

**BORN IN BRITAIN: THE LOST GENERATION - a study
of young black people in Croydon, the children of
immigrants from the Caribbean**

A thesis submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Education

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is in two parts, separate and distinctive, yet interconnected. It is concerned with black young people, born in Croydon, whose parents and grandparents were born in the Caribbean or who were socialised as Caribbeans. It seeks to generate a theory of how being black and born in Britain creates inter-generational tensions which transcend those of "normal" adolescent relationships and how this affects their membership of 'main-stream' society.

Part A, is an Institution Focused Study which examines the efficacy of the grounded theory approach as a suitable methodology for an ethnographic study of British-born black young people, necessitating in-depth interviewing both of the young people themselves and adults of their parents' and grandparents' generations.

The Institution Focused Study explains the background to the research including the interest of the researcher in this topic. It charts the conditions which black young people face in a white-dominated and inherently racist society and highlights the paucity of research on this issue. It examines the grounded theory approach, suggesting that its suitability arises from its similarity to the youth work practitioner's style of operation and devises an appropriate research design to ensure that sufficient subjects are recruited and interviewed to provide information-rich data to be collected and analysed.

It concludes that this method, when applied with scientific rigour, will produce sufficient data to enable both substantive theories and a more formal theory of British-born black young people to be generated.

Part B constitutes the main study. After a brief introduction a discussion on Adolescence is provided to contextualise the study in view of the varying and rapid changes occurring in this period of human development. The study returns to the question of the research design and considers how information-rich data is to be gathered, and how subjects will be recruited and interviewed for which It provides an interviewer prompt sheet .

An analysis of the data is then offered, grouped into the categories which have emerged and been developed as the study unfurled. Discussion then centres around the subjects 'own stories' together with other theories and research. The findings are summarised leading to a number of substantive theories which then are synthesised into a formal theory of British-born black young people. This suggests that they suffer a sense of cultural anomie denying them a necessary, new and distinctive identity as emerging black British citizens.

The study raises the implications of this for the future work of the Croydon Youth Development Trust before offering a foot-note on methodology; a reflection on the grounded theory approach and its suitability to this type of ethnographic research.

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BORN IN BRITAIN: the Lost Generation - a study of young black people in Croydon, the children of immigrants from the Caribbean.

PART A: THE INSTITUTION FOCUSED STUDY

Born in Britain: The Lost Generation -a study of young black people in Croydon, the children of immigrants from the Caribbean

“Most research on youth, after all, is clearly designed to find out why youth are so troublesome for adults, rather than asking then the equally interesting sociological question: “why do adults make so much trouble for youth?” (Howard S Becker 1967: 239)

Section 1: Introduction

This Institution Focused Study is conducted to further my academic and professional development, for which purpose I am pursuing the award of Doctor of Education. It acts as a prelude to the thesis which will follow the same line of enquiry; exploring inter-generational differences in expectations and aspirations between black young people born in Croydon and their parents’ and grandparents’ generations, either born in the Caribbean or socialised by parents whose Caribbean roots are strong. This Institution Focused Study serves as a pilot and will establish whether the methodology I have chosen is relevant to the topic and which, thereby, will provide a greater understanding of these young people. From the outset, however, it is important to stress that the study, both this pilot and the thesis, is designed to “generate” rather than “verify” theory. In addition, in view of the limits of time, this will take the form of a snapshot of the present situation.

As a full-time, qualified youth worker since 1962 I have operated in a number of situations which have challenged my perceptions of black people and the way I work with them, especially their young. These situations included Battersea, Notting Hill, both in Inner London and Croydon, an outer London borough, in fact in terms of population the largest borough in Greater London. In Croydon I was

head of the youth service and thus in a position of influencing the Service's priorities and allocating the resources, subject to political approval.

Having been made redundant over 6 years ago I was offered a part-time post of Director (now Chief Executive) of the Croydon Youth Development Trust, a voluntary organisation established in 1988 to promote innovative work with young people and research on adolescence. One of the purposes of this research, therefore, is to inform both my own and the future priorities of the Trust, but with the benefit of close supervision to ensure it contains design validity and that the findings have academic respectability and reliability.

This study builds upon the modules I have undertaken as a part of the Doctor of Education programme, chosen to enhance my knowledge and skills in my present post with the Croydon Youth Development Trust. These modules were:

- Adult Learning
- Counselling
- Group Dynamics
- Human Resource Management

Adult Learning was chosen as I knew I would be involved, more than in my previous post, with adults in training them to operate the Trust's projects. It has become apparent that the work in which the Trust is engaged will need personnel with a wide range of skills and the assumption that they have youth work qualifications cannot be made even for full-time staff. It is the policy of the

Trust, moreover, to recruit volunteers from the local communities in which the projects are based, none of whom are likely to have received previous youth work training and even if they have, they may require additional knowledge and skills to work with young people 'at the margins' of society.

Previously in my position as Head of the Youth Service I had led a professional team with a variety of skills and associated tasks; field work managers and supervisors, a training officer with a team of tutors to provide both basic courses and more advanced training. In my new role with the Trust I had no such team and have found it necessary to "relearn" many of the skills I employed previously before promotion made them, if not entirely redundant, then out of practise. As a consequence I recognised the need to hone up my basic youth work skills, hence the Counselling and Group Dynamics modules. These also assist with the supervision of staff and, in addition, the skills acquired in both of listening, empathy, body language, cultural differences in behaviour, framing questions, interpreting responses etc. will increase my skills at interviewing subjects in the research element of the programme.

Human Resource Management is important as the Trust does not have access to Personnel Officers for advice, which I also had previously as a senior officer of the local authority and needs to develop its own policies and practices in this area. The value of this module was realised very quickly when I devised a Staff Development Policy and programme for the Trust, including Recruitment and

Selection, Equal Opportunities, Supervision, Evaluation and Exiting Procedures.

This was subsequently adopted by the Trustees.

This study made an assumption, the veracity of which will be discussed in more detail later in this report, that the youth work style of talking to and empathising with young people was complementary to the researcher's interviewing technique and that, accordingly, a professional youth worker could quite naturally move from one to the other. The Counselling module, particularly, ensured that I would be aware of the need for empathy and careful listening, including to the non-verbal messages; and the group dynamics to extend this to group interviews.

Section 2: The Purpose of the Research:

The priorities of the Croydon Youth Development Trust are to work with the most disadvantaged young people in Croydon, the disaffected and those who have rejected or been rejected by the traditional youth service. It also hopes, by disseminating its successes, to have some influence on the mainstream service by demonstrating ways of operating which engage with those young people. In addition, the Trust recognises that there are groups in the community who are disadvantaged by other factors, often through ignorance or prejudice. These include members of ethnic minority groups, including those whose earlier generations were immigrants to Great Britain.

This pilot study is designed to provide an initial examination of the issues around being black, young and born in Croydon, particularly differences in the

expectations and aspirations of these young people when compared with those of their parents' and grandparents' generations. It also examines the validity of the ethnographic approach (Atkinson & Hammersley: 1998: 129), particularly in-depth interviewing, as a way of understanding the lives of black young people and helping them to tell their own stories, in their own words. My task has been to provide an analysis and commentary to enable the findings to achieve authenticity and to impact on the work of the Trust.

Later in this study (page 6) I outline how my concerns for black young people born in Britain were aroused, leading me to realise that more information was needed about them, their perceptions, their family situations, their relationships with adults, and their hopes for the future.

This research attempts to discover something about British-born black young people, resident in Croydon, as they make the journey from childhood through adolescence, to adulthood, It aims to discover:

- whether the young people have different expectations to those of their parents and grandparents over their potential educational and vocational achievements
- similarly, whether differences, between the generations, exist in life chances, social status and the individual's sense of identity
- the key factors which influence the choices young people make and the aspirations they hold.

- whether their upbringing in Britain is different from that of their parent's and/or grandparent's generations to the extent that it causes cleavages in relationships.
- how organisations, such as the Croydon Youth Development Trust, can be enabled to provide effective programmes of social education.

Within the pilot study I will be exploring whether the research methodology selected provides an effective means to examine these issues.

Section 3: Background to the Research

My interest in this area of research has been stimulated by the following factors:

- my experiences as a youth worker and the Head of the Youth Service in Croydon had prompted me to seek a greater understanding of British-born black young people whose numbers are increasing (predictions are that the African-Caribbean population will increase from 9% in 1991 to 14% in 2011), but with parents and/or grandparents born in the Caribbean. When I was made redundant from this post, I was able to maintain my contacts with the Youth Service by being appointed Director and then Chief Executive of the Croydon Youth Development Trust This change of status created two key problems, however, of contact and continuity as I no longer had line management responsibilities for the youth workers who I wished to engage with me in the study.

- research I had conducted for an M.Sc. with the Open University where I had examined the different perceptions of indigenous white, African-Caribbean

and Asian parents of their own children and those of the other ethnic groupings (Doswell, 1991);

- the views about black young people often expressed by adults with whom I had come into contact in my professional work especially decision-makers; senior officers of the local authority, politicians (both local and national), police officers and other leaders of the community.

- an on-going debate in the early 1980s on the notion of “the black perspective” particularly during the planning, operation and evaluation of an experimental training programme for Afro-Caribbean youth workers. This operated at Brunel University as a variant of the basic training scheme for part-time youth workers. A subsequent report, “Towards a Black Perspective” called for “research into the scope and nature of the work being undertaken for and on behalf of the young blacks” (Fisher & Day; 1983; 64).

- statements made to me by many adults in the black community, both in the work situation and in my study for the MSc, indicated that young people were being judged against the adult experiences of growing up either in the Caribbean or within the tightly-knit Caribbean community in this country, principally in the 50s and early 60s, where community ties were strong and the cultural norms and mores were being applied. This was reinforced by, for instance, one subject when interviewed for my MSc, reported a conversation with another West Indian in this country,

“one father saying to me that he does not recognise his children because his children are so divorced from his own experience”

Another respondent added, *"teenagers don't always necessarily listen (to their parents)...usually answer back saying that was your day this is different.."*

Explanations vary from, *"discipline isn't there", "children are freer", "there used to be a lot of control lot of authority over their children it's different now", "parental authority is not as it used to be."* The results were perceived to be, *"parents losing touch"* and *"some parents have given up"* (Doswell; 1989; 48).

From the outset of this study it was apparent that there might be two impediments to any research along cross-cultural lines; firstly that I am a white, middle-aged male. Researchers such as Scott and Usher (1999) warn of the limitations and difficulties of cross-cultural interviewing. Whilst this may have applied some years ago, and may still amongst the elderly, the experience of black young people is that most authority figures with whom they come into contact are white; clergymen, teachers, social workers, police officers, magistrates and youth workers. My experience suggests that the young are able to respond in a more positive way than the elderly generations. This potential impediment, however, will be kept in mind. One possible explanation is that people with an African-Caribbean background in Croydon have settled there as a step up the social ladder and are not so resistant to white, authority figures. It was thought initially that any difficulties of this nature could be overcome, in any case, in part by recruiting a number of black confederate interviewers but this was not possible when my post changed since I no longer had the authority to influence their work patterns.

Because it had become evident that I would have to conduct the interviews myself, I needed to be aware of the effect I might have on subjects. Scott and Usher, for instance, warn of the need to take account of the power relations which exist in the interview situation, particularly when the interviewer and interviewee come from different social or cultural backgrounds;

“The power relations which structure interview settings are never more obvious than when the biographies of the interviewer and interviewee(s) are inscribed in different social practices and discourses.” (Scott & Usher; 1999; 114)

The second impediment arises from this and is around methodology, particularly the nature of scientific enquiry. Through my work with the Open University I had been introduced to the ethnographic approach which seemed to lend itself to the type of research I wished to do and had suited me in the past. My intention was to engage young people, their parents and grandparents in conversation through which I could elicit and extract the relevant information for this project. I wanted to enable them to tell their own stories.

The issue arises over the validity of this approach. But as Denzin and Lincoln point out,

“The word qualitative implies an emphasis on process and meanings that are not rigorously examined, or measured (if measured at all), in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency.” (Denzin & Lincoln; 1998a; 8)

As such it can be criticised by both positive and post-positive traditions which claim that only that which can be tested is valid. These traditions emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, but not

processes. The reality is that quantitative and qualitative researchers approach their enquiries in different ways as confirmed by Denzin & Lincoln who assure us,

“Positive methods are but one way of telling a story about society or the social world. They may be no better or no worse than any other method; they just tell a different kind of story.” (Ibid; 10)

The qualitative research method reflects how youth workers operate with young people; they develop rapport with both individuals and groups and enable them to talk freely. As previously stated, I undertook the Counselling and Group Dynamics modules to hone up my skills in these areas. I also recognised that, in this study due to the limitations of time, "conversations" will have to be more focused with the researcher setting the agenda rather than the interviewee.

The grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss (1967) was judged, therefore, to be an appropriate method, particularly for this work, whereby the researcher would ask open questions with a minimum of preconceived notions on what might be found. The authors offer some reassurance,

“since accurate evidence is not so crucial for generating theory, the kind of evidence, as well as the number of cases, is also not so crucial.” (Glaser & Strauss; 1967;30)

It may be important to acknowledge that grounded theory has been developed and refined since 1967 and there are different schools of thought over its fundamental principles and practices, which will be debated later in the section on methodology.

Crucial, will be on-going reflection on the researcher's performance, necessary to check for any bias and thus minimise it. Steier explains how researchers help to construct the social world they are attempting to describe merely by being there (Steier: 1992).

In grounded theory the researcher has to be satisfied that sufficient evidence is collected to confirm the relevance of a particular concept derived from the data, or "category" in Glaser's & Strauss's terminology. This they call "saturation".

Having *saturated* a particular area of interest, the researcher is then able to move on to others prompted by the findings. Here, they explain that,

"Saturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated. He goes out of his way to look for groups that stretch diversity of data as far as possible, just to make certain that saturation is based on the widest possible range of data on the category." (Ibid; 61)

This approach of grounded theory, therefore, seems to be a more suitable method for this project than the traditional method of developing an hypothesis by reviewing the literature and then devising a research programme to test it, before embarking on any field work. In addition, *"grounded theory can help to forestall the opportunistic use of theories that have dubious fit and working capacity"* (Ibid: 4). The grounded theory approach, in Glaser and Strauss's words then is to "generate theory" not to verify it. By this means I hoped to be able to get people to tell their own stories, in their own words, and use them to formulate some general theories about black young people born and living in Croydon.

I intend to discuss the methodological advantages and disadvantages of this approach in more detail as part of the pilot study .

Section 4: The Study: Background

Since the widespread immigration of people from the Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s, black young people have posed a problem to traditional white society.

The Hunt Committee, commissioned in 1966, in its report, "Immigrants and the Youth Service", saw second-generation young people as presenting *"a specific and major problem for the future"* (HMSO, 1967;7). It called for a *"flexible, creative Youth Service, sensitive to the wider needs of young people."*

Subsequent reports on the Youth Service reflected changes in the social climate, not least in the more ready acceptance of specific provision for black young people. They were in the main concerned with "integration" as this was perceived at the time to be the way of ensuring that these young people were socialised into society and in the white British way of doing things.

The Government Report, "Youth and Community Work in the 70s" still perceived black young people as both immigrant and a problem (HMSO: 1969;14) but noted the young immigrant had a contribution to make towards its resolution.

A decade later, recognition was given to the fact that most black young people considered themselves to be British, unlike their parents, and wished and expected to be treated with equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities to their white counterparts (HMSO: 1982;11). Experience of working with young black

people would confirm that this is even more so today. They are not prepared to be part of an underclass assigned the jobs, housing and conditions that their parents accepted.

