in many ways go beyond the original piece of work to capture social change. They provide data from two pivotal points in history with a unique insight into the change and transformation of a community not as a 'static' entity but as a 'process' of transformation. Further, these studies highlight a working class community with its traditions and 'emerging identity' (O'Connor and Goodwin, 2012). Additionally, the re-studies enhance the 'community figurations' suggested by Elias (1974) in which principles and values are maintained.

Historically it is acknowledged that different neighbourhoods acquire different social identities (R. Roberts, 1971; Harvey, 1973, 1992). Those who live in particular localities can also develop attachments to places, which can inform, to a greater or lesser extent, understandings of themselves, others and how they are viewed by others. Therefore, the development and maintenance of a particular social identity for a specific neighbourhood can be the result of a complex weaving of internal and external interactions and forces (Young and Wilmott, 1957; Frankenberg, 1966; Bell and Newby, 1971; Coates and Silburn, 1970, 1980).

More recently Hanley (2007) in *Estates: An Intimate History* has a similar view of the plight of the working classes. Brought up on a council estate herself, she sees the working class as being 'doomed to failure since birth'. Hanley comments that council estates are more of a by-word for the poorest and most disadvantaged in society. In her historical commentary she states that the downward decline started in the early 1950s where the new incoming Conservative government wanted quick, low cost housing at the expense of individual needs. The results of this housing policy created small pockets of society that became inward looking, lack aspiration and are cut off from the wider society. In support of Hanley's discussion, an earlier report by the Social Exclusion Unit *Breaking the Cycle* (2004) states that it had discovered 'an intergenerational cycle of deprivation', 'transmission' and 'inheritance' of disadvantage within the working classes.

The conclusions from these authors is that ‘neighbourhood effects’ are real and have an influence on life chances, but that the distinctive influence of neighbourhood and community is not as important as other influences, particularly social background. For example, the best predictor of someone’s occupation is the occupations of their parents, and not where they grew up, although where they grew up makes some difference. This is more recently supported in the Joseph Rowntree Foundation’s report *Participation and Community on Bradford’s Traditionally White Estates* (2010) where the term ‘estatism’ not only signifies ‘solidarity against an outside world’ but emphasises traditional working class roots that feeds into traditional working class occupations. Further, if ‘estatism’ remains in small pockets of society, then career opportunity, particularly for young people will be limited. This view is supported further by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation’s work in Scotland where ‘neighbourhood identities are underpinned by social class and social status, and these identities are very resilient to change’ (Robertson *et al.*, 2008). Additionally, an ethnographic study of an ex-mining community in Scotland, *Workers Not Wasters*, (Wight, 1993) the men saw their occupation and class position as not important, but their ‘personal reputation in the village’ was. Further, they saw themselves as ‘working people’ and ‘destined to remain so as part of the order of things’. Sennett and Cobb (1972) support this view in their study of blue collar workers in Chicago, reminding us of the fact that occupational groups are differently valued: ‘society forces men to translate social position into terms of personal worth’ (p. 141) and ‘Every question of identity as an image of social place in a hierarchy, is also a question of social value’ (p. 267).

## 2.10 CAREERS AND COMMUNITY

A community has a structure and within that structure is a cluster of variables. These variables constitute and contain social relations and physical resources and are empowered with meaning and value (Gieryn, 2000; Cummins *et al.*, 2007). Individual experience, opportunity structures and collective memory inform and impact on each other through a host of processes and interactions which interrelate within the neighbourhood and wider community. Such variables network together in a physiological and sociological way to suggest a way forward for those seeking work. Law (1981) used the phrase ‘community interaction’ to explain both his own, and others’ theories which attempt to consider both psychological and sociological aspects of career. Many of these theories are indebted to the work of Alfred Bandura and his

social learning theory: a development of both operant and classical conditioning, which sees people as more active creators of their own destiny through social interaction (Gross, 1987). However, although both sociologists and social psychologists explore the role social factors have on careers there are significant differences in emphasis between the two, although both accept that, through socialisation and conditioning, the social world influences people's identities, interests, values etc; psychologists assume that the individual still has a great deal of freedom of choice when it comes to the actual point of decision-making, whereas sociologists may assume that there is far less opportunity for personal agency. Cognitive processes are also given prominence by psychologists than sociologists, whilst such factors as luck, chance and employment opportunities are given less weight

One contention is that weak social ties, such as old friends meeting at a bus stop, can produce important job vacancy information since it lies outside a person's usual and often restricted social contacts: 'weak ties are an important resource in making possible mobility opportunity' (p.1373). However, more recently, Stephens (2011) recognises that although people envisage moving away to further their career, in reality they are in a 'mobility trap' and are deterred or prevented from moving due to limited council properties despite any form of social network.

Law (1996) also focuses on the effects that the interaction of the individual has with the social environment. He builds on some of the thoughts outlined in an earlier paper, in which he considered community [social] interaction (Law, 1981): 'community interaction theories offer 'foreground' significance to direct and personal encounters between individuals and their communities' (Law, 1996:48). To Law, career development can only be understood as a sequence of learned 'capacities and behaviours'(p.46), which appears similar to Alfred Bandura's view of social learning and also Bourdieu's (1984) notion of 'habitus'. Over the course of their development (though no specific ages are indicated) the developing person acquires a repertoire of methods to interpret career data. This repertoire has four levels (sensing, sifting, focusing and understanding) and eight sub-stages of activity. An integral part of the repertoire appears to be an understanding of personal narrative; where one has been and how one reacted. From this narrative it is possible to determine future possibilities and ultimately, actions. However, the theory raises many questions that need answers: for example, what is the detailed process of community interaction in career

progression; how does a young person become attuned to his or her personal narrative; what is the influence of age on careers? Nevertheless, the theory highlights the suggestion that interaction with the environment plays a crucial role in career development.

Collin (1997) argues that the dominance of positivism in career theory building has led to theories that see the environment and the individual as separate identities. A key to understand this relationship is the 'event', a particularly dynamic and active moment in time which is still 'in process' (p. 439). Moreover, the context of the 'event' is complex, being made up of many interconnected parts, which weave into each other, making analysis of the discrete units of the event problematic. Any individual has, therefore, to be analysed as part of their context, which 'could go on and on' (p.442). By focusing on a point in time Collin suggests that our attention needs to focus on the actual 'event' not just the cognitive processes or the developing self.

## 2.11 SUMMARY

There seems to be little doubt about the importance of the environment in career choice and development as the environment seems to play a part in every aspect of career decision-making: for example, from educational attainment; to the formation of careers interests; to the actual career choice. There is also evidence to suggest that nurture has an important role in 'shaping' any predispositions, such as personality and interests.

Developmental changes, 'turning points' and routines, put forward that there are four main elements to career development:

- Self concept/identity
- A response to outside pressures or responsibilities
- Internal pressures
- Knowledge of work opportunities

Further, the developmental models explored in the literature review offer insights into the way people develop and change and draw the attention to the fact that at different times in our lives different things gain prominence through the four key themes of this



research:

- the nature of turning points and their effects;
- the place of masculinity in men's lives;
- the dynamics of male career development; and
- the influence of community loyalty, friends and family on career development

Gould (1972) and Levinson (1978, 1984, 1986) describe the stages that men supposedly go through and this study found evidence to support those models, interwoven within the four key themes. Additionally, Hodkinson *et al.*'s (1996) concepts of routine and turning points greatly add to our understanding of how real lives develop and turn.

## **CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY:**

### **AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Educational research has taken many different forms over the years. Sometimes it has been positioned within social science disciplines, especially psychology and sociology. Sometimes it has been more policy-driven and further linked to educational practice. Within all of this, there is also the type of methods used for example: classroom experiments, surveys on behaviour, attitudes and aptitudes of teachers, students, heads, governors etc; also small scale investigations on institutions and communities through questionnaires, interviews, focus groups etc. With such a vast amount of information that could be collected, a common way of organising and analysing such information is the distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches. On a simplistic level, this would imply that quantitative refers to employing some form of measurement and qualitative does not. However, such a distinction is by no means unproblematic.

For (Bryman, 2008) the difference is between ‘their epistemological foundations’. Further, he expands on this by adding that quantitative and qualitative are two different research strategies that involve: ‘[a] connection between theory and research, epistemological considerations, and ontological considerations’ (p.22). However, research is just not simply about method, it is more about the relative effectiveness of the different research strategies that are employed. Further, it is about the nature of human behaviour and how it can be understood. More often than not, this has been formulated as a conflict between the positivist assumptions of quantitative research and the very different assumptions, sometimes referred to as ‘naturalistic’, ‘interpretive’ or ‘phenomenological’ qualitative approaches. Although there are constraints on either side of the argument much educational research combines qualitative and quantitative methods in various ways and to varying degrees (Jonson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This alternative philosophy stresses the way that people’s perspectives on the world shape their actions and the diversity of those perspectives. At the same time there are those who argue that qualitative and quantitative approaches represent contrasting forms of educational research and that they should not be combined (Bradley and Schaefer, 1998; Gergen and Gergen, 2000; Maxwell and Loomis, 2003).

Historically, there has been a trend towards qualitative research in Britain since the 1960s. Such studies have looked at the distinction between classroom based research (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970, Woods, 1986), research that is more contextual (Patrick, 1973; Willis, 1977; Williamson, 2004, Pitts, 2007) and research which explores transitions, as well as the educational institution (Ashton and Field, 1976; Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009).

In context, the classroom based research by Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) both ethnographic studies, looked at student attitudes and the effects of such on educational achievement and further enhanced the growth of ethnographic and other forms of qualitative research in the 1970s and 1980s. However, more broadly, Willis' study, *Learning to Labour* (1977) of Hammertown Boys and their 'oppositional culture' is still regarded as 'one of the most important achievements in the history of educational and ethnographic research' (Bills and Park, 2008:267). Additionally, Williamson's revisit to *The Milltown Boys Revisited* (2004), a study of life on a council estate, outlines once again the harsh realities of life for young people, who are living on the edge of society. However, studies on a wider scale, have looked at school to work transition. Most notably is Ashton and Field's (1976) book, *Young Workers: From School to Work*, which was originally based on a research project started in the early 1960s and further expanded upon many years later by Goodwin and O'Connor (2009) in their article, *Whatever Happened to the Young Workers? Change and Transformation in 40 Years at Work*. Here Goodwin and O'Connor state that 'employment histories, like life histories, are rarely neat and easy to categorise' (p.429). Further, they make the point that individual stories give an outline of the events in a person's history that could not have been foreseen in any career plan. Therefore, only through 'life narratives and longitudinal studies, [will] we will fully understand the longer-term impacts of school-to-work transitions' (p.430).

To reiterate Goodwin and O'Connor, methodologies need to be able to capture this complexity; hence why the present research is a life history approach to take into account the various unforeseen personal, social and environmental changes in today's society that result in a career that is no longer a simple path. As mentioned earlier, the ideas behind 'Chaos Theory' (Bright and Pryor, 2005, 2007; Pryor and Bright, 2003, 2007) and Mitchell *et al.* (1999) in their 'Planned Happenstance Theory' try to explain the more turbulent career path of living in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

In considering the above research, as I had worked in the neighbourhood school for more than 20 years, I felt that I could gain a foothold into the life of a neighbourhood and complete an ethnographic study of the career development of adult males that had attended the local secondary school many years earlier and follow their career progress. Although this would have involved at times participant observation, it would also have meant interviewing each of the mid-thirties male contributors involved in the research. Having taught all the participants at some point in time in the school, it was hoped that I could get involved with them in their cultural environment. It was about trying to fit-in, which at times was difficult, but as trust had been built over many years, the ability to communicate with each individual on their level and terms was possible. Also it was feasible to separate the role of the participants from that of the observer. Here, it was practical to avoid the observer effect and become part of the group, if only for a short period of time. Although this was a strength, it did have its problems, for example, when deviant actions were observed that involved a family member. However, by observing behaviour, asking questions, visiting the social club, family home and recording what was happening, it was possible to be involved, to some extent, with the group itself and experience things as a group member. Therefore, the group being studied was observed in its natural setting rather than just from a series of questionnaires and interviews.

Ethnographic research shares qualitative traits, but ethnographers more specifically seek understanding of what participants do to create the culture in which they live, and how the culture develops over time. The method of research in this study follows the three methodological principles as outlined by Hammersley, (1990): Naturalism, Understanding and Discovery and tries to capture a true reflection of the nature of human social behaviour. Constructs were not imposed on the data but emerged from the research process and there was no preconceived hypothesis to test, only a general frame of reference. This is not unusual, as in qualitative research and in particular ethnographic research the actual outcome is open ended. Anderson (1978, 2006) in his study of black street corner men in Chicago ‘had no idea where [his] research would lead’ (2006: 40). However, it was important to be accepted into the community as not only an observer, but participant as observer. That is a ‘functioning member of the social setting but identity is known’ Bryman, (2008: 410). This relationship continues to the present day, where the researcher is still invited to functions at the Working Men’s Club, local charity football events, meet and greet in the neighbourhood,

informal conversations at parents' evenings, even birthday parties. However, these relationships were not only built up during the period of the research, but prior to the study, as most of the interviewees had been known to the researcher for a number of years. This relationship allowed for observations through 'the eyes of the people being studied' (Bryman, 2008) and to investigate their lives and experiences more fully.

To immerse into a social setting, observing behaviour, and noting conversations was fraught with difficulties at first. The trepidation and lack of trust was evident and understandable. It was important to capture essential, repeated practices, not to change them or disrupt the natural flow of events, as Everhart (1983:278) states:

*The field worker attempts to become partly socialised by those being studied so as to **understand better** their lives, all the while remaining the outsider who attempts to call into question everything seen and heard. (emphasis in original)*

Interpretation is grounded in the data, about the events, times, and actions of the participants (Green *et al*, 2002; Richardson, 2002). Further, the interviews are also grounded in what is occurring in the local context, both within and across a time frame. Therefore, some interviews are undertaken to gain insider information about what the researcher is observing or to actually test any developing theory, although there is some dispute as to whether some form of observation is necessary for a study to be deemed ethnographic (Bloor, 2001). However, it is the links between everyday action or interaction and the wider cultural formations through its emphasis on context that distinguishes ethnography from other approaches (Savage, 2006).

In addition, such activities reflect the social situations of everyday life. The analytic principle is of comparing and contrasting any given data; methods, theories, and perspectives, to identifying what are relevant.

In context, the research involved interviewing 10 working class males who had turned their life around and continued their education in their mid-thirties, despite personal traumas, social deprivation, poverty and a working class stigma. The research took place in their own settings, was about their life and personal experiences, and the main collection of data was participant observation and interviewing. Additional, data was

collected from school records relating to attendance, exclusion and personal issues. The research was to reflect the values of youth, culture and community through soft outcomes that were about empowerment and collaboration, as well as being person-centred, inter-personal, and experientially focused. What is characteristic of all qualitative research, though, is that researchers study phenomena in their everyday context, and attempt to make sense of these phenomena in terms of the meanings that research participants bring to them. During the pilot interview with the initial contact of the target group, three central areas were mentioned: Employment, Community Cohesion and Personal Agency. The grid below (Table 8) shows the characteristics of the area in more detail as mentioned by the interviewee.

Table 8: Area Characteristics

<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>	<b>COMMUNITY COHESION</b>	<b>PERSONAL AGENCY</b>
Work Qualifications Low aspirations Probation	Community issues Politics Gangs Ethnic groups ASBO Stereotypes School Crime Youth Service Family Religion	Exploitation Vulnerability Marginalisation Individual issues Home

From the above, it was clear that the research was not about hard quantitative measures or outcomes, but rather soft outcomes, more akin to barriers to employment rather than anything else. A scientific approach, central to positive epistemology was not required, as the researcher wanted to unearth different viewpoints and constructs on, for example, career decision making and masculinity, which went further than the view proffered by positivist studies of career development.

Additionally, methods of measuring hard outcomes tend to be impersonal and

incompatible with a 'person-centre' approach and at times do not give a complete picture of a participant's development. Further, such outcomes include a clearly definable, quantifiable, measurable set of results e.g. a qualification, finding work, moving into permanent accommodation, whereas soft outcomes often are an intermediary step on the way to achieving a hard outcome e.g. improved self-confidence; improved communication skills, and often cannot be measured directly or tangibly. It is these soft intermediary outcomes that this study seeks to explore. Further, in questioning the interviewees a life history approach was adopted. This was to allow a further insight into the interviewees' careers and to discover further detail and variables that may be overlooked. The gathering of personal stories it was hoped would introduce new variables, new questions and new processes. Social process is not invisible but it is made up of symbolic visible processes that can describe crucial interactive episodes in which new lines of individual and collective enquiry are advanced, in which new aspects of the self are brought into being. The life history approach serves the purpose of checking assumptions and social structure by a process of adjustment over time.

The central concern of qualitative research is understanding individuals' experiences at a holistic level. That is development is seen as an interconnected process with many different dimensions. Holistically, the different dimensions are not seen in isolation but within the whole, where understanding the links and tensions between them is paramount (Parahoo, 2006). Consequently, qualitative research approaches are congruently aligned with holistic philosophy underpinning the research practice (Holloway, 2005). Researchers of this kind interpret the complexities embedded in these experiences to seek meanings and illuminate their significance. Ernest (1994:24) holds that 'The interpretative (qualitative) research paradigm is primarily concerned with human understanding, interpretation, intersubjectivity, lived truth (i.e. truth in human terms).' Qualitative research is often conducted in natural settings, (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and experiences are shaped better in context and best understood as they are found, in other words in their natural settings. It is in natural settings where behaviours can be truly reflected and the meanings of these behaviours can be well interpreted. Maykut and Morehouse (1994:45) concur that 'the natural setting is the place where the researcher is most likely to discover, or uncover, what is to be known about the phenomenon of interest.' Eden (1988:46) also feels that 'qualitative research is context-specific, that is, it posits that ideas, people, and events cannot be understood

if isolated from their contexts'. Qualitative research is particularly suitable for school and community based research (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995:35), where human activities and relationships are intricately interwoven.

Therefore, in considering the qualitative research paradigm, it seemed to be appropriate to use a narrative interview approach. Not only did I feel this was the most appropriate way to explore career histories, but such an approach allowed me to utilise my skills as an interviewer, built up after many years teaching and advising students in the 16-19 age range. Also I was comfortable in an interview situation, to ascertain in-depth information.

Although ethics is discussed further towards the end of this chapter, it is important to acknowledge at this stage that all ethical practices will be observed by following ethical procedures: codes, policies, and principles. Permission was sought from all the interviewees and that includes entrance to any family home and any further discussion with 'partner' and/or children. Any request will be treated with respect, acknowledging the rights and responsibilities of the interviewee.<sup>10</sup> Kevin being an example of this, when he was quite insistent that 'nothing should be written down or recorded' during the interview. Consequently, this involved a series of notes having to be made immediately after each interview based entirely on memory. Kevin approved of this method and was in full agreement. Further, Kevin saw all the notes and agreed the content.

It is important that ethical procedures are also understood as long term objectives. For as the research is undertaken and texts are written, lives of the participants continue to unfold into the future (Huber *et al*, 2006).

### 3.2 ADOPTION OF SUITABLE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

School can be a daunting place for many young people. The strife and stress to become well qualified can result in educational disengagement, cultural detachment and social exclusion. This research focuses on the place of career in men's lives and how the educational system, including the family, meets individual learner needs. As Sellman *et al* (2002:898) emphasises: '...schooling can be seen as framing a narrow experience

---

<sup>10</sup> Details of the information given to interviewees in Appendix 1 and 2



that rewards conformity with qualifications'. The challenge is to make education appropriate for all and develop ways to value achievement within that society and culture.

All these men had experienced educational failure but had achieved credibility in the many aspects of disengagement within the school and the neighbourhood. In this neighbourhood, they were a success, and role models for 'wanabee' gang members.

A comparison between research intentions and the central ideas of this research pointed the way to a qualitative approach.

The main focus of the research was:

- the nature of turning points and their effects;
- the place of masculinity in men's lives;
- the dynamics of male career development; and
- the influence of community loyalty, friends and family on career development

In a wider sense the study would also try to understand more fully both the career choices of today's school leaver and male adult career development in general and to look at why changes are made from a masculine school leaver identity at the age of 16 and an initial career choice, to a new identity and a quest to be better educated later in life.

Most people have a good story to tell. It is about engagement, keeping the interest of the listener and wondering what happened next. Through stories we are able to construct narratives that will seek to explain events in a structured, sequential way. Within the last few decades or so a narrative approach has been used by a number of authors in education, career research and practice (Kelchterman, 1993; Heikinnen, 2000; Riessman, 2004)). Simply, it is about qualitative practice that tells and uses stories. However, it is telling stories with a researcher interviewing or having various conversations with participants who then tell stories of their experiences, 'a more difficult, time-consuming, intensive, and yet, more profound method is to begin with participants' living because in the end, narrative inquiry is about life and living'

(Connelly and Clandinin, 2006: 478).

However, the term narrative is much wider, as it can cover a range of approaches that seeks to understand the life of the individual. B. Roberts (2002) talks of narrative research as being based on the approach as well as the source. Further, B. Roberts (2002) mentions at the very least it is about people's connections, organisation and events, linked to the past, present and future that can provide material for analysis.

In addition, Silverman (1998:111) states:

*What matters is to understand how and where the stories are produced, which sort of stories they are, and how we can put them to intelligent use in theorising about social life.*

However, there are generally agreed considerations in narrative inquiries whether they are living, telling, retelling or reliving stories. Clandinin and Huber (2010) give a detailed description of these considerations and talk about the approach as having three design considerations.

- *Personal Justification*
- *Practical Justification*
- *Social Justification*

However, some authors use the term narrative interchangeably with two other terms: life story and life history. (Coleman, 1991; Atkinson, 1998).

Life stories allow 'a person to narrate the story of his or her life in all its dimensions' (Slim *et al*, 1998:21). Life story data is obtained through interviews or through open-ended questions that take the individual through a guided autobiography.

Whereas Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) argue that the strengths of the life history approach 'could be said to be its ability to represent subjectivity meaningful experiences through time' (1995:187). Further, it is about obtaining 'information on the entire biography of each respondent' (Bryman, 2008:695). A life history approach

is about using oral and other documentary evidence such as written accounts, to explore a person's life history.

Therefore, for clarity in this research, I have chosen the term life history when referring to my data.

### 3.3 METHOD OF ENQUIRY

#### Sampling Framework

When research concerns a known population, the choice of sample design is dependent on individual research goals. Quantitative designs use 'representative' sampling strategies to make inferences about a whole population; whereas with qualitative sampling designs generalisability is an issue. However, it is possible to generalise through 'naturalistic generalisation' by taking the findings from one study and apply them to understanding another similar situation. The aggregation of single studies allows theory building through tentative hypotheses taken from single findings, the generalisations produced are no less legitimate when about a single finding (Atkinson and Flint, 2001).

The sampling framework for this research is a non-probability sample, where in-depth descriptions are an essential component of the process. In many ways this approach can better understanding and give a more complete characterisation of a population. Although the sample was to include young men who were all disaffected teenagers, they all had to fulfil certain criteria:

- Male
- Left the school in 1995 or part of that academic year
- Had been born and remain within the triangle
- Currently in work
- Had been part of a school/estate gang
- Disruptive while at school

However, what is important within this framework is that all the potential interviewees are gatekeepers to local knowledge, culture and are key practitioners on a daily basis in the area.

## Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling techniques offer an established method for identifying and contacting concealed groups of the population. It is acknowledged that there are issues of generalisation and bias which can limit the validity of the sample (Silverman, 2006). Nonetheless, the eventual sample can be defended on several grounds. At the most practical level, these were the people who were willing to offer their accounts of their life story and without them the research would have been difficult. More analytically, the sample does reflect considerable diversity along the lines of identity, neighbourhood, family bonding and career aspiration. Further, the sample gives an insight into the mechanism of a small neighbourhood, their sensitivity to unemployment and failure, in addition to how they bond and support each other through life.

The 10 stories provided by the final sample of interviewees were recruited through a snowball sampling strategy that made use of Anthony's social networks. The pilot interview with Anthony and the on-going assessment of the descriptive and interpretive density of this, prompted the researcher to ask him to identify other men who fulfilled the criteria. In reality, each sample member knew at least someone else, so the sample was not a clear linear projection from Anthony but from a multitude of contacts. At this stage, it was felt by the researcher that a referral by a peer would create a degree of trust but it would help in gaining access to those who were difficult to locate.

## Sample Size

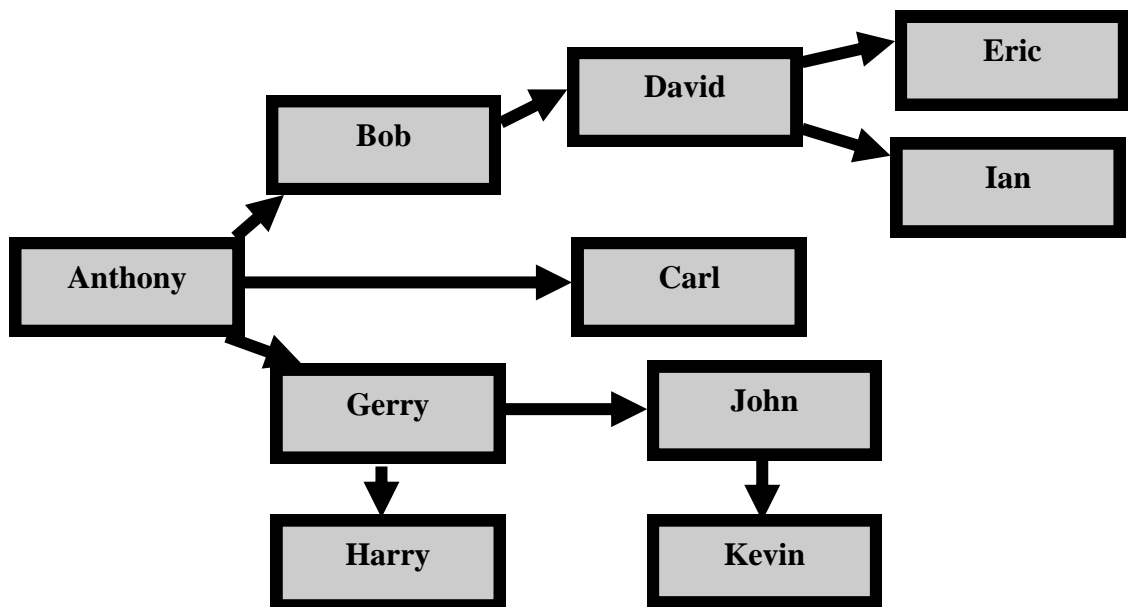
The size of how large the sample should be can be an issue. One method of deciding how large a sample should be is to keep interviewing until the theoretical concepts arising from the data are exhausted, until saturation point is reached in terms of building understandings.

*A sufficient number of cases is important, but as a means of obtaining a broad and varied basis upon which to generalise rather than for the purpose of generating a statistically representative probability sample. (Miller 2000:11-12)*

This implies the use of a grounded theory approach. It also implies overlapping sampling and analysis stages.

The snowball sampling strategy that initially made use of Anthony's social networks eventually gave a potential number of 18 men that would be willing to be interviewed. However, three of these did not fully fit the criteria for selection and had to be dismissed. From the remaining potential interviewees, having revisited Hodkinson *et al.*'s (1996) influential 'Careership Theory' which was deduced from a group of only 10 young people, I decided that 10 interviewees for this study would be sufficient. This reserved sampling departs from the saturation point as dictated by a grounded theory approach where 'no additional data can be found' (Glaser and Strauss, 1974). Further, the study comprised of several other areas of enquiry: teachers, youth worker and *ad hoc* meetings with family, friends and unknown associates. These all worked in tandem with the 10 final interviewees to produce a wider picture and substantiate any claims that were made. (Figure 2)

Figure 2: Snow Ball Sample Relationships for the 10 Final Interviewees



To arrive at the final 10 interviewees from a total of fifteen a computer generated random number list was used using Microsoft Office Excel 2007.

#### Accessing the Sample

In accessing the sample, three stages were identified:

- Identify and define the target population
- Specify who the sample is
- Access to the sample

From the above, the three stages move from the initial entry into the population to actually accessing it. Although my role as a teacher is known to the students, my role as a researcher is not. The ready made role of teacher, having a superficial knowledge of the 10 interviewees I hope would leave the setting of the research undisturbed. However, the role of researcher and the interviewees' perceptions of this, particularly in the early stages are important to acknowledge. At this stage the interviewees may distort their actual stories until they feel comfortable with the researcher's entry into a form of micro access into their world. Certainly, micro access was not a simple process but the lengthy discussions, observations and comments made by the 10 interviewees in different settings, gave a unique insight into a small neighbourhood.

#### Interviewees

The broad focus was initially open-ended, allowing for important meanings to be discovered or uncovered (Maykut and Morehouse 1994:43). Once a broad focus was identified, the researcher collected data from an initial interviewee whom he had previously met at a local football match and now by chance was at a parents' evening representing a friend of his, in relation to the friend's daughter. Towards the end of the parents' evening the researcher had a general conversation regarding the interviewee's career to date since leaving school. Not only did he agree to be part of the study, he also knew of past students and agreed to contact them. These past students were people from his year that had left school at the same time as him; they were mostly part of his gang and still lived in the neighbourhood and local community. This individual was selected on the grounds that he represented the range of experience required for the research (Maykut and Morehouse 1994:56).

Semi-structured interviewing was chosen as the most appropriate method of data collection. The complexity of the topic clearly required a sensitive, flexible and responsive method of data-collection. Further, these interviewees had been disaffected students and remained in a closed shop community alien to outsiders. Therefore, they could lack the motivation to complete a formal questionnaire.

At this stage, data were analysed as it was collected. As the collecting and analysing data procedures were carried out, the researcher compared data and looked at the relationship among the themes that emerged. The data of qualitative inquiry are most often people's words and actions, and it required methods that allowed the researcher to capture language, creativity and behaviour. The most useful way of gathering a life history was through in-depth interviews, the collection of relevant documents and community observation (Smith *et al*, 1991).

Goodson and Sikes (2001:7) state that 'conducted successfully, life history forces a confrontation with other peoples' subjective perceptions'. Such an approach underlines the interviewee's social realism, looks at their perceptions, their socio-cultural background and then links this individual's way of living with the research.

Observation and interview data were collected by the researcher in the form of field notes and digitally recorded interviews, which were later transcribed for use in data analysis. These techniques share common underlying procedures - setting general ideas and then rationing these into precise questions you want your research to answer. This research suggests that collecting data from a sample group or individual is particularly useful.

The type of interview used to collect the data involved asking the men semi-structured questions, and then probing wherever necessary to obtain data. The questions covered the following areas<sup>11</sup>:

- What was life like until the age of 11?
- After the age of 11, what was life like until leaving school?
- When you left school, what happened?
- When you chose your first job, what alternatives were there for you?
- What hopes do you have for the future?
- What does work mean to you?
- How have your views about work changed over the years?
- If you put aspects of your life in importance to you, where would you put work?

---

<sup>11</sup> Further details of the questions in Appendix 3

## Teacher Interviews

In order to gain further knowledge of the interviewees at school, five teachers were identified who had taught the interviewees at different stages of their education. This was to ensure that the research findings accurately reflect people's perceptions, and as far as possible, was accurate. Although it can be argued that the teachers could be very subjective in their view, the gaining of information from three sources: the teachers, the interviewees and the wider community, it is hoped that any preconceptions are reduced. Certainly, the comparison of three views of the same thing can be used to corroborate, elaborate or illuminate the research. All interviews with the teachers were done outside of school hours but took place on the school premises. Permission for this was sought from the head teacher of the school. All the teacher interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed in a similar way to the thirty something males.

Two of the teachers expressed concern at the interviews and made comments relating to teacher appraisal and gaining insider information about them. However, the researcher assured both teachers that this was not the case and that they could stop the interview at anytime, withdraw completely from the research and that a written copy of the interview would be made available to them to ascertain accuracy if requested. Even at write up, details of the interview would not be included in the research if requested by them.

The teachers acknowledged that they found these interviews difficult:

*...I don't want to add anything really, these young men, let's say, were difficult.*

and

*...do I say they should be in prison now, you just have to be careful who will read this.*

With one teacher, the interview ended up being how they came into teaching, the changes they would make to children's lives until:



*...I realised that I was not going to change some of these children; you cannot save them all, so I concentrated on my top set.*

The remaining two teacher interviews were enlightening in that they gave accounts of social groupings, hierarchy, gang expectations and self esteem within the school community. One commented:

*Gerry was a notable gang leader in and out of the school. He ruined many of my lessons and to be honest, I had a sigh of relief when he was absent, which did not happen often. Would you believe it he had good attendance.*

These two teachers placed the thirty something interviewees in context, explaining that it was a difficult time for the school, the neighbourhood and career prospects for any teenager. The teachers' focus of questioning was unstructured but centred on the behaviour and attitude of the interviewees as they approached their last years of schooling. However, more specific questions were asked when particular problems were encountered.