For as we know from research that black people are not treated as equals in all aspects of British life; education, employment, criminal justice system, housing and political life (Sivanadan; 1982;123: John; 1981;246; Wrench & Solomos; 1993;166: Owen; 1993; 1: Smith; 1997; 28: McConville; 1998; 5). Black young people are still regarded as outsiders and "do not belong here" (Phoenix, 1988;11). Indeed, they are perceived by many as "*the enemy within*", especially in the inner cities (Solomos, 1986;13: 1988;180).

More recent fears over the effects of the increasing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers have created a climate where even those who have settled for some time are still perceived as "outsiders" (Wrench & Solomos; 1993; 4).

Adult black protest became neutralised by allowing upward movement within the present system of a small number of black people, but not so many that this system could be transformed. The result was that "*young blacks stood outside it*" (Sivanadan, 1982;121). They are, furthermore, marginalised by white people generally insensitive or indifferent to the needs of black people in England (John, 1981;246). They are denied any sense of identity or achievement in history, to keep them in subservient positions (Small, 1983;85). Even those black people who succeed in business are unable to turn that success into something more

permanent for the black population generally. They are, according to research by Cashmore, forced to practice "*racism-by-proxy*", deliberately excluding blacks from the workforce (Cashmore; 1992).

Black young people are also criminalised (Troyna, 1977;491: Kirby, 1976;14: Hil, 1980;175: Lustgarten, 1983;238: Hall et al, 1978;75: McConville; 1998; 5) by what most people in the African-Caribbean community believe to be a police force in London and the rest of the country which constitutes a "racist" entity (Small, 1983;110). Home Office Research Study 185 reported, "*Black people are more likely to be arrested than would be expected by their representation in local populations*" (Phillips & Brown; 1998; xii).

The Lawrence Enquiry Report into the behaviour of the Metropolitan Police raised a number of questions over the attitudes of officers towards black young people and made a number of specific recommendations including rooting out the institutional racism with the Service and measures to reduce the feelings of the black community that they were the target of discrimination.

One effect of 'institutional racism' is to blame the target of it in order to excuse or deny its existence. One explanation, for instance, sometimes offered for the criminal behaviour of black young people is that of a generation gap due to negative self-image and weak family structure (Lawrence, 1982;122). But Gilroy suggests,

"As culture displaced anxiety about the volume of black settlement, crime came to occupy the place which sexuality, miscegenation and disease had held in central themes and images in the earlier discourse of race.

Crime, in the form of both street disorder and robbery was gradually defined as an expression of black culture which was in turn defined as a cycle in which the negative effects of 'black matriarchy' and family pathology wrought destructive changes on the inner city by literally breeding deviancy out of deprivation and discrimination." (Gilroy; 1987; 109)

Wrench and Solomos express concern that discrimination does not stop once an immigrant group have settled.

"Often the argument is heard that discrimination is primarily a phenomenon directed against foreigners and non-citizens and is not therefore to be seen as racial discrimination. A socially and legally integrated 'second generation' would not experience such problems, it is argued. When, therefore, social inequality is discovered to be perpetuated or even increased for subsequent generations, explanations must be sought." (Wrench & Solomos; 1993; 162)

They also suggest that:

"Researchers have been able to provide insights through qualitative research on the detail and processes of hidden discrimination...now some commentators are realising the need for more of this type of investigation." (Ibid; 159)

Harris warns, however, that whereas British cultural studies have, over the past three or four decades, in an innovative and exciting way, opened up spaces for the serious analysis of culture, including those inextricably related to questions of race, ethnicity and subordinated groups in Britain, there have been a number of weaknesses and omissions with regard to, amongst others, Britain's black, Caribbean descended population (Harris; 1996).

Whereas, for instance, the Commission for Racial Equality in 1976 sponsored a study to examine the relationship between generations in the Asian community (Anwar; 1976) no such similar study has been conducted on the Caribbean

community. Yet in a report, "Youth in a Multi-racial Society: the Fire Next Time", the Commission called for coherent and comprehensive policies backed with adequate resources to enable the needs of multi-racial society to be met (CRE; 1987). Subsequently Sir Herman Ousley, the Commission's former Chairman, wrote in his introduction to the CRE's Annual Report 1996,

"Our greatest concern during the year was a sharpening awareness of the deep sense of alienation developing amongst certain sections of our young people, especially those from ethnic minority backgrounds. As a society, we ignore them at our peril."

On the Youth Services response to the challenge of racism Vipin Chauhan suggests that they *"have been shaped by a combination of anti-racist practices, multi-cultural policies, equal opportunities and in many cases, total inaction"* (Chauhan: 4).

Whatever the reason my own experience bears this out, and despite much rhetoric to the contrary the reality is that racism is largely ignored or given a low priority by the youth service management which is still largely white, male and middle-class.

The CRE Report, cited previously, suggested that, as 90% of the present generation of black young people were born in this country, and educated alongside white counterparts, there is a difference in expectation between them and their parents who were born in the Caribbean (CRE, 1980;13). This did not qualify or quantify the differences, nor has there been any research since then on black teenagers, an omission this present research wishes to rectify.

In addition little has been done to discover the effect of the Youth Service, locally or nationally, in helping black young people to make the expected adjustments, through adolescence, to responsible adulthood. A recent national audit of the Youth Service did not include ethnicity as a variable nor sought information on demographic breakdown or curriculum issues specifically aimed at black young people (NYA; 1998). It seems the question of work with black young people is now subsumed within equal opportunities and in the minds of personnel at the National Youth Agency and the Department for Education and Employment which commissioned the audit, black young people are no different from their white counterparts. Yet the evidence remains that black young people still experience the effects of racism. The Stephen Lawrence Enquiry, mentioned earlier, made 70 separate recommendations, mainly to improve the trust and confidence of local ethnic minority communities in the police, but also that *“local Government and relevant agencies should specifically consider implementing community and local initiatives aimed at promoting cultural diversity and addressing racism and the need for focused, consistent support for such initiatives”* (HMSO; 1999). More recently a report by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has shown that black young men are still not overcoming jobs disadvantage despite a general improvement in their qualifications (Rowntree; 1999).

Other research institutions fare no better. The Trust for Adolescence in its publication *“Key Data on Adolescence”* offers information on the population of the UK by ethnic group, by age, on families with dependent children, on Year 11

GCSE attainment and permanent exclusions from School in England. It offers no information on health, either physical, sexual or mental, nor on crime for this category. This is not a criticism of the Trust as it is dependent on others supplying the information. The fact that it is not available testifies to the fear that it is not considered to be important enough to collect.

At a local level, the Croydon Youth Development Trust recognises that more information is required to enable the youth service to be responsive to the needs of this group. A review of the literature reveals that there is a paucity of research on this topic. The Youth Service, despite a survey by the National Youth Bureau on "Research Priorities in Youth Work" (1984), which sought information on local policy changes and on the provision of staff development and training, had its hopes frustrated when the body responsible for commissioning it, the National Advisory Committee on the Youth Service, was disbanded somewhat capriciously by the then Conservative Government.

In 1980 McRobbie had undertaken a review of the research literature and concluded:

"if we look at the structured absences in the youth literature it is the sphere of the family and domestic life that is missing...only what happened out there on the streets mattered...I don't know of a study that considers, never mind prioritises, youth and the family." (quoted in Sutton; 1987; 147)

Fabes added,

"what little research has been completed has mainly focused upon white, male, working class young people in the major conurbations in Britain." (Ibid; 147)

Studies from Central America, which might have informed this study, offer no clues as most focus on the economic effects of the illegal immigration of labour both on the USA and then, "*because many return home after having lived in the US for a time*" (Bronfman; 1998) on the home country. What is clear is that their position is not the same as the sons and daughters of black immigrants, those who are the subjects of this study.

In a European context Germany and France have also experienced immigration, the 'gastarbeiters' from Turkey to the former and Algerians to the latter.

Research in those countries has shown that immigrants to those countries suffer from cultural differentiation (Leggewie: 1999), dissonance between their expectations and their experience (Bourdieu: 1999), identity confusion (Chabit Hily & Poinard: 1997), the maintenance of Turkish culture as a way of developing the immigrant's self-respect (KarakasogluAydin: 1997) and a claim that young Turks are developing their own culture (though this is in the context of concern over Neo-Nazi activity) (Krause: 1997).

There is, of course, another difference, born of their history of slavery of a colonial power which socialised them into "British traditions" including language, legal and educational systems and the perception that Britain was their "homeland". For many they were not immigrants but citizens making the journey home whereas the Turks were not expected to stay but return to Turkey when the need for their labour had declined. This was, of course, the intention of the Government which encouraged Caribbean people to come to Britain in the first

place, but with the hope that they would return. This hope was shared by many that came here but no-one could anticipate the reality that some would prefer life over here, some would marry local (white) partners and settle down to raise a family, others would not be able to afford to return home with the result that most stayed.

Section 5: The position in Croydon:

Croydon has become a multi-cultural and multi-racial community as one in six of its residents are now non-white. They reflected the pattern of two-step migration; firstly families from the Caribbean settled in the inner city, particularly Brixton, and once consolidated and confident, they sought to move on to a more suburban life. They wished both to escape from those inner-city enclaves and to improve themselves and their way of life and enhance the opportunities available to their families. Croydon is perceived by many as a leafy suburban Borough, and thus resettlement to it may be viewed as evidence of upward social mobility. Adult expectations included better opportunities for education which prepared their children for permanent and skilled employment which they expected would be available. Research in Croydon by Doswell (1991) elicited that African-Caribbean parents look for educational opportunities which enhance life chances (Op cit: 55). Much depends, however, on whether the adults came from urban or rural backgrounds in the West Indies. The former accept a need for education, especially important for those aspiring to climb the social ladder to middle-class status. Now the number of non-whites of African-Caribbean origin is expected to grow from 24,200 (approximately 9%) in 1991 to 44,000 by the year 2011, where

it will constitute 14% of the population. At the same time the white population will decrease from 263,000 to 233,000 (Croydon Youth Working Party Report; 1998; 5).

When the matter of young people is discussed with representatives from black adult groups in relation to any aspect of the work of the Croydon Youth Service, what has become increasingly obvious is that there are enormous differences in the expectations and hopes for the work the former undertake with their own young people. Whereas the Youth Service representative will talk of "participation", "personal growth", "individual development", "social education"; black community leaders speak of "control", "learning our ways", "maintaining cultural traditions", "keeping them off the streets" and "equipping them with vocational skills".

This serves to highlight key differences in work with young people, which were foreseen by the Review of the Youth Service in its report, "Experience and Participation: Report of the Review Group on the Youth Service in England" (1982). This suggested that:

"Young people from an ethnic and particularly black community encounter difficulties beyond the ordinary which are not of their making. These include the possibility of a clash of loyalties and interests springing from differences in cultural backgrounds and social norm". (HMSO: 1982; 59)

It explained, moreover, that the refusal to treat them as equals with their white contemporaries, was due to the effects of racism, which:

"....damages those who practise it as well as those who suffer from it. It is a deep tragedy for British society that the cultural diversity which should be

a source of enjoyment and enrichment is liable to give rise to expressions of violence, harassment and antipathy which impoverish and threaten the lives of many and especially young people". (Ibid: 11)

The Scarman Report (1981) on the "Brixton Disorders", mentioned the differences in parenting between British white society and West Indians particularly the "relatively permissive attitudes" of the former as being a particular difficulty (HMSO,1981;8). This was echoed in the report of the Commission for Racial Equality, "Youth in Multi-Cultural Society - the Fire Next Time", (1987) which warned;

"....the generation gap in many cases might be seen to be widening. Counsellors who work with West Indian adolescents have commented on the gulf which they see existing between parents from the Caribbean and children born in inner-city Britain". (CRE, 1980;13)

This has led to *"cultural resistance..taking an Afro-Caribbean form...with widespread interest and identification with Black power, Rastafarianism and Pan-Africanism"* (Ben-Tovim and Gabriel, 1982;167). Now as we enter the new millennium this is no longer the case, but the form of expression of the young person's 'cultural resistance' is one to be explored.

Young people then adopted negative attitudes, especially towards the police, as revealed by the survey commissioned by the Thompson Committee in support of their deliberations on the future of the Youth Service (HMSO, 1982; 27).

Parents of African-Caribbean adolescents have a concern, therefore, about the behaviour of their children and are often as ambivalent as the children themselves. Cultural norms might refute the notion of adolescence as a universal period of human growth; after all it may merely be a social construct of

Western society to excuse its inability to adopt appropriate rites of passage for this age set. Black young people may be socialised differently so that the storm and stress of the period of transition from childhood to adulthood prevalent in Western society may not apply to them or may take a different form.

Experience from youth workers, who will often find themselves dealing with perplexed parents of adolescent children, particularly from the white community, suggests that these parents are as confused as their offspring. They find the ego-centrism and rebellion of this period of life hard to cope with, and share concerns over staying out late, disobedience, rudeness, open hostility, drug-taking, alcohol abuse, smoking, undesirable friendships and matters of dress or hair-style which may seem, on the surface, to be trivial. One mother, for instance, is quoted as saying, about her son with a shaved head, "I told him not to get his hair cut, and what did he do? He went straight out and got it cut!"

Parents, of whatever community or social position, often have unrealistic expectations of their children. It is unlikely that parents of African-Caribbean children will be any different. This may be over academic or vocational achievement which may not be matched by their offspring either in terms of ability or desire. Young people may prefer to hang around with their peer group, or develop a relationship with a member of the opposite sex rather than staying indoors to swot for examinations.

There is a need to understand the perceptions and expectations of members of ethnic groups, as undoubtedly their experience of growing-up in Britain will be different to that of both the white community, and especially those of the older black generations whose own childhood experiences were not in or of Britain.

The conditions and reasons why grandparents came to Britain in the 1950s and early 1960s are no longer relevant to young people born here. Britain then was suffering an acute shortage of labour as it toiled to build a post-war country. It needed to recruit a labour force willing and able to undertake the dirty, low-paid jobs often involving long and unsocial hours; these jobs included the transport services, refuse disposal, and hospital cleaners. Only nurses and midwives were accorded a degree of social status and mobility. Recruitment campaigns were mounted in the Caribbean to attract adults in their peak productive years. Apart from these pull factors, push factors were also operating. The United States of America had imposed immigration restrictions thus preventing the traditional migratory pattern of many Caribbeans, and the resulting poverty through unemployment and harvest failures encouraged adults to seek a fresh start in this country. Many, of course, were familiar to Britain, having served in the armed forces in the Second World War.

The intention of the Government of the time was that these labourers would return to their country of origin once the crisis had passed. They were to be no more than 'gastarbeiters', but many had different ideas, as being British passport

holders, they considered Britain to be their 'motherland' and not only wished to stay themselves, but to make a home here for their families.

A generation later it has become obvious that their children have different experiences which need to be explored and understood. The first task of this research project will be to begin to plot some of the experiences of black young people, to check out some assumptions about inter-generational differences, to ensure that this area of research stood a chance of contributing to the knowledge base of young people and would not merely be stating the obvious.

Section 6: Methodology:

As previously stated, the research is constructed to enable young people and adults in their parents' and grandparents' generations to talk freely about young people and what they expect of young people living in British society, to reveal any cleavages in their relationships. The task of the researcher, in addition, is to interpret the data and ensure appropriate links are made to any previous theories. Importantly the researcher has to shape the enquiry to ensure the issues which are pertinent to him are raised without trammelling the interviewee's freedom to add other aspects which he/she feels is important.

Initially consideration was given to how best the research should be undertaken; by conducting a literature review to formulate the research questions or by 'conversations' with a small sample of black young people and adults to enable them to shape the research.

The decision was pre-empted when some exploratory testing of the literature discovered that there is, in fact, none. It would appear that this topic has not drawn any interest from researchers. Indeed, and as stated previously, the National Youth Agency, established (initially as the Youth Information Centre and then the National Youth Bureau) as an information and research centre for the Youth Service nationally, does not include black young people as a separate category in any of the last three publications except to recognise, in passing, the presence of racial discrimination (Merton; 1998: McConville; 1998: Marken et al; 1998).

And, as previously mentioned, researchers in other parts of the world on immigrants have not focused on the adolescent children of second generation settlers.

This makes the choice of methodology even more crucial. Should it be an in-depth study with a limited number of subjects or attempt to achieve external validity by seeking a representative sample, say, through a survey?

Here the researcher's personal preference intervened. As a youth worker he is more familiar with 'talking to young people' and with the more recent skill enhancement through the Counselling and Group Dynamics modules of the APD programme, he chose the former, an ethnographic methodology.

The best fit to this task would be grounded theory. In Glaser & Strauss's words:

"Our basic position is that generating grounded theory is a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses." (Glaser & Strauss: 1967: 3)

They proceed to suggest that the approach ensures that theory derives from the data and that it will *"fit and work"* (Ibid: 3), although *"the evidence may not necessarily be accurate beyond a doubt"* (Ibid: 23). They continue:

"Since accurate evidence is not so crucial for generating theory, the kind of evidence, as well as the number of cases, is also not so crucial." (Ibid: 30)

It is important at this stage to clarify the researcher's understanding of grounded theory, especially as there has been a debate since Glaser and Strauss published their ideas in 1967. Their initial intention was to provide an alternative strategy to the more traditional approaches to scientific enquiry (hypothesis testing, verification techniques, and qualitative analysis) prevalent at the time.

What emerged, however, were two distinct methodologies. Babchuk explains:

"Glaser may be more deeply committed to principles and practices ordinarily associated with what can be loosely described as the qualitative paradigm. He seems to view grounded theory as a more laissez-faire type of an operation which is inherently flexible and guided primarily by informants and other socially-constructed realities. To him, the informant's world should emerge naturally from the analysis with little effort or detailed attention to process on the part of the researcher". (Babchuk: 1997: 3)

Strauss, on the other hand, mainly with the collaboration of Corbin, moved towards more traditional research doctrines with the emphasis on generalizability, precision, significance and verification. Glaser's concern with these developments was that the strict guidelines for the collection and coding of data, and the repeated emphasis on verification and validation of theories and hypotheses, as devised by Strauss and Corbin, would prevent rather than enhance theory generation. Indeed Glaser is reported as saying that the verification model was *"exactly what we had tried to get away from"* (Ibid: 4).

For this study then, and to avoid confusion, the grounded theory as originally constructed and reinforced by Glaser, with its inherent flexibility, is the model to be pursued.

In view of the limited resources, in terms of both time and scope, of this enquiry, these statements over the number of cases not being *so crucial*, are reassuring as they make it possible to engage in this study without feeling it may be a meaningless exercise. They imply that it will be possible to generate theories, which can later be tested and verified by others, without the concerns that they have to be 'watertight' to have relevance. This is not to excuse sloppiness: there is still a need to conduct the enquiry as rigorously as possible.

This rigour involves being able to undertake several activities simultaneously.

Glaser and Strauss explain that grounded theory involves the:

"Joint collection, coding, and analysis, of data is the underlying operation. The generation of theory, coupled with the notion of theory as a process, requires that all three operations be done together as much as possible. They should blend and intertwine continually, from the beginning of an investigation to its end." (Ibid: 43)

This joint collection, coding and analysis is the first stage which Glaser & Strauss call "theoretical sampling".

This method involves selecting categories for comparison on the basis of *theoretical relevance*. The researcher needs to be able to judge the point at which no further value can be gained by adding another group or individual for

the purpose of collecting data because in the case of that category it will have reached *theoretical saturation*. This is explained by the authors:

“As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated. He goes out of his way to look for groups that stretch diversity of data as far as possible, just to make certain that saturation is based upon the widest possible range of data on the category.” (Ibid; 61)

Glaser & Strauss seek flexibility on the way data is collected as they demonstrate that the researcher has to operate in a way appropriate to the subject under scrutiny. Different kinds of data provide different views or perspectives which enable the researcher to understand it. These are called *slices of data* and different ones can be compared to provide a fuller picture (Ibid; 67).

The researcher also has to judge how much data to collect; the *depth of theoretical sampling* (Ibid; 69). The researcher will need to be aware of time constraints and not attempt too much in this study although too little data may limit the validity of the findings since saturation will not be reached.

This process enables the researcher to formulate *substantive theory* rather than to formulate *formal theory* from an analysis of the data although this is possible in certain cases but requires rigour (Ibid; 90).

Formal theory involves using the substantive theory to formulate a more general theory linking categories. The authors cite an example of research on the relevance of comparative failure to religion, marriage, social class and political behaviour which might facilitate the formulation of a formal theory on comparative

failure. So the transition from substantive to formal theory requires a refocusing and a reworking of the data.

There are critics of the method because much of the data is not observable and the quality of the data depends on the ability of the researcher both in collecting it and then interpreting and analysing it. Hammersley debates the quantitative - qualitative divide and suggests that different styles, approaches and methods should have as their primary concern, *fitness for purpose*. He concludes:

"I think it is crucial to recognise that research can differ in the product it generates...we should not treat some of these as intrinsically more valuable than others." (Hammersley: paper: undated)

Glaser & Strauss add that it is meaningless to suggest one kind of data collection is better than another. They add, in any case, *"Often the researcher is forced to obtain only one kind - and when theory is objective, both kinds (survey or field data) are useful* (Op cit: 66).

Patton suggests that the key is the ability of the researcher;

"In qualitative inquiry the researcher is the instrument. Validity in qualitative methods, therefore, hinges to a great extent on the skill, competence and rigour of the person doing fieldwork." (Patton: 1990: 14)

Critics may suggest, thereby, the process is too subjective because the researcher is involved in all its aspects; data collection, interpretation and analysis. It is, moreover, *"concerned with meanings, not measurement; with essence, not appearance; with quality, not quantity; with experience, not behaviour"* (Ibid: 71).

But Patton continues:

“Perhaps nothing captures the difference between quantitative and qualitative methods than the different logics that underpin sampling approaches. Qualitative inquiry focuses in depth over relatively small samples, even single cases, selected purposefully.” (Ibid: 169)

In the case of this study, however, this may be due to lack of resources, especially time.

The ability to select cases which are likely to be *information-rich* becomes important and depends on the skills of the interviewer (Ibid: 279). The interviewer must not put ideas into the informant’s head (Ibid: 278). And, *“The purpose of the research interview is first and foremost to gather data, not change people,”* and as Patton reminds us, he is neither judge nor therapist and must stay focused to ensure the information is of high quality (Ibid: 354).

Stacey adds that the principle application of the interview *“is its use for making people talk about themselves”* (Stacey: 1969: 71), although *“they are under no obligation, if they do not wish to”* (Ibid: 72).

This suggests that the researcher has to engage the co-operation of informants, to engender trust and to avoid the potential pitfall of slipping into the counselling or group worker role should a subject display discomfort or anxiety.

In moving on to consider how this pilot research programme would be conducted, it seemed to pose a number of questions because of the evidence that black

people were suspicious of researchers as they perceived their effect, even if not intention, as reinforcing negative stereotypes and serving further to criminalise or pathologise the black community, particularly their young people, should this research be treated as a “sensitive” topic? These are studies, as Renzetti & Lee remind us, *“in which there are potential consequences or implications, either directly for the participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research”* Renzetti & Lee: 1993: 4). Often, *sensitive* almost seems to become synonymous with *controversial*. The danger, as they explain, is that, *“the relationship between the research and the researched may be hedged with mistrust, concealment and dissimulation”* (Ibid: 5).

Were this to occur, it would throw doubts on the plausibility of the research findings. It was necessary to assure respondents that their anonymity would be preserved at all times. Encouraging both young and old to talk of family life may be problematical as they may feel that they are being “judged” by a person, not only of a different culture, but as one that has also given the impression of being superior. Sieber warns that, *“the needs and fears of the target population will affect their basic assumptions and current views”* (Seiber: 1993: 20). She suggests that not everyone will perceive events as the researcher might, and, pertinently to this research, adds the need to adopt a culturally sensitive approach which involves the willingness *“to learn about the actual life-styles (beliefs, habits, needs, fears, risks) and to communicate in ways that the individuals understand, believe, regard as relevant to themselves, and are likely to act upon”* (Ibid: 19).

One of the purposes of undertaking the APD modules in counselling and group dynamics was to develop skills which, although not entirely directed at interviewing have sufficient similarities, and will thus enable me to take on board these issues. The need to develop a working relationship and strategies for accomplishing this are listed in Egan. The importance of *“effective attending”*, he suggests, for instance, *“does two things; it tells clients (or in this case interviewees) that you are with them, and it puts you in a position to listen carefully to their concerns”* (Egan: 1994: 91).

He suggests a number of “micro-skills” which include how to face the other person, the posture to adopt, the importance of eye contact, the need to be relaxed. Similarly he offers strategies for “reading” non-verbal signals which may or may not reinforce the oral ones. Heron offers, in the group context, ways of managing contribution rates. He suggests the following: Scanning - picking up non-verbal cues, timing - making an intervention deftly, without inappropriate time-lag, body language - covers relative position, posture, facial expression, gestures and eye contact (Heron: 1989: 121). Heron also lists interventions; simple or selective echoing, open and closed questions, empathetic divining, checking for understanding, paraphrasing and logical marshalling (Ibid: 115). Other aspects include the need to establish a “contract” through which both the expectations of the interviewer and the interviewee are made explicit (Dryden:1988: 48, Nelson-Jones: 1993: 219), ways of establishing rapport (Dryden: 1988: 64), and ways of ensuring, particularly with young people, that adult-child relationships do not frustrate the responses (Noonan: 1983: 13).

These skills should enable me to conduct interviews in both the one-to-one situation as well as lead group discussions and in a more effective way.

The other issue around sensitive issues concerns the way a researcher deals with information collected which might reinforce a negative view of black people in Croydon. As Adler and Adler advise it is possible to exercise self-censorship due to personal loyalties or an unexpressed research bargain (Adler & Adler: 1993:254). With this particular piece of research the position is clear. The Croydon Youth Development Trust would not wish anything to be published that would express or imply any deficiencies in the black community in Croydon without first working to ameliorate them. They would, however, expect the researcher to draw their attention to it but would not ignore its implications for further work. They would also be wary that these sorts of finding would not prejudice or prevent their ability to undertake further work with and in the black community, nor would they suppress them for fear of breaching their integrity as a research agency.

Linked to the first question there is a second over the extent to which the researcher can be sure that the responses are truthful. This may not necessarily be deliberate but an unconscious attempt to protect the reputation of the family or community. A respondent might, for instance, exaggerate by claiming that he or she wishes to become a doctor or air steward. An advantage of the in-depth interview, as opposed to a questionnaire, is that the interviewer can ask supplementary questions to check this out. Questions over academic

achievement, careers advice, what brothers or sisters do, what enquiries they might have made over their choice of career, what qualifications they think they need, may elicit responses which demonstrate that the respondent is or is not trying to create a false impression.

Berreman warns of the dangers of 'impression management' which he suggests is of such significance that it must be taken into account in ethnographic research (Berreman: 1962). Whyte discovered that as a researcher some questions were not welcomed where respondents felt he was prying into areas about which they did not wish him to have information (Whyte: 1945: 303). Becker and Geer explain that interviewers cannot assume that interviewing is easy. They suggest that language, although common, may convey different meanings:

"So although we speak one language and share in many ways in one culture, we cannot assume that we understand precisely what another person, speaking as a member of such a group, meant by any particular word. In interviewing members of groups other than our own, then, we are in somewhat the same position as the anthropologist who must learn a primitive language, with the importance difference, as Icheiser has put it, we often do not understand that we do not understand and are thus likely to make errors in interpreting what is said to us." (Becker & Geer: 1969: 324)

The issue, then, of misleading information, or of misinterpreting data is one that the researcher has to bear in mind. To minimise its potential impact the research will:

- exercise youth work skills, particularly the communication skills

catalogued by Argyle (1973: 1975) and reinforced by the APD modules referred to previously. And, as previously mentioned, the value of in-depth interviewing

includes the ability to check out information where the researcher has doubts over its accuracy or is unclear over its meaning.

- introduce experimenter triangulation by engaging the services of a black youth worker to validate the accuracy of the interview transcripts as far as is possible and also check the analysis of the data and any conclusions which may be drawn. Because of his background and experience this worker will know if the responses are plausible. He can ask himself, "from my knowledge of young people does this ring true or are they trying to avoid the issue or pull the wool over my eyes?" He will also "interpret" language which may have a different meaning to that understood by a white adult, a sort of anglicised patois.

A third question is concerned with the scientific basis of the research. It questions the threats to validity of the methodology and how they might be overcome or at least minimised. Social scientists have long argued the merits of one form of enquiry over another. Whilst scientific rigour is necessary it should not be allowed to inhibit the researcher like a straightjacket. This is not a demand for *"the abandonment of all methodological rules"* (Marsland: 1978:231) nor espousing the quantitative approach as, in Marsland's words, *"a wave of quantophobia"* (Ibid: 231). Whereas he regards grounded theory as *"the dangerous looseness of the programmatic recommendations"* (Ibid: 233), Denzin counters by explaining its popularity and advantages, although adding a warning of his own:

"The grounded theory perspective is the most widely used qualitative interpretative framework in the social sciences today. Its appeals are broad, for it provides a set of clearly defined steps any researcher can follow. Its dangers and criticisms, which arise when it is not fully understood, are multiple." (Denzin & Lincoln: 1998: 330)

As explained previously, however, the researcher has adopted Glaser's original version of grounded theory.

One danger which exists in ethnography is that external validity is nearly always weak. Schofield suggests that one reason is its links with cultural anthropology *"with its emphasis on the study of exotic cultures"* (Schofield: 1993: 201). She adds, *"For researchers doing work of this sort, the goal is to describe a specific group in fine detail and to explain the patterns that exist, certainly not to discover general laws of human behaviour"* (Ibid: 201).

This research, being limited, cannot hope to lay any claims that it can do anything other than to provide a snapshot of a particular group of young people, their parents and grandparents and at a particular moment in history. As 'immigrants' become settled over a couple of generations, with 'life back home' becoming a forgotten memory or indeed has never been experienced, the present inter-generational cleavages, if they exist, will also become a thing of the past, or at least take a different form. This will not prevent, of course, 'black' people being identified as such nor that they will have a different experience, as a result, than white people.

This research, therefore, is interested in how a number of young black people born in Croydon will be affected by having parents and grandparents socialised in a different environment. It will not attempt to generalise these findings and thereby external validity is not pertinent to this project. It is hoped that any

findings may be of use to those who work with black young people to aid their understanding of their situations and to inform the content of their programmes.

Section 7: THE PILOT STUDY

To gather the information required, a pilot study was established. This required careful design although it was recognised that because the methodology allowed for other questions to be added as the research unfolded the initial prompt sheet did not have to be definitive. And as the programme relied on people being allowed to “tell their own story”, a number of decisions had to be made over how the research should be conducted. Without such clear decisions the research could flounder on either collecting too much information, and thus make analysis and interpretation difficult or impossible, or more likely, to waste valuable energy and time in collecting information which was not relevant to the interest of the research or collecting too little rendering the enquiry valueless.

The pilot study was intended, as previously stated, to provide sufficient information to demonstrate that the methodology was appropriate to gather information-rich data; that there was some evidence that differences existed between the expectations and aspirations of black young people born in Croydon and their parents' and grandparents' generations as a result of the young people being born in this country, and also to determine whether in-depth interviews could be employed reliably to gather this information.