The teachers also completed a short questionnaire relating to the activities of the interviewees<sup>12</sup>.

### Youth Worker

Although the Youth Club was demolished in 1995, the youth club leader at the time is still a visitor to the school. Working with a few students in a voluntary capacity she spends a few hours each week working with vulnerable students. This allowed for a few informal and unstructured conversations relating to the interviewees. This gave a further historical dimension into the well being of the interviewees and their capacity to negotiate schooling and their complex social world.

### School Data

School data was also collected on each of the interviewees. Records relating to

---

<sup>12</sup> Further details of the questions in Appendix 5

attendance, behaviour, exclusion and contact with professional bodies gave a clear insight into the day to day life of the interviewee at school and beyond. Access to this kind of material gave an insight into the interviewee's social values and well being and the kind of policy and curriculum responses the school tried to adopt in order to support the individual. Further, access to school curriculum reports, student guidance and counselling, allowed for a wider view of the formation of the 'personal' and social life of the interviewee.

### 3.4 DATA COLLECTION

#### Outline

Data that is generated through memory is, by definition, subjective and one sided. It is a socially developed version of events which assembles itself as it is relayed to the researcher. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Life History observes how the individual copes with and is shaped by their experiences; life events are the real features that interest the researcher (Pole and Morrison 2003: 35-39).

Therefore the central concern of interpretative research is to understand human experiences at a holistic level. Because of the nature of this type of research, investigations are often connected with methods such as in-depth interviewing, participant observation and the collection of relevant documents.

Maykut and Morehouse (1994:46) state that:

*The data of qualitative inquiry is most often people's words and actions, and thus requires methods that allow the researcher to capture language and behaviour. The most useful ways of gathering these forms of data are participant observation, in-depth interviews, group interviews, and the collection of relevant documents.*

#### Pilot Interview

A single interviewee was interviewed prior to commencement of the study. This interviewee was already known to the researcher, having met at a parents' evening being held in the school a few months earlier. This interviewee had also been taught by

the researcher for a number of years in the same school. After the initial discussion at the parents' evening, contact details were exchanged. A few months later after further contact it was agreed to meet to discuss the pilot interview, how to approach the other participants and for the researcher to become accustomed with the life history approach, the target group and for the close knit community to become accustomed to seeing the researcher within the neighbourhood. By a slow introduction to some of the other participants through the Working Men's Club, Territorial Army and local café, it became possible to develop a sense of trust where, in most cases, the interviewees became quite open in their response to questions.

### The Interviewees

All the interviewees had left the school at the same time, they all knew each other and had remained within their neighbourhood and wider community in most cases since birth. They are all in their mid-thirties and are committed to the area and its values. In many cases they have wide networks of family and friends that sustain a strong bond. This bond holds the network together, as Eric, one of the interviewees commented:

*We are all family, we all know each other well in this area and that is what counts. That lot out there [local council, national government] can do what they want, but we have roots here and here we stay and look after our own.*

### Insider Status

For the researcher having previous knowledge of the interviewees, the establishment of relationships with most of the males was not a necessary prerequisite to the quality and quantity of collected data. The trust that was given to the researcher into the lives of the participants gave valuable insight into resistance to school life and the role the community had in developing careers for its males. The researcher became a link with local families and school, for it was seen as supporting the interests of the community and providing educational support. The interviewees and their family were particularly generous in their individual and collective accounts of school, career and community life.

According to Layder (1993) the role of participant observer is the ideal form of

research strategy. By playing down the professional role of the researcher, thus becoming a member of the group to be studied, one can obtain unique access to an otherwise closed world (Layder, 1993:40-42). By gaining the group members' trust the participant observer can observe experiences and attitudes from the perspectives of the people to be studied and describe their world in terms of their language. As a researcher working alone, access to documentation, confidential information and quality data was overcome by status of being a teacher in the school. This provided credible status to ask at times difficult and demanding questions of all participants.

Learning becomes a social act that occurs through on going social practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Furthermore, learning is viewed as something that is not restricted to formal education, but that which occurs within people's wider lives (Bloomer and Hodgkinson, 2000). Therefore, to fully understand the interviewee in school and the impact it can have on their lives, it was necessary to collect data from the school, neighbourhood and the home. It became an issue of gaining access into not only school but neighbourhood and family life. By this it is meant not only gaining physical access, but the issue of gaining trust and developing relationships, which were essential to the research.

### The Teachers

The researcher had worked with the five teachers for a number of years and although there had been a measure of trust from a professional perspective, the role of researcher gave a different outlook. As an insider in the organisation the researcher felt a little hesitant in dealing with two teachers who were quite negative at the beginning, but this became more manageable once the interview process began. The researcher's position in the school allowed a shared viewpoint which did not just rely on what was said, but could be placed in the context of the whole school. All the interviews were unstructured to allow colleagues to share their thoughts and any documented evidence available was accessed with permission from the head teacher. Care was required to avoid any leading questions or suggestion of outcome. It was about developing a positive relationship during the process, building up some empathy and developing an understanding. The aim was to verify the men's views of themselves and of the researcher's recollection of them.

To triangulate the thoughts of the teachers, school records were accessed with approval

the headteacher. This gave a balanced view, for not only were school records accessed, but informal discussions with the youth worker, Mary, gave a good outline and further evidence of the cultural history of the interviewee.

### The Gaining of Trust

It was inevitable that not all the relationships were equal. This was particularly true in some of the relationships with the interviewees, where at times their input was a joy to behold. Yet, at times it also brought a sense of hopelessness, anguish and despondency, as they felt they had been let down by society. At a time of need: gaining qualifications pre and post 16, careers guidance and little chance of employment they felt they owed society nothing. Access and trust developed slowly, for both the interviewee and the researcher. The interviewees at times wondered how the information would be shared despite clear guidance having been given at the start of the each interview. It was interesting that slowly the interviewees began to open up when they realised that the comments they made about their local school, teachers, family and the local community went no further. In fact, they talked more freely. But, there were occasional barriers, where there was a clear distinction between what the researcher could and could not understand. In some cases the spoken language used by other men who were not involved in the study in the Working Men's Club omitted detail in their talk and further explanation was lacking. It was a type of short hand for people who knew each other well. This became particularly prevalent in some of the interviews that then took place in the Working Men's Club, which at times proved difficult, due to the constant interruption from others not taking part in the research. It was necessary at times to try to get the meanings from these words that the individuals articulated. At times, as indicated earlier, the language used was not clear. It was important to get the fullest possible picture of their ideas, their world and how they see it, sometimes through the comments of others.

The Working Men's Club was a bastion of working class people. Their occupations included:

- Labourers
- Restaurant workers
- Old peoples home staff
- Repair shops, garages staff
- Delivery services, lorry drivers
- Retired factory workers
- Shift workers

In fact, the non interviewees were very much concerned about what was going on and how this research could affect them in the future. Comments about ‘welfare’ ‘benefits’ ‘big brother’ and ‘state control’ made some of the interviews quite difficult. Yet, at times, they were intrigued and sometimes quite supportive in backing up stories about the neighbourhood. However, other venues where interviews took place, such as the family home, local theatre, café or place of work were more relaxing and the interviewees responded more openly to the questions and were able to expand on their comments more freely.

#### General Interview Considerations

Some of the teachers were more willing than others to reflect on what they had said and done. This raises issues about the conduct of such collection of data. Especially the collection of responses to difficult questions, how far to probe and how deep to pursue. How much does the researcher need to know? The respondent may find themselves manipulated into saying more than they intended. One response to this was to let the respondent decide. After all, this research was dealing with known colleagues, past students of the school and their family to a certain extent, which allowed the researcher into, at times, a very private world with trust. It was therefore very important to maintain that trust and respect the privacy of the respondents. It was inevitable that the teachers were nervous and self-conscious. They were very careful what they said and concerned about who would be privy to their information. They also raised concern regarding the recording of the interviews. The interviewees too were not immune, for the presence of a digital recorder did create a slightly different ethos to begin with. It is felt that this did not create serious problems for the validity of the research. There was no reason to believe that the teachers or the interviewees were more than temporarily and superficially affected.

In fact, after the initial interest in the digital reorder, it was soon forgotten. All the researcher can do is:

- Try to employ observational techniques which will obtain suitable data with the least possible disruption of the processes under observation.
- Use participants' own views and those of other informed sources (friends) to help judge the representative quality of what has been observed and recorded.

When giving feedback the teachers and the interviewees mentioned that the 'events' recounted were valid and reliable.

### Approach to Analysis

The most effective means of collecting data based in a naturalistic setting is through in-depth interviewing and participant observation (Avis, 2005). In fact, in-depth interviews are one of the most popular and widely used methods of data collection in qualitative research (Redmond and Curtis, 2009). It was also important to complete the interviews in an environment that was natural for the participant. The researcher was known to all of the interviewees and the teachers. Both appeared to very quickly ignore the methods used to collect the data and in most cases, became quite relaxed in answering questions and elaborating their story. The researcher was occasionally approached in the Working Men's Club and in the school, when interviews and observation were taking place, but most of the time no contact was made by non-participants except family members e.g. in the home; however this does not preclude the possibility that this presence of others affected the behaviours of both the teachers and the men in the research.

Having developed the range of questions for the interviewees it was important to undertake a pilot interview. This was done with a previous student of the school who was approached at a parents evening. After an initial meeting, there appeared to be little change necessary from the schedule and this became the basis of the questioning.

However, at this stage access to potential interviewees was required. It was agreed to contact some of the old gang for me. Family members of all the interviewees still attend the school and over several years the researcher has come into contact with all

of them.

Rather than trying to exclude all bias from the research process, the researcher tried to achieve a balance of biases and thus enhance the internal validity of data and ensure that observations were reliable. This was done through:

- Pilot interview
- Triangulation (see earlier)
- Mini diary (notes) containing factual accounts...ideas and follow up questions
- Data collected from interviews was checked by interviewees

#### Recruitment and Further Analysis

The interviews were not without problems, with non-attendance, not returning calls/texts/emails and the summer city riots of 2011 causing the neighbourhood to withdraw and become quite suspicious of any outsider. This was very apparent in the Working Men's Club, and very prevalent in the local pub where the researcher refused to conduct any interviews. At the start of each interview the purpose of the research was clearly explained. Additionally, it was mentioned that pseudonyms would be used and place names changed. Before commencing interviews all were given details of their rights as interviewees. All were offered a copy of the transcript of their interview for their reference. In the analysis, justice to the stories was paramount, since being faithful to another's point of view is one way of being ethical (Ely and Anzul, 1991). This was achieved by the use of quotations which allow access to the data, rather than the researcher's interpretation of the data.

The individual interviews went generally well with both the teachers and the interviewees managing to answer the questions. The average time for each interview with the men was about one and a half hours, whereas with the teachers it was about half an hour. What took the most time was the transcribing of each interview; also this was followed sometimes by a telephone call, email or text to the participant to clarify an issue. A follow up meeting was then arranged for the interviewee to check that the transcript was accurate.

At this point it was essential to highlight key incidents and themes that would form the



basis of the analysis. This would help in understanding both the individual stories and give an insight into the lives of the interviewees. A major part of the analysis was to look for turning points as this could help in understanding career development and change. Denzin (1996:70) calls these turning points ‘epiphanies’ as they are ‘interactional moments and experiences which leave marks on people’s lives’. The analysis of the 10 interviews and teacher comments, gave a great deal of data, but it also gave unique features of individual career stories as well as communal themes.

Therefore the data was analysed as follows:

- the nature of turning points and their effects;
- the place of masculinity in men’s lives;
- the dynamics of male career development; and
- the influence of community loyalty, friends and family on career development

Each individual story required care and attention so that the information gained from the participants (interviewees and teachers) would represent a view of reality as accurately as possible. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) describe life history data as data that ‘speaks for itself and can be presented as ‘thick description’. It was therefore important to analyse the stories and place them in a theoretical perspective. What was necessary was to unearth different points of view on career decision making and how this related to a wider aspect of masculinity, family and neighbourhood.

### 3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

A number of analytical approaches were considered: grounded theory, discourse analysis, thematic analysis. However, the focus of the methodology was about uncovering basic social processes and the ‘exploration of contextual factors that affect individual’s lives’ (Crooks, 2001). Therefore, the responses to each of the open questions and ‘observations’ were analysed according to a method of content adapted from Glaser and Strauss 'grounded theory approach' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory is described as the ‘discovery of regularities’ and further ‘identification (and categorisation) of elements and exploration of their connections’ (Tesch, 1990:72). The aim of this approach is to produce a detailed and systematic recording of themes and issues addressed in qualitative material and link the themes

together under a reasonably exhaustive category system. Further, Burnard (1991) describes a systematic approach using a number of stages. Initially the researcher identifies as many headings for the data as possible and then groups these according to higher order headings, by collapsing some similar categories in to broader ones. This process is repeated until all repetitious categories are collapsed to give the final list.

Although this system was followed, it was important to try to bring together the grounded data and link it to the more general theories of careers, which appeared to be what Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) had done in utilising some of Bourdieu's and Giddens' ideas to construct their Careership Theory. A phenomenological mode of analysis was used to allow for a detailed examination of the interviewee's life and explore personal experiences. This involved coding from the data rather than imposing frameworks onto it. It was also necessary to try to disengage from the stories and let them speak for themselves. Considering this, a thematic approach was adopted, taking into consideration that a life history approach should present the data from the interviewee's perspective.

After all the interviews had been transcribed and verified by the interviewees as being an accurate reflection of the meeting, a précis of each was undertaken. This was important to try to understand both the individual stories and gain an insight into individual lives and common themes between the stories. Initially, key incidences and themes were highlighted from the précis and then cross referenced with the actual transcription and further crossed referenced with the remaining interviewees. The mini reflective diary was also used at this point to consider 'observations' made at the time of the interview. This process was to gather initial concepts from the data and to link each concept into a wider theme. What was clear at this point was that areas raised in the pilot interview: Employment, Community Cohesion and Personal Agency were dominant across the interviewee's stories. These three categories became the basis on which to add the initial concepts and further each theme.

At this stage, after doing a great deal of coding, I felt saturated with general data, but equally felt that a more detailed analysis was now required. Therefore, a line-by-line coding was adopted which either used a descriptive or analytical word to review that particular line. Further, Hodkinson *et al.*'s (1996) Careership Theory was revisited as this to me, was the most comprehensive attempt to understand the decision making

process of school leavers. Additionally, as the notion of turning points is a key idea in biographical and careers research (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996) I started to look for them in the stories as an aid in helping to understand career development and change.

In the analysis a further consideration had to be addressed as raised by Hitchcock and Hughes:

*This points up one of the central tensions in life history research, namely the desire to retain rich detailed descriptions on the one hand yet develop some analysis and explanation of the material on the other. (1995:197)*

A line-by-line analysis of the stories themselves needed care and attention but the use of a descriptive or analytical word allowed for reflexion on the nuances in each story at a macro and micro level, thus producing sub-factors, for example: crime, drugs or religion which could then be associated with each theme and then each category. (Table 9)

Table 9: Line-By-Line Analysis

### **Descriptive**

00 INTERVIEWER

01 What did your family think about your decisions?

02 INTERVIEWEE

03 I got thrown out of the house for weeks

*Left Home*

### **Analytical**

00 INTERVIEWER

01 What do you hope for the future?

02 INTERVIEWEE

03 Now I got qualifications, a better future

*Positive*

From the line-by-line analysis, it was then possible to not only link the descriptive words by each interviewee to the wider aspect of a key theme, but to link these words to the areas of: Employment, Community Cohesion and Personal Agency. The process for the teacher interviews and teacher questionnaire followed the same pattern of

analysis, but this served a different purpose in that it was to verify the men’s views of themselves. Additionally, the use of different voices (male respondents, their teacher and the youth worker) enabled a focus on the whole story of each individual since ‘we cannot understand the whole without the parts, nor the parts without the whole’ (Watson and Franke, 1985:44). This macro and micro approach to analysis, ensures that ‘the themes are theirs; the categories are theirs’ (Woods, 1981:24) rather than simply the researcher’s interpretations. According to Ely and Anzul (1991) this is one way of being ethical, it also allows access to the narrator’s constructs and words to give a holistic and realistic view of the world of the interviewee. (Table 10)

Table 10: Theme, Category and Macro/Micro Analysis (1)

<b>INTERVIEWEE: ANTHONY</b>		
<b>THEME: COMMUNITY LOYALTY, FRIENDS AND FAMILY</b>		
<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>	<b>COMMUNITY COHESION</b>	<b>PERSONAL AGENCY</b>
<b>Dropped out</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Masculinity</b>
<b>Bar work</b>	<b>Neighbourhood</b>	<b>Sense of ownership</b>
<b>Centre manager</b>	<b>Open to change</b>	<b>Respect your mates</b>
<b>Avoid failure</b>	<b>Solidarity</b>	<b>Confidence</b>
<b>Opportunity</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Honest</b>
<b>Dependable</b>	<b>Bonding</b>	<b>Alone time</b>
<i>Few opportunities</i>	<i>Curiosity</i>	<i>Drifting/dreamer</i>
<i>Narrow minded</i>	<i>Presence</i>	<i>Inconsistent</i>
<i>Poor management skills</i>	<i>Boundaries</i>	<i>Low motivation</i>
<i>Cannot apply, analyse</i>	<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>No personal goal</i>

N.B Words in italics are comments from the teachers and the youth worker

Therefore, the use of all voices allowed a balance between editing the transcripts and the transcripts in full, so allowing, as previously mentioned, what Hitchcock and Hughes, (1995) describe as ‘thick description’. Further, the addition of information from school records gives a historical balanced prospective and a greater insight into the world of the interviewee. (Table 11)

Table 11: Theme, Category and Macro/Micro Analysis (2)

<b>INTERVIEWEE: ANTHONY</b>		
<b>THEME: COMMUNITY LOYALTY, FRIENDS AND FAMILY</b>		
<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>	<b>COMMUNITY COHESION</b>	<b>PERSONAL AGENCY</b>
<b>Dropped out</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Masculinity</b>
<b>Bar work</b>	<b>Neighbourhood</b>	<b>Sense of ownership</b>
<b>Centre manager</b>	<b>Open to change</b>	<b>Respect your mates</b>
<b>Avoid failure</b>	<b>Solidarity</b>	<b>Confidence</b>
<b>Opportunity</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Honest</b>
<b>Dependable</b>	<b>Bonding</b>	<b>Alone time</b>
<i>Few opportunities</i>	<i>Curiosity</i>	<i>Drifting/dreamer</i>
<i>Narrow minded</i>	<i>Presence</i>	<i>Inconsistent</i>
<i>Poor management skills</i>	<i>Boundaries</i>	<i>Low motivation</i>
<i>Cannot apply, analyse</i>	<i>Hierarchy</i>	<i>No personal goal</i>
<b><i>No GCSEs</i></b>	<b><i>Home problems</i></b>	<b><i>Exclusion</i></b>
<b><i>No work experience</i></b>	<b><i>Theft</i></b>	<b><i>Had to leave year 11</i></b>
<b><i>Refused careers interview</i></b>	<b><i>Outspoken</i></b>	<b><i>Counselling</i></b>
<b><i>Refused job support</i></b>	<b><i>Class clown</i></b>	<b><i>Smoking</i></b>
<b><i>No extra curricular</i></b>	<b><i>Loner</i></b>	<b><i>Alcohol</i></b>

N.B. Words in bold italics are from school records

From this basis an in-depth analysis of each interviewee along with each Category and Key Theme can be established as in the sample analysis below:

*The Key Theme of Community Loyalty, Friends and Family are indicated in Anthony's story where he started work at the age of 14 for a sports company. Although he left school with no GCSEs, refused any form of job support and was excluded, he has moved on since being a 'loner'. He feels that he could not make an informed decision about a career until his mid twenties. Anthony said that he was only comfortable in 'working class situations where he could be himself in the community'. In many ways he was subconsciously responding to his 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson et al; 1996) and the 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) available to him. It was only in his mid twenties that he had the confidence to move beyond this.*

Furthermore, in supporting this type of analysis, Sparkes makes the following comment:

*Whose voices are included in the text and how they are given weight and interpreted, along with questions of priority and juxtaposition, are not just textual strategies but are political concerns that have moral consequences (1995:159).*

### 3.6 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Maxwell (1992) argues that qualitative researchers need to take care that they do not work within the agenda of the positivists. Further Seale (1999) has a similar view that many researchers in the interpretivist tradition still feel the need to address positivist tests of accuracy and truth. However, Denzin makes the point that interpretation should be central to debates about the methodology used in interpretative research:

*A preoccupation with method, with the validity, reliability, generalisability and theoretical relevance of the biographical method must be set aside in favour of a concern for meaning and interpretation. (1989:25)*

Therefore, while interpretation is central to this thesis, it is more about the level of ideas rather than the number of cases as Pawson and Tilley indicate:

*We move from one case to another, not because they are descriptively similar, but because we have ideas that can encompass both...what are transferable between cases are not lumps of data but sets of ideas. (1997:119)*

Additionally, this stance was found to be evident in a survey of academic researchers undertaken by Bryman *et al.* (2008). They found that most respondents felt that validity and reliability criteria was best applied to quantitative research studies only.

However, care must be taken to ensure that what is represented is a true reflexion of reality. Therefore, the following is taken into consideration in the analysis:

- Do the claims made seem plausible given current knowledge?
- Through the use of quotations the interviewees' stories are heard in the first person, therefore there is direct access to the evidence
- Given that data is open to different interpretations, which reflect our own prejudices, knowledge and critical framework, data is judged on pragmatic grounds of whether they are '... useful, fitting, generative of further inquiry...' (Schwandt, 1994:130)

To avoid any lack of credibility and trustworthiness in the research findings, the following points were addressed:

#### Triangulation

Triangulation involves the conscious combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies as a powerful solution to strengthen a research design where the logic is

based on the fact that a single method can never adequately solve the problem of rival causal factors (Denzin 1978; Patton 1990; Allen *et al.*, 2008). Therefore by adopting a mixed method approach to data collection, I hope to have avoided any weaknesses evident in qualitative research. In this study data triangulation entailed the comparison of qualitative data received from semi-structured interviews and observations with none structured informal meetings with the retired youth worker and members of the Working Men's Club. Here, observation will test and fill out accounts given in interviews and visa versa. The combination of the interview with observation will also permit fuller participation.

Quantitative data was taken from the school records relating to exclusion, attendance and personal issues. Using this dual approach of quantitative and qualitative methodologies resulted in a single, clear-cut, consistent representation of the phenomenon being studied (Patton 1990). The use of school records as a tool for reflection drew out further insights into the reasons why staff had chosen particular courses of action and in doing so extended the analysis of the observations and semi-structured interviews.

#### Respondent Validation

It is understandable that researchers wish to share their interim findings with their participants so that the final analysis is a true representation of the phenomenon being studied (Rizq, 2008:40). Qualitative research is about reconstructing events and perspectives. Therefore, who better to judge whether their views, understandings, feelings and experiences are being accurately represented other than the participants themselves. This is a method that Willis (1977) used in his book *Learning to Labour*, showing several drafts of his book to the 'lads' for comment. This method was adopted by the researcher in this study by:

- A transcription of each interview was offered to the participant for comment
- A report giving an overview of the findings was made available to each participant for comment

#### Generalisability

Generalisability refers to the degree to which research findings are applicable to other populations or samples (Ryan and Bernard, 2000). However, Myers, (2000:2) argues



that generalisability is not the main purpose of qualitative research, but there are good reasons to employ it. Further, Patton (2002:584) argues for the redefining of generalisability by thinking it as ‘logical, thoughtful, case derived and problem oriented, rather than statistical or problematic’. Golafshani (2003:604) takes a similar view:

*...reliability, validity and triangulation, if they are to be relevant research concepts, particularly from the qualitative point of view, have to be redefined...to reflect the multiple ways of establishing the truth’.*

Therefore, it is clear that the many characteristics that typify the qualitative approach are not consistent with achieving external validity as it has generally been conceptualised. Consequently, qualitative research is very much influenced by the researcher’s individual attributes and perspectives. The goal is not to produce a standardised set of results that any other researcher in the same situation would produce. Rather, it is to produce a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on a situation that is based on and consistent with detailed study of that situation. Lincoln and Guba (1982) call for the replacement of the concept generalisability with that of ‘fittingness’. Specifically, they argue that the concept of ‘fittingness’, with its emphasis on analysing the degree to which the situation studied matches other situations provides a more realistic and workable way of thinking about generalisability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe this as ‘thick description’ and suggest that the term generalisability is interpreted more as ‘comparability’ and ‘transferability’ within different settings and cultures.

Nonetheless, small qualitative studies can gain a more personal understanding of the phenomenon and the results can potentially contribute valuable knowledge to the community if they remain externally valid. The approach adopted by the researcher to ensure external validity follows the ‘naturalistic’ generalisation as advanced by Lincoln and Guba, (1985:189):

- Selection of the group (*Snowball Sampling*)
- Setting (*Index of Multi Deprivation*)
- History (*Neighbourhood Statistics*)
- Construct Effect (*Low Participation Neighbourhood*)

N.B. Words in italics give the method used to ensure external validity.

With the above the researcher was able to sustain closeness to the situation, which allowed greater sensitivity to the multiple sources of data. Qualitative data served as the glue that cemented the interpretation of the results. Qualitative data were used as a critical counterpoint to quantitative methods. Thus the analysis benefited from the perceptions drawn from personal experiences and first-hand experiences, therefore making the evidence authentic, credible and trustworthy.

### 3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Research which involves other people in some way has ethical implications. Therefore research involving an aspect of education is going to, in most cases, be embedded in the social world of the institution and its environment within which it takes place. Data gathering and analysis will inevitably impact on the lives of others. Therefore ethical decisions have been taken into consideration during all aspects of this research and such decisions have been made on the basis of thinking about balancing some basic ethical principles, rather than ad hoc reactions to emerging situations.

Therefore throughout the study respectful and management of each interviewee was the major concern. It was about voluntary participation with many opportunities to decline. Interviews were organised in different settings, for example café, Working Men's Club where they could be at ease or inertly decline by simply not keeping the appointment. This allowed an easy get out if they felt uncomfortable in saying no.

The process of the interview followed a similar pattern, where again it was about being respectful and empowering. However, the style of questioning was interactive, allowing the interviewee to question the process. The aim was to adopt an interview style that was open and accepting of the views of these men, that encouraged them to speak about their experiences. Further, the interviewees were able to shape much of the content in determining topic and the type of information to divulge. Each question was open ended to allow the interviewees to disclose as much or as little as they liked. This allowed a sharing control of each interview where stories can be listened to without judgement.

Ultimately, protection of the data was paramount. Confidentiality and anonymity were of prime importance and were agreed conditions between interviewer and interviewee before the process began. All names have been changed and measures taken to conceal the interviewees' identities in the research. However, in some public places which were requested by the interviewees this was difficult but every measure was taken to conceal the written word of who said what. Before, during and after the research, the following outline was adhered to:

- *Consent*

Informed consent was a vital aspect of this research with the interviewees. All the interviewees had a right to know what they were to be involved in and were told of all of the anticipated and possible outcomes of the research.

It was also essential to ensure that the interviewees understood the negative as well as positive consequences of consenting to involvement in the research process, be it an interview, a focus group discussion or any other activity related to doing the research.

- *Deception*

The researcher acknowledged the fact that most technical terms, abbreviations, and abstractions employed by researchers may not be part of the vocabulary used by some participants. Moreover, an explanation that works for one may not work for another, also within sex, caste, ethnicity, age group or background. Care therefore was taken in the use of technical terms. Also, a very clear outline of the research interview was given, including any information for any follow up meetings that were required.

- *Debriefing*

All interviewees were offered a debriefing session after each interview and at the end of the fieldwork element of the research.

- *Withdrawal from the Investigation*

It was also equally important that the interviewees understood that they had the right to say no, and that they could have exercised this right at any time in the course of the research process.

- *Confidentiality*

*[The] right to remain anonymous...should be respected when no clear understanding to the contrary has been reached. Researchers are responsible for taking appropriate precautions to protect the confidentiality of both participant and data. (BERA, 1992:13)*

Therefore, sharing of the data and the analysis with all interviewees was not discussed, ruling out any possibilities of dissemination of the research with them, unless they agreed. However, notes from each interview were given to each interviewee to agree that the information was accurate and that it could be used in the research.

A data recording was also made at the time of the interview. Here, interviewees were allocated a number which was used for reference by the researcher and any name was not recorded. During transcript, the number was then given a fictitious name which was then used in the analysis. A digital copy of the final thesis will be made available for interviewees to view and comment if they wish.

- *Protection of Interviewees*

When conducting research on lives and work, there is always a danger that the interviewees in the research may be put at risk due to their marginalised position in society and their vulnerability. Therefore, before embarking on the interviews or on any related research activities, the researcher had a responsibility to ensure that no harm would befall any of the interviewees as a result of their participation in the research process. One way of doing this was to gain the views and consent from the interviewees concerned.

- *Giving Advice*

Research takes time, and high quality research is dependent on good relationships between informants and researchers. Therefore giving advice depended on the context, with care taken in the response.

Small talk, recurrent visits, patience, advice, guidance and time were some of the major ingredients that were needed when obtaining reliable data from the interviewees on delicate issues.

- *Data protection*

All data is stored both properly and securely in a locked cabinet. Confidentiality is paramount. The interviewees were given information about who processed the data and for what purpose.

At all times it was remembered that the interviewees had the right to prevent the use of their data if they felt that it would be disadvantageous to them.

### 3.8 SUMMARY

The interpretivist paradigm that informed the methodology enabled a detailed exploration of the careers of 10 men. The ethnographic approach gave an insight into how culture influences the behaviour of individuals which in itself underpinned the collection of data from the natural environment. Furthermore, the collection of data gave an insight into how the 10 men shared language, values, norms and meanings, and influenced wider family networks, just as the networks influenced their individual behaviour both inside and outside of the neighbourhood.

The research is a story in itself and any problems that were encountered were largely unpredictable. As the stories unfold in the following chapters, the methodology described enables meanings and constructs to be explored in depth through the different methods and modes of data collection employed.

## CHAPTER 4: LIFE STORIES

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

‘You something to do with benefits?’ came the question as I sat in the Working Men’s Club. There was a slight atmosphere of who was this outsider and why was he here? However, my interviewee explained that I was doing some research and as I had taught him years ago in the school, he had offered to help. However, this atmosphere represented deep symptoms of unresolved, embedded social problems which for decades had influenced the lives of all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and wider community. Although there was some hostility from a minority of individuals, the unfriendly atmosphere gradually warmed after several visits and a particular comment from a resident: ‘You know him, it’s that bloke from the school’.

To make matters worse, the 2011 summer riots had just taken place in several cities in the UK. There had been significant social disorder, resulting in violence and criminal damage. Politicians and police had attributed this unrest to the usual suspects such as gangs, problem youth and dysfunctional families. On 11<sup>th</sup> May, Home Secretary Theresa May, swiftly condemned those involved by stating: ‘as long as we wish to call ourselves a civilised society, such disorder has no place in Britain’ (May, 2011). However, the statement by the Work and Pensions Secretary, Iain Duncan Smith a few weeks later in *The Guardian* did cause a few concerns in the neighbourhood by his comments of ‘half of them are unable to speak, cannot form sentences, they have no sense of empathy...they watch their mums get beaten up regularly and sexually abused’. Charlie Taylor, who had been appointed as the government’s expert adviser on behaviour in schools in autumn 2011 commented months later in *The Daily Mail* that those involved in the riots ‘come from broken homes where mothers and fathers have been unable to perform the most basic of parenting duties’. Therefore, it was understandable that the presence of an outsider in their neighbourhood was treated with suspicion and concern, as some local people had been arrested on suspicion of violent disorder (BBC News, 2011).

Reicher *et al*, (2004: 561) mentions that ‘groups have collective memories which can sometimes go back well beyond the experience or even the lifetime of any individual member’. Therefore, at times there was an explosion of comments from all parties

regarding deprivation and inequality within society. The neighbourhood had become a target for both aggressive and restrictive social policies at local and national levels, to try to counteract lack of social mobility, and an increase in gangs, drugs and crime. These policies had been replicated at national level in various cities in the United Kingdom (Klein, 2012; Morrell *et al*, 2011) and created possible background risk factors to the riots (Briggs, 2012; Angel, 2012).

This feeling of anger and frustration had already been experienced many years earlier by the interviewees and their stories represent this struggle of growing up in the mid 1990s where there was a continuous lack of work opportunities and limited access to education after the age of 16.