At this stage of the research it was decided to use focus groups to interview young people, the advantage of which is that they are regarded as being less threatening or stressful to participants and, therefore, more likely to get

responses to questions. Focus groups, developed from market research concentrate their efforts on discussing the topic(s) with very specific questions being asked. In addition, increasingly they have an important function in other research for, as Barbour and Kitzinger report:

"In academia, too, focus groups have attracted increasing attention. Although group work has a relatively established pedigree in social anthropology, media/cultural studies and health research, the method is now being developed in a wide range of social sciences." (Barbour & Kitzinger: 1999: 1)

And Morgan explains what they are:

"Focus groups are group interviews. A moderator guides the interview while a small group discuss the topics that the interviewer raises." (Morgan: 1998: 1)

They are particularly appropriate where there is a 'power differential' between the interviewer and the group members (Morgan & Krueger: 1993: 15) which is likely to be the case with this study. Denzin & Lincoln suggest that they are suitable for testing a methodological technique (Op cit: 54). But as Miller & Dingwall warn, whilst interviewer bias is minimised, participant bias may be increased because the participants may react to the interviewer and provide information which they think the interviewer wants to hear or collect (Miller & Dingwall: 1997: 47).

This will be borne in mind whilst conducting the interviews and in the analysis, although, perhaps the operation of focus groups has been a discipline of youth workers from time immemorial, without it necessarily being referred to by that term!

Research design:

The design for the pilot was kept simple:

- to interview approximately 20 of young people between the ages of 13-19, resident in Croydon, in 4 groups of 5,

- whose parents and grandparents were born in the Caribbean

- and in regular contact with them, or most of them

- they were to be recruited from youth centres in Croydon where there existed a large black membership where the interviews would also take place in groups

- to interview a fewer number of adults, selected for their knowledge of young people and the local black adult community

The young people were to be interviewed in groups for two reasons:

- if would be less threatening than one-to-one

- it was thought to be an effective way of interviewing this number of subjects in a relatively short space of time.

It was thought the disadvantages of some youngsters influencing the responses of others was not so serious as the purpose was to take a "snapshot" to check out whether information-rich data could be collected in this way.

These interviews were to take the form of 'conversations with a purpose'. Smith suggests there are many ways of extracting information through conversations (Smith:1975). Furthermore, he adds, "*Often, then, we can drastically improve the efficiency, reliability and validity of data collection simply by asking questions*

which more appropriately measure whatever we wish to measure" (Smith; 1975; 171).

Oppenheim suggests that open-ended questions provide greater benefits:

"Interviewers come into their own when we need to ask numerous open-ended questions, or open-ended probes...allowing the respondents to say what they think and do so with greater richness and spontaneity."
(Oppenheim; 1992; 81)

The interviews would be recorded using a tape recorder although subjects were told that if they wished anything to be deleted this would be allowed.

In total 14 young people were interviewed in 4 groups, using the same prompt sheet, provided as Appendix A. (A transcript of one group, the third (C below), is provided as Appendix B) These were:

Group	Total	Males	Female	Age 13	Age 14	age 15	Age 16	Age 17+
A	4	2	2			2	1	1
B	2	2						2
C	4	3	1	1	1	1		1
D	4	4					2	2
Totals	14	11	3	1	1	3	3	6

Group Interviews:

Immediately some problems were encountered. The criteria for selection of the groups were made clear and agreed, but because a general invitation to a group of young people was issued, either curiosity overtook the process or the criteria was overlooked or ignored or their importance to the process were not understood. As a result some young people attended who were outside the criteria, either by being born in the Caribbean rather than in Britain or by having parents and grandparents presently living in the Caribbean. In the event the latter did not matter as it highlighted a feature of black family life which needs to be taken into account, namely the different parenting arrangements available to Caribbean peoples. Had these criteria been adhered to strictly this feature may have been lost to the project at this stage. The former did affect the interviews, particularly in the case of a vociferous female (Group A) who had been born in the Caribbean and whose presence and contributions influenced the group. She was fairly dominant and was often the first to answer so the rest of the group found it difficult to contradict her.

Another problem facing the interviews was the group composition itself.

Respondents were not necessarily known to each other and this inhibited their responses. Appendix B offers the transcript of a group which demonstrates the difficulty being encountered through answers being single phrases and rather than being a discussion takes the form of 4 simultaneous interviews. It compares unfavourably with the one-to-one interview provided as Appendix C.

As, in the main phase of the project all the subjects, however, will be interviewed individually, this problem should not recur to influence the outcome, although Small's warning about the problems of recruiting black subjects, quoted earlier, will not go unheeded (Small: 1983:2). Bowler cites other studies which encountered similar problems over the inability to recruit black respondents (Bowler: 1997: 68).

An issue which arose in the mind of the researcher was the effect of a mixed gender group and whether the responses are more or less reliable than in a single gender grouping. Two contrasting effects may be experienced; shyness or a reluctance to state views or share experience, and boasting or exaggeration of the actual experience. Both are designed to achieve impression management; to create a more favourable impression of the speaker, particularly in the eyes of the opposite sex. Boys may, for instance, boast of exploits with the police or sexual encounters. Girls may be reluctant to speak or find themselves dominated by boys. This is not unusual and forms part of the normal adolescent ritual where male and female are testing each other out in the quest for a different style of relationship, although, of course, adult groups may also behave similarly (Tuckman & Jensen; 1977). One boy, for instance, in response to a question on the reasons for going to the Caribbean, suggested, "make a business over there possibly". As we know from group dynamics, group members, even in single gender groups, strive for power, position and status so that rivalry and competition may affect the contribution of individuals.

The next stage was to ensure that, as far as was possible, these group discussions were transcribed accurately. Experimenter triangulation was judged to be an important feature in this research project particularly as the researcher is white. The interview transcripts and the interpretation of them were checked by a black colleague. Sometimes the speech patterns or words of a respondent were indecipherable to the researcher; other times the meaning of certain phrases escaped him. One interviewee, for instance, in speaking about the police, used the word "ignorant". In this context the confederate interpreted the meaning that young people are perceived by the police to "lose their tempers easily". Another was heard to say of his father that he was "deceased" when in fact this was corrected as "in St Vincent".

The adults:

The researcher interviewed three adults with a knowledge of young people and the local black community; a 62 year old man with a life-long involvement of voluntary youth work (the transcript of whose interview is provided as Appendix C), a recently-retired female, senior youth worker and a 28 year-old male, full-time trainee youth worker. Between them they shared a great deal of knowledge about young people in Britain as well as their own experiences of growing up in the Caribbean although none have been able to experience what it is like to be a teenager, today.

Section 8: Analysis of the data: a summary

It is not intended at this stage to provide a detailed analysis of the interviews as this would be premature as the grounded theory approach requires that categories are saturated.

In providing a summary of the data there would seem to be a number of differences in the perceptions of young people and adults over the Caribbean and Croydon, which the following table best demonstrates:

Caribbean	Croydon
Adults	
1. discipline - enforced by strictness and physical punishment (<i>"my childhood in Jamaica was what shall I say extremely strict, strict discipline was the order of the day"</i>)	1. lack of discipline - too much freedom (<i>"the state has taken over the role of the parent and tells you that you cannot discipline your child. Young people have no respect for their elders. Young people nowadays are so vocal towards authority, towards their parents and seniors"</i>)
2. influence of religion in establishing moral framework (<i>"Same sort of values that you know your parents enforced into you and I think that belief in God is one of the main things"</i>)	2. influence of materialism (<i>they want new things, trainers, new clothes</i>)
3. rural peace and tranquillity (<i>the closeness to nature"</i>)	3. urban noise and pace (<i>Croydon is different; too much noise and everything has to be done in a hurry"</i>)

4. extended family - support systems (<i>"such a small place everybody knows you; as a community it's quite close"</i>)	4. unsupported mothers left to carry burden of child-rearing (<i>"there's Mum and my brother, 3 of us; My Mum and me and my sister"</i>)
5. place to retire (<i>it's definitely a magnet to draw people back"</i>)	5. opportunities to save enough to go back (<i>"me and my husband saved to build a house we bought some land there"</i>)
6. homogenous (<i>"the warmth of the people"</i>)	6. racial discrimination (<i>"there is subtle forms of inherent racism which we suffer from"</i>)
Young People	
1. lack of opportunities (<i>"lack of jobs, unemployment"</i>)	1. opportunities, albeit limited (<i>"Yes, it's still hard to find work"</i>)
2. treated like strangers (<i>"Be alienated, treated like strangers; you'll be labelled as the British boy"</i>)	2. friends/family are here (<i>"much family and friends here"</i>)
3. under-developed (<i>"education, economy a bit backward"</i>)	3. the in-place (<i>"it's fast; feel more looked after here"</i>)
4. nothing in common (<i>never able to fit in: be alienated, called English"</i>)	4. sense of identity (<i>"Home's here with Mum and Dad; it's life - London"</i>)
5. treated with respect as black people (<i>"it's mainly a black country"</i>)	5. racism is endemic (<i>"people are racist; it's a racist area"</i>)

The way black young people and adults of their parents' and grandparents' generations perceive each other is influenced by their impressions and views of

the Caribbean and the ways children are reared there and in Croydon. Extended family patterns are no longer available and thus discipline becomes lax. This is reinforced by the ways white parents socialise their children backed by the legal system which prevents corporal punishment being inflicted.

For the adults home largely is still the Caribbean to which they hope to return on retirement. The young on the other hand feel like strangers in the Caribbean. It is all right for a holiday, but the lack of opportunity is a disincentive. In any case they feel that Croydon is their home as their friends and family are there.

Both adults and children alike suffer from the racism inherent in society. For the adults it is tolerable because, "it's not as bad as it was", but the young feel discrimination strongly *"There's a lot of people with bad attitudes, treated like shit because of age and colour!"* were typical remarks..

The pilot study has, however, begun to throw up some categories for saturation, coding and expansion:

- family arrangements
- perceptions of nationality/home
- impressions of the Caribbean
- academic expectations
- occupational expectations
- effects of racism

Section 9: Conclusions:

The pilot study, using both focus groups and one-to-one interviews albeit with a limited number of subjects, has demonstrated that information-rich data can be collected by the operation of this methodology. It has shown that there are crucial differences in the ways young people feel, think and behave due to them being born in Britain, compared to their parents and grandparents born in the Caribbean.

The main phase of the research will now follow the procedures involved in grounded theory in an attempt to generate a theory on what one adult respondent referred to as a “lost generation”:

- collect data, through in-depth one-to-one interviews,
- transcribe data, producing full versions of the interviews in order to analyse them
- develop categories
- saturate categories, gather further examples until new categories emerge
- theoretical sampling, by extracting relevant samples to test and further develop categories,
- coding, to test for relationships between categories and the data,
- theoretical integration, by identifying core categories and linking them with both subsidiary categories and established theories,

- generating substantive theories, by checking emerging ideas against the text
- extracting a formal theory, by synthesising the substantive theories.

These, being the tasks of the main study, the dissertation, will enable those inter-generational differences which have begun to emerge, to be further explored and investigated, leading to a greater understanding of the position of British-born black young people in Croydon. This work is presented in Part B: the Thesis.

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Appendix A

Brunel University - Centre for Youth Work Studies

Cohort Study of British-born black young people of African-Caribbean origin:

Prompt sheet:

Hello. I'm working with Brunel University to try to find out something about black young people whose parents or grandparents came from the Caribbean. We want to know what sort of things concern them. All responses will be treated in confidence. Although I need to record what you say, I will have no knowledge of your full names or addresses. Are you clear about what I've said?

Can I check that you were all born in Britain. How many of you locally, in Croydon?

If I said "home" where is that?

What do you most like about living here?

What do you least like about living here?

Can I check that your parents or grandparents came from the Caribbean?

Have you ever been back there?

What did you think of it?

Would you want to live there

- for a holiday?
- permanently? (why/why not?)
- what's so good about it?
- what's not so good?
- what do you like about living there which is different from living here?

If I said "home" to your parents, where would that be?

If I said "home" to your grandparents, where would that be?

What do your parents/grandparents want you to achieve in your life?

What do you hope to achieve?

Do you ever argue/disagree with your parents?

- what over?

Do you ever argue/disagree with your grandparents?

- what over?

Do your parents ever disagree with each other?

- what over?

- about you?

If you could change one thing in this country what would it be?

Is there anything else you want to tell me about living in this country?

Thank you.

Appendix B

Brunel University - Cohort Study - Phase 1

Transcript of interviews held on 20th December 1994 at the Sir Philip Game Centre.

Present were 4 young people, 3 males aged 17, 13 and 14, 1 female aged 15. Each confirmed that they were born in Britain, and now lived in Croydon.

Have any of you parents or grandparents living in this country?

- parents and both sets of grandparents (in Aldershot)live here
- Mum lives here Dad in Barbados and Gran in Jamaica other Gran in Barbados
- Mum's in America Dad's here in London Grandfather is in Antigua
- Mum and Dad are here Grandparents are in St Vincent

Who else lives with you in the household?

- me, my brother mother and father
- just me and my Mum no-one else
- me my Auntie and three cousins Dad lives in London
- me and my three brothers my sister and my Mum and Dad

What is the normal arrangement for people from the Caribbean?

- Mum and Dad is normal
- (reference made to natural parents, not parent substitutes)

How often do you see your grandparents?

- every now and again you know every few months but one of them has moved to Jamaica now about two weeks ago now so we'll only see them once a year....but before that we saw them regularly
- the last time we saw them was about four years ago
- I saw my Grandmother before I left America
- every 5 years

Who decides in the household on things like what sort of furniture you have where you go on holiday what clothes you wear who makes those decisions?

- both parents
- both me and my mother; about everything (confirmed by subsequent discussion)
- I make decisions about my own clothes but decorating and that stuff is down to them
- my Mum

What sort of expectations do members of the household have on each other? Do you understand, what do they expect of each other?

- to wash up things like that support
- help each other out support
- help
- Mum does washing up

Where do you consider home to be?

- my house in Croydon
- Croydon
- my house Croydon
- Yes

What do you most like about living in England?

- water from tap
- haven't thought about it
- (nothing strikes?)

Well what do you like least about living in England?

- schools too strict the uniforms
- lot of people with bad attitude treated like shit because of age and colour
- the weather too cold

- I suppose its the weather nothing else really there's other countries people just dying on the street so it aint so bad

Can I assume that your parents and your grandparents in fact were not born here, they were born somewhere else. Have any of you been back to the Caribbean where your parents or grandparents were born?

- (all had)

What did you think of it?

- quite good
- good
- ?
- okay

What was good about it?

- see how they used to live where they used to live the weather see all the family I hadn't seen before
- (something about roots?)
- (this is where we came from?)

What was not so good?

- don't know weren't long enough to say I don't like this bit

Would you want to live there?

- when I'm older not really permanently
- couple of months yes
- visit old friends
- too many things in this country like just left school just getting myself sorted out so if I get to Jamaica I'd be sorting out where to live like if I returned I'd do that but at the moment I stay here
- like to travel around not stay in just one country
- live here visit old people and friends and go back

- ?

What do you like about living over there in the Caribbean which is different from living here?

- pick a fresh fruit straight from the tree

- warmer nice environment nice and warm and sunny

- more friendly

- if you go for a job over there because it's mainly a black country they won't look at you as if to oh we don't want a black guy working here you know

I know some of you have got parents that have actually gone back to the Caribbean or America or whatever but those of you who have parents here have they ever expressed a desire to return to the Caribbean?

- yes

- yes

- yes

On a permanent basis?

- yes (all)

Do they have property out there?

- yes they would return to the property they have

- (other had no property but had expressed a desire to go back when they retired!)

Will the other grandparents go back to join the others?

- yes what it is is that I've got like my Dad's parents live here but my Mum's parents they did live here but they went back about two weeks ago.

So one set of grandparents went back you mean?

- the other set won't go back

What do you think your parents and grandparents want you to achieve in your life? What hopes do they have for you?

- get good education

- good education
- good jobs
- don't know what my grandparents want me to achieve but I never really spoke to them about careers

What do you hope to achieve for yourselves?

- good job nice salary
- good job
- going for gold in Thai boxing
- good jobs

Do you mean well paid or something else?

- to work in languages and business

Do you ever argue or disagree with your parents?

- yes
- all the time
- occasionally

What sort of things do you argue or disagree about?

- me and my brother do training looking after my younger brother
- going out
- going out
- getting into trouble at school

Do you ever argue or disagree with grandparents?

- did before when I went there really regular over silly stuff like she'd be asking for something like I've got hair oil and she'd say can I have some I'd say yeah and she's like take the whole thing more or less she'd use it all you know and I'd say don't do that and she'd say don't tell me to do this and that

Do you know if your parents and grandparents ever quarrel with each other?

- yes stupid things like when she was younger she didn't give my mother anything and she used to have a go at her

Are you happy with the way people look after you? Allow you to behave in this country?

- yes

- when I go to school...(?)..if I get into trouble at school I get suspended wouldn't like that would they

Anything you'd like to change about the way parents deal with you?

- can't change it

- can't be bothered

- they say silly stuff like ah you're useless and things like that my Dad says when I was young my parents was second to nothing with me (?) and I just want to be a cadet but in actual fact he's talking rubbish and can he feel we all the same useless cos I can say the same thing behind his back like he's a prat say it to his face so I give him the same stories as he had (?)

If you could change one thing about living in this country what would it be?

- people's attitudes generally...law come round corner..

- ?

What is it you get from coming to the Youth Club?

- fun

- making friends

- gym almost like a second home I train here

- it's after a hard day at school wind down

Is there anything else you want to tell me about living in this country?

- I got pulled up by police in the street for no reason walking down the road.....doing something I wasn't doing...handcuffed me...

Is that a common experience of the police?

- I've been stopped a few times me and a few friends we ere standing talking to each other we were with a white guy a friend of mine and the police stopped and thought we were mugging him they asked him if we were mugging him..

That's it, thanks a lot.

Checked for accuracy by Lonsdale Skinner 4.9.95

Appendix C

Transcript of Interview of Subject GP/1 on 3rd April 1998:

After the usual explanation:

Interviewer: Okay now perhaps you can tell me something about yourself you know like when and where were you born.

Subject: I was born in Jamaica of course in the parish of Westmoreland District of Silver Springs Nigrill famous resort in Jamaica

Interviewer: What was it called?

Subject: Nigrill

Interviewer: Can't be that famous I've never heard of it ...so when were you born?

Subject: Oh July 1935

Interviewer: 35 so you're 72?

Subject: Get out of it 62

Interviewer: 62 sorry I was going to say you never looked 62 right and when did you come over to this country?

Subject: 1960

Interviewer: 60 yes so I'll get this right so you've been here nearly 38 years right ..and who did you come over here with?

Subject: By myself

Interviewer: You came by yourself you didn't come with family or anything?

Subject: No I came by myself

Interviewer: Right so you were what 24 25?

Subject: 25

Interviewer: And you have children of your own?

Subject: Yes

- Interviewer:** How many?
- Subject:** 3 children a daughter and 2 sons
- Interviewer:** What sort of ages are they?
- Subject:** My daughter was born in 63 and my eldest son in 64 and my youngest was born 65
- Interviewer:** Right so they are, getting this right, in their 30s?
- Subject:** 36 and..
- Interviewer:** And do I understand you're a grandparent?
- Subject:** Oh yes
- Interviewer:** How many grandchildren have you?
- Subject:** One
- Interviewer:** Oh one just one is it right OK now you came over here on your own then and I mean you obviously have a partner?
- Subject:** Yes
- Interviewer:** Are you married?
- Subject:** Yes I'm married my wife joined me she was my she joined me 61 got married 61
- Interviewer:** Was that part of the plan that you came over here first then she followed you over?
- Subject:** Yes
- Interviewer:** So that was the arrangement now your parents did not come over presumably?
- Subject:** No I was brought up by my grandmother
- Interviewer:** Right you were brought up by your grandmother your grandmother didn't come here and I mean I'm guessing your grandmother is presumably dead now?
- Subject:** Yes

Interviewer: And do you know your parents?

Subject: Oh yes yes

Interviewer: And are they still alive?

Subject: Both have died

Interviewer: Both have died so right so you haven't got grandparents or parents and tell me how would you describe your childhood what was it like in Jamaica?

Subject: My childhood in Jamaica was what shall I say very extremely strict strict discipline was the order of the day for me my parents grandmother was a Christian lady and she was extremely strict and I mean strict no messing about so I grew up with great discipline and learned to recognise yes is yes and no means no there's no other way round it the truth is the truth and what's wrong is wrong

Interviewer: Can you remember when you were about 15 or 16 what is it you wanted to be?

Subject: Oh I wanted to be a pathologist

Interviewer: Pathologist?

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: Really what cut up dead bodies?

Subject: Absolutely

Interviewer: Did you?

Subject: Ah yes I enjoy I enjoyed biology at school cutting up dead animals

Interviewer: What frogs and that and you thought I'd love to cut up people instead did you?

Subject: Yes I thought it was a marvellous thing to do extremely good at biology and drawing the human body and all the organs and blood

Interviewer: What stopped you becoming a pathologist?

- Subject:** My grandmother took ill and I couldn't get onto the college in Jamaica they had a series of exams got a senior Cambridge through the Cambridge exams set in England but in order to do that you got to take private studies to get onto the Cambridge that where I fell at that hurdle because my grandmother took ill and that was it
- Interviewer:** It was financial you mean?
- Subject:** Yes
- Interviewer:** And then what did you do?
- Subject:** Oh I joined a carpentry apprenticeship in carpentry
- Interviewer:** Cos that's your trade isn't it you're a builder or whatever?
- Subject:** I learned building in Jamaica 5 year apprenticeship in Jamaica basics to the technical
- Interviewer:** Okay so how did you find that frustrating wanting to be a pathologist and then?
- Subject:** Oh yes yes very disappointing very disappointing from my point of view I thought it would be good if I could have gone on to do medicine but unfortunately or fortunately it didn't happen
- Interviewer:** Now if we you're been around young people haven't you most of well all your life really as a youth worker with the Association of Jamaicans youth club and what else with your church?
- Subject:** Church Covenanters there's a Covenanters for 32 years I tell you I'm the only black Covenanters leader in the whole of England
- Interviewer:** Really?
- Subject:** That's right
- Interviewer:** And you served as a manager here at Samuel Coleridge?
- Subject:** That's right

- Interviewer:** And I've bumped into you on and off for goodness knows how many times Supplementary School were you ever with them?
- Subject:** Little bit Association of Jamaicans we do an annual bursary to youngsters who going on to further education
- Interviewer:** Right so you've been an observer of young people for many many years
- Subject:** Yes
- Interviewer:** To what extent do you think they might be different from your own generation?
- Subject:** Oh in every way youngsters youngsters who came over from the Caribbean from Jamaica with parents here they're a lost generation because the discipline that they that they were brought up in in Jamaica when they come here the State take over the role of the parents and the State tells you that you couldn't discipline your child because
- Interviewer:** What you mean you can't hit them you mean?
- Subject:** That's right you cannot inflict any corporal punishment and therefore we have a problem with our youngsters in that they just accept all the bad habits of the indigenous population and they're a lost generation
- Interviewer:** Something I meant to ask you if you were asked to describe yourself your nationality it would be what?
- Subject:** Well I'm a Jamaican
- Interviewer:** You're a Jamaican?
- Subject:** Yes holding dual nationality British and Jamaican
- Interviewer:** Do you go back to Jamaica very often?
- Subject:** Oh yes went back last year
- Interviewer:** Right and who what do you do when you go back there?
- Subject:** I just visit friends and have quite extensive estates out there left by my grandmother

Interviewer: Right you've got some property out there so you go out there because you've got property if you didn't have property do you think you'd go out there?

Subject: Oh yes yes

Interviewer: You'd go out there anyway?

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: Where do you regard as home?

Subject: Now this is the problem here is home but this is a problem for most generations most West Indians of my generations that we have a problem of having two homes one in England and one in Jamaica you should speak with most Jamaicans they only come here to spend 5 years 7 years maximum 38 years later we're still here dreaming of sunshine and going back to set up a home there so that has been can be and has been a drawback for some folk who hasn't really settled as such

Interviewer: Will you go back will you go back to retire?

Subject: Yes I think I will go back if I can persuade my wife to come with me I would love to go back there

Interviewer: Now what about young people where do you think their roots are?

Subject: Most young people their roots are here there's no doubt about it they're black British they don't see themselves as Jamaican or West Indian call them Afro Caribbean but they are black British and they will demand whatever is going here as their right rightly so

Interviewer: Is that does that make them different from say your generation?

Subject: Yes yes they do I suppose in a way it's good but also it's it hampers our youngsters from looking forward to achieving because we have a system here whereby the State acts as a support not just a safety net but as a support and therefore I that is my personal view I do believe that people should be able to provide for the themselves given first choice of providing for themselves given the opportunity to provide for themselves having said that the system here does not does not give black

youngsters the opportunity the equal opportunity that they need to provide for themselves those who want to and those who have made it is tremendous struggle just to get to where they are and everyday of their lives they suffer from discrimination in one way or another

Interviewer: So you're saying discrimination is that racism?

Subject: Oh yes yes in my case for instance I came here and I went to college and I did banking exams I had 5 'A' levels at A grade I been in international banking for 9 years and in my department I was the only employee with all the qualifications in banking a diploma in banking a member of the Institute of Bankers I had initials behind my name at the end of the day I had to leave because I could never get promoted and I was paid way below everybody else when I did the major part of the work

Interviewer: Is it better or worse for youngsters who were born here d'you think?

Subject: It's it can be better in some instances those who are born here they and if they've got the drive to succeed they can succeed discrimination is not as bad as it was in the 60s and 70s there has been some improvements but also there is subtle forms of inherent racism which we suffer from

Interviewer: It is more covert than overt?

Subject: Absolutely

Interviewer: Right now so would you say with young people they are unlikely to want to go back?

Subject: Yes the vast majority you'll find though with some youngsters but the vast majority the bulk of black youngsters will never go back to the Caribbean whatever island their parents are from

Interviewer: Yes they might go for holidays but that's about it?

Subject: Yes they've got no roots that doesn't do anything for them

Interviewer: How does that leave them do you think?

Subject: It leaves them in a quandary quite frankly I believe because they are neither those who are still here does not accept black youngsters as British as black British on the face of it they say they do but when the reality comes home they doesn't and therefore black youngsters here doesn't feel that they are accepted so they don't have a base roots in the Caribbean roots are here and therefore the system doesn't really accept them as such and therefore they don't know one way or the other so they go and do all sorts of things to get some identity whichever comes first you know

Interviewer: So they're like displaced persons are they?

Subject: That's right

Interviewer: When you said they do all sorts of things what sort of things did you have in mind?

Subject: Some people will some youngsters will do shoplifting some will get into drugs some will get into Rastafarianism some into all sorts of things that let them stand out different from everyone else

Interviewer: Right so you're saying that their striving for a sense of identity forces them into mainly anti-social behaviour are you?

Subject: That's right yes I'm not making excuses for them but that's one of the ways in which they behave

Interviewer: How is that different from your perceptions of white youngsters?

Subject: Well white youngsters doesn't have that problem of identity as such because of race their identity because the system doesn't like their long hair or their pins in their ears or what have you but they're not excluded because on a racial ?? that makes a difference

Interviewer: Okay what do you think young people born here what are their hopes and ambitions what do you think they want out of life?

Subject: Well I think it depends on the individual youngster the youngsters that I meet some of them they want a lot out of life they want the very best out of life and they will work for it others do want the best but they don't want to

work for it they have other means of obtaining what they say the best should be

Interviewer: But there is a difference though from what you're saying I mean if I understand you correctly you're saying your generation came over here and they wanted to work hard to get what they could to achieve what they would you're saying this generation born here isn't the same they want to to get it some of them will work hard yes but if they can't get it through work they don't mind using other means?

Subject: Other means that becomes available that's for them

Interviewer: Right now what do you think parents people of your generation and other people of your generation parents and grandparents what are their perceptions of the young I mean do you think you reflect fairly accurately what most say er Jamaicans would feel about young people?

Subject: Yes I do think so our perceptions my generation's perceptions of young people is I think it's quite obvious because we grew up in a different environment we got different values because of the environment which we grew up in and therefore our outlook is completely opposite to what the young people who are born here some of it is good and some of our ideas are outdated obviously

Interviewer: Yes what do you think the future holds in store then?

Subject: Good question I wish I knew the answer to that one one can only hope that people will be accepted more for who they are and not by the colour of their skin if we can get over this colour thing that people are accepted for what they are or what contributions they make towards the society in which they live those of our young people who are positive thinkers and go out to make a living for themselves and quite a lot does that then and given a chance to excel yes then the future could be pretty good

Interviewer: So if you had a magic wand so what would you do?

Subject: Oh goodness yes I would change everyone so that we treat people as individuals not by the colour of their skins you know not by the dress that they wear or hairstyle

Interviewer: Okay now right is there anything more you want to say about young people?

Subject: Well I think in all youngsters there are good and there are bad good streaks and bad streaks as you might know I work with the police at their beckon 7 days a week 24 hours a day basis with young people and I come across a lot of varying degrees of youngsters black white Asian and all across the board and everyone you come across there is that good streak in them if you know what to look for if you keep putting someone down all the time then that person will always eventually come to believe that they are no good if you try to uplift someone and show them where they could excel then there is good there and I've seen it and youngsters that have been locked in a cell they have come out and done extremely well for themselves once they forget about their past

Interviewer: You've always been an optimist haven't you?

Subject: Yes one has got to be an optimist I have met quite a few youngsters who have been pretty ropey pretty bad but they've come good

Interviewer: Right well I think on that note that's it thank you very much.

BORN IN BRITAIN: the Lost Generation - a study of young black people in Croydon, the children of immigrants from the Caribbean.

PART B: THE THESIS

Born in Britain: The Lost Generation - a study of young people born in Croydon the children of immigrants from the Caribbean.

"In this new Millennium, teenagers have a lot to look forward to; they and their parents face a challenging, but hopeful future. Technological change and globalisation demand that young people of today must develop knowledge, skills and flexibility for their world of the future. Society and the role and structure of the family is changing. Young people face increasing challenges in their personal and family life as society on one hand encourages an earlier transition into adulthood, but on the other, increasingly postpones departure from home and the formation of lifelong relationships.

(DfEE, Connexions document, 1999)

"...and adolescents are the litmus paper of society. Subject to continuous and considerable mental, emotional and physical changes, as yet unregulated by the formal demands in the daily life of the breadwinner or housewife, adolescents are unusually exposed to social changes."

(Albemarle Report, HMSO, 1958: 29)

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION:

This study completes the work I have undertaken under the Doctor of Education programme to further my academic and professional development. It builds on the pilot work which was conducted as the Institution Focused Study, presented in Part A, and takes the form of a thesis.

The pilot study's purpose was to ascertain whether the methodology, grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss: 1967) using in-depth interviews, mainly one-to-one but with some focus groups, could provide the information-rich data which would allow the "generation" rather than the "verification" of theories (Ibid).

The pilot study concluded that from an albeit limited number of interviews that differences existed between young black people and adults sufficient to justify conducting further interviews. It also concluded that the methodology, grounded theory, enabled the views of both adults and young people to be elicited within a framework which was rigorous and capable of analysis.

The researcher's interest in this topic was detailed in the pilot study. It stemmed from his experience in a number of youth work settings, between 1962 - 73, particularly in Inner London, Battersea, Hammersmith and Notting Hill, where there were an increasing percentage of "immigrants" from the Caribbean. He became aware of the difficulties they encountered, not the least the all-pervading effect of racism which denied them opportunities in education, in and at work, politics and social activities. He realised, moreover, that unless purposive action was taken their condition was likely to get worse rather than better.