Each of the interviewees had a story to tell, a personal journey. The importance of work changed over time, it was developmental. However, turning points, chances and routines led to each of the interviewees making rational decisions which had an effect on their future. This, coupled with a close knit community of loyalty, family and friends, supported the men's identity which had been ingrained since birth. In some cases some of the interviewees would have liked to move and take advantage of employment opportunities elsewhere, but the pull of the neighbourhood remained too strong.

Nonetheless, through life experiences each of the interviewees concluded that they were able to make a better career decision in their mid-thirties than earlier. They felt more mature and were in an enhanced position to understand the world of work and the demands that were involved as they had:

- Gone through turning points and their effects;
- Developed a new form of masculinity;
- Gone through the dynamics of male career development; and
- Had the influence of community, friends and family on their career

These stories are about 10 males in their mid-thirties. Each story gives a unique insight into the underachiever at school, their struggle to maintain working class roots in adulthood to develop a career and why they continue to live in an environment that

creates an artificial barrier to access wider influences.

A brief character outline of each of the 10 males follows:

*Anthony: Work is important for self esteem and has not been unemployed since his first part-time job at the age of 14. What he wanted at this stage of his life was 'money and plenty of it'. He was bullied at school and had no idea of what type of career he wanted for himself towards the end of Year 11. However, Anthony was very clear at this young age of his working class roots and mentioned lack of confidence when out of his comfort zone.*

*Bob: Having a job is very important for personal development, but he would not move out of the area for employment. Work brings with it self respect and financial security, 'it gets you out of bed in the morning and gives you direction'. Bob has a small family network, but this expands into a larger number of friends that he has known since birth. He has always lived in the same neighbourhood, where his sister and Nan still live.*

*Carl: Works part-time and finds that this is enough for him. He states that this is not because he is lazy, it is just that he wants more in life now that he has a child. Work is a sense of pride, but 'should not take over your life'. However, school life was difficult; Carl was often in trouble and recognises that academic subjects were not for him. He would often stare out of the window and deliberately be rude to his teachers.*

*David: Not been out of work and has strong views on individuals who claim out of work benefits. He had a happy childhood, although mum had debt and relationship problems. School education was boring and not relevant but he enjoyed karate, judo, rugby and cadets for a little while until the influence of friends distracted him to participate in 'street activities'. David has three sisters, who all have different fathers.*

*Eric: Views work as essential for self respect. Early home life was difficult and he has always lived in the neighbourhood and will not move now or in the future. After his dad left his mum, he was subjected to mum's numerous boyfriends who had little respect for him. He felt at times that he was 'just in the way'. During these times he was on the streets with the other lads causing trouble. He spent a great deal of time*



*drunk and getting into trouble with petty crime: theft and burglary. He was shocked at how little he achieved at school when he struggled to gain a place at college.*

*Gerry: Work is considered important for self-worth. Gerry only ever wanted manual work but having a trade as an electrician is his greatest achievement. He considers that he has made his own luck. An example of this is when he wrote to a local builder asking for a job. School was dull and he could not be bothered to conform, therefore he spent time in the neighbourhood getting into trouble. Gerry has lived in the same street since birth.*

*Harry: A job is important as it is about independence and self satisfaction. Harry enjoyed his education in both primary and secondary school, especially practical subjects. Art was his favourite, but equally he enjoyed football and swimming. Early life was hectic with three brothers and it was a case of 'survival of the fittest'. His ambition is to own his own hairdressing salon. He considers himself to be confident in all situations and 'can talk for England'.*

*Ian: Always been in work and lived in the same street since birth. He has two younger brothers with whom he still has physical fights and still 'gets fed up with taking all the blame'. A job is about money, it is a 'way of life'. Ian was arrested for GBH but still managed to keep his job on the pig farm, which he acknowledged he was grateful for. Ian found school boring and not relevant. He always wanted to be outside working 'inside would drive me mad, it is not for me'.*

*John: Made redundant in early 2012, but part-time DJ-ing providing a good income. He is particularly proud of his following and recounted a gig where he estimated about 600 people turned up 'just to listen and dance to his music'. However, he never took school education seriously; it was a 'good laugh'. However, John loved the more practical subjects, especially Art. He is not prepared to move out of the area. Loves the neighbourhood, the people and has many friends and family that are close by.*

*Kevin: Views work as essential to survive as an individual, but also to support others within his own family. He was bullied at school because his parents wanted him to work hard. He later rebelled and caused several problems at home. However, he left school with no qualifications but managed to gain a place at college and has never*

*been out of work. He admits that he wasted time at school and took no advice from his teachers. 'I was a fool, I was sucked into the whole thing, but you do at that age, don't you'.*

## 4.2 EARLY YEARS

Like many others interviewed Anthony underachieved at school and his school performance was affected by his peers. This was evident in his primary school where he was bullied, initially because he had leg problems and eventually because he could not get involved in any sports, especially at breaktimes. Anthony's recollection of this early period was one of isolation and at a distance from his peers:

*I was easily distracted even then, I felt at a great distance from my friends and isolated in school.*

Anthony's perception was that education was not valued in the local community and the culture was anti-education and he was forced into acceding to his peer's views in order to be accepted.

Bob recollected similar views:

*I was lazy...lacked motivation...didn't enjoy school.*

However, Bob had a good mix of friends and can remember camping and enjoying playing with his friends. Bob particularly mentioned playing in the street with 'The Gang' and the silly things they got up to just to annoy grown ups.

Carl was one of this original gang and mentioned that about the age of five years old his father left him and his mother. This was a crucial event and an event that really upset him. His home life became in turmoil and he became a 'bit of a rebel' at school and was always getting into trouble. At this early age he had beat another lad up and had got kicked off the football team. After that he got a reputation and was labelled.

Although Carl felt he got over his father leaving, his mention of being labelled as a troublemaker was something he acknowledged was hard to shake off. These early

years were also frustrating and he recounts of times staring out of the window and once spending time at home drawing an eagle and then was told at school by the teacher that it was rubbish. That statement by the teacher had made a profound effect on Carl and from that point onwards he saw no point in school. He managed to get hold of an old chemistry set and experimented at home. These experiments and his enthusiasm for football got him through some of his time in primary school.

However, David had a contrasting early life for when asked about his early childhood he recalled mostly fond memories:

*It was a good childhood, good family, you know. If they had rows they kept them well away.*

This contentment included fond memories of school:

*Yeah, I didn't have any problems you know. I suppose I was in the top third, but no way was I a genius. I used to come in the top half of my class...and I was in the football team, cricket team...so without being fantastic at any of them I was always there.*

At this time his family background had a great influence in his later life. His father had been in the army but was a car mechanic when David was born and remained in employment during David's time in primary school. David, considered himself to be working class at this time but mentioned that he had a middle class lifestyle and this only disappeared when his parents got divorced when he started secondary school. His mum had tried various part-time jobs but had failed to have regular employment.

The recollections of a happy early childhood by most of the interviewees were a typical response from this group of men. Problems of recall were most obvious during this period up to age 11 and influences on career only became apparent when discussion centred on secondary schooling.

Eric was typical of this:

*I used to be a chubby lad...it weren't really nice at first for me at that age cos...I was one of the biggest lads in the school, but I was really quiet. I used to get picked on now and again...but as I got older I lost weight and I made lots of friends.*

Gerry's story is similar to all the interviewees in that it encapsulates many of the themes in this research: probable underachievement at school, non-rationality; chance; turning points and routine; developmentalism.

However, Gerry was frequently beaten by his father and recalled a most unhappy childhood at home. He would go to school, happy to be out of his home. He loved school and cried if he could not go but Gerry kept recounting the times with his father:

*I had a violent upbringing...my dad was a very violent person. He used to hit us... for no reason at all sometimes...my mother was just as bad.*

However, despite his home life, at primary school Gerry enjoyed sport, especially rugby. This was one thing he had in common with his dad. Gerry talks of a time where the primary school was not real work and a time to 'muck around'. In spite of this, Gerry kept coming back to his original theme of his dad and said that 'everyone knew the family and kept their distance'.

Like most of the interviewees, Harry recalled a happy time at school:

*I had loads of friends...just playing football and hanging around.*

He became very much interested in Art, Textiles and Swimming. The latter he eventually took to county level before he 'could not be arsed'. However, Harry, like some of the other interviewees, had to cope with undiagnosed dyslexia:

*I'm dyslexic but I wasn't really aware of it then...it wasn't really realised then, I kind of closed up in myself with regards to learning and school work...Maths or English, I was in that class...you know just hitting my head against a brick wall.*

Ian was also undiagnosed with dyslexia and maintains that despite this he is a 'bit thick'. He was never going to be academic so loved his Physical Education and anything practical. He felt that his parents did not value schooling: 'neither of them had very good schooling, they were literate, but they didn't look at education as being important'. This lack of home support, plus undiagnosed dyslexia, hindered his progress at school and led eventually to him hating school after the age of 11.

Ian continued to add:

*I always felt I was doing my best, but that was not good enough for my teachers, so they would shout at me and tell me to stand in the corner of the room. They thought I was lazy but I just did not understand.*

John generally recalled his early childhood with 'happiness'. He, like Harry and Ian, had undiagnosed dyslexia but liked school most of the time. It was fun, carefree and not very serious. However, John acknowledged that in his primary school and beyond he did not reach his full potential and it got worse as he began to experience what he called 'that awkward adolescent stage'. There was nothing that he particularly liked, but Art was interesting because 'I was good at it'.

Kevin had mixed views about his early schooling. He valued the community involvement and the closeness of family members, but he also was bullied due to the encouragement his family gave him towards his studies. However, his overall memory of this part of his life was one of general contentment, both at school and outside school: '... average lad...playing on the streets...playing football'.

#### 4.3 SECONDARY SCHOOL

As they all approached 11 years of age and moved to the local secondary school all the

interviewees agreed that these were traumatic times and during these secondary school years the bond between them slowly developed. Anthony commented:

*There were only a few people in school that were interested in what they were doing...their attitude just rubbed off on me...I tried to fit in, but didn't.*

Anthony was torn between wanting to work at school and being accepted by his peer group who did not value education. At times he 'hung around' with Eric because eventually Eric had lots of friends. Eric was a big lad and Anthony felt safe. Anthony was fully aware of what he had to do to try to fit in:

*You got called a swot if you worked...teacher's pet...it became more important to have a laugh, prat about, other people did it so it became important.*

Several of the students became a serious problem at secondary school and Bob was one of these. He continued to be a gang member, a popular lad and had at times led the classroom onslaught to try to make any teachers life unbearable.

He found it difficult to explain this attitude but made a few suggestions:

*...I have no idea why, I know now it was a serious mistake, but at the time you don't give a shit... at 13/14 years old you think who needs qualifications, you still want to mess about.*

The above comment was similar to some of the other remarks made by the interviewees. At that age, they did not realise the importance of good schooling. The street was their school and their friends and family their teachers.

However, some were different. Carl, for example, had ambition to be a footballer. School still remained a laugh; he just did not want to be there. Therefore, according to Carl, he became a 'loose cannon' and was always in trouble. Carl recounted the time when:

*A friend was backward, you know, learning difficulties and he got access to a computer. This was something then. So I pretended to be 'thick' so I could get access to it. It worked. They did it to keep me quiet and that's what I had, my own computer.*

However, despite this Carl was considering his future. He managed to get into the local Soccer Academy and was 'hyped up' to become a professional footballer. He had 'mapped out his career'. However, the influence of a strong peer group that included Bob, David and Eric and later Anthony, led to the demise of conformity and a 'fight against the rules'. It was important to be in with the 'big dogs and set the agenda'. Carl concluded:

*You made sure you got bad results, it was the done thing.*

For David, the early years of an interest in sport had gone. With his mum in and out of work, his only escape he felt was to join the army as soon as he could. His friends, Bob, Carl and Eric made school more entertaining and he wanted to leave school as soon as he could and 'by any means'. However, a theme running through David's secondary education was a need to maintain the link with Bob, Carl and Eric. They became quite a tight unit and worked together as a little gang. This little gang expanded to include, in Year 9, Anthony.

Looking back, David mentioned that they were great friends but not necessarily the type of friends you would want if you wanted to succeed at school. On further probing, David admitted that his need for such friends was probably a result of a lack of confidence and assertiveness. He felt he had to be 'well in' and he struggled to forge an identity, based on often conflicting external demands.

Eric, at secondary school, had lost much of his weight problems, but still remained a big lad for his age. Despite permanent exclusion at the beginning of Year 11 he mentioned he liked school, especially Maths lessons and when they were taken swimming. However, Eric recounted times when in lessons he would throw things at the board when the teacher turned her back:

*There would be a few of us...you just picked something up and threw it...there would then be a big argument and we all denied it...but it was great...a laugh.*

Despite this, Eric remained in a top set for Maths until his permanent exclusion, suggesting that he had a certain level of academic ability. Eric obviously had the ability to achieve a good grade in Maths but, like the other interviewees in this study, was affected by his peer group's anti-study attitude. Eric saw school as something he had to get through.

The remaining interviewees, Gerry, Harry, Ian, John, Kevin were fully aware of this little gang and at various points were either part of it or not. However, they all knew each other and often spent time in detention together, on the street having been excluded or exchanging insults.

Gerry, Harry and Ian formed the rival gang. However, for most of the time it appeared that they were just one big gang with the others. Gerry, like some of his other friends, liked school, but for a different reason. It provided a safe haven from the punishments inflicted at home by his dad. However, this did not stop him tormenting the teachers with his rudeness, defiance and at times violent behaviour. He believes that the standard of education was generally poor:

*I didn't learn much...I didn't get into a decent school.*

However, Gerry acknowledges that he 'messed about too much' and this is why he left school with only one GCSE in Design and Technology. He went on to add that he 'just could not be bothered' he just wanted to be a plumber or electrician. A good 'manual job is what I wanted'. Eventually, while at school he got a job with a local builder and school became a place to mess about and have a laugh before work.

Harry continued with his swimming and his love of Art and Textiles for a while. In some respects, unlike the other interviewees, Harry seemed to have been less influenced by the expectations of his peers. He liked his swimming and despite constant references to being gay, he didn't react to powerful peer group pressure to conform to the gang. As he comments, 'I was becoming my own person'.



Ian started secondary school well. He found himself in top groups for most subjects except English. However, after only a few months he was demoted and ended up with his mates, causing trouble. 'It was quite relaxed' in these groups and a 'good laugh'. However, he did start to do well in practical subjects like Design Technology and particularly liked the woodwork side of the course, 'I could see the relevance of them, so I did some work'.

This group of three, Gerry, Harry and Ian progressed slightly better than the other gang. They were more focused in that they were aware of work opportunities and did the part-time job hunt face to face. Gerry made the comment that this was to avoid writing a letter of application as he could not write one.

John and Kevin made the next group. Again, like Gerry, Harry and Ian they found themselves as part of the bigger group at times, but remained very much on the side line. John admits that he never took secondary school seriously and he never found anything that he really liked, apart from Art. However, he played football for a Sunday league side, but never told the school. He said it would have been 'too embarrassing'. Then while in Year 9 he had an attempt at playing the guitar, but eventually could not be bothered to practice that either. His mum and dad let him do as he pleased and they showed very little interest in his school work.

In contrast, Kevin was encouraged to study at secondary school, especially by his grandfather. He had done well at primary school. However, when his grandfather died, Kevin started to underachieve and results from end of term tests caused him to be placed into a lower achieving group. From this he mixed with the wrong sort and this kept his progress back. Kevin comments:

*I think I would have had a different life if I had not been put in low groups...if you studied you got looked at, sometimes threatened, so you conform if you're a child, don't you.*

Kevin eventually withdrew into himself and became very much a loner until meeting up with John. However, by this time he had developed a coping strategy designed to make life bearable – he resorted to fooling about as a way of making connections with

his class. This behaviour also affected his relationships at home and he became progressively worse tempered:

*My parents really did not know what to do with me...I think I spent most of my time having a strop and staying in my bedroom, until John called.*

Kevin's outline of his secondary school life illuminates the profound effects that school and peer groups can have on a young person. It is noticeable that any attempts by the school at this time were seen as counter productive and therefore raise questions about education's ability to empathise with this type of difficulty:

*I got moved into different classes...removed for special help...I had a room to go to...my own study area.*

His parents were supportive of all the school tried to do, but both worked long hours and Kevin spent time alone, despite having one elder sister. The combined effects of this, along with school problems resulted in Kevin being both unhappy at times and an underachiever, and probably had a detrimental effect on his sense of identity.

#### 4.4 KEY VARIABLES

If you look at the interviewees' end of Key Stage 3 Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) (Table 12) then it will be noticed that each of them had the ability to attain levels of attainment that were applicable to their age and possible success in their GCSEs at the end of Year 11. Eric was the only one who failed to take any of the external tests.

However, it can be seen from this table, the number of times the teacher had underestimated the level of their student. Is this demonstrating that the teacher had lost faith in or stopped believing in the young person at this stage in their schooling?

Most of the students had the ability to do well, particularly in key subject areas without really trying: English, Maths and Science. However, even at the mid-point of their schooling, they were starting to rebel against the school values and norms as well as becoming disaffected in outlook. Even at this stage the skills, knowledge and

qualifications acquired by the young people was becoming limited. They were very much becoming young people who were awkward, difficult and challenging as one teacher explained:

*Carl could work very well in English, he liked reading comics if I remember correctly. However, his constant lateness, trying to be the clown and disrupting others did not help him in anyway.*

Table 12: End of Key Stage 3 SAT Levels - Teacher prediction in brackets<sup>13</sup>

NAME	ENGLISH	MATHS	SCIENCE
Anthony	4 (3)	3 (3)	4 (3)
Bob	4 (3)	3 (3)	4 (3)
Carl	4 (4)	4 (3)	4 (3)
David	4 (3)	3 (3)	4 (3)
Eric			
Gerry	5 (5)	5 (4)	5 (5)
Harry	4 (3)	4 (4)	4 (4)
Ian	4 (3)	5 (4)	5 (4)
John	4 (4)	3 (4)	4 (4)
Kevin	4 (3)	3 (3)	3 (3)

However, once into Key Stage 4, Years 10/11, the situation changes and there is a noticeable decline in the entire students' attitude towards inside and out of school. Most of the students and their parents had reported on both home and school problems and it is clear that this group suddenly had more chaos in their lives. By looking at the school data records on each student while they were in Years 10/11, the number of exclusions and antisocial behaviour is quite significant. (Table 13)

Further, these data records indicate the extent of chronic absence, truancy and behavioural issues these young people displayed at the time. In addition, the difficulty

<sup>13</sup> Nationally most Year 9 students should be able to attain a level 5/6 (Department for Education)

the school had in managing this, as it was at a time of growing competition between schools, coupled with the national inspection system and the publication of school performance. A teacher at the time explained:

*The pressure today is the same as then. You are still expected to get students through their GCSE even though they may have been absent most of the time. What you then have are students who have inflated GCSE results in your subject that really should have failed.*

Table 13: Exclusions/Antisocial Behaviour<sup>14</sup>

<b>NAME</b>	<b>EXCLUSION TOTAL DAYS IN YEARS 10/11</b>	<b>EXTERNAL ANTISOCIAL</b>
Anthony	Told to leave Year 11	Home problems
Bob	Told to leave Year 11	Police involvement
Carl	Told to leave Year 11	Police involvement
David	Told to leave Year 11	Police involvement
Eric	Told to leave Year 11	Home problems
Gerry	8	Home problems
Harry	14	Police involvement
Ian	Told to leave Year 11	Home problems
John	5	Nothing reported
Kevin	9	Home problems

However, several other variables are noteworthy, besides attainment, exclusion and antisocial behaviour. All students had tried alcohol, with a significant number having tried smoking. The result of which they were recommended to seek help and referred to a counsellor. The remaining variables in a two year period from the beginning of Year 10 to the end of Year 11 are shown in table 14.

Excessive drinking and smoking was characteristic of the friendship groups. It had an

<sup>14</sup> Data collected from school data records on each student

important cultural aspect in that it promoted bonding within their group, further; it maintained a wider network of individuals all connected to each other.

An example of this is from Gerry:

*At the time if someone one was going to prison we would throw a party, likewise if they were coming out of prison. Really it was just an excuse for everyone to get drunk and have some fun.*

Table 14: Variables<sup>15</sup>

	<b>ALCOHOL</b>	<b>SMOKING</b>	<b>COUNSELLING</b>
Anthony	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bob	Yes	Yes	Yes
Carl	Yes	No	Yes
David	Yes	Yes	Yes
Eric	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gerry	Yes	No	No
Harry	Yes	No	No
Ian	Yes	Yes	Yes
John	Yes	No	No
Kevin	Yes	Yes	No

Thus far, each of the interviewees had struggled to achieve anything at secondary school and on GCSE results day, Thursday August 24, 1995, this group had achieved very little. (Table 15)

What is significant is that not one of the interviewees passed their GCSE in English or Maths, despite their reasonable performance in the SATs examinations when they were in Year 9. What is also interesting, is that the only subjects some of them passed were the more practical ones. In addition, comments made by the interviewees in relation to

<sup>15</sup> Data collected from school data records on each student

their schooling were that they tended to be very positive about their involvement in practical subjects like Drama, Music and Sport.

David made the following comment:

*We liked some practical lessons and you certainly did not have to be bright in Drama. Just what you wore, hairstyle or interest in music made it for you in some subjects. Those teachers knew what you were about.*

Table 15: GCSE Results<sup>16</sup>

	<b>GCSE A – G</b>	<b>ENGLISH</b>	<b>MATHS</b>
Anthony	None	No	No
Bob	None	No	No
Carl	1 (PE) (G)	No	No
David	None	No	No
Eric	None	No	No
Gerry	1 (DT) (F)	No	No
Harry	1 (Art) (F)	No	No
Ian	None	No	No
John	None	No	No
Kevin	None	No	No

#### 4.5 TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL

The stories presented represent a strong developmental aspect. Each interviewee tried to have a career and move away from a lower paid job. In some cases there was evidence of the need to gain or improve their qualifications in order to stay employable. The early years, after leaving school at the age of 16, demonstrated that each interviewee viewed work as a means to earn money and not, as later, a career path. Their job knowledge was restricted and often stereotyped. Research (Chaves *et al*,

<sup>16</sup> Data collected from school examination records on each student

2004), explored the views of work from 13/14 year old working class urban students, suggesting that monetary rewards are far more important than other factors such as self-concept expression when young urban poor and/or working class young people are asked to define what work means to them. Moreover, Osterman (1989) claims that between the ages of 18-25 young people from working class families are in a period of 'moratorium' whereby they focus less on their career and more on social activities. During this time 'conscious planning' may not occur and an impulsive response to chance events appears to be more likely.

The pressure to earn a living at the age of 16 was great in the majority of the interviewees. This was also an acceptance of working class culture and masculinity (Archer *et al*, 2001); they accepted the next available job in order to meet both society's expectations and their own need to earn. However, as the interviewees aged, the meaning of work changed and money, whilst important, was not the only reason to work: for example, notions of job satisfaction and family responsibilities became more prominent. This does not mean that money was no longer important (many of the men recognised that the occupations they were in offered a relatively poor wage compared to other occupations) but notions of job satisfaction etc seemed absent/less important when they left school. Later in life they also possessed specific goals which seem important in motivating career decision-making (Lent *et al*, 1994).

Within the neighbourhood, cultural pressure to obtain work and make career decisions was difficult. The interviewees were encapsulated in the area; they had to conform to specific norms. Erikson (1968) argued that age 14-20 is a period of identity crisis. Furthermore, Marcia's (1980, 1987) and Waterman's (1982) findings suggest that some young people are likely to have unclear identities well into their twenties. Both Erikson and Marcia agree that the identity crisis can result in a 'confused' sense of self, which helps to explain why it is difficult for some young people to undertake the type of self-concept, or personality, career implementation suggested by Super (1963) and Holland (1985). Kidd (1984) found that in choosing their first job, British young people used their self-concept less than Super's theory predicts and that those with low self-esteem also engaged in less self-occupation matching than those with high self-esteem. This would explain why most of the interviewees failed to engage in an analytical process of self-matching in their early years of employment. It is therefore not difficult to see how a poorly-formed self-concept, or an inability to analyse and

reflect back on oneself, can contribute to floundering behaviour and/or poor career choices. Indeed it is argued more likely to result in decisions which are pragmatic and more culture-bound, as young people are forced into choosing a career at structural turning points (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996). In addition Arroba (1976) found that 15% of the younger people in her cohort felt incapable of making a decision.

#### 4.6 WORK

Over time, the interviewees were affected by a number of factors which led to a different approach to their career making. First, they gained greater insights into themselves and the world of work. Second, they gained greater confidence and self-esteem on which to base reflective career decisions. Third, they began to take account of other pressures on their lives (family pressures; lack of career prospects; advancing years, for example) which led to rethinking of career goals. Fourth, the men's cultural influences changed. Fifth, work/career crucially became more centre stage. The way these factors affected each man was unique and led to the men adopting varying degrees of systematic and reflective decision-making over time. Carl and David are contrasting examples of this. Carl was in a position in his mid twenties to make what Hodkinson *et al*. (1996) would call a more 'technically rational' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) decision, that is decisions which are more individual and are based further on maximising personal benefits often seen in financial terms. Conversely, David did not find himself in this position until his thirties. Part of the reason is that David had to earn money in order to support his family and at one time to pay off debts; David's case highlighted the fact that some, maybe many adults, do not find it easy to go back to education because of the financial constraints associated with gaining further qualifications after they have left school. For most of the men there was a gradual movement from pragmatic to more 'technically rational' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) styles of decision-making over time; but the pace of that movement was individual.

In contrast, early decision-making can be seen through Gerry and Carl. There is an early period of turmoil before the idea of a career begins to emerge. Carl's struggle with college, then the move to the Marines until he managed to find a job and career he liked in the Leisure Industry took some time. Whereas Gerry had always wanted a manual job and by chance working on a building site gave him the inside knowledge he required to be an electrician. However, for all the interviewees, employment



became a prerequisite to success.

For Harry, wanting a ‘proper job’, with prospects, came to fruition in his mid twenties. However, as part of this process was the recognition that he needed a career before he had a family. Therefore, Harry’s return to college was two fold: to gain further qualifications and secure a future for his family if and when it happened. What is important here is the acknowledgement of his responsibilities to provide for his family which he believed he could do best by getting a better, higher paid job. Harry’s view was typical of the other interviewees that had family responsibilities.

Super (1981) introduced into his theorising a new concept—a career rainbow and noted that for each person, the social elements that constitute a life are arranged in a pattern of core and peripheral roles. This pattern is defined as the life structure and this life structure organises and channels the person’s engagement in society.

Super used this concept to illustrate how different roles (e.g. father) become important at different times and in different theatres (e.g. home, work) of life. Moreover, the interaction between different roles, such as worker, homemaker or parent, changes over time. A number of the interviewees commented on the effect that passing time had had on their career decision-making. Gould (1972), Levinson *et al.* (1978) and Levinson (1984, 1986) see the late twenties as a time when men reappraise their lives. Ornstein *et al.*’s (1989) study found that intention to leave work was greater in this stage than in subsequent periods. In order to achieve their aims all the interviewees adopted a more ‘technically rational’ (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996) style of decision-making at this stage in their lives. However, it needs to be acknowledged that other factors can contribute to this: ‘turning points’ (Hodkinson *et al.*; (1996), ‘epiphanies’ (Denzin, 1989) and ‘critical incidents’ (Measor, 1985; Ketchermans, 1993) have long been recognised as an influence on careers. Hodkinson and Sparkes (1997) further suggest that an analysis of turning points cannot be divorced from the routine experiences that come before and after. For example, experiences that happen between can be confirmatory or contradictory, undermining an individual’s previous career decision and leading to identity change. An example of this is Allin’s (2003) research which showed how contradictions between workplace cultures and gender identities led for some women to changes in career direction. Further, Hodkinson and Sparkes (1997) identify three types of routine: socialising, evolutionary and dislocating. The present

study supports this model where each interviewee's decision-making involved ongoing interactions with significant others (often by chance), with the inseparability of turning points and routines. Each had lives that were not necessarily smooth or predictable, but reflected their own shifting identities. However, as Pigden (2000) found, it is not always easy to classify these elements. In spite of this, many of those interviewed seemed to follow an evolutionary career trajectory, sometimes with turning points, sometimes without. Their increased knowledge as well as greater awareness of the world of work was central to these routines.

Throughout each of the men's stories outlined, in some examples, one career decision was occurring simultaneously with a socialising routine and a shifting identity. That is, there were relevant routines in different aspects of a person's life, outside as well as within the working sphere, that were impacting on career decisions. The significance of such ongoing experiences is something that Hodkinson and Sparkes' (1997) paper, gives attention to, and can be understood through the idea of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984).

It was noticeable that it was difficult at times to distinguish between the effects of turning points and the period of routine that followed, for example, when do the effects of the turning point end and the routine begin? There were equally some incidents that did not have an immediate direct influence on a career, but were part of a cumulative experience on which the interviewees drew upon later in life. This adds to Hodkinson *et al.*'s (1996) ideas in that it shows that careers really are a lifelong project. With this very point, it is important to recognise that turning points and routines also involve the time up to leaving school. Each of the interviewees made decisions from within their own culturally situated identities and in relation to their experiences within the contexts in which they found themselves after leaving school.

These findings support Hodkinson and Sparkes' (1997) conceptualisation of career decision-making as a process of ongoing, negotiated decisions occurring throughout the changing context of a person's life as well as at more major turning points. It is important to recognise that individuals respond differently to life events and some people have greater resilience to even major life events such as death of a relative. Two examples of this are Gerry and Harry.

Gerry's major turning point, and an example of a chance event, was the meeting of electricians on a building site. Without this, his whole life could have developed differently, since his natural choice was to do a manual job. However, the type of manual job was unclear until he worked on the building site and met the electricians.

Harry's early career is one of an evolutionary routine. It consisted of a period of unemployment and dismissing jobs as above his ability level until he managed to have the confidence and desire to think of alternatives. The hairdressing job was a major turning point, but 'boring', however he knew it was a job that he could see himself doing as a career. He stopped with his first salon for over two years, only then moving on to one that would offer him an apprenticeship. Both opportunities confirmed that Harry had made the right decision to remain in hairdressing.

Most of the interviewees at some point in their career have had a period or periods of unemployment. These periods too are important as life still goes on and people are influenced by the day to day routines of life. Even these periods of inactivity have turning points and periods of routine that will affect a possible career outcome. During Ian's early period of unemployment, for example, his time spent with 'the lads' in the neighbourhood did him no favours. He was arrested for GBH and robbery. He felt he had to conform to the working class lad syndrome with attitude to gain respect with his peers. This had a profound effect on him.

The range of life incidents, turning points and routines, suggest several elements that are part of the career development of the men in this study:

- Physical Identity
- Internal Identity
- External Pressure
- Internal Pressure
- Knowledge

The five points above are about life events; each interviewee gained an insight into the world that he previously did not have. An identity is created through contact with the modern world and a choice of lifestyle that is referenced within the culture of the

working class. That is both physical identity (how people see you) and internal identity (how you see yourself) that shapes the development of values within the particular culture. Within this are external pressures to succeed and internal pressures within the family unit. Additionally, these pressures can be quite stressful and can give rise to negativity and unrealistic expectations. Knowledge remained limited to their 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984). Giddens (1984:375), talks of 'locales': 'A physical region involved as part of the setting of interaction'. These young men inhabited traditional 'locales' for whom the notion of a career remained problematic and one that was set in the past.

#### 4.7 INDEPENDENCE

During their mid twenties the men in this study became makers of their own destiny. They tried to break out of their 'locale' and started to use new 'reservoirs of choice' (Giddens, 1984: 118) that was the new developments in mobile communication and social networking that was slowly becoming available. Despite this, now in their mid-thirties, they choose to remain in the neighbourhood. Their career development encompasses a multitude of influences that may change in the lifetime of their children, but for them they stay loyal to an overriding culture that remains working class.

The above discussion suggests that aspects of career decisions are developmental. Furthermore, that individual identity is open to change. Developmental models (Ginzberg *et al*, 1951; Super, 1957, 1963; Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) offer insights into the way people develop and change. They illuminate the fact that at different times in our lives different things gain prominence. Certainly each of the interviewees in their early career were focused on the need to work and earn money, yet over time they became both self-reflective about work issues and more likely to implement a career plan based on a wider network of information than previously. Marcia (1980, 1987) explains this awakening in the mid twenties by individual changes in identity. During teenage years, identity is still being defined and some young people are not fully self-aware at the point they make decisions. A study by the NFER (1990) supports this claim and found that only 63% of 15 year olds possess high levels of self-awareness.