The question of measures to combat racism has been at the forefront of much youth service thinking (Davies; 1999, 1999a). This had not, however, been transposed into practice. Wylie suggested that whilst the expansion of the number of specialist youth service HMIs enabled examples of good practice to be publicised, "*HMI were constantly disappointed with the quality of the youth work they observed*" (Wylie: 2001: 242). The reason, he suggested was that the service had become demoralised, partly due to, "*the feebleness of Government's policy and funding for youth work*" (Ibid: 245).

And, as has been shown in the Institution Focused Study, the question on the effects of racism on young people has been put on the back-burner and no longer constitutes a concern. More recently Smith, Wilkinson and Platt (1996) and Coles (2000) have reported on young people's issues but without mentioning racism as a key feature in the lives of black young people. But whatever the reason for this omission, it was clear to the researcher that there was and still is a lack of knowledge on British-born black young people.

This study intends, in part, to remedy that lack of knowledge. The study will explore the present situation to discover whether young people fare better than their parents and grandparents in terms both of experienced racism and their opportunities in the sectors of life mentioned above.

Croydon, London's largest borough contains an increasing number of black inhabitants and the Croydon Youth Development Trust, of which the researcher is the Chief Executive, wishes this study to inform their future work and also hopes to influence both the work of the local authority and other local, voluntary, youth work agencies.

As suggested in the Institution Focused Study the researcher had observed a growing gulf between the adults, both of the parents' and grandparents' generations, and young people. The former it appeared were influenced by their upbringing in the Caribbean, or as second generation immigrants were socialised by Caribbean cultural norms, whereas for the young people these norms and

cultural ties were loosened. Did this lead to a difference in expectations and aspirations, or cleavages between the generations which transcended those normal in adolescence?

The Institution Focused Study served as a pilot study employing Grounded Theory, particularly in its original form as devised by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It found it to be a suitable methodology as it provided a structured and systematised way of collecting information-rich data enabling participants, both young people and adults to “tell their own stories” and in their own words.

As this research focuses on a particular group of young people, those of African-Caribbean origin but born in Britain, it is assumed that they will suffer the normal period of “storm and stress” (Hall: 1904) associated with what has come in Western society to be recognised as adolescence. As this is such a crucial period in the life of a young person for the formation of values, identity and behavioural patterns, a discussion on this period of life, including Hall’s theory, is then provided in Chapter 2 to contextualise this study. This also examines whether indeed young people, descendants of pre-slavery African society, have been socialised or conditioned to Western adolescent norms or whether they have retained culture-specific “rites of passage” which initiate them into adult society without them suffering this period of uncertainty and turbulence while they make the transition from childhood to adulthood.

Chapter 3 addresses the issue of how the research is designed to ensure that it is both rigorous and contains construct validity. It considers how subjects will be

recruited, particularly in view of the evidence that black subjects are reluctant to be interviewed (Small: 1983). A prompt sheet is presented as a dynamic tool for the collection of data, recognising that categories can be added as the research unfurls.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the data, demonstrating how the categories are derived and coded to reduce them into workable units, then synthesising these units to the point where they can be used to generate a theory.

A discussion of the analysis, interspersed with information from other research to reinforce, augment or even challenge the findings is presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 summarises these, offers some substantive theories and moves towards a formal theory of British-born black young people. It also considers the implications of the findings for the work of the Croydon Youth Development Trust and other youth work agencies in Croydon.

Chapter 7 returns to the question of the methodology and, as a footnote to the study, offers a view on its appropriateness to the study's aims and its strengths and weaknesses.

But firstly, the nature of adolescence is explored in order to provide a backcloth against which the research can spotlight the particular features of the lives of

black young people, born in this country. It also provides a context in which inter-generational relationships can be investigated.

Chapter 2: ADOLESCENCE: A period of Transition

This research project aims to discover what it is like to be young, black and born in Britain of parents who themselves were either born in the Caribbean or socialised into Caribbean norms of behaviour. It is not by chance that the study focuses on those in the age band which represents the period of transition from childhood to adulthood, that period known as 'adolescence'. It is, after all, the *raison d'être* for the youth service and this study is conducted in order to impact upon the future delivery of programmes by the youth service, initially through the work of the Croydon Youth Development Trust which has sponsored this study, but eventually by others who recognise the relevance of the findings.

So what is so special about 'adolescence' which demands this attention upon it? And does it have a universality which accepts that it can and does transcend cultural imperatives? It has been argued that even in Western society adolescence is not a universal feature but this will be discussed later in the Chapter.

So, therefore, before discussing the specific nature of adolescence as an age-related developmental period in an individual's life, I need to clarify this point. Can I assume that black young people, from a different background and culture, encounter this period of "storm and stress" reminiscent of the majority of their white counterparts? It may be argued, after all, that other minority groups in Britain have culture-specific 'rites of passage' which may, if not entirely eradicate,

then lessen the impact of this period of growth. The Jewish communities with their 'bar mitzvah', an initiation ceremony which accord on the recipient the status of adult, are, for instance, but one example of a 'rites of passage'. The purpose of this study, however, is not to examine these issues in detail but to achieve clarification.

Adolescence was thought generally to be a Western phenomenon, the result of changing family patterns and the effect of industrialisation. Less developed societies controlled the period of a person's transition from childhood to adulthood through mechanisms and ceremonies borne of long tradition including initiation rites. Margaret Mead has suggested that these are so important in preserving the culture of that society that when it breaks down through, for example, the influence of outside intervention, then this threatens the maintenance of the culture itself. She offers an example from New Guinea:

"An initiatory culture, with a men's house in which the men gather for ceremonial and from which women and uninitiated boys are excluded, is a social institution of very great strength, so interwoven with every other aspect of the culture that usually when the initiatory system breaks - as it does before mission influence, for instance - the whole cultural system collapses too." (Mead: 1950: 102)

C Daryll Forde also provides examples of rites of passage which allow children, particularly males, to achieve adulthood. The Yoruba assign an elder to take care of the boys when they get to a certain age, around puberty, and he introduces them to rituals and games (Forde: 1963: 164). The boys of the Masai, cattle herders of East Africa, once they reach puberty, undergo a period of initiation of about 4 years, during which they are circumcised by a suitably skilled

and specially trained member of a neighbouring tribe, the Wandorobo, who travel from camp to camp to perform this function. Once circumcised the boys have their heads shaved and join a warrior band signifying their entry into adulthood (Ibid: 301).

Caplan, on peasant life of the Swahilis of Tanzania, reports of the rites of passage of the tribe. He reports that, *"the life cycle from birth to death is punctuated by three major rites de passage; circumcision for boys and puberty rituals for girls, first marriage for both and funerals"* (Caplan: 1997: 83).

When Africans were captured and taken to the Caribbean as slaves it appears that these rituals were abandoned, presumably because the slave-owners had no interest in allowing their slaves' cultures to be maintained especially as they were regarded as being savages or sub-human and as such had no value. No records of Caribbean slave society mention initiation into adulthood or anything which could be interpreted as a "rites of passage". Accounts of children, rather, suggest that from an early age they were formed into work groups to perform agricultural tasks such as weeding (Klein: 1986). Beckles and Shepherd add that most African social systems were replaced by those of the plantation owners:

"The evidence..supports the generalisation that African-based family structures and concepts largely gave way to European systems and ideas as the slave society matured..." (Beckles & Shepherd: 1991: 228)

Today in Britain there is a concern over black young people which has been consistent over many years. This is reflected in a number of government reports

(Hunt: 1967; Scarman: 1981) as well as others. The Commission for Racial Equality in its report "Youth in a Multi-Racial Society - the Fire Next Time" suggested that, *"The generation gap in many cases might be seen to be widening"* (CRE: 1980: 13). It further suggested that the position of young black people is made more difficult as they make the transition from childhood to adulthood:

"However difficult it has been for the white youngster living in the deprived inner city to come through adolescence unscathed, it is that much more difficult for the black youngster. Having suffered the forms of disadvantage (in education, employment, socially) for most of his conscious life, he then encounters discrimination increasingly in the lonely years of adolescence." (Ibid: 22)

Perhaps, however, the notion that adolescence is merely a Western feature is erroneous. The Commission for Racial Equality report, "Between Two Cultures" suggests, for instance:

"The question arises whether the Asian parents' authority over their children, which has often led to unhappiness, tension and rebellion, is a special case. As Catherine Ballard states (in a paper, "Cultural Conflict and Young Asians in Britain", to the International Conference on Transcultural Psychiatry, Bradford, July 1976): "In dealing with the problems of young Asians it is easy to forget that a phase of rebellion is an almost universal (my underlining) phenomenon, a part of the process of self-discovery in the transition from childhood to adulthood."

(CRE: 1976: 7)

Sidney Bunt demonstrated that even in the most regulated of communities, in his case the Jewish, there were upheavals when their young people tried to exercise that rebellion. He shows how the early youth organisations were established to ensure that Jewish traditions and religious practices were not lost but at the same time the young were encouraged to change their behavioural patterns sufficient for them to fit in with the 'host' society, in his words to be 'anglicised'.

An expectation existed that youth organisations would ensure that young Jews, for instance, married suitable partners from their own community, those who would not, *“without too much question the recognised social and religious standards”* (Bunt: 1975: 73).

He further demonstrated how these hopes and expectations were not realised as many married outside the Jewish community but also how the youth organisations, in order to be attractive and relevant to the changing needs and desires of young people, also had to change, otherwise the very people they wish to influence will abandon the organisations themselves. He warned:

“Those who wish to preserve the outmoded and to a large extent discredited forms of patriarchal youth work of a bygone period can hardly claim that their methods are proving successful in the present-day social and political climate of Anglo-Jewry.” (Ibid: 233)

More recently the Jewish community developed a programme entitled ‘Jewish Continuity’ to encourage Jewish-only marriages. This, has now become incorporated into a programme of ‘renewal’ (as a more acceptable phrase) to encourage young people from the Jewish community to ‘deepen their commitment to Jewish life’. Whilst not so narrowly perceived as preventing marriage outside the Jewish faith, in its statement of intent the United Jewish Israel Appeal (UJIA) includes in its mission ‘enabling young people to recognise the worth of the Jewish faith as a preferred alternative to a multi-faith relationship’ (UJIA: 2001).

So it may be argued that if the traditionally close-knit and family-oriented community, such as the Jewish, with its initiation ceremonies and *rites of*

passage to welcome young boys into adulthood through bar-mitzvahs, cannot, except in a minority of orthodox Jewish families, prevent adolescent upheaval, it is safe to assume that neither will any other community unless completely cut off from the influences of industrial and post-industrial society.

I am aware that some researchers (Bandura: 1964, Douvan & Adelson: 1966, Offer: 1969, Rutter, Graham, Chadwick & Yule: 1976, Coleman: 1978, Feldman & Elliott: 1990, Jackson & Bosma: 1992, Rutter & Smith: 1995) have questioned the veracity of the "storm and stress" assessment of adolescence. They argue that G Stanley Hall's concept, derived in 1904, is misleading in that the majority of young people do not suffer undue trauma during this transitional period of life. To support this viewpoint, for instance, Coleman and Hendry conclude from their analysis of the research that:

"Since the publication of Hall's work many other theorists have made use of the notion of storm and stress, and the belief that this phrase accurately summarises the adolescent experience is deeply embedded in our culture. However, the findings of empirical studies of adolescence, commencing in the 1950s, have shown that the concept of storm and stress may have serious limitations, and considerable time and effort on the part of the research community has been taken up in attempts to place the concept in a proper context..... In essence, all such works have demonstrated much the same thing. It would appear that while a minority of young people experience what might be called a stressful or turbulent adolescence, the majority adjust relatively well. (Coleman & Hendry: 1999: 209)

It may be, however, that their comments miss the point about adolescence as a period of storm and stress. It does not necessarily imply that the upheavals are so stressful as to warrant psychiatric or medical intervention. Those that work with adolescents, teachers, youth workers, social workers can provide much

anecdotal evidence of irrational behaviour during this period. And parents will often be in despair of their children and even display an ambivalence towards them. Sheila Dainow, who as a counsellor offers courses to parents to help them through this period, lists the sorts of behaviour that parents have reported to her:

“Staying out till very late or all night; never wanting to go out or never wanting to be at home; stealing; shoplifting; lying; smoking; bunking off school; swearing; not eating; eating too much; refusing to talk; loud music; upsetting the neighbours; starting things and not finishing them; outlandish clothes and hairstyles; not washing; never getting out of the bathroom; sex; not working; watching too much TV; threatening suicide; taking risks like riding a motorbike without a helmet; mixing with undesirable people...the list is endless” (Dainow: 1991: 5)

None of these require intervention by the authorities, social or health services, police or fire brigade, so it may be that adolescence is not a chronic disorder but more of an acute disturbance, which is none the less, stressful both for the young person and those around him or her. Because, however, each individual experiences it differently it feels more like an indeterminate sentence, where no-one knows when it will begin or end. For some it is short-lived, for others prolonged.

The 1944 Education Act recognised this dilemma and in response ensured that young people received some support as they made the transition from childhood to adulthood, which in those days coincided with the transition from school to work. They laid a duty on each local education authority to make provision for young people 14-21 both those who had left school and those in full-time education. Since then subsequent reports (HMSO: 1967; 1969; 1981; 1982; 1983) and circulars have re-inforced that notion, although the age range has

been lowered as young people have matured earlier. Despite its shortcomings, mainly due to budget deficiencies, the Youth Service as it has become known, exists to ease the young person's transition from dependent childhood to independent and interdependent adulthood. That this Service exists suggests that even if "storm and stress" is not characteristic of this period of life, then the changes are of such importance that they need to be recognised and appropriate support given to lessen their impact.

So it becomes important to examine what is so special about adolescence, as a feature of human behaviour, that makes it so important to understand in the context of British-born black young people.

It was G. Stanley Hall, who in 1904, first argued that young people experienced turmoil in both their emotions and in their relationships resulting in a tendency to undergo swings between contradictory behaviour, for instance, from depression to elation, from a sense of altruism to ego-centricity, and from wishing to be part of adult society to challenging all it stands for and does. Since then other researchers and theorists have attempted to develop theories about adolescence, although as already stated Stanley Hall's notion of "storm and stress" is "*deeply embedded in our culture*" (Coleman & Hendry; 1999; 209).

So what are its main features? In brief they can be summarised as:

- physical development
- psychological/emotional development ,

- cognitive development
- identity formation
- sexuality
- changing family relationships
- peer group relationships, and
- practising as adults.

The following, however, is not meant to be an exhaustive or comprehensive account of adolescence but a summary or overview to contextualise this study of black young people. These are taken from a variety of sources.

Physical development:

Puberty, derived from the Latin *pubertas*, meaning age of manhood, is usually used to describe the point where the individual's sex organs mature. Girls begin the menstrual cycle, boys are able to achieve erections of the penis and ejaculate. This is accompanied by other anthropometric changes, such as a growth in height and weight. Young people experience an 'adolescent growth spurt' beginning between the ages of 9 and 15. But as Grinder shows:

"Adolescents vary immensely as to the beginning, ending and duration of the growth spurt. Boys may be anywhere from 10.5 to 16 years of age when they begin their rapid gain in height; they may be anywhere from 11 to nearly 17 before they gain their peak velocity. The typical boy may begin the velocity increase in body weight about 12.5 years, reach a peak slightly after 14, and decelerate sharply by age 16. For girls the spurt occurs about two years earlier; thus they are taller and heavier than boys from about 10.5 to 13 years of age." (Grinder:1978:58)

This growth, furthermore, is sporadic and does not occur at a constant rate. It is not lineal but convoluted. Hence there are changes in body proportions, beginning at the extremities. Hands and feet are the first to grow often leading to the assertion that a young person is "all hands and feet". This can lead to clumsiness and lack of co-ordination.

Grinder again explains:

"After the head, the foot is the first skeletal structure that ceases growing. The foot has a small acceleration about six months before the calf, which in turn accelerates before the thigh. About four months after the leg has reached its peak velocity, the hips and the chest begin to widen. The head grows almost as swiftly as the foot. The forearm reaches its peak velocity about six months before the upper arm. Shoulder width at least for boys follows hip width and chest breadth by a few months." (Ibid: 60)

Other physical features include:

- uneven muscle growth
- under-arm, facial, body and pubic hair growth
- sexual organ development
- enlargement of testes and penis of the male
- breasts, ovaries, uterus, vagina, labia and clitoris develop at the onset of menarche for girls and, the occurrence of the first menstrual cycle.
- sweat glands also develop allowing for an increase in perspiration.
- the laryngeal muscles develop in size and strength deepening the voice, particularly in boys.

Alongside the observable physical changes physiological and endocrinological aspects of bodily function develop:

- blood pressure and heart rates increase,
- in the case of boys, the number of red corpuscles and haemoglobin's in the bloodstream increase
- respiratory capacities increase
- the metabolic rate stabilises for boys
- the alkali reserve increases in boys enabling the blood to absorb greater quantities of lactic acid and other metabolites.

Endocrinological growth involves the secretion of hormones which combine to enable adolescent growth; gonadotrophins, oestrogen's and androgens for example. Occasionally the hormonal balance becomes destabilised, resulting in fluctuations in behaviour and for no apparent reason. Dr Elizabeth Susman, an endocrinologist, addressing the 5th Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research on Adolescence, in San Diego, February 1994, reported that her research into adolescent girls had demonstrated that they were able to chart brain patterns linked to hormonal changes in the body. She suggested, furthermore, that there was a body of growing evidence that these changes could occur at a rapid rate, not just from month to month, as had been previously thought and linked to the menstrual cycle, nor week to week, nor even day to day, but hourly or less and capable of oscillating between opposite extremes several times a day. These caused remarkable changes in mood and behaviour, often unpredictable. She added that the hope was that, in future, drugs could be used to enable those who exhibited extreme behaviours to be "stabilised" by controlling their hormonal balance until maturity enabled this to occur naturally (Doswell: 1994).

These physical, physiological and endocrinological changes can have a dramatic effect as both boys and girls become more aware of their changing bodies but as Grindler points out, *"Body image is generally of more critical significance to the adolescent girl than it is to the boy"* (Ibid: 83).

Eating disorders may result, particularly anorexia or bulimia but they are not easy to detect unless they become serious as pre-adolescent girls often have "puppy fat" which they shed when they reach maturity. These eating disorders can lead to a delay in the onset of puberty (Nicholls et al: 2000).

Burns (1982) explains that adolescent boys and girls are driven by the gender-specific demands of this stage of development. He suggests:

"Consequently, each sex must use their bodies (and specifically their genitals) in a biologically appropriate i.e. adaptive manner to achieve complete synthesis, and concomitantly, successful self-definition" (Burns: 1982: 131)

He reminds us, furthermore, that self-image is reliant on the symbolic outcomes of successful genital development. He maintains:

"Because for females, use of the genitals may require either literal or symbolic 'taking-in'. or incorporation of a male, they need to make themselves as attractive as possible, whereas for males the appropriate genital use requires a 'pushing-out' into objects in the environment. The success or otherwise, in both cases, determines the individual's self-concept." (Ibid: 131)

Anxiety over body image due to a negative self-image can be exacerbated by comments made, often in jest, by parents, other adults or by peers which draw

attention to an individual's lack of development (height, penis or breast size, delayed menarche or excessive weight). This is illustrated by the case of a girl seeking a breast enlargement operation for her 16th birthday. Eventually the consultant refused to perform the operation until the girl had stopped growing. The girl, in interview, said that she wanted to be an actress and that her small breasts would mean she would not be considered for a part. She also asserted that having 'fully developed' breasts would give her more confidence.

Problems such as these may lead to an unconscious change of behaviour, such as not wanting to undress in front of others, or take a shower at school, stemming from a fear of being ridiculed or having their bodies compared to others. They may just wet their hair to feign having showered or offer an excuse to avoid the activity. Equally boys may refrain from any activity where they are disadvantaged by a competitor's earlier and greater muscle growth or where their energies are required for a growth spurt. Girls may avoid physical contact, dress in baggy, oversized outfits to 'hide' their body shape or cross their arms to prevent others 'inspecting' their developing breasts.

As already suggested, hormonal changes and growth spurts cause parts of the body to develop before others giving the impression of disproportionate growth. The nose may seem to take over the whole face, hormone imbalance may cause spots or in extreme cases, eczema, and the result can be a sense of acute embarrassment and poor self-image, which will be addressed later.

Psychological/emotional development

As an individual's body changes and develops, they also experience changes in their psychological and emotional domain. Most theorists provide a taxonomy of these changes (see Coleman: 1999; Feldman & Elliott (1990); Heaven (1994); Muuss (1996) Roche & Tucker (1997); Steinberg (1996)) and, rather than compare a number of them, as this chapter is merely to provide an overview of adolescence, I feel that one is sufficient to provide that. Bocknek suggests that a number of psychological characteristics exist in adolescence although he refutes the notion that there is a universal adolescent personality (Bocknek: 1986: 72).

These characteristics are:

- sexual pre-occupation
- narcissistic orientation
- ego fluidity
- impulsivity, and
- absolute idealism.

Sexual pre-occupation stems from the advent of bisexual maturity and its impact which excites, or activates defences to repress, the desire for sexual experience.

This period of life involves:

- sexual fantasies,
- experimentation with the genitalia, and
- a concern for sexual interaction, particularly with the opposite sex.

Coleman and Hendry point out, however, that *"During the last ten years there has been a much greater recognition of the place of lesbian and gay sexuality in adolescence"* (Op cit: 109). They also recognise that some young people are not exclusively oriented solely to one gender or the other; *"there are some who have sexual feelings directed to both men and women, and these individuals may identify themselves as 'bisexual'"* (Ibid: 109).

Because of the impact and importance of this aspect of adolescent development it will be discussed in more detail later.

Narcissistic orientation refers to the adolescent's pre-occupation with him or herself as the one main focus of concern and interest. They behave as though the world revolves around them and perceive their own experiences as unique and the only ones of value and relevance. Their concern with self-image leads them to inspect their appearance in mirrors or their reflections in shop windows to ensure they are looking well presented. They agonise over what clothes to wear.

Rather than this being merely self-indulgence or self-admiration, however, it reflects the adolescent's worry that he or she is perceived by others as less than perfect, so, as Bocknek suggests, *"Anguish more than adoration, seems to be the dominant theme"* (Op cit: 74). Concerns over self-image incline them to be self-deprecating as they seek the recognition and approval of others, both adults and young people, to provide them with a sense of value and status.

Day (1998, 2000) shows how self-esteem and psychological and personal problems are linked during adolescence. He suggests that low esteem, *“may be manifested in loneliness, depression, risk of being bullied, stress, suicide, substance abuse (solvents, alcohol and drugs), early pregnancy, poor school achievement, eating disorders, drop-out and criminal behaviour”* (Day: 2000: 2).

Young people can be made to feel inadequate by the way others treat them, and bewildered by the pressures upon them from unrealistic adult expectations.

Ego fluidity reflects this. The adolescent is, after all, in transition as an emerging adult and so naturally their ego development has not reached maturity either. As

Bocknek suggests:

“The ego, the person’s regulative system of personality functioning, has not yet achieved the integrity and solidarity of adulthood. This incompletely developed set of processes then comes under the tremendous stresses already described as accompanying the onset of puberty and adolescence.” (Ibid: 74)

The adolescent’s wide mood swings, bursting into tears one moment, or into fits of laughter the next, and for no apparent reason, unexplained fury, depression, or elation, lack control, and are unpredictable and unreliable. Fluctuation between adult and childish behaviour is common. Their ego processes, fortunately, are capable of rapid recovery from any action which denies them the persona of the adult they crave. As the ego develops mood swings reduce and the individual begins to understand his or her actions and how others are likely to respond to them. While this process is underway, however, adults may find the adolescent extremely difficult to work, live or play with and this may drive them to utter

despair. A daunting, if not impossible, task for a youth worker is attempting to reassure an "I'm at the end of my tether" parent that their child's adolescent behaviour is "normal" and they'll grow out of it.

Bocknek offers an opinion that *impulsivity* is an aspect of ego fluidity but deserves to be treated separately as it requires special attention. (Ibid: 75) By impulsivity is meant the propensity to act without first considering the consequence on self or others, a knee-jerk reaction, unplanned and uncontrolled by the normal adult ego functions. Bocknek explains:

"The capacity for delayed response and the ability to check out reality - qualities gradually acquired during childhood - give way to the intrapsychic erosion and external pressures of adolescent life. Immediate needs overwhelm the ego organisation, and an impulsive act results." (Ibid:75)

Actions which would be regarded as abnormal, unreasonable or irresponsible for an adult may become part of the adolescent's normal repertoire of behaviours.

But some of these behaviours may result from the *absolute idealism* of the adolescent. The young have a propensity to be idealistic due to their developing ability to manipulate abstract ideas independently of concrete reality. (This will be developed further in the section on cognitive development below.) They are able to give consideration to metaphysical matters, around the purpose of life, whether there is a God or not, why am I here? But due to their lack of previous experience, the adolescent interprets the world and its values in a dichotomous way; it is both abstract yet absolute. People, for instance, are beautiful or ugly, they tell the truth or they lie; adolescents are incapable during this period of

development of perceiving or interpreting values in terms of a continuum or a process. They are one thing or its opposite and nothing in between. An example is the mother who told the researcher when he was a youth worker that she was horrified when her son and his group of friends suddenly and without warning, joined the Young Communist's League as they believed that capitalism was at the root of the ills of society. She was equally horrified when 6 months later they all changed allegiance and joined the Young Conservatives.

This idealism, then, is a way the adolescent employs to make sense of the world and to attempt to influence it. Sometimes this takes the form of action which may be on the borders of illegality, such as joining an anti-hunt demonstration. Or it may take on more of an individual form such as becoming a vegetarian, or seeking membership of a religious organisation.

In summary, psychological developments cause behaviours which adults find inexplicable and confusing. Physical changes are more obvious as they can be observed whereas psychological changes cannot. In similar fashion cognitive developments are not altogether observable although their effects may be.

Cognitive development

In adolescence an individual's intellectual functions change and develop but the way they do affects their behaviour and attitudes. Coleman and Hendry explain:

"Such changes render possible the move towards independence of thought and action, they enable the young person to develop a time perspective which includes the future, they facilitate progress towards maturity in relationships, they contribute to the development of

communication skills, and, finally, they underlie the individual's ability to take on adult roles in society." (Op cit:36)

Piaget was the first to suggest that a qualitative change in the nature of mental ability occurred during the teenage years making possible formal operational thought, enabling the person both to process information logically and to utilise abstract symbols in the solution of abstract problems. The adolescent is able to consider possibilities other than childhood concrete events even when they may be in conflict. They are able to search for explanations, or formulate and test hypotheses, even when they have had no prior experience of them. Whilst Piagetian theory may be seen today as marginal to an understanding of adolescence, he has inspired others to use the notion of developmental stages to provide their own explanations of this period of human life. Elkin (1967), for instance, building on Piaget, suggests that while the attainment of formal reasoning allows the individual to consider his or her own thoughts he or she can also consider those of others. This forms the basis of the adolescent's egocentrism, whereby the individual assumes that others share his or her pre-occupations with an issue or problem. Elkin offers as an example the adolescent's concern for appearance, where he or she may believe that everyone else notices what they are wearing and how they look, even if the reality is that they do not. Elkin has conjured the concept of the 'imaginary audience' to describe the adolescent's perception of how others view them. The young person constructs a 'personal fable', a life-script which accords with the myths they create around their hopes, aspirations and desires, and may include a sense of immortality and invincibility.

The combination of the imaginary audience and the personal fable are foundations of the adolescent's ego-centrism and offer an explanation of some of the resulting behaviours particularly in cases of abnormal disturbance or extreme stress.

Other writers, particularly Selman (1980) has examined the social aspects where young people are in relationships with others. He looked at the processes through which the adolescent learns to understand others, what they are thinking, feeling, desiring, their attitudes to other people and their behaviour in social settings, including role-taking, empathy, moral reasoning, inter-personal problem-solving and the ability to understand both one's own views and, at the same time, the views of others, even where contradictory.

One important aspect of social cognition is, of course, moral thought, and here again Piaget has led the way, together with Kohlberg whose work is considered later. Indeed, Coleman and Hendry suggest that; *"there is little doubt that the 'cognitive-developmental' approach of Piaget and Kohlberg has more relevance to adolescence than any other"* (Op cit:44).

Piaget believed that there were two major stages in moral thinking, 'moral realism' where the person makes a judgement on an objective basis, by estimating the amount of harm done by an action, and the 'morality of reciprocity',

where the person is able to take other factors into account which may aggravate or mitigate the action.

Kohlberg (1981) has extended this notion of stages and introduces six of them into his theory. The young person's response to a moral dilemma can be analysed and classified to fit into the following framework:

Pre-conventional

Stage 1 Punishment-obedience orientation. Behaviours that are punished are perceived as bad.

Stage 2 Instrumental hedonism. Here the child conform in order to obtain rewards, have favours returned etc

Conventional

Stage 3 Orientation to interpersonal relationships. Good behaviour is that which pleases or helps others and is approved by them.

Stage 4 Maintenance of social order. Good behaviour consists of doing one's duty, having respect for authority, and maintaining the social order for its own sake.

Post conventional

Stage 5 Social contract and/or conscience orientation. At the beginning of this stage moral behaviour tends to be thought of in terms of general rights and standards agreed upon by society as a whole, but at later moments there is an increasing orientation towards internal decisions of conscience.

Stage 6 The universal ethical principle. At this stage there is an attempt to formulate and be guided by abstract ethical principles (for example, the Golden Rule, Kant's Categorical Imperative).

(Kohlberg, 1981)

Whilst others (Murphy & Gilligan (1980), Muuss (1996)) have questioned the reliability of the testing which, by its very nature, is subjective, some substituting multi-choice alternatives, the notion of developmental stages is widely acknowledged and accepted.

Identity formation

During the pilot study the question of identity was highlighted by some of the respondents. Perhaps it is inevitable that minority communities feel that their cultural identity is under threat and a major concern, therefore, is how to protect it, but the formation of identity in adolescence, whilst it may have some links where they are of a minority culture, is somewhat different. For the adolescent's task is to establish a separate but acknowledged and recognisable identity of his or her own, not child-based as when they are their father's or mother's son, or their parent's daughter or grandparent's grandchild, but as an independent, autonomous adult in their own right.

In any discussion of identity development the work of Erikson is impossible to avoid. He is a key figure who viewed life as a series of stages, each having a specific developmental task. His concept stems from his observations over several different cultures, both pre-industrial and the more technologically developed, and so can be regarded as appropriate for all cultures not just the Western ones. Fontana reports that Erikson "*considered that the search for identity marks the final developmental task faced by the individual in the pre-adult years*" (Fontana:1997:103).

Erikson describes the life cycle as one with eight critical periods each expressed in terms of opposites:

- basic trust versus basic mistrust
- autonomy versus shame

- initiative versus guilt
- industry versus inferiority
- identity versus role confusion
- intimacy versus isolation
- generativity versus stagnation
- ego integrity versus despair.