From quite an early stage at secondary school, the interviewees were presented by staff in the school with a series of possible career outcomes which had already been

achieved by ‘people like them’. Their own future achievement had already been mapped out, but was reinforced by their own ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1984). Lack of discussion at home about qualifications and careers, without exception, reinforced the generic nature of a working class career. This presented the interviewees with outcomes for ‘people like them’. This was done through appropriate working class role models: through getting a job or meeting other parents and their children, in their own social contexts. This was reinforced by discussion and action: for example, in the Working Men’s Club. What came from this stereotyping was a typical expectation of masculine identity that saw the men as breadwinners (Hayes, 1986; Bernard, 1995; Harris, 1995). Work was also one of the main components of masculinity (Tolson, 1977; Hollands, 1990; Haywood and Mac An Ghail, 1996) and general identity (K. Roberts, 1968), as work plays a central role in defining a man’s sense of who he is. Most of the interviewees positioned themselves in relation to their locale, both disliking the crime, violence and poverty yet also resisting escape. The majority wanted the feeling of ‘keeping close’ (Pugsley, 1998; Westwood, 1990) and were reluctant to move out from the safety of familiarity, of knowing people and being known.

Through reputations, cultural masculinity was characterised and was embodied through body language and style. They constructed highly territorial masculine identities, characterised by a sense of belonging to, and ownership of, the local area (Connolly and Neill, 2001). The interviewees’ rough identities (Walkerdine *et al.*, 2001) were constructed as antithetical to middle class ‘polite’ talk (Hey, 1997) and smart dress, and were thus positioned as barriers to getting into particular jobs and FE courses. Masculinity is therefore problematic, negotiated and contested within frameworks at the individual, cultural and social levels (Mac An Ghail, 1996). Furthermore, O’ Neal Weekes *et al.* (1977) found evidence that career stereotyping occurs as young as five and more recently, Furlong and Biggart, (1999) found strong gender stereotyping by the age of 13. Therefore, when the interviewees came to make career choices upon leaving school, they had already specific ideas of the role men play in their working class culture.

However, a number of the interviewees commented on the fights, drug related crime, territorial rights and the games they played. ‘Chicken’ or ‘Split the Kipper’, a game of throwing a knife as near to your opponent as possible without harming them. The hard

aspect of these ‘activities’ supports those that see violence as a key part of working class male masculinity (Willis, 1977; Hollands, 1990; Canaan, 1991, 1996). Ian was an example of this, having been arrested for GBH and robbery. However, out of the 10 interviewees, only Ian has entered physically demanding work that would be considered a typical male working class occupation (working as a labourer on a pig farm) and Harry has entered more of a feminine job (hairdressing). The other eight interviewees are in more neutral work, although three are male dominated (Electrician, Bowling Technician, Leisure Technology).

At the age of 16, Ian sought more friends outside of school, which clearly set the behaviour patterns expected to be acceptable within a gang. These behaviour patterns were often centred on particular forms of masculine expression (Canaan, 1996; Martino, 1999) which in Ian’s case was fighting. Although Ian seemed to be a lad in Willis’ terms (1977), in that he indulged in ‘laddish’ behaviour and failed to respond at school, he has aspirations to go to university and possibly one day own a farm. Gerry was a lad similar to Ian. However, Gerry was a qualified electrician, but had two brothers that followed very traditional pathways of manual work and were presently unemployed. These two brothers were of a hard masculine culture which valued manual work, certain jobs and operated through family and friends. Although not directly linked to this study, they had a strong influence on Gerry who, as a result, behaved in a certain way so that he would not be ostracised. He made adjustments to his normal conduct, whilst retaining inner values of his true self.

Harry was a complete contrast. His original choice was to have been an Interior Designer, but lack of qualifications saw him take up a job in a hairdressers at the age of 18. Harry provides evidence to support the view that some males make non-stereotypical choices: the hairdressers was his first job as he had dismissed everything else as above his ability level. However, there were two reasons as to why Harry chose a non-typical male career: First, his parents saw the value of education and sought advice. Second, Harry had a career in mind that was outside his ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) forcing him to make an alternative choice within the local economy that was not labour intensive.

John is another example of a working class male making choices eventually outside what his peers and culture would suggest. He worked in a video shop for a while, then

a local insurance company until being made redundant and then DJ-ing in the evenings. John had always been creative and the media and radio course at college helped him to develop his creative side. John had indicated that he was not interested in traditional working class manual jobs. This had led, at times, to him being an 'outsider' until his DJ-ing made him quite popular. John was a thinker; he read newspapers, magazines, books and often went to the local library. Mac An Ghaill (1994) and Martino (1999) found that reading was a 'policed' activity in their study of boys and was regarded as a more feminine activity, therefore leading the individual to be ostracised. Mac An Ghaill further adds that a school's culture, structure and curriculum promote a certain type of masculinity which affects the way males perceive themselves, their performance in school and their opinions about suitable careers.

From this sample of 10 males, it is interesting that early career decisions by some did not follow the expected pattern of behaviour. Certainly, male and further, masculine identity is complex. School and social influences produce a clear sense of what is expected, yet judging by Harry and John, as well as in later life Gerry, it is not inevitable that all working class males will follow a traditional path.

Before leaving school most of the interviewees had indicated that they just wanted to get a job. Money was important and they would do anything to obtain it. However, later in their careers this had changed. Each of the interviewees wanted more from work, such as job satisfaction. They came to believe that work would enable them to achieve what Maslow (quoted in Argyle, 1972) described as 'self-actualisation' or 'self-fulfilment'. As they grew older the interviewees viewed work as a means of expressing their identity and as a source of job satisfaction. It was less about achieving status but placing greater value on aspects such as 'altruism' and 'social outlets' (Lease, 2003). However, if this is an accepted argument, it follows that all the interviewees could feel differently in years to come and suddenly change direction (Hall and Mirvis, 1995; Power and Rothausen, 2003; Fouad and Bynner, 2008).

#### 4.8 FAMILY

Further, as their own family life takes hold, most of them with their own children, work may lose its central role. Ian is an example of this. He sees the need to improve his qualifications and must remain employed but his family life is important for him.

Ian has a hard masculine outlook on life, but admits that he 'is going soft' as he now will do 'women's work' in the home. Bob also felt that his views on work had changed since he had his daughter. Segal (1990) points out those men who have children generally enjoy the experience and that the traditional meaning of work can change over time. For some, masculinity becomes more 'fluid' and likewise, the base for a working class traditional career will move.

Conversely, it is not just the change in the male role and the view of masculinity which has affected the career path of the interviewees. It is important to consider other factors that have affected career patterns: the decline in manufacturing; the rise of male unemployment in the 80s and early 90s; social trends (Haywood and Mac An Ghail, 1996); a greater opportunity awareness and a clearer sense of personal identity. Gerry is an example of someone who can change over time. Despite a strong working class family bond and previous criminal tendencies, he has now developed a more normative style of career decision-making, that runs alongside his family values.

What is clear is that identity and masculinity are open to change, something that the interviewees now recognise. Their early lives were affected by their culture and general environment to produce 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984) which for some incorporated traditional views of work and masculinity. However, others made decisions at the very edge of their class and culture. Nonetheless, as structural changes took place in their personal lives each of the interviewees was able to shift their sense of masculinity and rework their working class view of themselves and the world.

Therefore, multiple factors contributed to influence each of the interviewee's 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) particularly when in their teenage years. The neighbourhood of back to back housing, poor living conditions and social deprivation all contributed to the lives of the interviewees which in turn were closely linked to negotiated routes into or out of education and employment. Multiple structural inequalities and the demands of 'real' identities (extending beyond the school gate) constrained the options and routes that were available to them. As a result, the interviewees' post-16 educational and career choices involved complex conscious, and unconscious, negotiations within structurally shaped horizons. However, a strong theme that ran throughout all the interviewees was to avoid further failure. This had been prevalent for many years and it was not until their mid twenties did the



interviewees have the confidence to raise their own aspirations and succeed. Such low confidence and, therefore, low expectation have been frequently cited as the most significant barriers to working-class educational achievement (DCSF, 2009; Demie and Lewis, 2010; Sodha and Margo, 2010). In the DCSF document *The Extra Mile: How Schools Succeed in Raising Aspirations in Deprived Communities* (2009) the problem of low confidence and aspiration is explained as follows:

*Children living in deprived communities face a cultural barrier which is in many ways a bigger barrier than material poverty. It is the cultural barrier of low aspirations and scepticism about education, the feeling that education is by and for other people, and likely to let one down. (2009:2)*

In a society where academic success is valued and promoted and fears of failure are common (Reay and William, 1999; Jackson, 2010), working-class young people who are statistically more likely to fail can become quickly de-motivated and may subsequently come to see themselves as having no value or use in society (Archer *et al*, 2007).

This was why some of the interviewees lied, cheated and obtained their job or college place. In some ways they had to succeed by any means, but their working class roots were complex and difficult to alleviate.

#### 4.9 SUMMARY

All the interviewees underachieved at school. This limited their career opportunities but for some of the men a job had already been achieved even before they had left school. The desires to work and earn money were the main influences on early decision-making. Furthermore, the need to feel part of society, through work, was important.

Early erratic career opportunities did not point to any later career ideas, whilst turning points and periods of routine illuminate the complex processes one goes through in life and how identities are open to new influences and reconstruction. Although the stories highlight the developmental aspects to careers, it is only by analysing the detail or their

stories that unearth the many of factors that influence careers over time. These stories exemplify the fact that although there are similarities to individual careers, there are differences in the way factors affect the eventual route, particularly if chance intervenes.

## **CHAPTER 5: KEY THEMES**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

Throughout the interviews it became very clear that factors outside the school had an impact on the behaviour and attitude the interviewees had towards their education and career while at secondary school. Such factors as neighbourhood decline or local reputations for violence, crime or unemployment permeated everyday life as the young people struggled for recognition to develop self-confidence and self-esteem (Howarth, 2002; Thomson 2002). Many of these factors centred on family values and the communities in which they lived. The data collected in this section varied a great deal, for some interviewees were forthcoming with information, although they did not give great detail, whereas others made a brief comment or nothing at all. Some of the interviewees felt that their relationship with their family had nothing to do with anyone else except them. Although the experiences of each interviewee varies, what it does show is that outside factors, however small, can have an impact on behaviour and attitude towards education and the type of career followed.

Although the range of conflict varies between the family, community, and the police, these factors (neighbourhood decline, violence, crime, unemployment) have an effect on the school experience and an impact on career development. In isolation, these factors are not the cause of the behaviour and attitude of the interviewee in school 16 years ago, but they can contribute to it. However, some sub-factors can also excessively have an effect on the behaviour and attitude of the student for a long time. Such examples are the death of father/mother, criminal charges involving them and/or their family, and extreme social deprivation. In the case of one of the interviewees for example, he was placed within the care of the local authority; there was a great deal of unrest and personal tragedy. School life and career became insignificant for a long time.

Furthermore, career decision making, as referenced in previous chapters, is about addressing both the individual who made the decision and the environment in which the decision was made. Moreover, by looking at the context of decision-making we may be better placed to understand what happened within the constraints of the neighbourhood and the influence of the various factors mentioned above.

## 5.2 TURNING POINTS AND THEIR EFFECTS

David was permanently excluded towards the end of Year 11 for a drug related issue. Even though he felt at the time he should try to avoid a criminal tendency due to the distress it caused his family, he admitted that at times this was difficult. It was made even more difficult due to the associates he knew and the pressure he was under to conform to be 'street cred' particularly by older siblings. Such activity took David out of school for days, sometimes weeks, so that investigations could be done. His education was the least of his worries:

*...education, was not interested, but you know what, it did have a big impact on me later. Things I could not do just because I did not have that piece of paper, you have to change direction.*

However, some of the interviewees had single sub-factor issues which led directly to poor behaviour in school and as a consequence, lack of opportunity for work or education post 16.

Carl's comment is an example:

*I lived with me mum, but before I stopped with me dad and I didn't go to school because I were never about and when I were, I just messed about. I didn't know the lessons, so you just think I'll have a laugh. Then my mum had a baby with my step dad. That at the time did me in and in a way changed my life. I really weren't interested in school. What I needed was a job, a job so I could escape.*

Carl had time off school, and when in school was often late to lessons. He had temper tantrums at primary school and was reported to have sulks and shouting out sessions. According to the Head of Year in the Secondary School, these issues started with the birth of the baby and continued. Relationships change but their importance remains, particularly to the teenager. Anxiety and stress brought on by changes in the family can have drastic consequences.

David explains:

*Home was crap, school was crap. It didn't matter what I did ... my sister's boyfriend lived with us... I didn't do anything and I kept getting thrown out. You are forced to change direction and do things you might not necessary like.*

This interviewee went on to talk about shouting and swearing at home and when questioned about his behaviour in school he replied:

*...I got my own way. I wanted to be excluded so me mum had to come into school which she hated and it took a long time, to sort out.*

However, Gerry had a different view:

*My dad was always in the pub. He was like an alcoholic; he spent loads of money on it. I've got better things to do than that now. Seeing him like that affected me and eventually you think you need to change mate.*

However, there were three interviewees, David, Eric and Gerry who spoke of little contact with their parent(s) while at secondary school due to work commitments and the poverty that they were in. Sometimes this situation was continuous, but there had been times of less stress when an elder sibling had contributed to the finances:

*Gerry. ...sometimes I got told off, Mrs X, went on about my uniform [school uniform] and once we had to go to the Council Offices because we had to pay, or we were going to court my mum said ... at the time did I worry about not having a blue jumper?... think not. But it altered me, I knew I had to be better than this; I needed to move on and better myself. It took a long time but I have done it.*

Additionally, the above view was not expressed by John and Kevin who both felt that they were 'picked on' and 'teased' by their peers because they had the correct school uniform. Such situations caused distress and intervention by teaching staff who had to be proactive to prevent bullying. Yet, at the time they felt that teaching staff blamed them in most cases for the disputes and that they should 'think before they act'. They felt that they were denied opportunities because of this and were forced to do something different. John felt 'betrayed' by some teaching staff and therefore he had little respect for them and would 'get his own back' in lessons with his mates. He felt that exclusion gave him a break from the torment and 'street cred' on his return. John felt that these were all 'turning points' that at the time he did not recognise, but now understands that they did have an impact on his later life.

Kevin was not as forthcoming with his views but mentioned that he felt unhappy in most lessons. He found the work generally difficult in lessons and because of who he was felt he was ignored or told to just get on with it, in order to shut him up. Class records (observations) from the time show that Kevin was not ignored and that he was given a great deal of help, but this view does show how he felt at the time.

Although these issues within school and the home caused distress, they had a pronounced effect on the lives of each individual and how they responded to life's opportunities, as Gerry explains:

*It was not as simple as A to B. Things got in the way. You were forced to change direction, sometimes not for the best. Yes, it were my fault at times, but when you're young you don't think do you.*

Certainly the comments made by the interviewees suggest that 'turning points' can transform identity. It appears that it is important to keep your bridges rather than to 'burn them'. A way back is important, particularly if the new experience causes regret and a possible change once more. Within the family or neighbourhood this is simpler to do. However, within school this is far more problematic.

The extent of activities that the young person got involved in at school during lunch or break times to either cause a problem or to seek personal fulfilment, was far ranging.

How much of this extended to feelings of being ignored and rejected by family circumstance is difficult to determine but they did have an impact on turning points and evolving identity. These activities fell into two categories: formal and informal. The formal category is where the activity was organised within the peer group or had been organised by a third party. The young men attending the youth club and then bullying some younger students is an example of this. The informal category was very much a sudden decision to do something, either individually or collectively as a group. There was no pre-mediation to cause a problem. Suddenly, pulling down trees or branches is an example.

To further clarify the activities of the young men five teaching staff that were in the school in 1995, were asked to respond to three questions relating to how they saw the behaviours of these 10 young men when at school and what activities they involved themselves in.

The staff gave a range of activities where the young men demonstrated initiative to be involved in school life, for example ‘Computer Club’. However, there were equally a wide range of activities where they continued to be disruptive and disengage in all aspects of school life. (Tables 16/17)

Table 16: Teaching Staff Questionnaire

**What positive activities did the students get involved in?**

<b>FORMAL</b>	<b>INFORMAL</b>
Youth Club	Football
Computers	Finishing class work
Sport	Talking to friends
Library	Reading
Eating	Running around
Drama/Music	Games
Rehearsals	Class presentations

Table 17: Teaching Staff Questionnaire

**What did the students do when not engaged in positive activities?**

<b>FORMAL</b>	<b>INFORMAL</b>
Bullying	Wandering around
Damaging property	Leaving school site (without permission)
Chasing	Finding a toilet
Smoking	Food fighting
Fighting	Go home/flat/shop
Arguing	Out of bounds areas
Lighting fires	Pulling down trees/branches
Litter (making it)	Blocking doorways

In many of the examples given the young people were not concerned about making good use of their time. (Table 18) They were bored, uninterested and apathetic and made unpredictable decisions that in many cases, made them change direction. However, it also can be argued that sometimes this state of mind was not self inflicted but pushed upon them by circumstances, for example no social space.

Table 18: Teaching Staff Questionnaire

**What prevented the students from making good use of their time?**

Behaviour	No organisational skills	No equipment
Excuses	Fear	Escape to shop
Queuing to eat	No social space	Parents collecting them
No motivation	Teachers' time limited	Lack of supervision

While there are many positive activities, for example finishing class work, the staff comments indicate a lack of stimulation available and an inadequate range of experiences for some of interviewees at the time. Equally, the number of negative comments suggests at times that although there were difficulties, if this is taken with



lack of stimulation within the family, coupled with imperfect role models and limited social interaction at home, then the negative stance taken by some of these young people at the time may seem to them to be perfectly natural. It is also interesting that a comment by one of the interviewees that their mother had an unhappy childhood and that is why 'she took it out on me' and '...so it changed my life' points to a possible traumatic family relationship, which continued in school, for example bullying.

In many ways the 'turning points' these young men had were within their control, very few were related to outside influences. However, such influences can become engrained and can be bound within the confines of masculinity. It is only later that they outgrew their original career trajectory, 'I will just get a job, any job' and transform.

#### Anti-Social Behaviours

Graffiti, drug use and rowdiness were some of the activities mentioned by the interviewees that influenced their mid teenage years and changed their life. At the time these mini turning points did not have an immediate effect but later on when trying to secure a place at college or work the impact became apparent. Further, these types of anti-social behaviours took place only in designated areas within the neighbourhood, where they had some grudge against some neighbour or there was a wider family feud. The issue was that these feuds flowed over into the local school causing internal problems (see table 17) and during the mid 1990s resulted in the appointment of a local police officer who would be based permanently in the school to deal with the issues. This police officer has only recently been withdrawn from the school due to financial cutbacks.

Most of the interviewees admitted that they were attracted by the glamour and the kind of celebrity status that came with being a member of a street gang, particularly causing social unrest. In many cases, these 'turning points' were related to incidents outside of their control, but they did have an impact as Bob comments:

*...did I get arrested, what a question. Not prepared to say, but you know what, something like that can be significant; it can change your life.*

Further, they comment that a 'gang family' would not move to another area, no matter how tough it got internally because you would become a nobody from a reputation that had been built for many years, sometimes decades. Anti-social behaviour therefore was an attempt by the local gangs to exert control over some members of the neighbourhood. In many ways this was a form of 'structural turning point' that was enforced by the neighbourhood stratification. It became what Figueroa and Sives (2002) describe as 'totalitarian social space(s) in which the options of the residents are largely controlled'.

Further, territoriality was part of everyday life and often had deep historical roots. While there was evidence that such behaviour could lead to criminal gang behaviour sometimes, including drugs and related crime, there were also more positive reasons for territorial groupings, such as: friendship and a sense of security; a way of earning recognition and respect; and a readiness to protect one's neighbourhood (Kintrea, 2008).

Actual criminal behaviour can be seen as the next stage on from anti-social behaviour. Carl mentions that in order to gain status within the gang you need to 'mug, rob or do a burglary: the number you do, your status goes up'. However, none of the interviewees were any forthcoming with detailed information regarding criminal activity. Nonetheless, two did speak of a member of their family serving time and that 'to rob' outside the home was acceptable, to a point. You only 'rob those who can afford it'. Yet Carl has acquaintances that do not adhere to this code, some of which have an influence on younger siblings. Carl felt that serving time for minor theft was not acceptable, 'save it for the murderers' he commented, but if you are caught, 'don't cry about it'.

Although none of the interviewees actually admitted to stealing in or out of school, the comment from one of them 'you take your opportunities' perhaps is an indication. Aspects of racism were not apparent in the questionnaire. Yet Gerry said his family at the time expressed the views of many in the street when he commented that some refugees had got housing and that they should have gone elsewhere. The other interviewees made no comment on this issue. This is interesting, for the three years leading up to 1995 school records indicate that there had been an influx of 152 students from families of Asylum Seekers and Refugees, with over 41 languages being

spoken in the school at the time the interviewees left school. According to school records there were a number of racial attacks during this time, but not all of them involved the interviewees in this study. Moreover, incidents tended to be more in the community as a whole, than within the school.

‘Turning points’ that affect career choice can be seen clearly in Gerry. He was working before he had left school and several chance meetings by Gerry’s dad and Gerry himself enabled him to gain experience on various building sites. Social structures within Gerry’s family limited his horizons but the family could always find work and ‘move him into something’. A major ‘turning point’ was when he managed to gain a college course without the necessary qualifications and today is a qualified electrician.

In many ways, the final career chosen by the young men was in most cases a challenge. ‘Turning points’ were complex and not just related to a major ‘event’ but associated to a series on mini episodes that culminated in an enforced change. Such episodes were mainly related to school life and their teenage years. During their twenties, routines confirmed choices and a time of stability until something dramatic happened. It has to be said that the choices made reluctantly by some during their teenage years has shaped the interviewees into the characters they are today as Carl explains:

*You know we have all done wrong stuff. The paths that we wanted to follow did not happen; things changed our lives, sometimes suddenly and dramatically. Outsiders look at this area as crap, but we look after ourselves, old and young, not perfect I know. We don’t plan, we do it suddenly, we change, we move on.*

### 5.3 MASCULINITY

For each of the interviewees, family was important. It represented respect and although each of the interviewees had a different childhood, they acknowledged the importance of the family and the influence it had on their eventual career. This set of ‘social practices’ places the men within the social structure. Whether their parents were divorced, or how many brothers or sisters they had, made little impact. (Table 19)

Table 19: Stability of the Family

	<b>PARENTS</b>	<b>BROTHER</b>	<b>SISTER</b>
Anthony	Divorced	One	
Bob	Married		One
Carl	Divorced	One	
David	Divorced		
Eric	Divorced		
Gerry	Married	Two	
Harry	Married	Three	
Ian	Married	Two	
John	Married		One
Kevin	Married		One

What did make a significant impact were two fundamental rules: respect for your mates and loyalty to family. These created the expectations and attitude with regard to the interviewees' education and future. Further, it cemented the idea of the male dominant figure at the head of the household. In many ways this focuses on the way culture provides experiences on which to build a sense of masculinity.

In many ways the family and its wider network is a microcosm of the wider community, in that it is all inclusive and independent of others. Certainly, the strong bond of solidarity, masculinity and common living gives emphasis to the relationship between social coherence and the geographical area. Further, this brings a consensus of values and social systems that interact with family aspirations and their role in the community as a whole. Moreover, modern mobile communications have had little impact on the solidarity of the family and its wider network. Therefore, the values and culture are a common way of living with an awareness of sharing a way of life that is a conscious act to remain within their working class roots with pride and to keep a form of masculinity identity alive.

Education and qualifications were not seen as the key to success. In most cases their parents expected them to attend school and do little else. It was not about being well

behaved, quiet and obedient or asking questions and following instructions. Each young person seemed to have a very open relationship with their parents. In most cases they were not afraid to express their thoughts and to disagree with their parents even if this resulted in being thrown out of the house. Parents praised their child occasionally and gave them considerable autonomy when choices of career and examinations were to be taken. During the week and particularly at weekends, family met at the pub or the Working Men's Club. This was a single factor that reinforced masculine working class values in the form of power and identity. There were the obligatory visits into town, shopping, hanging around and then back with chips or even a take-away. John particularly mentioned:

*...I particularly liked having a home delivery. That made me feel posh as we did not need to go and get the food it was dropped off. We joked it gave the women time off from cooking and cleaning.*

Family cohesion and male bonding were very tight and were maintained even through separation and divorce. Long working hours and a tight knit community served to intensify the closure of the family group. The security of a confined family was also seductive in that most of the interviewees felt safe within their family and within this did not suffer any major isolation or disenchantment. They recognised their dual lives, they recognised disjunction between home and school but this did not cause them any real problems. They were comfortable living with the contradictions rather than resolving them. Further, that the 'macho' persona is central to identity and is socially produced from an early age within and outside of the family unit.

Ian's story reflects this 'macho' persona with missed opportunities early in his career, as he was restricted by his 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996). He was excluded from school during Year 11 and arrested for GBH and robbery by the time he was 18 years old. He still remains a 'street lad' and it is only now that he sees possible opportunities to progress. At the moment he is completing an agricultural qualification and hopes to go to university.

## 5.4 CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Each of the interviewees had a unique career but they had all underachieved at school. Educational attainment was a greater influence on the careers of the young people in this research than social class. In the case of David, who had at one point considered himself to be middle class, he had to take a working class occupation due to having no GCSEs. However, Anthony and Bob mentioned that class was a distinct feature in their career choices and they felt, at the time, that there was no need to obtain good GCSE grades for the type of jobs they were likely to obtain. It is interesting to note that the influence of working class attitudes and culture became less strong as the interviewees grew older. Their life experiences, turning points and periods of routine led to new identities and outlooks, which meant that they aspired to middle class careers that were absent from their thinking as school leavers.

The majority of Anthony's family live in virtually two streets and have hardly been separated. Anthony felt that this local culture had a profound effect on his career for as he pointed out:

*Around here they were very dismissive about going to college at 16, it was about getting a job, anything really. It was like we had to get a job to be different from the girls, who did go to college to do hairdressing, something like that.*

Martino (1999) suggests that to some working class boys academic work is perceived as feminine and this view is supported with this traditional male attitude. Anthony actually started working for a sports company when he was 14, then an adventure play area and moved on to birthday parties, kitchen and bar work when he was 18. Another driving force was that he wanted the money and any job would be fine. He had no career plan but said he was 'very comfortable in working class areas'. This was apparent when he attempted a college course when he was 19 years old:

*I thought I would like to start a business, so I went on this business course, but dropped out after a few months as it was too posh...too middle class...I struggled to hold a conversation.*

Anthony proceeded to expand on what he did next:

*I did not stick at much for a while after that, I remember walking about thinking what am I doing? It was like sticking a pin in the vacancies column, there was no logic, but it was better than being unemployed.*

The above demonstrates that Anthony felt incapable of making the sort of realistic and well-informed decisions that career officers hope their clients make (Allen *et al*; 1997). However, Anthony lacked confidence and this may be due to the problems he had at the start of his schooling with his legs. Anthony mentioned the feeling of being ‘stressed’, even ‘frightened of taking responsibility’ for himself. Anthony said that he did not know why he took any decisions, as there was ‘no logic behind it’. Anthony’s career until his middle twenties is exemplified by a general indecisiveness which resulted in him experiencing many placements of work. At this period in his life he appeared to be adopting what Arroba (1976, 1977) called a ‘no thought’ style of decision-making. He was also responding to his ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) and the ‘opportunity structure’ (K. Roberts, 1977), in that Anthony responded to what was perceived to be available. Anthony had been in this cycle since leaving school, moving from one job to another without direction. This could be what K. Roberts (1977) calls ‘occupational socialisation’ whereby people come to make their needs and expectations fit with the realities of work. Hodkinson *et al*. (1996) use the term ‘routine’ to explain this period between ‘turning points’. Anthony admitted at this stage he was only in employment to keep the ‘Benefits Office happy’.

A ‘chance’ or ‘happenstance’ (Miller, 1983) meeting with an old friend from school resulted in Anthony getting an interview for some bar work in a local pub. Anthony also mentioned that at this stage he was concerned that ‘time was getting on’ and he had no career and was now working behind a bar full-time again. Ten years ago he was doing the same job. He had not moved on or gained any further skills. Many of the interviewees made career changes after the age of 25, which broadly fit with the claims made by Levinson (1986). In addition, the career theorist Super sees this age (25 to 44) as an ‘establishment stage’, during which individuals establish themselves in their job. However, a ‘trial sub-stage’ fits better with the interviewees in this study (Super and Bohn, 1971). After this initial stint at a local pub, Anthony then moved on

to work at a local Harvester Pub and Restaurant. However, he started to get depressed and again felt he was getting nowhere and had to take time off work due to his depression. As a result he eventually lost his job. This was a crucial ‘turning point’ or even ‘critical incident’ (Measor, 1985; Keltchermans, 1993) for he realised that he had to take a drastic step to change course as he was also approaching the age of 30. As he had interest in Hospitality and Catering he applied for a front of house job at the local Hollywood Bowl. He also met his present girl friend who ‘gave [him] help and direction’ for the first time in his career. With this support and now a purpose, Anthony found a new direction which he had lacked in his early years.

At the age of 35 he has moved through the company quite quickly, from Duty Manager, Deputy Manager and now Centre Manager. He also hopes to be an Area Manager at some point. Although Anthony has chosen a career, he needed help in focusing his ideas. Furthermore, a chance meeting followed by a crucial ‘turning point’ helped Anthony to ‘kick start’ his career. Moreover, his local knowledge and contacts has made him quite popular and therefore more confident than he was. In this respect he acknowledged that local people and family had been of support during his difficult years and this was now a way of life for him. He seems comfortable, relaxed, happy and now has a purpose to his whole life.

Bob, like Anthony, has always lived in the same area. He mentioned the friendships he has built up over many years and that his sister was in the next street and then his Nan just down the road. Unlike Anthony, Bob managed to move out from home in his early twenties, but was still a few hundred yards from where he was brought up as a child. He did not see the reason to move any further:

*Why should I move? What is there elsewhere that I have not got here...pub, shops and five minutes you're in town.*

Bob is now in his mid-thirties, not married but lives with his girlfriend and has a daughter who is two years old.

After leaving school with no qualifications he ‘drifted a bit’. His dad had various jobs and tried to get work for him but as Bob said ‘any of that was not me’. Apart from that,



his uncle could get him work too and Bob also had a job stacking shelves in a local shop. Therefore, he lacked any career goals at this stage.

*...I wanted some money, suppose still a laugh really, so any work was sort of ok...it was school, I just had to get out.*

A number of authors have commented on the fact that some working class boys want to leave school at the earliest possibility (Willis, 1977; Brown, 1987; Hollands, 1990; Mac An Ghail, 1994) This is partly because they are bored with school; partly they recognise, as Bob did, that for some jobs you need no qualifications. Bob also mentioned that he had received no form of careers advice, something that Anthony had mentioned. However, he expanded on what he saw as key factors in his early career decision-making:

*...the jobs I did, just happened, they came along. I met someone, who knew someone, you know, that's how it worked. I certainly didn't have a job in mind and went looking for it.*

This comment is typical of the majority of the other interviewees, in that they never made a fully reasoned or 'technically rational' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) early career decision. Additionally, many of the opportunities were related to chance. It is also worth noting that when these interviewees were at the point of leaving school working class opportunities were being eroded (Schoon and Parsons, 2002) which could have led them into non-traditional careers.

When Bob was told to leave school just before he was 16, he left with no qualifications. The offer of a trainee plasterer job was tempting and he took the job. He remembers thinking, 'what is that, what do you do?' He also mentioned that he 'had no idea of what wage he was to get'. This suggests that Bob chose the job because it was there and he wanted a job. However, it also refers to an internalisation of society's expectation that most men must adopt the role of breadwinner (Bernard, 1995) and so become part of adult society. Bob's immediate needs for money took precedence over any long term planning. Although he enjoyed his work, he showed no real commitment to any job, being quite happy to move from job to job as necessary.

Just after Bob was 18 years old, he started to help out at the Working Men's Club. Due to their fund raising charity events, Bob started to be involved further by helping young disabled children in the area. This is something he enjoyed and did 'lots of voluntary stuff'. Bob's turning point came when he met a local scout leader while on a day's activity with a local charity. The following September when he was 19 years old, he enrolled on a Btec Level 2 course in Uniform Services, and a Community Sports Leaders Award at the local college. He also had moved on from working part-time at the Working Men's Club to working part-time at Wetherspoons Pub which was near to the college. However, Bob still involved himself in the charity events organised by the Working Men's Club, something he continues with today. Suddenly, Bob had new contacts, enthusiasm and self esteem. He was proud that he 'could pull a good pint just like his dad'. What followed was a period of routine for several years which allowed him to plan for the first time a career path. He eventually worked at Wetherspoons full-time and became duty manager.

Bob's early career was very erratic and did not point to any later career ideas, whilst he had a major turning point the ensuing period of routine demonstrates the complex processes one goes through in life and how identities are open to new influences and reconstruction. Although both Anthony's and Bob's stories highlight the developmental aspects of careers, if chance intervenes this will ultimately affect the eventual outcome.

Bob now admits that over time work has become more than a means to an end:

*...work means I can contribute, I have something definite in my life. Also it means I can help other people because I am respected. People say, oh what job do you do and I say I am a senior technician...that sounds good, well I think it does.*

Work is now part of Bob's identity, but he was also aware that having a family meant he had to be employed with long-term security. Therefore, he moved into the Leisure Industry as a trainee technician, slowly working his way to his senior position of today. Like Anthony, family ties are very strong. He is aware of career opportunities, but is not willing to move his family from their friends and relatives:

*There are people here that I have known all my life. They grew up with me. Yes, we could move, but where to and why?*

Unlike most of the interviewees in this research, Carl had one GCSE, and that was in Physical Education. He had a difficult relationship with his step dad and remembers him saying:

*What do you want to do now you have been kicked out of school? I thought, I have no idea, but the Army or Navy I suppose.*

His step dad made him write little cards to put in shop windows to say he was available for 'any work'. Eventually Carl was kicked out of his home and told not to return until he had a job. At this stage, Carl went to live with his aunty for a few weeks, until he got a job at Sainsbury's stacking shelves. Unfortunately, this did not last long as he was caught smuggling cigarettes and various food items from the store. The store decided not to prosecute but Carl found himself out of work.

Due to desperation, he enrolled on a Leisure and Tourism course when he was just 17 years old. He admits he knew nothing about the course but because of his interest in football he thought that it would be good. He lasted six months. Keen to get another job he managed to get one cleaning offices:

*...at the time I thought, £3 an hour, you're having a laugh, but you know what I did it and I did it for about a year. It was the first real job I had and I did not get the sack...suppose I was proud of that in some way.*

During this routine time, he met the local Territorial Army Sergeant, who came into the Working Men's Club. As a result of this meeting Carl, the following year enrolled on a Public Services course at college. However, this was a struggle and he was at the point of being 'kicked off the course' several times. Due to an understanding teacher he managed to pass and gained a qualification the equivalent to four GCSEs. This gave Carl a new found confidence in himself:

*...I realised that I could pass an exam, yes it was a struggle and I had lots of help, but someone else believed in me. That teacher not only helped me but made me realise I could be someone.*

With this new found confidence and qualifications he joined the Royal Marines. He wanted to find a way out of the past and into a new future. Carl mentioned that at the time he hoped this would solve all his problems and start a new life:

*...I was bored, I wanted to do something different, I wanted to get out.*

However, the Royal Marines proved to be less satisfying than he hoped and once again he struggled to pass some of the basic training and eventually left after four years. Also during this time his uncle had been sent to prison and he felt that his uncle was having a better life than him. Upon return he did not immediately go home but stopped with Gerry, sleeping on the sofa. He also started to build up credit card debts and felt it was all getting out of control. So he eventually moved back with his mum, his step dad having left several years previously. He remembers his mum saying:

*...you did that leisure course a few years back, so use that and get some other qualifications you would really like, you know, enjoy, you can do. Go out and sort it. So I did.*

Carl managed to gain a whole range of qualifications in Life Saving, Pool Management, Spa and First Aid. That statement by his mum and the support she gave him to clear his debts became a vital turning point. For the first time he was more aware of what he wanted, and he did not want to let his mum down. Those courses were very practical and they brought out Carl's strengths and weaknesses. They also made Carl less judgmental and tolerant. With these qualifications Carl found a job at the local swimming baths and has remained there for the past nine years. He has also had several promotions from being a Life Guard to Leisure Assistant Manager.

Carl mentioned that at this point in his life he no longer had to hide his own true feelings. Before he was always wanted to be the Carl his friends and family expected, that is 'laddish behaviour', 'bit of a joker', who took nothing seriously. He admitted

that even when in the Royal Marines he had to publicly be masculine all the time in order to be accepted, a 'real hard nut' which at times he found frustrating.

Family life and community was almost dismissed as being normal and an unexceptional part of being human. His escape to the Royal Marines was part of this. However, he had to return home in order to find his true self and it was his family, in particular his mother, that gave him the guidance and support he needed. He felt that he had to make his mark through work, but at first he had no sense of direction. Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) discount the notion of irrationality, arguing that all decisions have a degree of rationality to them. Yet, Carl's decisions are at the end of a decision-making curriculum.

It had taken Carl a long time to mature as a person and begin to have more adult responses to the situations he encountered. The cumulative effect of this was that he was able to make a more 'technically rational' (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996) choice when it came to decide on his Life Saving Qualifications and then the job that followed. However, after the Royal Marines there was also a degree of panic as he alluded to his increasing age and a desire to find a career. Carl's acknowledgement of his journey of self discovery and that this journey has changed him as a man is significant. For these changes occur within the life structure (Levinson, 1984, 1986) and also through turning points and routines (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996). Many developmentalists posit that there are stages through which an individual passes during his/her life. Whilst there is a degree of debate as to the timing of the stages in different models, the underlying belief in a progressing self is common to all.

Carl remains with his mother and has a strong bond with her. He has a girlfriend of three years. Presently he cannot afford to move out from home and if that day ever comes he will remain in the area.

David admitted that his time in secondary school had been wasted. He felt that all his friends at that time had not taken advantage of the opportunities school had offered them:

*...I look back now and think what was I doing? It is easy now to look back and say it was wrong, but at the time you think you know better. You don't listen, you don't care. I wanted to be one of the lads, a good mate. I would just hit someone; it was about fighting, looking hard...what an idiot I was.*

The issue of fighting and looking hard were a constant theme that kept being repeated by most of the interviewees. This demonstrates the influence and pressure that these young people were under in order to be accepted as a gang member. David's peer group exerted strong control over his life during the latter stages of his secondary schooling and this affected his social and academic potential. The need to prove one's masculinity to peers has been noted (Willis, 1977). Canaan (1991) found that fighting was a prevalent activity among young men in her study. The fighting had a dual purpose: a way of displaying masculine hardness and a way of impressing girls. David had to show his commitment to his peer group's values in a similar way. Therefore, David's life as he approached the age of 16, centred on doing the minimum in school and hanging around the streets. This confirms Canaan's study (1991) which suggested that for many working class boys, girls, fighting and doing nothing are pre-eminent activities of youth.

David left school with no qualifications and found it very difficult to get a job. He eventually went on a Youth Training Scheme in a local warehouse, but did not manage 12 months as he frequently was late or did not attend. This was due to the late nights he had on the streets messing about:

*...I will admit now that we stole anything. Not from our own streets but we went robbing elsewhere. I remember stealing gates, gnomes, bikes...we broke into sheds, houses the like. It was mad...then I had a job...what a laugh, eh.*

David went back to the careers officer that had set him up with the Youth Training Scheme placement and was given another placement in a local garage repairing cars. Once again, he did not last more than a year and was asked to leave. David mentioned that one of the issues with not holding a job was the money. You were just used as a 'right mug, cheap labour, so at the time I thought sod it'.

At this time David's mum was also going through a difficult period of her life. She had got into money and relationship problems. Despite a close circle of neighbours, friends and relations she had a period of depression and continued to struggle financially for a few years. This was a turning point for David:

*...I realised that I needed to help my mum. I was 19 and I was still dependant on her supporting me. I needed to do something, get a job, any job and keep to it. It was awful seeing her in this state. She started to drink loads and I thought that's my mum, she needs help.*

He saw an advert in a local shop for someone to clean up old electrical goods and keep the shop tidy. He applied and managed to secure the job. This time he did much better and retained employment for over a year, supporting his mum, paying unpaid debts, until he decided to move onto another job. Now at the age of 20 he took another step to apply to work part-time at JJB Sports. He was successful and David mentioned that for the first time he felt as if his life was starting to mean something, he had a direction and this job at JJB Sports was something he chose to do on his own for the first time. He also mentioned again the generosity of neighbours, friends and family that kept him and his mum stable:

*...without their help, it would have been even more difficult. This is where I was born, where I will stay and nothing or no one will change that. This neighbourhood is like a big family, good friends, we have known each other for years, since my mum was born around here.*

After two years David went full time as a sales assistant, then deputy manager and was finally made manager five years ago. He says that it is a job that he likes for he enjoys talking to people, meeting them and helping them. The organisation of JJB Sports allowed him to progress and gave David the confidence he required to have faith in his own ability.

David's mum now has a new partner and is more able to look after herself. David also has a girl friend whom he met at JJB Sports and they live in the block of flats at the

end of one of the streets. They presently have no children.

When one looks back at David's career his grades circumscribed his options. As he was greatly influenced by his peer group he was initially forced to take a job inside his 'zone of acceptable alternatives' (Gottfredson, 1981), that were traditional male jobs. This decision was 'pragmatically rational' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) grounded in his 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) which were limited by his peer group's macho attitudes, his own personality and abilities and limited externally perceived opportunities. Subsequent career choices were a mixture of varying degrees of choice and a large measure of happenstance (Miller, 1983). Chance is an under-explored mechanism in psychological career theories but has been cited as a powerful determinant by some theorists (e.g. Crites, 1969). It is, however, important to note that chance opportunities still appeared to have to fall within David's zone of acceptability.

Also, when David's mum had personal difficulties he had the need to earn. This theme kept being repeated in his interview and certainly this was a major turning point for him. Overall David's story suggests that existing theories can account for aspects of a career but do not account for all decisions or the complexity of these decisions. These different theories seem to be most pertinent at different stages in life.

Eric was one of the original main gang members on the estate. In the interviews he never mentioned fighting or gang warfare. Yet, he must have been involved as Anthony, Carl, David and Bob had certainly had moments of street and school violence to contend with. He originally wanted to go to college but by his own admission he spent too much time on the street and was easily led into trouble. Eric mentions that when he was told to leave Year 11 at the start of that year, it was a great shock. He said he felt it would never happen and he spent the next 12 months doing very little, except getting drunk and being 'kicked out of his home'. He applied for college the following year when he was 16 years old, but due to having no qualifications and his permanent exclusion from school, he was turned down for every course he applied for. However, Eric recalls that he did not receive any careers support and he applied for anything that he thought would be suitable for him. All the above highlights a range of influences, which channelled Eric into making decisions: socio-economic, cultural, family and education. Eric's decisions at 16 years old were therefore affected by his 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984). It was also acted out through what



Giddens (1991) calls ‘practical consciousness’. Thus Eric’s practical consciousness, which is a part of his ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1984), was influenced both by the society he grew up in and the choices he made; for example, his peer group.

Eventually, when he was nearly 19 years old, through a friend, Eric managed to get a job in the local Spar shop doing general duties. This he said was good, as since leaving school, he had had very little money. However, due to another friend, six months later, he managed to get a job working in a local garage, again doing general duties. At this point in the interview, Eric admitted that as a working class lad, this was his destiny:

*I am not bright, really not a lot up top. Suppose I should have gone for a trade, or something like that. The garage work was fine, but to be honest, nothing was planned I just fell into what came along at that age.*

The above statement suggests that Eric was responding to what he perceived to be local employment opportunities (K. Roberts, 1977). Also, he was unable to give any real alternative employment opportunities from that time. This suggests a limited awareness of the world: he had restricted ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996). Eric described this part of his life as having a career:

*...the garage job gave me opportunities to have a go at repairing cars. I suppose it ended up as a kind of apprenticeship, I felt that I had something. The money was rubbish, but messing about with cars was interesting and it was something I would have carried on with.*

Eric’s choice of career was culturally influenced since he chose, in a ‘pragmatically rational’ way, a typical working-class male job. Hodkinson and colleagues suggest that ‘pragmatically rational’ career decisions are made within a person’s ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) and influenced by their culture, via their ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1984). A little further in the discussion, Eric made a comment about becoming more aware of his options as he got older, therefore revealing a developmental element to his decision-making (Ginsberg, 1952; Super, 1957) By the time Eric had reached his mid twenties, his comment that ‘I wanted to better myself’

affords an insight into growing awareness that there were other opportunities available:

*...the job at the garage went after I had been there about three, possibly four years. In fact, the garage closed, because the bloke that owned it died. So I thought, what else can I do? Did some labouring on a building site for a bit, then thought, can't do this for the rest of my life.*

It was while Eric was on the building site that a turning point happened:

*The old blokes were going on that their backs were knackered... their hands were all wrecked and it was just a constant moan. It was all about if they had their time again what they would do...I thought, I got to get out of this. So I applied for some courses at college.*

At this stage, Eric had held several successful jobs. He was able to demonstrate that he could successfully commit himself to the demands of a GCSE course at college. At the age of 25 he had now started to try to obtain some qualifications. However, he was still working on the building site during the day and found the commitment to evening classes quite tough. Nonetheless, 12 months later he had successfully completed GCSE courses in Maths and English, both with a grade D.

Very similar to some of the other interviewees, Eric then applied for a qualification in Sports and managed to obtain a qualification the equivalent to four GCSEs. This gave him confidence and he applied for a receptionist post at a local fitness centre, which is now Virgin Active Leisure. This reveals that as Eric became older he was more able to have a reflective posture in both his analysis of himself and the world of work. By a growing self-awareness, experience of working and his 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984), this demonstrates a developmental aspect to careers. Therefore, time provides a vehicle for the necessary tools to make a more 'technically rational' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) career decision because some people become more reflective with age and are more able to identify their aims, interests and ambitions and also analyse the job market.

Now at the age of 35 he continues to work part-time at Virgin Active Leisure but is in his second year of a Sports Access Foundation Course. Eric's aim is to go to university

to study Events Management which will then help him to obtain a full-time job in the leisure industry. Eric remains at home with his mum. He has a girlfriend of five years who works in Debenhams.

Both he and his girlfriend are committed to the area and will not move too far away:

*...yes, I want a good job, but I have good friends here, Stacey [girlfriend] has too, so we will stop. A job will be here for me. I have contacts at Virgin, so I can't see it being much of a problem.*

Gerry has two older brothers. Jake, the eldest, has recently been released from prison and Lewis is presently unemployed. During the interviews with Gerry, both brothers were present as they took place in the Working Men's Club. All three had a presence in the club, were very well known and respected. Although the interviews were centred on Gerry, the comments made by the two brothers very much supported his comments.

Gerry was one of the very few interviewees that managed to complete Year 11. He achieved a GCSE in Design and Technology, but was working before he had officially left school for a local builder. This was someone that his dad had met in the pub and Gerry was used as and when required. During the interview, Gerry was very clear that all he ever wanted to do was manual work. However, unlike his two brothers, Gerry did go to college and is a qualified electrician.

While he was at school Gerry's dad made an impulsive and non-rational reaction to a chance encounter to enable his son to obtain a part-time job. According to Gerry, his dad just wanted more money coming into the home and this job, irrespective of whether it was suitable for his son or not, was the way to improve the family finances. Gerry commented that it was just extra 'booze money' and 'he could do the horses and loose a few quid'. However, Gerry's reaction at the time was 'great' for he reacted positively to what seemed to be a traditional male career opportunity. Gerry held this job full-time after he was 16 years old for a further three years. However, during this time he had met several electricians who were responsible for the installation, maintenance and repair of electrical services, both inside and outside of buildings and structures such as houses, hospitals, schools, factories and shops:

*...I just thought it was interesting. I watched them and talked to them. They were really good and they helped me to realise that to get qualified in a trade was very important. Meeting them, made me think about what I wanted to do.*

When Gerry was 19 years old he went to college for three years to complete an NVQ Level 3 in electrical installation. When asked about how he managed to obtain a place on the course he said:

*I blagged it, I lied. I told them I had five GCSEs, with Maths. I had a good reference from my employer, so I thought what had I got to lose. They did not ask to see any certificates and I got through all those years without being qualified to be on the course.*

He further went on to add:

*...there were a few difficult moments. Many times I thought about packing it in, but then those blokes on the building site in my mind came back to me, what they said. They were a big influence.*

When Gerry had finished his course and qualified he managed to gain employment with a local electrical contractor. Again, this was the result of his dad knowing someone. It is interesting at this stage that both his older brothers were unemployed and tended to be more like their father. That is spending time in the pub, the Working Men's Club and doing 'little earners' for cash. The difference was that Gerry, despite being the youngest, saw himself as the breadwinner and the one that could clear the family debts. A few years later saw Gerry become self employed and this continues to this day.

Gerry's history shows the effects of turning points, routine and chance. His decision to work on a building site before he had left school was a spontaneous response, for he had never thought of working on a building site before. His decision to go to college to be an electrician was derived from a desire to work and the need to get out of the job

he was in. This could be termed a non-rational decision, rather than the ‘pragmatic rationality’ as defined by Hodkinson *et al.* (1996). However, Hodkinson and Sparkes (1997) do suggest that chance can result in ‘pragmatically rational’ choices. Therefore decisions made by Gerry later in his work history, which were based on experience, could be considered more ‘pragmatically rational’ (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996), than anything else. However, when Gerry went self employed he did not dwell on the full range of careers open to him; choosing to go self employed gave him the freedom to do as he wished and help the family. Although Gerry did not formally comment on the role of his brothers, he implied that Jake and Lewis would be available to help with work if required. The older brothers appeared to have a careful grip on Gerry and seem to manipulate him for their own means.

This particular family appeared to have a very narrow outlook and yet a strong hold on the community. At first, when meeting with Gerry, it was felt as if he had turned his life around since his school days. He had worked, gone to college and now had his own electrical business. However, this had been driven initially by his father from an early age and now this drive and control appeared to be with his older brothers. Decisions made had been culturally-framed.

The entire family are committed to the area and see no reason to move. In certain ways the gang of old remains but in a new form. It also questions whether those chance encounters that Gerry’s dad had, the admission to a course he had no qualifications to get on and then an immediate job when he qualified were chance or favours owed to the family. A comment made by a member of the Working Men’s Club summarised the situation:

*That family will do anything for you, but you still have to watch your back.*

Harry, like Ian and John struggled with dyslexia into adult life. However, despite school and home difficulties his parents saw the value of education and tried to get Harry help. This he acknowledged as ‘adding to the pressure to conform’ until he decided to walk out one day from his home. He stayed away for nearly three weeks, sleeping on friends and relatives’ floors until his parents gave in. Unlike some of the other interviewees Harry seemed more in control of his own actions and was able to

manipulate others to determine how far he would go.

Despite being torn between expectations of his peer group and his parents, Harry did manage to achieve one GCSE, grade F in Art. Also at the time he had some of his art work displayed in a local show home. Harry's ambition was to be an Interior Designer. He tried to gain a place on a course at a local college, but he quickly realised that he did not have the qualifications:

*So I left school with a GCSE in Art...I did not know what I was going to do, so my dad took me to see someone about a job, but I still liked my drawing and painting, so I said no.*

Harry spent the following year unemployed, still hanging around with Gerry and Ian. However, Harry's dad persisted and eventually managed to arrange a meeting with a careers adviser:

*...what a waste of time, he tried to get me on some course for thickoes...it would have been just like school...then you get some useless certificate probably worth nothing.*

Just after he was 18 years old Harry saw a job in a hairdressers. Before getting to this point he had dismissed other job opportunities as 'above his ability level' and thought this was a better option:

*...I was aware that I needed a job, a good job. I did not want to be in a dead end job all my life.*

The job was not what he expected as it was sweeping the floor, emptying bins and making the tea, but he admits that hairdressing was creative and therefore something that he could enjoy. Harry's job choice was a response to what he perceived to be limited options. Yet it was also based on his 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984), which, Hodkinson *et al.* (1996:146) note: 'Bourdieu sees it as deriving from and being part of the whole person, including the body'. So Harry's interest in hairdressing derived partly from his interest in practical things, which contributed to his 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984). He remained with this local hairdresser for over two years, moving to an

apprenticeship when he was nearly 21 years old.

This apprenticeship helped Harry to obtain a City and Guilds Level 1 in basic skills, a requirement of trainees and other salon staff working as hairdressing assistants. He then achieved a City and Guilds Level 2 in basic hairdressing skills such as cutting, colouring and styling:

*When I got that Level 2, I thought brilliant. It was the first time in my life that I had achieved something without people nagging me to do this and that. I did it because I wanted to do it.*

Harry continued in that salon until he was just over 25 years old and then he suddenly left to go to college full time to complete a City and Guilds Level 3 professional diploma. He admits that without the help of his parents this would not have been possible and deeply regrets all the hassle he gave them as a teenager. His growing awareness of wanting a career in hairdressing pushed him to move on and achieve a higher qualification. This can be understood by seeing the ‘evolutionary routine’ (Hodkinson and Sparkes, 1997:147) of seven years working in a hairdressers, which led to a steady realisation that he must have a career plan. He was also mindful of the fact that he wanted a family and being single gave him the opportunity to ‘go for it’:

*...once you have a family, children, you have responsibility. I would have been too old, time was getting on.*

At the age of 27 Harry went back to work full-time as a stylist and has remained with the same salon since. However, he has recently completed a Higher Professional Diploma in Technical Salon Management which gives the skills necessary to help set up and run your own hairdressing or beauty business.

Harry’s story suggests that he had a more natural tendency to make ‘technically rational’ (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) choices. It also illuminates both the how and why of decision-making. Although his first job was made firmly within his ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) and the prevailing ‘opportunity structure’ (K. Roberts, 1977), he nevertheless managed to convey a strong sense that he was implementing some sort of self-concept (Super, 1963): he knew what his abilities were, what he

might be interested in and what was available at a time of limited choice of occupations; contrast this for example with Anthony's non-rational decisions. His family seems to have tried to help him with his decision-making: his family gave positive encouragement and practical help. Harry's story also displays a strong developmental element. He stated that he changed as a person during his late teens:

*It was only when I realised at 18, that I needed to grow up, grow up and sort my life out.*

The realisation that age can change your identity supports developmentalists like Super (1957 etc). Support for the idea of an age 30 transition (Levinson *et al*, 1978; Levinson, 1986) is also found in Harry's comments: 'I would have been too old, time was getting on'.

Changes to Harry's identity seem to have taken place as a result of both a number of turning points and a period of routine.

Presently, Harry has a girlfriend of three years. He has no children and still lives with his parents. However, his Higher Professional Diploma in Technical Salon Management was another tier in his ladder of success. He intends to have his own hairdressing and beauty salon. Although the majority of his clients are not from the neighbourhood, he says that he has a good loyal client base in order to become self-employed.

Harry remains committed to the area. He is a local activist in the 'Labour Party' and is involved in the Working Men's Club.

Ian was excluded from Year 11 due to an issue with drugs. This he regrets, for he left school with no qualifications. However, since Year 10 he had tried to obtain part-time work by labouring in the building industry, local garages, shops and house cleaning/maintenance. His direction of ambition at this time was one of traditional male occupations:



*I thought I would just go and get a job at one of the car factories. My dad knew someone who could get me a job, well so I thought, but being done for drugs ruined all that. No one would take me on.*

Ian had stereotypical 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996). He, like Harry and Gerry, avoided writing letters for a job for they relied on the personal touch, more face-to-face contact. During the last two years of school he did obtain part-time employment, although this was sporadic, however, it did give him an insight into some male dominated occupations. By the age of 17 some of this regular work was becoming less and less and he was forced to go and see what he described as the employment officer. This was a complete waste of time:

*...this employment officer sat behind this desk asking me do I fancy this job, that job. He had got no idea who I was, what I was like, what I had done. I think he just wanted rid of me so he just said you apply for that. Anyway I didn't.*

During the next year, due to his association with other 'lads' on the estate, he was arrested for GBH and robbery. He had to attend a young offenders institution. He was 19 years old when he was out on probation and still no work.

The next year, Ian met Katie and married, he also managed to obtain work at a local supermarket which had been arranged by the probation service. They were living with Katie's mum, who only lived a few streets away from the area of this research. The next few years Ian remained in employment but drifted from working in a pub, to warehouse work to seasonal employment opportunities. However, at the age of 25 he and Katie separated and Ian moved back with his parents.

Ian's early decisions illuminate some of the conditions in which individuals made career choices in working class communities. Poverty, deprivation and poor social conditions contributed to the way Ian responded to his opportunities. These were as K. Roberts' (1977) predicted: tied into the 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) and his educational performance, whilst also reflecting his 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996).

It was while Ian was working on a barn conversion that he decided to set up his own business in landscaping. This was a return to something he had been involved in when he had been in the last year of school. Ian had no idea how to run a business and managed to accrue debts of several thousand pounds and the business collapsed:

*...I thought I was useless, I got pissed off with life. I had gone from being married to back with my parents...no money, no nothing. So I had to do something.*

Ian saw a job advertisement for a farm hand and applied. He was successful. The turning point for Ian was that the farmer also had a landscaping business:

*... this was my opportunity, I had to do well, so I worked, stayed out of trouble and now I part-manage the business.*

Now in his mid-thirties, Ian is also in charge of the pig farm and feels that his life is going well. Due to the contacts he has made he also drives for a timber company. During this period Ian remarried and had two children. They presently rent a flat above a local chip shop, one street away from the main area of this research.

Ian rejected a few jobs after the collapse of his business before he settled as a farm hand. This could be argued as a 'pragmatically rational' decision (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996). Ian had mentioned his love of the outdoors and that he was 'people friendly' and eventually made this transition. However, it needed further life experiences and contacts before Ian finally decided the job and career for him. It also made him confront his dyslexia. This does seem to fit with his personality and is in many ways an example of 'self-concept' (Super, 1963) implementation, even if the implementation required another to act as a catalyst (his wife); in effect acting as, what Young and Rodgers (1997) call a 'witness'. Ian now has intrinsic satisfaction and he feels he has the opportunity to use his skills. This period of routine gave Ian the time to reflect, it was a job he was enjoying: 'this is me, I love it'.

Ian applied for a City and Guilds Level 3, Work-Based Agriculture qualification, which covered mixed farming, livestock and poultry production at a local college a year ago. This was based on the realisation that he needed to become qualified in order

to safeguard his future. He was worried that eventually he might have to compete with better qualified young people if he was ever made redundant from his present job. Also, due to his dyslexia, he was determined to succeed. However, during the interviews, upon completion of his present course, Ian talked about applying for a university course in agriculture. Although he would love to own a farm one day, Ian sees this as unrealistic, but to be an overall manager is a possibility.

Of all the interviewees, Ian is the only one that would consider moving to obtain work but he remains a 'street lad' and this move would only be within the Midlands: 'I don't think they would understand me elsewhere'.

John left at the end of Year 11 with no qualifications. Out of all the interviewees for this research he was excluded from school the least. However, the influence of the street, family and friends made him conform to the 'laddish' behaviour expected of someone from the estate. At 16 years old he applied to do a college course in Art, just because he had liked it at secondary school. However, this lasted only a few weeks and John found himself with nothing. His parents were of little help too for they had shown little interest in his schooling at any stage. However, a chance meeting at a bus stop with a teacher who had left the school a few years earlier offered John a place on her course. She was teaching Media and Radio at the local college:

*...she helped me loads. She understood me and helped me get my work in on time. I enjoyed that course, especially the video side.*

John managed to pass the course and was so enthusiastic that he started DJ-ing to earn some money. However, there was no full-time employment for someone with a qualification in Media and Radio and he became quite depressed:

*...I thought I had found something I liked, but there was no work, I got fed up and got some what down for a while.*

John spent the next year, until the age of 19, unemployed. During this time, he had been to a local video rental shop so many times that they offered him a job. He remained with them for over three years. This period of routine gave John the time to meet many people that came into the shop. A chance meeting one day at the shop with

a presenter from Kix96, a local radio show, gave John the opportunity he wanted. He was given the opportunity to volunteer to help at the local radio station:

*...I thought this was great, but I had to keep my job going at the video shop and it was tough. I became a 'star'. People were dead impressed and it was good for my pulling power.*

Unfortunately, this new found fame made John resign from his job at the video shop, for he thought he would be offered a job at Kix96. This did not happen and John found himself unemployed once more.

During his time at Kix96 he had managed to obtain various pieces of music software and a computer. Throughout the next few months John spent time mixing his own music, intros and jingles. He was able to try them out as he had maintained his DJ-ing work. Now in his mid-thirties, John's DJ-ing is a large part of his life. He has a regular gig each month in two major cities and regular club nights in another.

After leaving the video shop, John applied for a number of jobs and was not successful:

*...I had a qualification in Media and Radio, who wanted to employ me with that. I started to think it was a waste of time trying to get a job but one valeting cars came up.*

Cleaning cars was hard work and he did not enjoy it but persevered as he wanted the money to buy some new DJ-ing decks. He explained that the job was a means to an end and once he had obtained the finance he resigned from the job.

For a further year or so after that he found himself in and out of work, mainly doing what he called 'typical working class jobs' which he said were not for him. However, he considered his DJ-ing as working class with the comment:

*...the best musicians, song writers and club DJs are working class, you know where you come from and that counts in this world.*

Nonetheless, the last six years he has worked at a local insurance company and has now been made redundant once again:

*...this job came up for a trainee general maintenance worker. I turned up and blagged it. Then they gave me the job. It fitted well with my DJ-ing. I did hours to fit around what I was doing.*

John's career decisions have all been made within his 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996) and based on his 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984) and can be seen as a response to both his school difficulties and the lack of available work in his area of interest. John knew he liked creative subjects and it is not surprising that he left school to study Art followed by an opportunity in Media and Radio. John was fortunate to find work at a local video store and he also recognised that his background qualified him for the job. His subsequent success as a DJ nurtured his creative talent and this above all became his career.

Although in his mid-thirties John still lives with his parents and this has always allowed him the freedom of not having to earn a regular income. He realises that he could quite easily survive and with the present redundancy has decided to make a living as a DJ. John has had several self inflicted work upheavals but it has all afforded him the time for self-analysis which in turn has confirmed many of his values. In a way they are also self inflicted turning points that have been made available by living with his parents. John also has no regular girlfriend and he blames the lifestyle he has for this.

During the interviews he was very much proud of his upbringing, his relationship with his sister who lived in the next street and said that he would always live in the area.

Kevin had mixed feelings about his education. Primary School was a contented stage in his life, but Secondary School was one of constant upheaval, unhappiness and spending a great deal of time alone. Due to many times of loneliness, the only

motivating factor in his life at the time, was his friends and although Kevin's parents were supportive, he left school with no qualifications.

Today this still leaves him feeling bitter:

*...I mixed with the wrong sort, so when I tried to study I got bullied, so you fit in, you conform don't you, you don't want to stand out. I ended up sometimes eating alone, so I found a way to cope. I fooled around. The teachers should have seen this, not let it go on.*

To leave Secondary School without any qualifications meant that his options were very restricted. However, with encouragement from his father he managed to gain a place on a City and Guilds foundation course in Business Studies. It can be assumed that this was a decision brought into focus by the need to do something. Parental encouragement naturally pushed him towards education of some type, rather than the job market at the age of 16, (Ball, 2003) which was reflected in his father's strong support for this course of action. It is also interesting that out of all the interviewees Kevin considers himself to be middle class and, like David, more of a Liberal Democrat supporter. This is because he sees his family more financially stable, better off than many on the estate.

Kevin managed to pass his Business qualification because 'there was nothing else to do'. However, at the age of 17 he managed to get part-time employment at the Working Men's Club as a 'handy lad'. This involved moving crates of beer, carrying empty bottles to bins, sweeping the outside of the club and feeding the two pit bull dogs. It was something that his father was not happy with, but he went along with it all. At the age of 18 he secured a part-time bar position in the club. Thereafter, for several years, Kevin moved to a number of full-time and part-time positions in pubs locally. He found this work satisfying even though the pay was poor. However, at the age of 23, he was starting to drift away from bar work for a number of reasons:

*...I wasn't progressing...people moaning...I felt I could offer more...I had ideas...I could do better.*

Until this point, Kevin's personal and career-making decisions were very much based

on limited self-awareness and restricted knowledge of the outside world. He knew his home town well and was able to use personal knowledge to gain employment. However, he had been greatly influenced by his experience of working in pubs and adapted his decision-making in response to this interest. As a result, he had limited choices.

After the age of 23 he started to adapt a more thoughtful style and began to explore career opportunities in a more ‘technically rational’ way (Hodkinson *et al*, 1996), comparing job requirements with his own skills and interests.

Hence, one year later he had applied to work in a local bowling alley as a trainee technician:

*...I saw this opportunity. I could be in a place like a club or pub but do something else. I could still talk to people, be myself but I could try something different, so I started as a trainee bowl mechanic.*

This curiosity in the mechanical side of bowling did at the time seem to be based on a genuine interest. However, it is not certain that Kevin had reached what Marcia (1980) calls ‘identity achieved’ status at that stage. That is, he was still being advised by his father, had no experience of working in a bowling alley and mentioned that his confidence and extrovert personality was essential in securing any job.

Consequently Kevin’s decisions reflect the same processes that have been encountered in the other stories. That is, as he grew older he was able to make more informed and reflective decisions. He is a qualified mechanic in two machine types. However, the qualification was practical with written work in the form of a log that he clearly benefits from:

*I still don’t want to do exams. If I have to keep a log, suppose a diary, I can just about do that. I do like fixing stuff and working in a bar was a long time ago, but I got it right in the end. It’s a good job I’ve got.*

Kevin has now worked in the bowling industry for nearly 10 years, having moved only once to secure a better job. He sees this as his career and wants to be an area manager one day. Presently he is a senior mechanic. He lives on the estate with his girlfriend and they have one son.

Kevin comments:

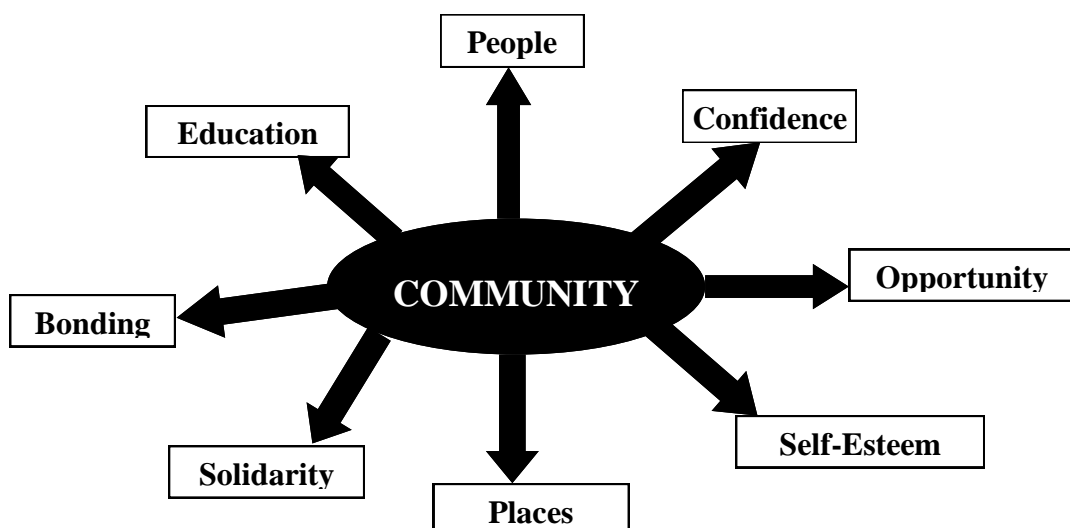
*It has taken me a long time to figure out what I want to do for a job. I'm settled, to be honest, you know when you are doing the right kind of work. I enjoy it. My life has changed, I have responsibility and I have my family and friends around me. Finally I know where I'm headed.*

## 5.5 COMMUNITY LOYALTY, FRIENDS AND FAMILY

### Community

The issue of wider family networks involves community sub-factors which influenced the young person, which belong neither in school or the home, but have dealings with other people, living in the area. The impact of this is what could constitute a delinquent sub-culture where their actions represented a behaviour which is normal in the community where they live, but is against society's values as a whole. These sub-factors influenced the way the young person reacted. (Figure 3)

Figure 3: Community Sub-Factors (2)





Such sub-factors have a wide effect:

Gerry: *My dad was no good at school and at the time he was ok, he survived.*

David: *Everybody got on ok. We stuck together in our street.*

Here the community sub-factors were pushing the young person into a direction to fit in, it may not necessarily be the right direction however. Gerry mentioned the issue of a neighbour putting up a shed:

Gerry: *This shed stopped outside our window and my dad said he would get rid of it...when they went out my dad went round and pulled it down.*

This issue resulted in the conflict over spilling in school with several fights involving family members. This issue was about territory. That is groups of teenagers, not necessarily from the same school, looking after their own, likewise parents responding in a similar way. Gerry talks of not having a wide range of friends outside of school and he attributes this to the tight bonds of the gang he was involved in:

Gerry: *I had things to do at home. I couldn't just go out because my mum worked and I had to look after my sister. They got to me, they didn't understand.*

Gerry goes on to say:

*... of course it stopped me going into school. My dad picked on me, but nobody could help because it was about home...home life. You didn't mess about with that.*

Gerry also spoke of little money and the inability to 'pay his way' when with other peers. Gerry survived Year 11 with a struggle.

Although Gerry did not admit to any criminal acts, he was clearly socially disadvantaged and to an extent economically poor compared to some others living in the community. The particular area where Gerry still lives was very much dominated by Asian families and whether Gerry felt this a threat was not clear. However, comments made by the interviewees at the time on the range of households within the whole community demonstrated at the time that ethnic minority groups had a wider span of characteristics than those of White-European. If the range of housing and therefore the facilities contained within it were quite different and limited from others, then some of the young people sought support elsewhere. This may have been the street corner, the local flats or the shops, which would have increased the amount of time available for anti-social behaviour. However, as some of the interviewees have commented, the home itself was the problem:

*John: There was a lot in my family and at the time in the street. Sometimes you just had to get out ...where could I do anything in our house, no room.*

Linked with this was the aspect of social standing within the community. Also where they still live is very important and it is difficult to move on, not just because of their economic prosperity but they have respect in the area:

*Ian: yeh, I would like to go to a different area, but we can't. It is something we will not do. We know every one, we grew up here, we have a sort of respect for each other, we protect and help everyone.*

However, to belong and take part in street work was an essential activity for most of the young people. As mentioned earlier, no one admitted to criminal activity but reference to neighbourhood fights and protecting what is yours was a recurrent theme. Three of the interviewees Bob, Carl and Eric described themselves at the time as being involved in their area and felt that it was important to protect where they live from incomers. They also acknowledged that this role did cause problems at school but this was considered unimportant and minor to their role of self appointed street protectors.

However, on the streets, these young people when excluded from school came into contact with those who were not excluded. As Bob explained:

*You had to show what you mean. Some of them could fight very well and they knew other people in the area, but you had to show them and you were ok.... in school you were with them, you got respect.*

He also went on to explain the respect on the street:

*Yeh, they get out of your way, they knew to move or they got it.*

These situations imitated to others the type of behaviour required to join the group. Rejection caused sulks, tantrums and refusal to participate in anything in school or at home and it was seen that normal behaviour outside of school could produce similar characteristics which placed the young person in isolation and abandoned on the street. At this stage, most of the interviewees said that they would have done anything to be accepted. However, it is also about the number of times contact is made with each other. If the excluded young person lives next door or is within regular contact then the influence can be seen, as Anthony pointed out:

*If I lived next door to him, then I would really have problems.*

The various sub-factors referred to earlier (Fig 3) show the pressure that each individual living in the community had, and the variety of such sub-factors that shaped their behaviour and attitude at school and in the home. Within this there was also the need for security, self-esteem and solidarity and it was within these areas that the young person brought with them a positive or negative attitude into school and family life. Ian was an example of this. He was concerned about his behaviour in school and the home and he was also worried about being excluded from school. However, even though he raised these concerns during interviews with his Head of Year, he was eventually permanently excluded in Year 11 for drugs.

Ian at the time had no regrets, but felt he had let his mum down, as he spent more and more time on the streets with friends. David had also been involved with the police for

various misdemeanours since he started the school in Year 7. He now acknowledges that it was a 'dreadful mistake' as he had struggled to obtain any meaningful employment for a number of years.

Another interviewee, Harry, was also permanently excluded in Year 11, for similar offences, spoke of the stress he felt his family was under because of him. However, this did not stop his poor behaviour in and out of school, resulting in his exclusion. However, sometimes it was the combination of factors and sub-factors that contributed to the behaviour of the young person. This placed a strain on family life and relationships within it. Several of the interviewees mentioned long divorce procedures which added an emotional strain and created tension in school, particularly when the young person was indirectly related. This caused fights, resulting in exclusion, but also frequent truanting.

For a number of years all the young people had access to a Youth Club on the school site, most evenings during the week. The Youth Club developed Arts and Sport activities which involved Drama, Dance, Music, Football and Basketball. Within Music the students had the opportunity to have guitar lessons, attend DJ Workshops and work as a band. Both Drama and Dance had workshops, but gave the opportunity to perform in front of an audience. In Sport they had fun competitions. These sessions, according to the interviewees, were well attended. However, in August, 1994, a year before the interviewees left school the local council decided to pull the Youth Club down. This placed the students back on the streets:

*John: ...I went there to learn, not play pool like some. It was different from school, you could come and go as you pleased, and I tried to play the guitar ...with no Club, we went back on the streets.*

and

*Bob: ...Mary, [Youth Worker] took us on trips. We went to the theatre, an Art Gallery and lots of music venues. It was really good. I thought these were boring places but they weren't.*

Not only did the Youth Club serve as an extension to the Arts and Sport in a practical way, it also encouraged the young person to attend cultural events which they would

not even consider on their own, or within their own family.

The interviewees spoke highly of 'The Arts Programme' at the Youth Club for it had created a positive range of activities that they enjoyed. Within music, drama and dance these activities concentrated on the type of artists they knew, initially to capture their attention, which then led to them exploring new areas of the arts. Sport was also encouraged and the interviewees mentioned football and basketball as an 'enjoyable experience'. The Youth Club became a mechanism for engagement:

Mary (retired youth worker at the centre):

*I managed to get them to more traditional places to take part and respect each other. They were difficult kids, but needed a direction.*

The building towards the end of 1995 was demolished and to this day it has not been replaced.

The community were proud of the area and were supportive of each other. The ethos was of men being the breadwinners and there was a knock to self confidence if the head of the family was not able to fulfil this task. A comment from Bob, one of the interviewees supports this view: 'It's a lot harder looking for work than doing it'. Further, Anthony mentioned that: 'After months of looking for work tiredness creeps in and to an outsider it looks as if you're lazy; outsiders have no idea how hard you have tried'. With a job comes a future, without, a slow decline of personal standards and ambition. The community, and more importantly the neighbourhood, stand by and protected its men folk, even if they provide for their family by breaking the law: 'Yeh, I've done lots of things, including dodgy stuff, but no one would grass me up'.

Friends

All the interviewees are friends. Some not as close as others, but they have all kept in contact with each other. Much of this contact is through the local Working Men's Club where some are active members. From a political view, the majority of the friends were Labour. Only David and Kevin were unsure and that was because they were not

interested in anything political. All of the interviewees' family members were and still are, Labour supporters. Even though the Working Men's Club is none-political, they all frequently attend during the day and particularly at weekends where families can meet, socialise and play bingo. (Table 20)

Table 20: Political Affiliation

	<b>LABOUR</b>	<b>CONSERVATIVE</b>	<b>LIBERAL</b>
Anthony	√		
Bob	√		
Carl	√		
David			
Eric	√		
Gerry	√		
Harry	√		
Ian	√		
John	√		
Kevin			

Further, the ethos created by this central meeting point, allows for good community spirit and organisation, as well as developing social capital through bonding people and bridging the gap between disparate groups of the neighbourhood. It also keeps friendships alive and allows new ones to form. Within this network the interviewees also run and contribute to charitable events and help raise funds for local amenities. An example of this is raising funds to help people with dementia in the area. However, in the evening the atmosphere changes and the place becomes very much a male dominated club.

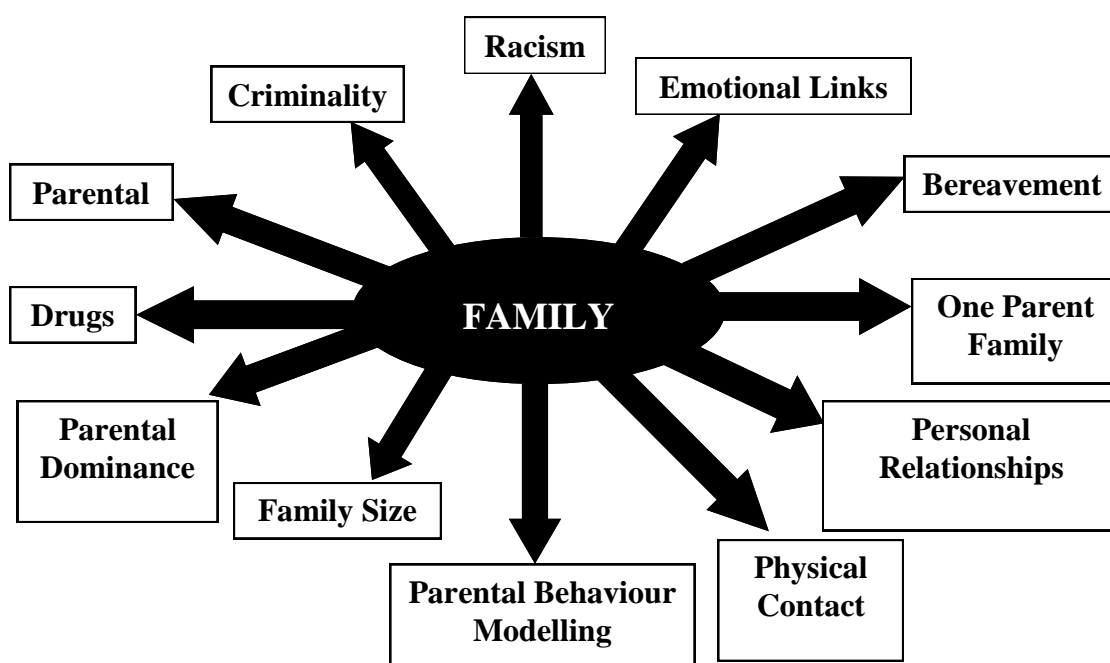
Anthony, Bob, Gerry and Harry are close friends and work on a regular basis together within the club, chairing or organising the various committees. They feel that 'it gives them a sense of purpose' and that they 'work to improve the lives of the people in the community'. 'These people are our people and we look after our own' comments Bob. Further, all four of these individuals are activists in the local Labour Party and freely

give their time to canvas, support local candidates and encourage others to participate in the Labour movement.

## Family

Several interviewees spoke openly about their family life and this evidence was supported by the students' personal records and/or discussions with teaching staff in the school. Certain sub-group factors became evident from these records and discussions. (Figure 4)

Figure 4: Family Sub-Factors



Not only could a multitude of these sub-factors cause confusion, apprehension and bewilderment in family life, but a single sub-factor could be nearly as devastating to the well being of the family. Kevin talked of a death in the family and the impact this had had on him, these sub-factors along with family disputes and his own personal negative feelings caused much unrest for him and his wider circle of friends and family.

Gerry talked of living within a large family, the sharing, the arguments and the physical contact, all making life at times difficult. He goes on to mention getting a good job and not having children so that he had the time to be himself. In this instance

Gerry mentions rejection and that he would only have children if he had time to spend with them.

The majority of the interviewees were supportive of their family and said that they wanted to do well, but the number of sub-factors against this happening was at times overwhelming. There tended to be lengthy episodes rather than short snatches of problems within the family as they got older, which at times became acute, particularly if elder siblings were involved:

*Anthony: I did have arguments at home, but we got it sorted.*

*Bob: My sister hadn't got it. She made problems and blamed me, so I got it all the time.*

*Carl: I had to stop in, [at home] I got grounded, stuff that.*

However, it was felt that their parents did care for them but poor social interaction in the home contributed to making personal lives difficult. In addition, lack of family values in decisions about right and wrong, sometimes lost focus. In some cases it was more about just getting through the day unscathed without reference to drugs, alcohol, physical and/or mental abuse. Yet, some of the interviewees provided examples of family life where there was a focus on a more traditional family existence:

*Kevin ... yeh, I sort of wouldn't like not to do well, 'cause my mum was rubbish at school, so she sort of wanted me in a way to get some exams. I liked that.*

*David. I got into a lot of trouble most of the time. So my Mum got me a keyboard from somewhere, because she knew I liked music. This was to encourage me to stop in more and stay out of trouble. I thought to myself, 'good one mum'.*



## 5.6 SUMMARY

Career choice cannot be accounted for by any one factor, although in some cases one factor is a proximate influence: for example, crime. In other cases chance intervened or there were periods of routine. However, for these 10 men their 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) was greatly affected by their educational attainment. Their 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1995) was limited also by their educational attainment and their occupational knowledge. Moreover, decision-making was more pragmatic than systematic, with some men responding intuitively to offers of employment, sometimes in response to chance opportunities. This may be because they felt the need to become a breadwinner (Bernard, 1995) at the earliest opportunity, which is tied to their sense of masculinity.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION**

### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

The final chapter summarises why the interviewees responded in the way they did towards their career decisions. Further, it is to discuss possible future investigations into male career patterns, and the applicability of this research to today's male school leaver.

The use of a life history approach is not new and has been used in both educational and general social science research over the years (Chamberlayne *et al*, 2000; Miller, 2000). What makes this study unique is the combination of approaches which have produced a depth of knowledge regarding evolving careers and the impact of specific environmental factors over time. That is, the research took place in the interviewee's own setting, was about their life and personal experiences, and the main collection of data was participant observation and interviewing, while taking a life history approach.

Careers are complex and personal, so whilst there will be similarities between individual careers, there will also be differences. It is true that class and culture can affect a person's choice of career, but it is also about the environment, the contexts of choice, and 'the event' (Collin, 1997). The varied influence on a person's career attains different prominence, at different times, and in different spaces. Over time, what was once a proximate influence on a person's career may become more distant. The stories explored in this research show how at different moments in time, and in different contexts, environmental influences interweave in different ways, producing unique life events.

### **6.2 CLASS, CULTURE AND EDUCATION**

All the men in this research had been classified at the time according to the teaching staff at the secondary school as low achievers, in some cases words used to describe them were 'delinquents' and 'trouble makers'. Further they were totally 'un-teachable' while they were at school. Equally, these men were very critical of the lack of support they had received from their school, especially with regard to career and educational guidance

These men belonged to a gang culture which internally ruled their secondary school and externally ruled their neighbourhood. The gang typically shared an identity based on age, location, ethnicity, with common interests and a shared purpose (Klein, 2001). Further, the gang formed due to social exclusion and came together for a sense of safety and belonging (Curry and Decker, 1998). Also, in some cases a member of the family had been involved or still was involved in a gang that engaged in criminal activities. The clique would change occasionally, but they were able to rule with the help of family members. The aspect of rule meant that the gang's presence and its wider network, directly affected the quality of life in the community through such things as truancy, criminal behaviour, alcohol and other drug use and abuse.

Some had already gained work experience and were involved in a range of part-time jobs before and after school and at the weekends. What they did not expect was the difficulty in gaining employment without qualifications, as their horizon for action had been limited to the confines of a working class culture and this had not moved on since the previous generation. Further, the idea of just getting a job and getting by, reinforced the working class structure within the community. The community has been bound up in working class values and culture for generations: physical and part-time work, tradesmen, low income, rented accommodation and in some cases families have been a reserve workforce for any opportunity that arises to make money. Some of the men in this study tried to improve their qualifications by attending college, others just went for a job, and with some it was about preserving their masculine identity. Most of them also positioned themselves in relation to their 'locale', both disliking the crime/violence and poverty, yet also resisting escape. However, it is not just about resisting moving away and therefore a quick escape. It is about families sharing the same interests as a result of common experiences which differ from those of other communities with different experiences. The shared experiences and established social institutions preserve tradition and therefore working class values of which each one of the interviewees are proud of. They have a self-conscious sense of community that arises out from the habit of living close together and being members of the same group for a whole lifetime. In addition, the feeling of security and stability are further factors why the interviewees resist escaping. Further, the sense of belonging to a certain group or community which does not change radically, offers a sense of reassurance for each of the interviewees.

The majority reproduced the working class discourse of ‘keeping close’ (Pugsley, 1998; Westwood, 1990) and were reluctant to move out from the safety of familiarity, of knowing people and being known. The cultural and social context of family and neighbourhood were found to be instrumental in career development and a major influence in the choice process.

Career development, for most people, is a lifelong process of choosing employment opportunities that come along in a working lifetime. Each job taken is influenced by many factors, including the context in which the individual lives, their personal aptitudes, and their educational attainment (Bandura *et al*, 2001). A major turning point in the lives of these men involved the career choice that they made while at secondary school: that was to do as little academic work as possible. Frequently it was viewed that family and neighbourhood acted as a start to workplace readiness; however, this decision played a major role in establishing them in a career path that opened as well as closed opportunities. Throughout all of the interviews a consistent picture emerged. The interviewee’s perceptions of the importance that family, friends and neighbourhood played in shaping their career choices was paramount. Also the interdependence of family, school, and neighbourhood played a critical role in shaping the men’s occupational choice. Certainly each of the men’s stories support the findings of Furlong and Biggart (1999) who state that educational attainment was a greater influence on the careers of the young men in their study than social class: for example, Ian considered himself to be a ‘bit thick’. However, comments made by Eric channelled him into making decisions that were within his working class culture and therefore his horizon for action was limited not just by his qualifications. It was the parents who frequently taught the street wise skills that provided the men with a broader understanding of their own aptitudes and therefore contributing to career choice that remained within working class roots. As Bob and Gerry had indicated, both their dads could get them a job.

### 6.3 CAREER DECISION-MAKING

There are 10 multi factors that weave their way through the study and contribute to the four key themes of the research. These multi factors were influential in career decision-making and a major control in the choice process. The 10 multi factors are below:

## The Role of the Family

The interviewees acknowledged the impact that their parents had on their career choice. The influence of one or two parents had the same effect. However, the choice of a 'job' was clearly located in the prevailing 'opportunity structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) and their own 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al.*; 1996) which were limited by their educational performance, class and neighbourhood. Moore (1988) found that some working class parents actually helped their son/daughter to find some form of work, where in contrast Ball and Maguire (2000) found that middle class parents went further and offered practical help and advice. One of the crucial features about the behaviour of middle class parents is their construction of a 'life project' for their children (Ball 2003). A 'life project' is about the parental belief that with their guidance and help they will have a positive influence on their children's education. Further, that they show an interest in socially, culturally and educationally, motivating their child to be successful.

However, for these interviewees, at the end of Year 11 it was perceived that it was not their parents' role to assist with the decision-making process: 'the school should have found me a career'. It seems that both the interviewee and their parents were taking a passive role in making a future career decision and conforming to the expectations of the neighbourhood and the wider community. It appears that the school was responsible for finding a suitable career, but the family, i.e. parents, to find a suitable job.

It was not until their late teens that their lack of engagement in career planning became less of a hindrance. Certainly by their mid twenties through a whole plethora of life experiences, turning points and periods of routines did the men start to change their identity and outlook. This resulted in considering new roles and jobs that were absent from their thinking at the age of 16. However, family influence was still paramount although in different ways: the family emphasis had changed from having an active street wise influence to a supportive role; decisions were now made to obtain a secure job and career with a progressive salary.

## The Role of Work Experience

The school did make available to all students in Year 11, the opportunity to complete a programme of work experience. None of the interviewees at that time took that

opportunity as they felt it was a ‘waste of time’, ‘slave labour’ or ‘beneath them’. A stance that they now all regret and would encourage anyone to gain ‘some experience’.

However, two of the interviewees did make their first career decision based on previous work experience. Anthony had been working for a sports company from the age of 14, while Ian had been labouring on a building site since about the same age. Both, despite several related jobs, have remained in a career path that was based on that early experience. Several authors have acknowledged the role that previous work experience can have on decision-making (Super, 1957, 1963; Kidd, 1984; Hodkinson *et al*, 1996).

#### Attitudes Towards Work and Education

The initial career choice that the interviewees made at school was rooted in their career decision-making lack of maturity. In their twenties choice became not just a matching process; rather, it was a choice made in the context of many influencing factors of family and neighbourhood. The perception of a ‘career’ rather than a ‘job’ now acted as a filter to funnel appropriateness and influence the choice process. The ‘street wise’ help of family and neighbourhood had gone.

#### The Role of the Community

A number of the interviewees mentioned the impact the community had on their personal development as a teenager and it may have been a major influence on career choice. Certainly it appears at that time that the interviewees had a high degree of social integration (high levels of local neighbouring while being relatively isolated from contacts in broader mainstream society) and low levels of informal social control (feelings that they had little control over their immediate environment). Not only were they at risk because of the lack of informal social controls, they were also disadvantaged because the social interaction among neighbours tended to be confined to those whose skills, styles, orientations, and habits were not as conducive to promoting positive social outcomes (academic success, pro-social behaviour, employment in the formal labour market, etc) as are those, perhaps in a more middle class neighbourhood.

## The Role of Economic Shifts

Also shifts in the economy then, as now, meant that employers were looking for workers with a broad range of abilities: hard skills (literacy, numeracy and other testable attributes) and soft skills (personalities suitable to the work environment, group-oriented work behaviours, etc). While hard skills are the product of education and training, soft skills are strongly tied to culture, and are therefore shaped by the environment of inner-city streets. It was interesting that the restaurant owner at the entrance to the main street in this study commented:

*They use to come to me for a job, but I could not take them on because their language skills were so poor.*

Further, Mary (retired youth worker) supported this statement:

*I frequently said to them, you cannot use your street talk if you want a job.*

Furthermore, the early to mid 1990s was a period of decline in traditional male work opportunities. This was coupled with a rise in unemployment where some of the interviewees were buffeted by factors outside of their control. The result of this was the lack of opportunity to apply for any job within an already diminishing local job market. However, all these young men had work of some sort during this period, but it was more about family contacts and local networks rather than anything else. Furthermore, the consequences for some of the men were a change in identity and a chance to change their whole way of life, where having a career was a possibility.

## Language

Early on street talk was an aspect of their masculinity. It was part of the interviewees' 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984) and influenced their 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) that framed their eventual career choice. However, it should be noted that Harry is the exception to this and has become the 'local' hairdresser. Then again, masculine identity changed as the men became older and became less stereotypical. Also, in some cases when the interviewees became parents, they acquired a new weaker form of masculine identity that shifted with their needs.

## Masculinity

Although not mentioned directly by the interviewees, masculinity was central initially to their identity. It has been referred to by Hearn (1996) as the ‘cultural expression of gender’ (p.204) and ‘a gendered form that can be expressed differently at different times and places’ (p.205). This research supports those statements, where the individual framework of what constitutes masculinity changed over time.

However, what is linked to this masculine identity is the centrality of work. Work, before many of them had left school, was important. It gave them a sense of well being; a form of status that was achieved just by getting any job that came along. Later, the men came to believe that work would enable them to achieve what Maslow (quoted in Argyle, 1972) described as ‘self-actualisation’ or ‘self-fulfilment’. Therefore, Maslow believed that as men grow older they begin to view work as a means of expressing their identity and as a source of job satisfaction. Certainly, the evidence in this research supports this view. Further, those who were initially college bound talked about having ‘a better job’ if they achieved some qualifications. It is suggested that this is expressing a change of self identity and a realisation of the need to have a career and not just a job.

## Barriers

The economic and social characteristics of the neighbourhood coloured and influenced the interviewees’ perceptions of appropriate career choices towards the end of Year 11 and into their post 16 teenage years. As post 16 teenagers they were all vastly influenced by different social and economic contextual factors in their pursuit of markedly diverse occupational paths, while transitioning from school to work. However, these distinct paths created different time frames and therefore opened up different expectations for career development and opportunities available. Carl, John and Kevin had college paths straight from school that were future oriented, with the first steps of attending and actually completing examination coursework being of paramount importance. For all three of them it was a struggle to maintain their place at college with Carl lasting six months and John surviving only a small number of weeks before leaving. John returned within weeks to start a new course, whereas Carl returned a year later. Kevin remained at college that first year and completed his Business qualification. However, both Carl and John were successful at the second



attempt, although it was a struggle, whereas the remaining interviewees' work paths (Anthony, Bob, David, Eric, Gerry, Harry, Ian) were about specific employment, skill development and educational attainment. The transition for this latter group was more direct and dependent upon gaining employment that quickly shifted their roles from adolescent to adult, binding them to adult career expectations. However, for all of them there were several career barriers that they had to overcome. The lack of financial resources to attend college was a barrier and one that pushed some of the interviewees into work. The second barrier for the college group was actual college acceptance and being capable of passing the qualifications. An additional barrier for the work orientated group was the lack of employment opportunities in the area that required low basic skills.

#### Planned Happenstance

Despite there being barriers for all the interviewees at some point in their career, a factor that affected their development was chance. However, for most this was not about events that they had no control over. It was more about keeping an open mind and taking any opportunity that came along. The interviewees admitted that in most cases they created their own luck and took a risk at times that either created opportunities or it didn't. Planned Happenstance Theory is therefore supported by these interviewees, who further suggest that the traditional trait and factor model was less effective because there had been a total lack of guidance from any careers officer in the various life stages and environments that they had encountered. Further, they were very negative about any aspect of career guidance or lack of it that was based purely on personality and skills.

Yet the data also illuminates several totally unplanned events where chance played a significant role (Anthony, bar work; John, Kix96 Radio). In some cases these chance events acted as turning points which altered the career of these men. Also, these chance events were early in their career history and as they moved into their late twenties and early thirties such events became less or none existent. It is suggested that this was due to their changing status within their personal development. They no longer wished to grasp any opportunity in order to make money. In their thirties it was more about job satisfaction and an enhanced career making style that considered the long term implications of a chance meeting.

## Opportunity Structure

The interviewees talked of their teenage years as 'knowing their place' (Bourdieu, 1986) but they also talked of 'knowing their limits'. They had negative feelings towards education, which led some of interviewees to try to obtain work or they became unemployed. Multiple factors, as mentioned earlier, interacted with their 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) with what was possible and/or desirable. The neighbourhood within which the interviewees' identities and lives were grounded, raised issues in relation to safety/danger which were closely linked to negotiations of routes into or out of education and employment. Multiple structural inequalities and the demands of 'real' identities (extending beyond the school gate) also circumscribed and weighed upon the options and routes that were available and/or thinkable to them. Therefore, the interviewees' post 16 educational and career choices involved complex conscious, and unconscious, negotiations within structurally shaped horizons.

Table 21 below demonstrates how the 10 multi factors combine with the four key themes of this research. Each one of the multi factors has a strong influence on 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996) and career options.

Table 21: Four Key Themes

<b>TURNING POINTS</b>	<b>MASCULINITY</b>	<b>CAREER DEVELOPMENT</b>	<b>COMMUNITY, FRIENDS AND FAMILY</b>
<b>Happenstance Opportunity Structure</b>	<b>Attitude towards work and education</b>	<b>Work experience</b>	<b>Role of the family</b>
	<b>Language</b>	<b>Economic shifts</b>	<b>Community loyalty</b>
	<b>Masculinity</b>		<b>Barriers</b>

## 6.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

Through these 10 stories it can be seen that having a job, let alone having a career, is complex and personal. Richardson (1993), suggests that separate theories need to be applied to people in different locations. This research supports the view that careers are better understood through ‘locales’ (Giddens, 1984): family, school and neighbourhood and therefore national policies, promoting a ‘one size fits all’ culture must be informed by pedagogical insight (holistic learning and positive experiences) and not just political principle. Each ‘locale’ has a varied influence on a person’s career at different times. What was once prominent could very soon become distant. These influences interweave to produce unique events that unfold to produce a career path.

The present Coalition Government’s approach to careers education, since the 2011 Education Act, has been to transfer the responsibility of guidance to schools, and it is argued that this system could deliver career goals to young people that are inwardly looking. Hooley *et al.* (2012) comment on this possible decline in the quality of careers delivery, and gives evidence of such deterioration by reference to other countries that have used this method. Further, Hooley *et al.* send a strong message that the Statutory Duty and the National Careers Service must be carefully monitored to ensure that careers are embedded in a schools curriculum. In support of this argument, The House of Commons Education Select Committee (2013) called for evidence from career professionals to produce a report about the worrying deterioration in the provision for young people.

Such deterioration in provision is not just about career advice, but also about the wider aspects of supporting a community. What had a major impact on the young men was the removal of Mary the youth worker. Any policy should explore the role that community based professionals, like Mary can offer, for they give an external perspective, a bridge to the norms of society. However, recently overall budgets for young people’s services have been cut by more than quarter (National Youth Agency, 2013). According to the National Youth Agency these latest figures are particularly alarming against a backdrop of the statement from Education Secretary Michael Gove, (UK Youth, 2013) that youth policy is a priority for local government and not central government.

However, the Education Secretary, Michael Gove, alienated communities by commenting on the relationship between ‘poor educational attainment and gang recruitment’ and the lack of career prospects for young people (Gove, 2011). Michael Gove’s comment adds to the debate that a strong structural integrated curriculum-led careers approach is essential if some young people in deprived areas of the country are to have the skills and knowledge to enable them to see above their ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996). Further, Prime Minister, David Cameron, in a speech at a youth club in Witney, Oxfordshire on the 15 August 2011, talked around increased social and community responsibility and about getting young people into employment (Cameron, 2011). Additionally, in the same speech, the Prime Minister talked of bringing back National Service, re-packaged as the National Citizen Service. This, he went on to comment, would be an eight week voluntary programme for 16 year olds preparing them for adult life. No policy change can, educationally or career wise, change the present perception of some members of society. What is required to help motivate and lift individuals out of poverty is a more curriculum-led approach to careers where guidance is embedded into the school curriculum.

However, Burney (2005:4) states ‘once the label of anti-social behaviour becomes current, it is very easy to adopt it as a description of any local irritation’. The present research highlights this ‘local irritation’ as the area still has a poor reputation and many school leavers still face an uphill battle to be accepted as equals in the job market, simply because of where they come from. Therefore, strong guidance is essential to underpin social mobility.

In support of this Wilson (2013) in his report *Youth Unemployment: Review of Training for Young People with Low Qualifications* states that any curriculum programme should:

*Combine **training** with periods of **work experience**, contact with employers and assistance with **job search**, and that lead to recognised and relevant **qualifications**, are more likely to have positive impacts.*(p.6) (emphasis in original)

The same report further makes reference to the fact that the ‘number of young people with qualifications below Level 2 account for 39% of those unemployed’ and that

flexibility, breadth of curriculum and employability skills are essential if employment prospects are to be improved for young people. Additionally the McKinsey Global Institute (2012) based their findings on research from 100 education to employment initiatives from 25 countries. They concluded that education to employment systems require incentives and structures that enable young people to have access to enhanced data so that they can make informed choices. These changes can be achieved if educational institutions and employers work strongly together, sharing resources and that educational institutions further develop careers programmes that are accessed by students early in their schooling.

The present study suggests that the interviewees originally made decisions at the margins of their class and culture. What was required at that time was a structured careers programme, with access to employers that was very much localised and sufficiently broad enough to allow for ambition. Present government policies do not move the debate on, but possibly push careers guidance further into oblivion as the McKinsey Global Institute suggest:

*The journey from education to employment is a complicated one, and it is natural that there will be different routes. But too many young people are getting lost along the way. (2012:13)*

## 6.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

This research suggests that class and culture are still an influence on careers, but in order to understand career choice many other factors (neighbourhood decline, violence, crime, unemployment) need to be taken into consideration. The findings therefore are applicable to today's male school leaver living in a close knit working class neighbourhood.

It would be expected that these mid teenage males would express their masculine identity and initially limit their 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson *et al*; 1996). Further, it is argued that because the young people are socialised, gendered and located within a compact area of the city they are unlikely to explore all the possible careers available to them: it is about a job fitting an identity. Moreover, specific geographical factors may restrict or expand the young person's 'horizon for action'. However, many of the interviewees made their original career choices from this limited 'opportunity

structure' (K. Roberts, 1977) and a systematic model of career planning was lacking. These interviewees lacked a strong support mechanism either internally or externally, to widen their horizons. The present government's shift from external bodies, an example being Connexions, supplying career guidance, to one of the school taking responsibility, should be taken with care, until new models of school delivery can be assessed perhaps through Ofsted inspections.

Hooley (2013) in an article in *The Guardian* states that with the closure of career services such as Connexions, 'it's time for government to reconsider the role that career advice plays in education'. Further, the article goes on to state that 'young people are likely to approach subject teachers first with their careers questions'. The difficulty here is that teachers are already stretched with targets, performance management, league tables, Ofsted and diminishing budgets, that careers advice is very much at the bottom of a long list of issues. Additionally, teachers may be well qualified in their subject but not necessarily qualified to give any form of careers advice, particularly impartial advice as Carl outlined:

*I wanted to be a footballer and was part of the city soccer academy. I thought my teachers at the time, particularly my P.E. teacher would be able to help, perhaps some advice. What I got was go and see Mr French, he does all that.*

The past few decades have seen a range of initiatives and partnerships working alongside schools: Careers Service, Connexions, and Chamber of Commerce. These organisations were also supported by local and national organisations. However, since the 2011 Education Act and the demise, particularly of the Connexions Service, the duty of independent careers advice has fallen onto the school. This in many ways goes back to the mid 1990s and the issues particularly faced by the interviewees in this research. Further, a report issued by the House of Commons Education Select Committee (2013) *Careers Guidance for Young People: The Impact of the New Duty on Schools*, identified major concern at the decline in quality of provision, independence, impartiality and availability of careers guidance. In addition, the recent rise in youth unemployment, coupled with the raising of the school participation age, should send a direct message that quality careers guidance is essential. However, no

further funding to schools is available to take on this responsibility and young people in similar catchment areas as this present research, could be a lost generation.

Certainly, there are different models being used by secondary schools in the area. Some have no careers advisor since the demise of Connexions, except for one placed in each secondary school for a few hours each week by the local authority to deal with young people who are not in education, employment or training. Some schools are employing previous Connexions staff for a few days each week; however, the outlook is bleak. The majority of schools are in a state of flux with no extra funding, limited school budgets with ever increasing targets to achieve. Parents and communities in deprived areas also can give limited help as they are bound by their own horizons.

## 6.6 SUMMARY

The whole research is about how identities were formed that rejected school and formal education in favour of streetwise, working class ambition and working within the edges of the formal (and legal) economy. Furthermore, the research has explored the impact that family, school, and neighbourhood can have upon men's self identity and career choice. These factors have come into play to provide an insight into the men's perception of self, educational attainment and career interest. The study also adds to the role that parents play in shaping career choice. Through perceptions of occupational appropriateness, parents were found to have key roles in shaping career choices. Additionally, the impact that the school and neighbourhood had in supporting or delaying career decision-making extends the importance these factors had upon male identity and occupational goals.

The career choice that these men made was a decision that was influenced not only by their development but also by the context in which they lived (Chen, 1997). In these communities a context of uncertainty and the appearance of non support reigned, which led the men, in some cases, to postpone career decision-making and ultimately not to aspire to challenging career choices.

## 6.7 ACHIEVEMENT OF AIMS

It was with great interest that I decided to complete a research project on the career development of males. Through each stage of the process I was constantly reminded of

how complicated it was. For example, the place of career in men's lives involved a complicated support structure of parents, relatives, siblings, peers, teachers and careers advisors. However, depending on the individual's social status in the community hierarchy, such support would have a positive or negative affect. In many ways the research project has met the original aims of studying:

- the nature of turning points and their effects;
- the place of masculinity in men's lives;
- the dynamics of male career development; and
- the influence of community loyalty, friends and family on career development

Furthermore, to have had the opportunity to discuss and observe behaviours in a small neighbourhood and probe into the make-up of the interviewee's personality, drive, ambition, and creativity was a privilege.

## 6.8 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The interviewees all had a strong sense of belonging to their individual homes and their family, a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and local community. This sense of belonging for all of them is derived not only from places, but also from relationships and people. Further, this sense of belonging comes from being with similar individuals who share the same values. It is seen as important to belong somewhere and to know that you always have somewhere to go that is supportive. The implication for this belonging is restrictions on career choice which in turn shape the identity of individuals and the neighbourhood. Therefore, when considering further research it is worthwhile looking at certain factors:

First, career choice is a process that includes experimentation, trial and error, decision-making and eventually judgment. However, such choices are also bound within geography and chance events. It may therefore be necessary to develop separate theories for people from different locations.

Second, the neighbourhood in this study was very much male dominated. Women played a secondary role in the job market and where there was opportunity for them to work it was part-time and low skill based. Therefore, it would be interesting to explore their views, their perceptions of community life and what they hope for the future.



Third, how significant are recreational places for individuals to meet or families to gather in the structure of a neighbourhood? The young people in this study saw their youth club pulled down, but the local public house, Working Men's Club, Greek Restaurant and Territorial Army all remain. It would be interesting to explore the significance of this structure and what the impact on local life would be if such recreational places were removed.

## 6.9 DISSEMINATION

It is important to recognise that dissemination can be both informal and formal. Informal is the chance meeting with an interviewee or a family member, whereas formal may be a written report, journal article or conference paper. Further, any form of dissemination to be successful does need to actively engage the interviewees. Therefore, the following strategies have been adopted:

- A transcript of their personal interviews has been offered to each participant
- An overview of the findings has been made available to each participant
- Presentations to relevant interest groups (e.g. local housing association)
- Discussions with Employer Engagement Consultant at the secondary school to develop a strategic information, advice and guidance plan
- Discussions with Connexions to develop an appropriate work experience programme
- Publication of a paper in an appropriate peer reviewed journal

## References

- Adams, J; Hayes, J. and Hopson, B. (1977) *Transition Understanding and Managing Personal Change*, Pergamon Press.
- Adler, P. A. and Adler, P. (1998) *Peer Power: Preadolescent Culture and Identity*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Allen, A; Hambly, L; Malkin, J. and Scott, F. (1997) Perspectives on Career Planning, *Occasional Papers in Career Guidance No.1*, Institute of Careers Guidance.
- Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., O'Brien, K. E. and Lentz, E. (2008) The State of Mentoring Research: A Qualitative Review of Current Research Methods and Future Research Implications, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 73(3): 343-357.
- Allin, L. (2003) Challenging Careers for Women? Negotiating Identities in Outdoor Education, Unpublished PhD Thesis: Brunel University.
- Anderson, E. (1978) *A Place on the Corner*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, E. (2006) Jelly's Place: An Ethnographic Memoir. In D. Hobbs and R. Wright (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Fieldwork*, London: Sage.
- Angel, H. (2012) Were the Riots Political? *Safer Communities Special Edition on the Riots*, 11 (1): 24-32.
- Archer, L; Pratt, S. and Phillips, D. (2001) Working Class Men's Constructions of Masculinity and Negotiations of (Non) Participation in Higher Education , *Gender and Education*, 13(4): 431-449.
- Archer, L., Halsall, A. and Hollingworth, S. (2007) Inner-City Femininities and Education: Race, Class, Gender and Schooling in Young Women's Lives, *Gender and Education*, 19(5): 549-568.
- Argyle, M. (1972) *The Social Psychology of Work*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Arroba, T. (1976) *Investigation into the Psychological Dimensions and Correlates of Decision Making Style*, Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Leeds.
- Arroba, T. (1977) Styles of Decision Making, *British Journal of Guidance*, 5(2): 149-158.
- Ashton, D. and Field, D. (1976) *Young Workers: From School to Work*, London: Hutchinson.
- Atkinson, R. (1998) *The Life Story Interview*, London: Sage.
- Atkinson, R. and Flint, J. (2001) *Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies*, University of Surrey Social Research Update 33, retrieved 4<sup>th</sup> February 2014.  
[www.sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.html](http://www.sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.html)

- Atkinson, R. and Moon, G. (1994) *Urban Policy in Britain*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Avis, M. (2005) Is there an Epistemology for Qualitative Research? In I. Holloway, (ed) *Qualitative Research in Health Care*, Open University Press: Berkshire.
- Ball, S. J. and Maguire, M. (2000) *Choice, Pathway and Transition Post 16*, London: Routledge.
- Ball, S. J. (2003) *Class Strategies in the Education Market*, London: Routledge.
- Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V. and Pastorelli, C. (2001) Self-efficacy Beliefs as Shapers of Children's Aspirations and Career Trajectories, *Child Development*, 72, 187-206.
- Banks, M; Bates, I; Breakwell, G; Bynner, J; Elmer, N; Jamieson, L. and Roberts, K. (1992) *Careers and Identities: Adolescent to Employment, Training and Education, their Home Life, Leisure and Politics*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Barakett, J. and Cleghorn, A. (2008) *Sociology of Education*. Toronto, Ontario: Pearson Canada Inc.
- Barnes, B. (2000) *Understanding Agency: Social Theory and Responsible Action*, London: Sage.
- Barley, S. (1989) Careers, Identities and Institutions: Legacy of the Chicago School. In Arthur, M. B; Hall, D. T. and Lawrence, B. S. (1989) *Handbook of Career Theory*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- BBC News* (2011) Nine Arrests in Coventry's Cheylesmore Disorder, *BBC News*, 10th August, retrieved 28<sup>th</sup> May 2013.  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-14477740>
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage.
- Bell, C. (1968) *Middle Class Families: Social and Geographical Mobility*, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.
- Bell, C. and Newby, H. (1971) *Community Studies*, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Benn, M. (2011) *School Wars: The Battle for Britain's Education*, London: Verso.
- Bernard, J. (1995) The Good Provider. In M. S. Kimmel and M. A. Messner, *Men's Lives*, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon.
- Besag, V. (1989) *Bullies and Victims in Schools*, Milton Keynes: Open University.
- Betsworth, D. G. and Hansen, J. I. C. (1996) The Career Categorisation of Serendipitous Career Development Events, *Journal of Career Assessment*, 4:91-98.
- Betz, N. E; Fitzgerald, L. F. and Hill, R. E. (1989) Trait-Factor Theories. In M. B. Arthur; D. T. Hall, and B. S. Lawrence, *Handbook of Career Theory*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Betz, N. E. (2004) Contributions of Self-Efficacy Theory to Career Counseling: A Personal Perspective [Electronic Version], *The Career Development Quarterly*, 52(4): 340–353.
- Bhaba, H. K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, New York: Routledge.
- Biesta, G. and Tedder, M. (2006) How is Agency Possible? Towards an Ecological Understanding of Agency as Achievement, University of Exeter School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Working Paper 5 for the TESRC TLRP Learning Lives Project.
- Bills, D. and Park, S. E. (2008) A Review of Learning to Labour in New Times, *Educational Studies*, 43(3): 263-267.
- Bimrose, J. (2006) *Developing Career Trajectories in England: The Role of Effective Guidance*, London: DfES.
- Blau, P. M; Gustad, J. W; Jessor, R; Parnes, H. S. and Wilcock, R. C (1956) Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework, *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, 9: 531-543.
- Blokland, T. (2003) *Urban Bonds*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bloomer, M. (1996) Education for Studentship. In J. Avis, M. Bloomer, G. Esland, D. Gleeson and P. Hodkinson (eds) *Knowledge and Nationhood: Education, Politics and Work*, London: Cassell.
- Bloomer, M. and Hodkinson, P. (1997) *Moving into F. E.: The Voice of the Learner*, London: FEDA Publications.
- Bloomer, M. and Hodkinson, P. (1999) *College Life: The Voice of the Learner*, London: FEDA Publications.
- Bloomer, M. and Hodkinson, P. (2000) Learning Careers: Continuity and Change in Young Peoples Dispositions to Learning, *British Educational Research Journal* 26, (5): 583-597.
- Blum, S. H. (1961) The Desire for Security: An Element in the Vocational Choice of College Men, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 52 (6): 317-321.
- Blustein, D. L; Chaves, A. P; Diemar, M. A; Gallacher, L. A; Marshall, K. G; Sirin, S. and Bhati, K. S. (2002) Voices of the Forgotten Half: The Role of Social Class in the School to Work Transition, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 49 (3): 31-323.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985) The Genesis of the Concepts of Habitus and of Field, *Sociocriticism, Theories and Perspectives*, 2(2):11-24.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital. In J. G. Richardson, (ed) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, Greenwood Press: New York.

- Bourdieu, P. (1989) Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1): 26-63.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Oxford: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993) *Sociology in Question*, London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001) *Science de la Science et Réflexivité*, Paris: Raisons d'Agir.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. C. (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, London: Sage.
- Bradley, W. J. and Shaefer, K. C. (1998) *The Uses and Misuses of Data and Models: The Mathematisation of the Human Sciences*, California: SAGE Publications.
- Bradshaw, J. (2006) A Review of the Comparative Evidence on Child Poverty, retrieved 10<sup>th</sup> November 2012.  
<http://www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/eBooks/9781859354902.pdf>
- Briggs, D. (2012) What We Did When It Happened: A Timeline Analysis of the Social Disorder in London. In *Safer Communities Special Edition on the Riots*, 11 (1):6-16.
- Bright, J. and Pryor, R. G. L. (2005) The Chaos Theory of Careers: A User's Guide, *The Career Development Quarterly*, 291-305.
- Bright, J. E. H. and Pryor, R. G. L. (2007) Chaotic Careers Assessment: How Constructivist and Psychometric Techniques Can Be Integrated Into Work and Life Decision Making, *Career Planning and Adult Development Journal*, 23 (2): 30-45.
- Bright, J. E. H. and Pryor, R. G. L. (2008) Shiftwork: A Chaos Theory of Careers Agenda for Change in Career Counselling, *Australian Journal of Career Development*, 17 (3): 63-72.
- Brofenbrenner, U. (1977) Toward an Experimental Ecology of Human Development, *American Psychologist*, 32: 513-531.
- Brown, B. B. (1989) The Role of Peer Groups in Adolescent Adjustment to Secondary Schooling. In T. J. Berndt, and G. W. Ladd, *Peer Relationships in Child Development*, New York: Wiley.
- Brown, D. (2002) The Role of Work and Cultural Values in Occupational Choice, Satisfaction, and Success: A Theoretical Statement, *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 80(1), 48-56.
- Brown, D and Associate (eds) (2002) *Career Choice and Development* (4<sup>th</sup> ed) San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Brown, P. (1987) *Schooling and Ordinary Kids: Inequality, Unemployment and the New Vocationalism*, London: Tavistock.

- Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*, (3<sup>rd</sup> ed) Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A., Becker, S. and Sempik, J. (2008) Quality Criteria for Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research: A View from Social Policy, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(4):261-276.
- Buck, N. (2005) Does Area Matter? Neighbourhood and Individual Socio-Economic Influences on Social Capital, Presentation to ESDS Government Research Conference.
- Burnard, P. (1991) A Method of Analysing Interview Transcripts in Qualitative Research, *Nurse Education Today*, 11: 461-566.
- Burney, E. (2005) *Making People Behave: Anti-Social Behaviour and Politics*, Devon: Willan Publishing.
- Cameron, D. (2011) Speech on the Fightback After the Riots, made at a youth centre in Witney, Oxfordshire 15<sup>th</sup> August, retrieved 25<sup>th</sup> January 2013.  
[www.number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-on-the-fightback-after-the-riots/](http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/pms-speech-on-the-fightback-after-the-riots/)
- Campbell, R. E. (1969) Vocational Ecology: a Perspective for the Study of Careers? *Counselling Psychologist*, 1:20-23.
- Canaan, J. E. (1991) Is Doing Nothing Just Boys Play? Integrating Feminist and Cultural Studies Perspectives on Working Class Young Men's Masculinity. In S. Franklin, C. Lury, and J. Stacey, (eds) *Off Centre*, London: Routledge.
- Canaan, J. E. (1996) One Thing Leads to Another: Fighting, Drinking and Working Class Masculinities. In Mac An Ghaill, (ed) *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arenas*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Central Statistical Office (1994) *Regional Trends*, Central Statistical Office.
- Chamberlayne, P; Bornat, J. and Wengraf, T. (2000), Introduction: The Biographical Turn. In P. Chamberlayne, J. Bornat, and T. Wengraf (eds) *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science: Comparative Issues and Examples*, London: Routledge.
- Charles, N., Davies, C. A. and Harris, C., (2008) *Families in Transition: Social Change, Family Formation and Kin Relationships*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Charles, N and Crow, G. (2012) Introduction Community Re-Studies and Social Change, *The Sociological Review*, 60 (3) 399-404.
- Chaves, P. A; Diemer, D. L; Blustein, D. L; Gallagher, J. E; De Voy, M.; Casares, M. and Perry, J. C. (2004) Conceptions of Work: The View from Urban Youth, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 51 (3): 275-286.
- Chen, C.P. (1997) Career Projection: Narrative in Context, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 54: 279-295.
- Clandinin, D. J. and Huber, J. (2010) Narrative inquiry. In B. McGaw, E. Baker, and P. Peterson (eds) *International Encyclopaedia of Education* (3rd ed). New York, NY: Elsevier.

- Coates, K. and Silburn, R. (1980) *Beyond the Bulldozer*, Nottingham: Russell Press.
- Cockburn, C. (1987) *Two-track Training*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Cockett, M. (1996) Vocationalism and Vocational Courses 14-16. In R. Halsall and M. Cockett (eds) *Education and Training 14-19: Chaos or Coherence?* London: David Fulton.
- Coleman, J. C. (1980) Friendship and The Peer Group. In J. Adelson, (ed) *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*: New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Coleman, P. G. (1991) Ageing and Life History: Meaning of Reminiscence in Later Life. In S. Dex, (ed) *Life and Work History Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments*, London: Routledge.
- Colley, H; James, D. and Tedder, M. (2002) Becoming the Right Person for the Job: Vocational Habitus, Gender and Learning Cultures in Further Education, *Paper Presented at Learning and Skills Research Network Annual Conference*, Warwick University, 11-13<sup>th</sup> December, 2002.
- Colley, H., James, D., Tedder, M. and Diment, K. (2003) Learning as Becoming in Vocational Education and Training: Class, Gender and the Role of Vocational Habitus, *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 55, (4): 471-498.
- Collin, A. (1997) Career in Context, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 25 (4): 435-445.
- Collin, A. and Watts A. G. (1996) The Death and Transfiguration of Career and of Career Guidance? *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 24 (2): 385-398.
- Connell, R. W. (1989) Cool Guys, Swots and Wimps: The Interplay of Masculinity and Education, *Oxford Review of Education*, 15 (3): 291-303.
- Connell, R. W; Ashenden, D. J; Kessier, S. and Dunsett, G. W. (1982) *Making the Difference: Schools, Families and Social Division* Sidney:Allen and Unwin.
- Connelly, F. M. and Clandinin, D. J. (2006) Narrative Inquiry. In J. Green, G. Camilli, and P. Elmore, (eds) *Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education Research*, 375-385. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Connolly, P. and Neill, J. (2001) Boys' Underachievement, Educational Aspirations and Constructions of Locality: Intersections of Gender, Ethnicity and Social Class, International Sociology of Education Conference, 3-5 January, Sheffield, UK.
- Community Development Project, (1974) *The National Community Development Project Inter-project Report*, London: CDP Information and Intelligence Unit.
- Coventry Local Authority (1995) *Annual Labour Market Review*, Coventry City Council.

Coventry Local Education Authority (1995-98) *Community Education and Local Enterprise Project*, Coventry City Council.

Coventry Local Education Authority (2001-2002) *Adult Learning Plan*, Coventry City Council.

Crites, J. O. (1969) *Vocational Psychology: The Study of Vocational Behaviour and Development*, New York: McGraw Hill.

Crocket, L; Losoff, M. and Peterson, A. C. (1984) Perceptions of the Peer Group and Friendships in Early Adolescence, *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 4:155-181.

Crooks, D. L. (2001) The Importance of Symbolic Interaction in Grounded Theory Research on Women's Health, *Health Care for Women International*, 22:11-27.

Cummins, S., Curtis, S., Diez-Roux, A. and Macintyre, S. (2007) Understanding and Representing Place in Health Research: A Relational Approach, *Social Science and Medicine*, 65 (9): 1825-1838.

Curry, D. and Decker, S. (1998) *Confronting Gangs: Crime and Community*, Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury Publishing Company.

Dannefer, D. (1984) Adult Development and Social Theory: A Paradigmatic Reappraisal, *American Sociological Review*, 49:100-116.

DCSF (2009) *The Extra Mile (Secondary): Achieving Success with Pupils from Deprived Communities*, London: The Stationery Office.

Demie, F. and Lewis, K. (2010) *White Working Class Achievement: A Study of Barriers to Learning in Schools*, Research and Statistics Unit, London Borough of Lambeth.

Dench, G., Gavron, K. and Young, M. (2006) *The New East End: Kinship, Race, and Conflict*, London: Profile Books.

Dennis, N., Henriques, F. and Slaughter, C. (1956) *Coal Is Our Life: An Analysis of a Yorkshire Mining Community*, Eyre and Spottiswoode: London.

Denzin, N. K. (1978) *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, N. K. (1989) *Interpretive Biography*, London: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. (1996) Post-Pragmatism, *Symbolic Interaction*, 19 (1): 61-75.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2000) (2<sup>nd</sup> ed) (eds) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Department for Education The National Curriculum Levels of Achievement, retrieved 16<sup>th</sup> September 2012.

[http://www.education.gov.uk/performance/ks3\\_04/k3.shtml](http://www.education.gov.uk/performance/ks3_04/k3.shtml)



Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) (1999) *Statistical Release*, 11/99, London: DfEE.

Derr, C. B. and Laurent, A. (1989) *The Internal and External Career: A Theoretical and Cross Cultural Perspective*. In M.B. Arthur, (ed) *Handbook of Career Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dillon, D. R. and Moje, E. B. (1998) *Listening to the Talk of Adolescent Girls: Lessons about Literacy, School and Life*. In D. E. Alvermann, *et al.* (eds) *Reconceptualising the Literacies in Adolescents' Lives*, London, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 193-222.

Dixon, J. and Power, A. (1995) *Building and Developing Communities on Estates: A Report to East Thames Housing Group on the Problems and Potential of Large Housing Association Developments*, London: School of Economics Housing.

Donnelly, E. and Millichamp, J. (2000) *Learning to Survive: Experiences and Attitudes of Young Working Class Men Towards Education and Training, Report for the Birmingham and Solihull Widening Participation Partnership*.

Ecclestone, K. (2007) *An Identity Crisis? Using Concepts of Identity, Agency and Structure in the Education of Adults*, *Editorial for Special Edition of Studies in the Education of Adults*, 39, (2):121-131.

Eden, C. H. (1988) *Our Past and Present: Historical Inquiry in Education*. In Sherman and Webb (eds) *Qualitative Research in Education: Focus and Methods*. London: The Falmer Press.

Elias, N. (1968) *Postscript*. In N. Elias (2000) *The Civilising Process*, (p.449-483), Oxford: Blackwell.

Elias, N. (1978) *What is Sociology?* London: Hutchison.

Elias, N. (1991) *The Society of Individuals*, New York: Continuum.

Elias, N. (2000) *The Civilising Process*, London: Blackwell.

Elias, N. and Scotson, J. L. (1965) *The Established and the Outsiders*, London: Frank Cass.

Ely, M. and Anzul, M. (1991) *Doing Qualitative Research: Circles Within Circles*, Basingstoke: Falmer.

Erikson, E. (1968) *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, New York: Norton.

Ernest, P. (1994) *An Introduction to Research Methodology and Paradigms. Educational Research Monograph Series*, Exeter: University of Exeter.

End Child Poverty (2008) *GCSE Chances of Poorest are a Post Code Lottery*. Press release, 20 August, retrieved 21<sup>st</sup> January 2013.

<http://www.endchildpoverty.org.uk/news/press-releases/gcse-chances-of-poorest-are-a-post-code-lottery/24/113>

- Evans, K. and Heinz, W. R. (eds) (1994) *Becoming Adults in England and Germany*, London: Anglo German Foundation.
- Everhart, R. (1983) *Reading, Writing and Resistance*, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Farrell, G. and Pease, K. (1993) *Once Bitten, Twice Bitten: Repeat Victimization and its Implications for Crime Prevention*, Police Research Group, Crime Prevention Unit Paper 46, London: Home Office.
- Farrell, G. and Sousa, W. (2001) Repeat Victimization and Hot Spots: the Overlap and its Implications for Crime Control and Problem-Oriented Policing. In G. Farrell and K. Pease (eds) *Repeat Victimization, Crime Prevention Studies*, 12: 221-240 Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.
- Feinstein, L. and Sabates, R. (2006) *Predicting Adult Life Outcomes for Earlier Signals: Identifying Those at Risk*, Working paper, Centre for Research on the Wider Benefits of Learning, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Fevre, R. (2000) Identity, Work and Economic Development. In S. Baron; J. Field, and T. Schuller, *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Firth, R. (1956) *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, Athlone Press: London.
- Figueroa, M. and Sives, A. (2002) Homogeneous Voting, Electoral Manipulation and the Garrison Process in Post-Independence Jamaica, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 40 (1): 80-108.
- Fitzgerald, L. F. and Betz, N. E. (1994) Career Development in Cultural Context: the Role of Gender, Race, Class, and Sexual Orientation. In M. L. Savickas, and W. Lent, (eds) *Convergence in Career Development Theories: Implications for Science and Practice*, Palo Alto, California: CPP Books.
- Fouad, N. A. and Bynner, I. (2008) Work Transitions, *American Psychologist*, 63: 241-251.
- Frankenberg, R. (1966) *Communities in Britain*, London: Penguin.
- Frost, L. (2001) *Young Women and the Body: A Feminist Sociology* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (1995) Aspiration and Opportunity Structures: 13 Year Olds with Restricted Opportunities, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 23 (3): 361-375.
- Gainor, K. A. (2006). Twenty-Five Years of Self-Efficacy in Career Assessment and Practice [Electronic version], *Journal of Career Assessment*, 14(1), 161–178.
- Gambetta, D. (1987) *Were They Pushed or Did They Jump? Individual Decision Mechanisms in Education*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gaudron, J. P. and Vautier, S. (2007) Analysing individual differences in vocational, leisure, and family interests: A multitrait-multimethod approach, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* 70(3): 561-573.
- Gergen, M. M. and Gergen, K. J. (2000) Qualitative Inquiry: Tensions and Transformations. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative research* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gieryn, T. (2000) A Space for Place in Sociology, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26 (1): 463-96.
- Ginsberg, E; Ginsberg, S. W; Axelrad, S. and Herma, J. L. (1951) *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory*, New York: Columbia University.
- Ginsberg, E. (1952) Toward a Theory of Occupational Choice, *Occupations*, 30:491-494.
- Gladwell, M. (2005) *Blink, The Power of Thinking Without Thinking*, Penguin.
- Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, Chicago: Aldine.
- Golafshani, N. (2003) Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research, *The Qualitative Report*, 8 (4):597-607.
- Goodson, I. and Sikes, P. (2001) *Life History Research in Educational Settings*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Goodwin, J. and O'Connor, H. (2007) Continuity and Change in the Experiences of Transition from School to Work, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26, (5): 555-572.
- Goodwin, J. and O'Connor, H. (2009) Whatever Happened to the Young Workers? Change and Transformation in 40 Years at Work, *Journal of Education and Work*, 22:5, 417-431.
- Gottfredson, L. S. (1996) Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise. In D. Brown, and L. Brookes, (eds) *Career Choice and Development*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gottfredson, L. S. (2005) Applying Gottfredson's theory of Circumscription and Compromise in Career Guidance and Counselling. In S. D. Brown and R. T. Lent (eds) *Career Development and Counselling: Putting Theory and Research to Work*, 71-100 Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Gottfredson, L. S. (2006). Circumscription and Compromise, Greenhaus, J. H. (ed), *Encyclopedia of Career Development* : 650-664 Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Gottfredson, L. S. and Becker, H. S. (1981) A Challenge to Vocational Psychology: How Important are Aspirations in Determining Male Career Development, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 18: 121-137.
- Gould, R. L. (1972) The Phases of Adult Life: A study in Development Psychology, *The American Journal of Psychology*, 129: 521-531.
- Gove, M. (2013) Michael Gove Unveils Education Reforms, *The Telegraph*, 22<sup>nd</sup> February, retrieved 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2013.  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/8156116/Michael-Gove-unveils-education-reforms.html>
- Gove, M. (2011) Michael Gove to the Durand Academy Speech, made at the Durand Academy, London 1<sup>st</sup> September, retrieved 25<sup>th</sup> January 2013.  
<http://www.education.gov.uk/inthenews/speeches/a00197684/michael-gove-to-the-durand-academy>
- Green, A. and White, R. (2007) *Attachment to Place: Social Networks, Mobility and the Prospects of Young People*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Green, J; Dixon, C. and Zaharlick, A. (2002) Ethnography as a Logic of Inquiry. In J. Flood, J. Jensen, D. Lapp, and J. Squire (eds) *Handbook for Methods of Research on English Language Arts Teaching*, New York: Macmillan.
- Griffin, C. (1993) *Representations of Youth: The Study of Youth and Adolescence in Britain and America*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gross, R. D. (1987) *Psychology, The Science of Mind and Behaviour*, London: Arnold.
- Hache, L., Redekopp, D. E., and Jarvis, P. S. (2000) *Blueprint for Life/Work Design*, Memramcook, NB: National Life/Work Centre.
- Hall, D. T and Mirvis, P. H. (1995) The New Career Contract: Developing the Whole Person at Midlife and Beyond, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 47:269-289.
- Hammersley, M. (1990) *Reading Ethnographic Research: A Critical Guide*, London: Longman.
- Hanley, L. (2007) *Estates: An Intimate History*, Granta Books.
- Hargreaves, D. H. (1967) *Social Relations in a Secondary School*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harris, M. H. (1995) *Messages Men Hear: Constructing Masculinities*, London: Taylor and Francis.
- Hart, D. H; Rayner, K. and Christensen, E. R. (1971) Planning, Preparation and Change in Occupational Entry, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 1: 279-285.
- Harvey, D. (1973) *Social Justice and the City*, London: Edward Arnold.

- Harvey, D. (1992) Social Justice, Postmodernism and the City. In *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16, (4): 588–601.
- Hawthorne, R. (1998) Television and Career Choice, *Newscheck*, 8(6): 7-8.
- Hayes, R. (1986) Men's Decisions to Enter or Avoid Nontraditional Occupations, *Career Development Quarterly*, 35 (2): 89-101.
- Haywood, C. and Mac An Ghail, M. (1996) What About the Boys? Regendered Local Labour Markets and the Recomposition of Working Class Masculinities, *Journal of Education and Work* 9 (1): 19-30.
- Hayward, G. (2006) *Participation, Progression and Success in Vocational Learning: A Quantitative Analysis of System Performance*, London: Learning and Skills Research Centre.
- Hayward, G., Hodgson, A., Keep, E., Oancea, A., Pring, R., Spours, K. and Wilde, S. (2004) *Nuffield 14-19 Review Annual Report*, Oxford: Oxford University Department of Educational Studies.
- Hayward, G., Hodgson, A., Johnson, J., Oancea, A., Pring, R., Spours, K., Wilde, S. and Wright, S. (2005) *The Nuffield Review of 14-19 Education and Training Annual Report 2005-06*, Oxford: University of Oxford Department of Educational Studies.
- Hayward, G., Hodgson, A., Johnson, J., Oancea, A., Pring, R., Spours, K., Wilde, S. and Wright, S. (2006) *The Nuffield Review of 14-19 Education and Training Annual Report 2005-06*, Oxford: University of Oxford Department of Educational Studies.
- Hayward, G., Wilde, S. and Williams, R. (2008) *Rathbone/Nuffield Review Engaging Youth Enquiry*, retrieved 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2014.  
<http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid%3A0df73fda-befd-431d-a1bf-cd53c2493531/datastreams/ATTACHMENT01>
- Hearn, J. (1996) A Critique of the Concept of Masculinity/Masculinities, in Mac An Ghail, M. (ed) *Understanding Masculinities*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Heikkinen, H. L. T. (2000) Whatever is Narrative Research? In R. Huttunen; H. L. T. Heikkinen, and L. Syrjala, (eds) *Narrative Research Methods: Voices of Teachers and Philosophers*, Jyväskylä Finland: SoPhi.
- Helweg, A. A. (2004) A Ten Year Longitudinal Study of the Career Development of Students: Summary Findings, *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 82:49-57.
- Hemsley-Brown, J. (1998) Career Perceptions and Decision Making, *Newscheck* 9 (3): 5-6.
- Hey, V. (1997) *The Company She Keeps: An Ethnography of Girls' Friendships*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hill, D. (1999) *New Labour and Education: Policy, Ideology and the Third Way*, London: Tufnell Press.

- Hitchcock, G. and Hughes, D. (1995) *Research and the Teacher: A Qualitative Introduction to School-based Research*, London: Routledge.
- Hodkinson, P. (1998) Choosing GNVQ, *Journal of Education and Work*, 11 (2): 151-165.
- Hodkinson, P; Sparkes, A. C. and Hodkinson, H. (1996) *Triumphs and Tears: Young People, Markets and the Transition from School to Work*. London: Fulton.
- Hodkinson, P. and Sparkes, A. C. (1997) Careership: a Sociological Theory of Career Decision Making, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 18 (1): 29-44.
- Hodkinson, P., Anderson, G., Colley, H., Davies, J., Diment, K., Sciafe, T., Tedder, M., Wahlberg, M. and Wheeler, E. (2004) Learning Cultures in Further Education, *Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Conference*, 2004.
- Holland, J. L. (1985) *Making Vocational Choices: A Theory of Vocational Personalities and Work Environments*, (2<sup>nd</sup>ed) New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Hollands, R. G. (1990) *The Long Transition: Class, Culture and Youth Training*, London: Macmillan.
- Holloway, I. (ed) (2005) *Qualitative Research in Health Care*, Open University Press: Berkshire.
- Hooley, T., Marriott, J., Watts, A. G. and Coiffait, L. (2012) *Careers 2020: Options for Future Careers Work in English Schools*, retrieved 4<sup>th</sup> March 2013.  
<http://hdl.handle.net/10545/251032>
- House of Commons Education Committee Seventh Report, (2013) *Careers Guidance for Young People: The Impact of the New Duty on Schools*, retrieved 24<sup>th</sup> January 2013.  
<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmeduc/632/63202.htm>
- Houston, D. (2005) Employability, Skills Mismatch and Spatial Mismatch in Metropolitan Labour Markets, *Urban Studies*, 42 (2):221-243.
- Howarth, C. (2002) ‘So, you’re from Brixton?’ The Struggle for Recognition and Esteem in a Stigmatised Community, *Ethnicities* 2 (2): 237–260.
- Huber, M., Clandinin, D. J. and Huber, J. (2006) Relational Responsibilities as Narrative Inquirers, *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue*, 8 (1 and 2): 209-223.
- Institute of Race Relations, retrieved 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2013.  
<http://www.irr.org.uk/>
- Jackson, C. (2010) Fear in Education, *Educational Review*, 62(1): 39-52.
- Jarvis, C. (2001) School is Hell: Gendered Fears in Teenage Horror, *Educational Studies*, 27(3):257-267.

- Jensen, B. and Seltzer, A. (2000) Neighbourhood Effects and Family Effects in Educational Progress, *Australian Economic Review*, 33 (1):17-31.
- Johnston, L., MacDonald, R., Mason, P., Ridley, L., and Webster, C. (2000) *Snakes and Ladders: Young People, Transitions and Social Exclusion*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Johnson, R. B. and Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004) Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come, *Educational Researcher*, 33(7):14-26.
- Jones, G. and Wallace, C. (1992) *Youth, Family and Citizenship*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Jones, O. (2011) *Chavs: The Demonisation of the Working Class*, Verso Publishing.
- Jordan, T. E. and Pope, M. L. (2001) Developmental Antecedents to Adolescents Occupational Knowledge: A 17 Years prospective Study, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 58:279-292.
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1999a) *Links Between School, Family and the Community: A Review of Evidence*, N19, York: JRF.
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1999b) *Local Report 1*, York: JRF.
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1999c) *The Interaction Between Housing Policy and Educational Problems: A Case Study*, N39, York: JRF.
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2007) *Participation and Community on Bradford's Traditionally White Estates* N19, York: JRF.
- Josselson, R. (1980) Ego Development in Adolescence. In J. Adelson, (ed) *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Jordan, T. E. and Pope, M. L. (2001) Development Antecedents to Adolescents Occupational Knowledge: A 17 Years Prospective Study, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 58: 279-292.
- Kelchtermans, G. (1993) Teachers and Their Career Story. In C. Day, J. Calderhead, and P. Penicola, (eds) *Research on Teacher Thinking: Understanding Professional Development*, London: Falmer.
- Kellner, D. (1992) Popular Culture and the Construction of Post - Modern Identities. In S. Lash and J. Friedman (eds) *Modernity and Identity*, Oxford:Blackwell.
- Kerr, M. (1958) *The People of Ship Street*, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.
- Kidd, A. (1984) Young People's Perceptions of their Occupational Decision Making, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 12 (1): 25-37.



- Killeen, J. (1996) Career Theory. In A. G. Watts, B. Law, J. Killen, J. M. Kidd, and R. Hawthorn, (eds) *Rethinking Careers Education and Guidance*, London: Routledge.
- Kintrea, K. (2008) *Young people and territoriality in British cities*, York: JRF.
- Kirk, D. (1999) Embodying the School/Schooling Bodies: Physical Education as Disciplinary Technology. In C. Symes and D. Meadmore, *The Extra-Ordinary School: Parergonality and Pedagogy*, New York: Peter Lang.
- Kivel, B. D. (1998) Adolescent Identity Formation and Leisure Contexts: A Selective Review of the Literature, *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance*, 69:36-38.
- Klein, A. (2012) Policing as a Casual Factor- A Fresh View on Riots and Social Unrest, *Safer Communities Special Edition on the Riots*, 11 (1):17-23.
- Klein, M. (2001) Resolving the Eurogang Paradox. In M. W. Klein, H. J. Kerner, C. L. Maxson, and E. G. M. Weitekamp, (eds) *The Eurogang Paradox: Street Gangs and Youth Groups in the U.S. and Europe*, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Krumboltz, J. D. (1997) A Social Learning Theory of Career Selection, *The Counselling Psychologist*, 6 (1):71-80.
- Krumboltz, J. D. and Levin, A. S. (2004) *Luck is No Accident: Making the Most of Happenstance in your Life and Career*, Impact Publishers.
- Lacey, C. (1970) *Hightown Grammar*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Langston, D. (2001) Tired of Playing Monopoly? In M. L. Andersen and P. H. Collins (eds) *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology*, 118-126, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Thomson Learning.
- Lapour, A. S., and Heppner, M.J. (2009). Social Class Privilege and Adolescent Women's Perceived Career Options, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 56:477-494.
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Law, B. (1981) Community Interaction: a Mid-Range Focus for Theories of Career Development in Young Adults, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 9 (2): 142-158.
- Law, B. (1996) A Career-Learning Theory. In A. G. Watts; B. Law; J. Killen; J.M. Kidd, and R. Hawthorn, *Rethinking Careers Education and Guidance*, London: Routledge.
- Law, B., Meijers, F. and Wijers, G. (2002) New Perspectives on Career and Identity in the Contemporary World, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 30 (4): 431-449.



- Lawy, R. (2002) Risky Stories: Youth Identities, Learning and Everyday Risk, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5, 4: 407-423.
- Layder, D. (1993) *New Strategies in Social Research*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lease, S. H. (2003) Testing a Model of Men's Nontraditional Occupational Choices, *The Career Development Quarterly*, 51, 244-258.
- Lent, R. W; Brown, S. D. and Hackett, G. (1994) Towards a Unifying Social Cognitive Theory of Career and Academic Interest Choice and Performance, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 45: 79-122.
- Leong, T. L. (1995) (ed) *Career Development and Vocational Behaviour of Racial and Ethnic Minorities*, Mahway, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lerner, R. M. (1981) Adolescent Development: Scientific Study in the 1980s, *Youth and Society*, 12:251-275.
- Levinson, D. J. (1984) The Career is in the Life Structure, The Life Structure is in the Career: An Adult Development Perspective. In M. B. Arthur, *Working with Careers*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Levinson, D. J. (1986) A Conception of Adult Development, *American Psychologist*, 41 (71): 3-13.
- Levinson, D. J; Darrow, D. N; Klein, E. B; Levinson, M. H. and McKee, B. (1978) *The Seasons of a Man's Life*, New York: A.A. Knopf.
- Lewis, O. (1941) *Life in a Mexican Village*, Peter Smith Pub Inc.
- Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. (1982) Epistemological and Methodological Bases of Naturalistic Inquiry, *Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, 30: 233-252.
- Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. (1985) *Naturalist Inquiry*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lupaschuk, D., and Yewchuk, C. (1998) Student Perceptions of Gender Roles: Implications for Counsellors, *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 20, 301-318.
- Lynd, R. and Lynd, H. (1929) *Middletown: A Study of American Culture*, New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Mac An Ghail, M. (1994) *The Making of Men*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Mac An Ghail, M. (1996) Class, Culture and Difference in England: Deconstructing the Institutional Norm, *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 9 (3): 297-309.
- MacDonald, R. and Marsh, J. (2005) *Disconnected Youth? Growing Up in Britain's Poor Neighbourhoods*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Marcia, J. (1980) Identity in Adolescence. In J. Adelson, (ed) *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Marcia, J. (1987) The Identity Status Approaches to the Study of Ego Identity Development. In T. Honess and K. Yardley (eds) *Self and Identity*, London: Routledge.
- Martino, W. (1999) Cool Boys, Party Animals, Squids and Poofers: Interrogating the Dynamics and Politics of Adolescents Masculinities in School, *British Journal of Education*, 20 (2) 239-264.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1992) Understanding and Validity in Qualitative Research, *Harvard Educational Review*, 62 (3): 279-300.
- Maxwell, J. A., and Loomis, D. M. (2003) Mixed Methods Design: An Alternative Approach. In A. Tashakkori, and C. Teddlie, (eds) *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioural Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- May, T. (2010) Speech on Riots, made to the House of Commons, London 11<sup>th</sup> August, retrieved 24<sup>th</sup> February 2013.  
[www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/speeches/riots-speech](http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/speeches/riots-speech)
- Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994) *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide*, London: The Falmer Press.
- Mckenzie, L. (2012) A Narrative from the Inside, Studying St Anns in Nottingham: Belonging, Continuity and Change, *The Sociological Review*, 60 (3): 457–475.
- McIntosh, S. and Houghton, N. (2005) *Disengagement from Secondary Education: A Story Retold*, London: LSDA.
- McKinsey Global Institute Report (2012) *Education to Employment: Designing a System that Works*, retrieved 6<sup>th</sup> March 2013.  
[http://mckinseysociety.com/downloads/reports/Education/Education-to-Employment\\_FINAL.pdf](http://mckinseysociety.com/downloads/reports/Education/Education-to-Employment_FINAL.pdf)
- McMahon, M; Patton; W. and Tatham, P. (2003) *Managing Life, Learning and Work in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Issues Informing the Design of an Australian Blueprint for Career Development*, Miles Morgan Australia Pty Ltd.
- Mearor, C. (1985) Critical Incidents in the Classroom. In S. J. Ball and I. F. Goodson (eds) *Teacher's Lives and Careers*, London: Falmer.
- Miles, S. (2000) *Youth Lifestyles in a Changing World*, Buckinghamshire: Open University Press.
- Miller, M. J. (1983) The Role of Happenstance in Career Choice, *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, 32 (1): 16-20.
- Miller, R. L. (2000) *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories*, London: Sage.

Mitchell, K. E; Levin, A. S. and Krumboltz, J. D. (1999) Planned Happenstance: Constructing Unexpected Career Opportunities, *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 77(2): 115-124.

Mogey, J. (1956) *Family and Neighbourhood: Two Studies in Oxford*, Oxford University Press: London.

Moore, R. (1988) Education, Employment and Recruitment. In R. Dale, R. Ferguson, and A. Robinson, (eds) *Frameworks for Teaching*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Morrell, G; Scott, S; McNeish, D. and Webster, S. (2011) *The August Riots in England: Understanding the Involvement of Young People*, London: National Centre for Social Research.

Morris, L. (1995) *Social Divisions*, London: UCL Press.

Morris, M., Golden, S. and Lines, A. (1999) *The Impact of Careers Education and Guidance on Transition at 16* (DfEE Research Report RD21): DfEE.

Mumford, K. and Power, A. (2003) *East Enders: Family and Community in East London*, Bristol: The Policy Press.

Myers, M. (2000) Qualitative Research and the Generalisability Question: Standing Firm with Proteus, *The Qualitative Report*, (4)3/4.

Nash, R. (1999) Bourdieu, 'Habitus' and Educational Research: Is It All Worth The Candle? *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20 (2): 175:187.

National Youth Agency (2013) *National Youth Agency Response to Department for Education Expenditure Figures on Expenditure on Services for Young People*, retrieved 30<sup>th</sup> May 2013.

<http://www.nya.org.uk/news/nya-response-to-department-for-education-expenditure-figures-on-expenditure-on-s>

Naidoo, A.V. (1998) *Career Maturity: A Review of Four Decades of Research*, Bellville, South Africa: University of the Western Cape.

Neault, R. A. (2002) Thriving in the New Millennium: Career Management in the Challenging World of Work, *Canadian Journal of Career Development*, 1 (1):11-21.

NFER (1999) *The Impact of Careers Education and Guidance on Transition at 16*, DfEE:Sudbury.

*North-West Area Strategic Development Plan* (1995-98) Coventry: Community Education Service.

Ornstein, S; Cron, W. L. and Slocum, J. W. (1989) Life Stage Versus Career Stage: A Comparative Test of the Theories of Levinson and Super, *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*, 10: 117-133.

O'Connor, H. (2011) Resisters, Mimics and Coincidentals: Intergenerational Influences on Childcare Values and Practices, *Community, Work and Family*, 14(4):405-423.

- O'Connor, H. and Goodwin, J. (2012) Revisiting Norbert Elias's Sociology of Community: Learning from the Leicester Restudies, *The Sociological Review*, 60 (3): 476-497.
- O'Neil Weeks, M; Thornburg, K. R. and Little, L. F. (1977) The Impact of Exposure to Non- Traditional Vocational Role Models on the Vocational Role Preference of Five Year Old Children, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* 10 (2):139-45.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1995) *Educational Research and Development: Trends Issues and Challenges*, Paris: Centre for Educational Research and Development, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- Osipow, S. (1983) *Theories of Career Development*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Osterman, P. (1989) The Job Markets for Adolescents. In D. Stern, and D. Eichorn, (eds) *Adolescence and Work*, Hillside: Erlbaum.
- Parahoo, K. (2006) *Nursing Research: Principles, Process and Issues*, (2<sup>nd</sup>ed) Palgrave Macmillan: London.
- Patrick, J. (1973) *A Glasgow Gang Observed*, London: Methuen.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, Newbury Park: Sage Publishers.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002) *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, (3<sup>rd</sup>ed) Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Patton, W. (2001) Career Education: What We Know, What We Need to Know, *Australian Journal of Career Development*, 10: 13-19.
- Patton, W. and Lokan, J. (2001) Perspectives on Donald Super's Construct of Career Maturity, *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*, 1:31-48.
- Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. (1997) *Realistic Evaluation*, London: Sage Publications.
- Perron, J; Vondracek, F., Skorikov, V., Tremblay, C., and Corbiere, M. (1998) A Longitudinal Study of Vocational Maturity and Ethnic Identity Development, *Journal of Vocational behaviour* 52, (1): 409-424.
- Phelan, P; Yu, H.C. and Davidson, A. L. (1994) Navigating the Psychosocial Pressures of Adolescence: The Voices and Experiences of High School Youth, *American Educational Research Journal*, 31 (2): 415-447.
- Pigden, N. D. (2000) *Career Decision-Making by Undergraduates: A Small-Scale Study*, Unpublished Ed.D, Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Pitts, J. (2007) Violent Youth Gangs in the UK, *Safer Society: The Journal of Crime Reduction and Community Safety*, 32:14-17.

- Plumridge, L. and Thomson, R. (2003) Longitudinal Qualitative Studies and the Reflexive Self, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 6 (3): 213-22.
- Pole, C. and Morrison, M. (2003) *Ethnography for Education*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Pollard, A. and Filer, A. (1996) *The Social World of Children's Learning – Case Studies of Pupils from Four to Seven*, London: Cassell.
- Pollard, A. and Triggs, P. (2000) *What Pupils Say – Changing Policy and Practice in Primary Education (Findings from the PACE Project)*, London: Continuum.
- Power, A. and Tunstall, R. (1995) *Swimming Against the Tide: Progress and Polarisation in Twenty Unpopular Council Estates 1980-95* York: JRF.
- Power, A. and Tunstall, R. (1997) *Dangerous Disorder: Riots and Violent Disturbances in 13 Areas of Britain 1991-92* York: York Publishing Services.
- Power, S. J., and Rothausen, T. J. (2003) The Work-Oriented Midcareer Development Model: An Extension of Super's Maintenance Stage, *The Counselling Psychologist*, 31: 157-197.
- Pryor, R. G. L., and Bright, J. E. H. (2003) The Chaos Theory of Careers, *Australian Journal of Career Development*, 12(2): 12–20.
- Pryor, R. G. L., and Bright J. E. H. (2007) Applying Chaos Theory To Careers: Attraction and Attractors, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 71(3): 375–400.
- Pugsley, L. (1998) Throwing Your Brains At It: Higher Education, Markets and Choice' *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 8(1):71-92.
- QCA (2002) *QCA's Advice to the Secretary of State*, retrieved 28<sup>th</sup> March 2014. <http://www.qca.org.uk/14-19>
- Raffe, D. (1985) Education and Training Initiatives for 14-18s: Content and Context. In A. Watts (ed) *Education and Training 14-18: Policy and Practice*, Cambridge: CRAC.
- Ravet, J. (2008) *Are We Listening? Making Sense of Classroom Behaviour with Pupils and Parents*, Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books Ltd.
- Ravetz, A. (2001) *Council Housing and Culture: The History of a Social Experiment*, London: Routledge.
- Reardon, R. C., Bullock, E. E. and Meyer, K. E. (2007) A Holland Perspective on the U.S. Workforce from 1960 to 2000, *The Career Development Quarterly*, 55: 262-274.
- Reay, D. and William, D. (1999) I'll Be A Nothing: Structure, Agency and the Construction Of Identity Through Assessment, *British Educational Research Journal*, 25(3): 343-354.

- Redmond, R. and Curtis, E. (2009) Focus groups: Principles and Process, *Nurse Researcher*, 16(3): 57–69.
- Reicher, S; Stott, C; Cronin, P. and Adang, O. (2004) An Integrated Approach to Crowd Psychology and Public Order Policing. In *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 27 (4): 558-572.
- Rees, G., Fevre, R., Furlong, C. and Gorard, S. (1997) History, Place and the Learning Society: Towards a Sociology of Lifetime Learning, *Journal of Education Policy*, 12, (6): 485-497.
- Reyes, O., Kobus, K. and Gillock, K. (1999). Career Aspirations of Urban, Mexican American Adolescent Females. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, 21, 366-382.
- Richardson, M. S. (1993) Work in Peoples Lives, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 40:425-433.
- Richardson, V. (2002) *Handbook for Research on Teaching*, 4th edition, Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Richter, R. (1994) Post Adolescence as a New Phase in the Family Cycle, *Innovation* 7: 63-68.
- Riessman, C. R. (2004) ‘Narrative Analysis’ , in M. S. Lewis-Beck, A. Bryman, and T. F. Liao (eds) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Rizq, R. (2008) The Research Couple: A Psychoanalytic Perspective on Dilemmas in the Qualitative Research Interview, *European Journal of Psychotherapy and Counselling*, 10 (1): 39-53.
- Roberts, B. (2002). *Biographical Research*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Roberts, K. (1968) The Entry into Employment: An Approach Towards a General Theory, *Sociological Review*, 16 (2): 165-184.
- Roberts, K. (1977) The Social Condition, Consequences and Limitations of Careers Guidance, *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 5 (1): 1-9.
- Roberts, K. (1981) The Sociology of Work Entry and Occupational Choice. In A. G. Watts, (ed) *Career Development in Britain*, Cambridge: Hobson’s.
- Roberts, K. (1995) *Youth Employment in Modern Britain*, Oxford: University Press.
- Roberts, R. (1971) *The Classic Slum*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Robertson, D. (2003) *The Potential Impact of the Home Information Pack in Low Demand, Low Value Housing Markets*, London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.
- Robertson, D., Smyth, J. and McIntosh, I. (2008) *Neighbourhood Identity – People, Time and Place*, York: JRF.

- Rosser, C. and Harris, C. (1965) *The Family and Social Change: A Study of Family and Kinship in a South Wales Town*, London: RKP.
- Rottinghaus, P. J; Hees, C. K; and Conrath, J. A. (2009) Enhancing Job Satisfaction Perspectives: Combining Holland Themes and Basic Interests, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 75 (2):139-151.
- Ryan, G. and Bernard, H. (2000) Data Management and Analysis Methods. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (2<sup>nd</sup>ed) 769-802.
- Salomone, P. R. and Slaney, R. B. (1981) The Influence of Chance and Contingency Factors on the Vocational Choice Process of Non Professional Workers, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 19: 25-35.
- Savage, J. (2006) Ethnographic Evidence, *Journal of Research in Nursing* 11(5): 383-393.
- Schoon, I. and Parsons, S. (2002) Teenage Aspirations for Future Careers and Occupational Outcomes, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 60: 262-268.
- Seale, C. (1999) *The Quality of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage.
- Segal, L. (1990) *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*, London: Virago Press.
- Sellman, E., Bedward, J., Cole, T. and Daniels, H. (2002) A Sociocultural Approach to Exclusion, *British Educational Research Journal*, 28 (6): 889-900.
- Sennett, R. (1977) *The Fall of Public Man*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Sennett, R. and Cobb, J. (1972) *The Hidden Injuries of Class*, Cambridge: University Press.
- Sheehy, G. (1997) *Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life*, New Edition, New York: Bantam Books.
- Shildrick, T. A. and MacDonald, R. (2007) Biographies of Exclusion: Poor Work and Poor Transitions, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(5): 589-604.
- Silverman, D. (1998) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, London: Sage.
- Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*, London: SAGE.
- Slim, H; Thompson, P; Bennett, O. and Cross, N. (1998) Ways of Listening. In R.Perks and A. Thompson, *The Oral History Reader*, London: Routledge.
- Smith, M. E., Thorpe, R. and Lowe, A. (1991) *Management Research: An Introduction*, Sage Publications: London.

Smithers, R. (2003) Report Points up Extent of Class Divide in British Education, *The Guardian*, 25<sup>th</sup> March 2003.

Social Exclusion Unit (2004) *Breaking the Cycle: Taking Stock of Progress and Priorities for the Future*, London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Sodha, S. and Margo, J. (2010) *A Generation of Disengaged Children is Waiting in the Wings*, London: DEMOS.

Soudien, C. (2001) Certainty and Ambiguity in Youth Identities in South Africa: Discourses in Transition, *Discourse: Cultural Studies in the Politics of Education* 22(3):311-326.

Spanò, A. (2002) Premodernity and Postmodernity in Southern Italy. In P. Chamberlayne; M. Rustin, and T. Wengraf, (eds) *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Sparkes, A.C. (1995) Writing People: Reflections on the Dual Crises of Representation and Legitimation in Qualitative Inquiry, *Quest*, 47: 158-195.

Stacey, M. (1960) *Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Spours, K. and Young, M. (1995) *Post-compulsory Curriculum and Qualifications: Options for Change*, Learning for the Future Project Working Paper No 6, Post 16 Education Centre, London: ULIE and Centre for Education and Industry, University of Warwick.

Stephens, M. (2011) *Tackling Housing Market Volatility*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, retrieved 17<sup>th</sup> October 2012.  
[www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/housing-markets-volatility-full.pdf](http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/housing-markets-volatility-full.pdf)

Stokes, H. and Wyn, J. (2007) Constructing Identities and Making Careers: Young People's Perspectives on Work and Learning, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26, 5: 495-511.

Su, R., Rounds, J. and Armstrong, P I. (2009) Men and Things, Women and People: A Meta-Analysis of Sex Difference Interests, *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(6): 859–884.

Sullivan, B. A. and Hansen, J. C. (2004) Mapping Associations Between Interests and Personality: Toward a Conceptual Understanding of Individual Differences in Vocational Behaviour, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 51: 287-298.

Super, D. E. (1953) A Theory of Vocational Development, *American Psychologist*, 8:185-190.

Super, D. E. (1957) *The Psychology of Career*, New York: Harper and Roe

Super, D. E. (1963) Self Concepts in Vocational Development. In D. E. Super; R. Starishevsky; N. Martin, and J. P. Jordan, *Career Development: Self Concept Theory*, New York: College Entrance Examinations Board.



Super, D. E. (1980) A Life-Span, Life Space Approach to Career Development, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* 16, (3): 282-298.

Super, D. E. (1981) Approaches to Occupational Choice and Career Development. In A.G. Watts; D. Super, and J. M. Kidd, *Career Development in Britain*, Cambridge: Hobsons.

Super, D. E. and Bohn, M. J. (1971) *Occupational Psychology*, London: Tavistock.

Swain, J. (2007) Identity and Exclusion: Two Case Studies Concerning Adults' Motivations, Dispositions and Identities on Adult Numeracy Courses, *Journal of Access, Policy and Practice*, 4, (2): 91-107.

Taylor. C. (2012) Speech to Head Teachers, East Sussex 30<sup>th</sup> January, quoted in *The Daily Mail*, retrieved 24<sup>th</sup> February 2013.

[www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2094086/Parents-neglected-basic-duties-accused-caused-London-riots.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2094086/Parents-neglected-basic-duties-accused-caused-London-riots.html)

Tesch, R. (1990) *Qualitative Research: Analysis Types and Software Tools*, London: The Falmer Press.

*The Guardian* (2011) 'Gang Culture Must Be Stopped Early, says Iain Duncan Smith' *The Guardian* 20<sup>th</sup> October, retrieved 25<sup>th</sup> February 2013.

[www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/oct/20/gang-culture-stopped-early](http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/oct/20/gang-culture-stopped-early)

Thomson, P. (2002) *Schooling the Rust Belt Kids*, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Thomson, R. (2007) The Qualitative Longitudinal Case History: Practical, Methodological and Ethical Reflections, *Social Policy and Society* 6 (4): 571-82.

Thomson; R. Bell; R. Holland; J. Henderson; S. McGrellis, S; and Sharpe, S. (2002) Critical Moments: Choice, Chance and Opportunity in Young People's Narratives of Transition to Adulthood, *Sociology* 6 (2): 335-354.

Thomson, R. and Holland, J. (2003) Hindsight, Foresight and Insight: The Challenges of Longitudinal Qualitative Research, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 6(3): 233-44.

Thomson, R., Plumridge, L. and Holland, J. (2003) Longitudinal Qualitative Research: A Developing Methodology, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 6(3): 185-7.

Thompson, R. and Simmons, R. (2011) *NEET Young People and Training for Work Learning on the Margins*, Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Tolson, A. (1977) *The Limits of Masculinity*, London: Tavistock.

Tomlinson, M. (2013) *Education, Work and Identity*, London: Bloomsbury.

Tsvetovat, M. and Sharabati, W. (2006) Social Network Analysis 692, *Life Journal*, Fall: 1-20.

Tunstall, J. (1962) *The Fishermen*, Macgibbon and Kee: London.

UK National Statistics Publication Hub, retrieved 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2013.

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/hub/crime-justice/crime/criminal-damage-and-anti-social-behaviour>

UK Poverty Site Publications Hub, retrieved 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2013.

<http://www.poverty.org.uk/index.htm>

UK Youth (2013) *Michael Gove Responds to Young People and the Youth Sector*, retrieved 30<sup>th</sup> May 2013.

<http://www.ukyouth.org/latest-news-hidden/item/603-michael-gove-responds.html>

Vondracek, F. W. (1990) A Developmental Contextual Approach to Career Development Research. In B. A. Young, and W. A. Borgen, (eds) *Methodological Approaches to the Study of Career*, New York: Praeger.

Walkerdine, V., Lucey, H. and Melody, J. (2001) *Growing up Girl: Psychosocial Explorations of Gender and Class*, Basingstoke: Hampshire.

Waterman, A. S. (1982) Identity Development from Adolescence to Adulthood: An Extension of Theory and a Review of Research, *Developmental Psychology*, 18 (3): 341-358.

Watson, L. C. and Francke, M. B. (1985) *Interpreting Life Histories*, New Brunswick: Rutgers.

Watts, A. G. (1996) *Careerquake*, London: Demos.

Wellington, J. J. (1993) *The Work Related Curriculum: Challenging the Vocational Imperative*, London: Kogan Page.

Werts, C. E. and Watley, D. S. (1972) Paternal Influence on Talent Development, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 19 (5): 367-373.

Westwood, S. (1990) Racism, Black Masculinity and the Politics of Space. In J. Hearn and D. Morgan (eds) *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory*, London: Unwin Hyman.

Wight D. (1993) *Workers not Wasters: Masculine Respectability, Consumption and Unemployment in Central Scotland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Williamson, H. (2004) *The Milltown Boys Revisited*, Oxford: Berg.

Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, Farnborough: Saxon House.

Willmott, P. and Young, M. (1960) *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, Mentor: London.

Wilson, T. (2013) *Youth Unemployment: Review of Training for Young People with Low Qualifications*, Research Report 101, Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, retrieved 6<sup>th</sup> March 2013.  
<http://www.cesi.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/bis-13-608-youth-unemployment-review-of-training-for-young-people-with-low-qualifications.pdf>

Winch, C. and Clarke, L. (2007) *Vocational Education: International Approaches, Definitions and Systems*, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Wolf, A. (2002) *Does Education Matter? Myths about Education and Economic Growth*, London: Penguin.

Woods, P. (1981) Underachieving Through Talk. In C. Adelman (ed) *Uttering Muttering*, London: Grant McIntyre.

Woods, P. (1986) *Inside Schools: Ethnography in Educational Research*, London: Routledge.

Young, J. B and Rodgers, R. F. (1997) A Model of Radical Career Change in the Context of Psychological Development, *Journal of Career Assessment*, 5:167-182.

Young, M. (1998) *The Curriculum of the Future*, London: Falmer.

Young, M. (2003) *Curriculum Studies and the Problem of Knowledge; Updating the Enlightenment?* Paper presented at the Rethinking Curriculum Studies Seminar Series at the Institute of Education, University of London.

Young, M. (2006) Curriculum Studies and the Problem of Knowledge: Updating the Enlightenment. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J. A. Dillabough and A. H. Halsey (eds) *Education, Globalisation and Social Change*, Oxford: Oxford University.

Young, M. and Willmott, P. (1957) *Family and Kinship in the East End of London*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Zunker, V. G. (2002) *Career Counselling. Applied Concepts of Life Planning* (6<sup>th</sup> ed) Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole.

## **APPENDIX**

Appendix redacted for confidentiality purposes.