These form his epigenetic chart (Erikson:1968:94) reproduced as Figure 1, below:

								INTEGRITY vs. DESPAIR
VII								GENERATIVITY vs. STAGNATION
VI						INTIMACY vs. ISOLATION		
V	Temporal perspective vs. Time Confusion	Self-Certainty vs. Self-Consciousness	Role Experimentation vs. Role Fixation	Apprenticeship vs. Work Paralysis	IDENTITY vs. IDENTITY CONFUSION	Sexual Polarization vs. Bisexual Confusion	Leader- and Followership vs. Authority Confusion	Ideological Commitment vs. Confusion of Values
IV				INDUSTRY vs. INFERIORITY	Task Identification vs. Sense of Futility			
III			INITIATIVE vs. GUILT		Anticipation of Roles vs. Role Inhibition			
II		AUTONOMY vs. SHAME, DOUBT			Will to Be Oneself vs. Self-Doubt			
I	TRUST vs. MISTRUST				Mutual Recognition vs. Autistic Isolation			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Figure 1. Erikson's Epigenetic Chart

(Erikson: 1986: 94)

As Coleman and Hendry point out, "As far as adolescence is concerned, the task involves the establishment of a coherent identity, and the defeat of a sense of

identity diffusion" (Op cit: 60). Erikson believed the search for identity becomes especially acute at this period of life because of all the changes confronting the individual where he or she has to make a number of major decisions in all areas of life. So a crisis is both inevitable and also necessary for the young person to resolve the tensions between identity formation and diffusion.

Identity diffusion, according to Erikson, involves four elements;

- intimacy,
- time perspective,
- industry,
- negative identity.

In the first, *intimacy*, Erikson thinks of as "a counterpointing as well as a fusing of identities" (Ibid:135). This is where the individual may fear that he or she may lose their own identity if they form a close relationship with another person.

Hence it can lead to a sense of isolation or, in Erikson's own words, where the individual tries to, "in repeated hectic attempts and dismal failures, seek intimacy with the most inappropriate partners" (Ibid: 167). The danger exists that the individual may then settle, "for highly stereotyped interpersonal relationships and come to a deep sense of isolation" (Ibid: 136).

The diffusion of *time perspective* refers to the adolescent's inability to retain any sense of time or plan the future. "The young person may feel simultaneously very young, and in fact babylike, and old beyond rejuvenation" (Ibid: 169). This is brought about by the anxieties elicited by thoughts about change and becoming

adult with all that entails and is a mixture of *"disbelief in the possibility that time may bring change, and yet also of a violent fear that it might"* (Ibid: 169).

The diffusion of *industry* refers to the way an adolescent finds it almost impossible to apply him or herself to work or study. They may not be able to concentrate, or engage in one single task to the exclusion of all others. Erikson suggests:

"Severe identity confusion is regularly accompanied by an acute upset in the sense of workmanship, either in the form of an inability to concentrate on required or suggested tasks or in a self-destructive preoccupation with some one-sided activity, i.e., excessive reading." (Ibid: 170)

Negative identity involves the young person choosing an identity which is exactly the opposite to that which would attract the approval of parents or other significant adults. Post-war history is riddled with examples of groupings which parents and adults find repulsive, Teddy Boys (Fyvel: 1962; Parker 1965), Mods and Rockers (Cohen: 1987), skin-heads or punks (Daniel & McGuire: 1973). A young person may, without warning, suddenly give up a hard-earned place at university often involving hardship by his or her parents, to join a pop group or just drop-out. Erikson explains,

"The loss of a sense of identity is often expressed as a scornful and snobbish hostility towards the role offered as proper and desirable in one's family or immediate community. Any aspect of the required role or all of it - be it masculinity or femininity, nationality or class membership - can become the main focus of the young person's acid disdain." (Ibid: 172)

Erikson also calls for a period where the individual's decision-making is left in abeyance, a 'psychosocial moratorium'. The young person should, according to Erikson, be allowed to experiment with roles to discover what sort of person he

or she wishes to be, without restraint. This period of 'social play' will lead naturally to appropriate identity choices. Erikson suggests:

"This period can be viewed as a psychosocial moratorium during which the young adult through free role experimentation may find a niche in some section of his society, a niche which is firmly defined and yet seems to be uniquely made for him." (Ibid: 156)

In summary, it seems that each young person is seeking a separate sense of identity, attempting to discover what makes him or her so special and unique. It is suggested, furthermore, that *"successful resolution of the identity crisis thus paves the way for major adult tasks"* (Bocknek: op cit: 81).

Researchers since Erikson (Marcia (1980), Adams et al (1992), and others) have developed his theories in an attempt to test them empirically. It is not the intention of this study to taxonomise these or provide a detailed analysis of them. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the wide range of changes going on in the life of the adolescent to contextualise the study of black young people. That being so it is important to examine the question of ethnic identity to determine whether or not this places an even greater stress on black young people as they make the transition from childhood to adulthood through the adolescent period.

Research in America by Phinney (1992,1993) and Phinney and Rosenthal (1992) and others, suggested that there are three stages in the development of ethnic identity. The first of these was where a young person had not considered the issue; these were classed as *unexamined*. The second stage was marked by

an incident or event which caused them to examine themselves and their identity, often associated with a racial remark either directed at them or others in their presence. These were referred to as *searchers*. Those who resolved the tensions of recognising their own culture or ethnic identity, albeit in a wider dominant one, were identified as the *achieved* group. The implication, of course, is that young people progress through a developmental process, which to some critics is too simplistic. They suggest that the question of acculturation is far more complex and multi-dimensional. The notion, however, that young people of ethnic minority origin wish to retain their own cultural identity whilst at the same time maintaining an enduring relationship with 'mainstream' society is largely acknowledged.

Parents have a key role in this as their attitude to their own culture will affect their children's own ethnic identity formation. Because, however, of the tensions associated during adolescence over identity this is not straightforward and moves Coleman and Hendry to suggest:

"One important issue is the possibility of conflict between parents and teenagers about the degree of identification that is expected in relation to mainstream and minority cultures." (Op cit: 68)

This is one of the key issues the study hopes to examine as being black in a predominantly white society may reveal inter-generational cleavages over cultural transmission and maintenance.

Sexuality

As suggested previously the physical development of sexual organs and the psychological and emotional changes which accompany them, causes sexual development to play a key role in adolescent experience with the new-found sex drive impacting on behaviour. Moore and Rosenthal explain;

"Adolescence is a 'critical period' in the upsurge of sexual drives, the development of sexual values, and the initiation of sexual behaviours. (Moore & Rosenthal: 1993: ix)

This may lead them to experimenting with a succession of sexual partners, as they strive to be adult, with all the risks that entails. Moore and Rosenthal warn;

"Adolescents' propensity for risk-taking, their experimentation with adult behaviours, their drive towards autonomy, and their openness to peer influences has been thought to make them vulnerable to maladaptive sexual behaviours." (Ibid: 166)

Different cultures have sought ways of 'controlling' the sexual desires of the young, to:

- prevent unwanted pregnancies
- limit the dangers of disease, or
- reduce weaknesses in the stock or lineage through in-breeding.

Societal norms have been devised to regulate patterns of sexual intercourse.

Marriage, with abstinence beforehand, introduced as a Judeo-Christian taboo, became the accepted dominant ethic of Western society. Young people were discouraged to engage in sexual relations before marriage with girls being expected to have their virginity intact.

Margaret Mead shows how virginity is regarded as important in Samoan society although it is more ritualised. Young Samoans are allowed to experiment with different sexual partners despite demanding that females are still virgins at marriage. They resolve this contradiction by *"placing the onus of virginity, not on the whole young female population, but on the 'taupou', the ceremonial princess of the village. She was better guarded than other girls and thus freed from temptation"* (Mead: 1950: 119).

Grinder suggests that, in any case, society imposed a double standard, in that boys were expected to 'sow their wild oats' whilst girls were expected to be chaste; boys did it for fun, girls to have children. *"Codes of sexual conduct specify in reality a double standard: procreational sex for women, recreational sex for men"* (Grinder:op cit: 40). This is in part, because it offers boys a way to demonstrate their manhood, whereas girls are expected to keep their reputation intact and to avoid pregnancy.

Despite the availability of birth control methods the risk of early pregnancy, still exists particularly of working class teenagers, nor has adult ambivalence towards young people and sexual behaviour. In Croydon, for instance, the suggestion by the Medical Officer, Dr Allyson Ellman, that the 'morning-after' pill could be made available to young people in their schools, has caused a furore, a moral backlash from parents, outraged at the suggestion. Dr Ellman has also moved her family planning clinic to the heart of Croydon's clubland to make these services more

readily available to young people amidst criticism that these measures would encourage promiscuity (Croydon Advertiser: 12th January 2001). The reality, as reported in the same article pointed out, is:

"The number of teenage conceptions in Croydon is way above the national average and is the seventh highest in London. Nearly one in every 100 13 to 15 year old girls in Croydon become pregnant...(and) one in every 15 16 to 19 year olds, and the borough has nearly twice the national average number of abortions carried out on 13 to 15 year olds."
(Croydon Advertiser)

This last figure on abortion rates may be misleading as Croydon serves as a regional centre and many of those who received abortions would have come from neighbouring boroughs. The position is clear, however, that many teenagers under 16, the legal age of consent, are engaging in sexual activity.

Studies by Schofield (1965), Farrel (1978) and Wellings et al (1994), reveal that the percentages of young people under 16 engaging in sexual intercourse for the first time is steadily increasing, and in 1991, for instance, was just under 30% for boys and 20% for girls.

Coleman and Hendry report that *"evidence from other countries indicates similar trends"* (Op cit: 100). Steinberg (1996), for instance, shows that in the USA 33% of boys and 25% of girls have had sexual intercourse by the age of 15 but warn that the figures mask very large regional and ethnic variations.

Adolescents are often accused of having casual sex as though they invented it. But, the reality is that they are bombarded with examples of adults doing precisely the same thing, in films, on TV, in magazines, books, even in

advertisements. Philip Adams, a well-known Australian journalist and broadcaster, speaking to the First International Youth Service Models Conference in Adelaide in March 2000, warned of what he called 'corporate paedophilia'. This refers to the way the media is used by large corporations to influence young people, in terms of what they buy and how they behave. They shape their moral values, encourage young people to emulate the models of behaviour they offer yet, at the same time, he suggests Australian society is becoming more intolerant, more bigoted and more punitive particularly towards the young. The result was that more young people were criminalised and oppressed (Doswell: 2000).

The irony is that young people realise that most adults engage in sexual activity because they find it enjoyable. What largely influences young people and their attitudes, whether they engage in casual sex or are prepared to defer gratification until they have at least established an enduring relationship, is parental attitudes and the example they set. This will be explored later in more detail.

One of the issues around sexual activity in the present time is that of 'safe sex'. Whilst sexually transmitted diseases were a past threat, modern treatments reduce what could be life-threatening to mere inconvenience. But AIDS/HIV is another matter and in the 1980s people were to re-examine their attitudes and sexual practices. Firstly, it was billed as a 'gay disease' or one which could only be caught by heterosexuals if they were intravenous drug users sharing needles, but then it spread more widely. Examples of young people who had engaged in

unprotected casual sex who were diagnosed as HIV positive rang alarm bells, and although still a relatively minor risk, it prompted the authorities to publicise the dangers.

But rather than deter young people it whetted their appetite for sex as it gave them greater knowledge of issues of sexuality and reassured them that, if they used a condom, they would be protected. But as Coleman & Hendry point out the use of condoms is easier said than done, especially where the inexperienced may be awkward, nervous or embarrassed in obtaining them. Both boys and girls on a date, especially a first one, may not want to give the impression that they have come prepared for sex as that may imply they had an expectation which may cause misperceptions about them and the sort of person they are and the sort of person they think their date is. It also assumes that *"at least one partner is sober"* (Op cit: 108) and whilst the partners may intend, at a philosophical level that the use of a condom is important, practical considerations may over-ride those intentions, resulting in unprotected sex. In any case, as Plant and Plant point out, *"Sexual arousal is in itself a powerful form of disinhibition"* (Plant & Plant: 1992: 112). They add, that like any other 'risky' activity, sexual relations *"can be enjoyable, exciting, confer status and are socially approved, especially by young people's peers"* (Ibid: 112).

Again a double standard is in operation as carrying a condom may provide boys with a sense of male status whereas a girl may suffer a negative reputation if she has one in her handbag particularly by other members of her peer group.

The final issue around sexuality is that of gay and lesbian relationships. Until recently discussion on this subject was taboo. Young people were discouraged from considering the possibility of a same-sex intimate relationship. There are still people in society who think that such a relationship is unnatural and/or a disease requiring medical attention.

Trotter (2001), in her research with 11-16 year olds in secondary schools, discovered that the numbers of lesbians and gay men was under-estimated and that bullying and harassment they suffered as a result of their sexual preference was largely overlooked by staff. She suggests:

"Given the heterosexual nature of society, the process a person goes through in deciding that they are lesbian or gay is often lengthy and sometimes traumatic; the extent to which negative messages and stereotyped images are internalised by the individual impinge on the process." (Trotter. 2001: 41)

The development of a gay or lesbian identity has been examined and a number of stages identified. Cass (1984) and Goggin (1995), for instance, suggest there are four stages in the process:

- Sensitisation* - when a young person realises he or she may be different from other people and experiences sexual feelings for those of the same gender
- Identity confusion* - where a young person is sexually aroused by a same-sex person but feels a sense of it not being right reinforced by inaccurate information about homosexuality
- Identity assumption* - the young person takes on the identity of a gay or lesbian and admits such to close friends only
- Commitment* - this involves disclosure to a same-sex person and their own family and other significant adults.

Whilst this schema is generally accepted, it is acknowledged that not all young people will share the same process and each situation has to be considered in accordance with the individual's experience.

Most, however, will suffer the homophobia inherent in society. Young people may agonise whether or when, for instance, to disclose their sexuality to parents and other close friends fearing or experiencing ostracism or be told, "to grow out of it". Others may be 'sent' to a priest or counsellor for 'help' resulting in confusion and unhappiness and, in extreme cases, attempts at suicide. Donnelly warns that suicide amongst young people "*occurs at an alarming rate*" (Donnelly: 1998: 9).

Catanzaro (1981) confirms that amongst the reasons for attempts at suicide are social isolation, and difficulties in interpersonal relationships, particularly with the opposite sex.

There are other young people who have a preference for either gender and can form sexual relationships with both. These 'bi-sexuals' may also suffer ambivalence and confusion.

But whichever sexuality suits the individual, hetero, homo or bi-sexual, the subject is fraught with uncertainties and anxieties for young people. It also cause parents sleepless nights. Family relationships may be strained, and even if not, they certainly change and it is to that we now turn.

Changing Family Relationships

Adolescence marks a major change in relationships between parents and their offspring. . As previously suggested, the adolescent is striving to become autonomous and independent, to sever his or her parent's apron strings and be recognised as capable of standing on his or her feet with a separate, recognisable and acceptable identity. This requires, as Harris suggests that this period is marked by "*successive redefinitions of (the child's) social role both in the family and in the society*" (Harris: 1970: 181). This is made more complicated by the changes in family life such as gender roles, reproductive patterns, ageing, marriage, divorce and cohabitation (Harding: 1996). This is confirmed by Newman and Smith (1997) who suggest that the recent patterns in family dynamics means that individuals are much more likely to experience a greater variety of family structures during their lifetime.

Coleman and Hendry reassure us that these changes within families are not necessarily traumatic:

"Such change is gradual and, contrary to popular belief, does not lead to a complete breakdown in relationships...research in the last decade or so has emphasised continuity as much as change, and has highlighted the central role that parents play throughout the life stage. In addition, recent research has indicated that conflict within the family is less prevalent than people assume." (Op cit: 74)

Relationships between parents and their adolescent children, endure. A complete breakdown in relationships is rare. The nature of adolescent growth with spurts and oscillations of hormonal levels, mood swings, are, in a sense,

replicated by family relationship patterns. As young people can be exasperating one moment and charming the next, so can adults. It is hardly surprising that people would report that disagreements and conflicts were not a serious issue except in a minority of cases, and that, all in all, parents and children relate well.

The roles both of parents and their children have a bearing on how easily or painfully the latter make the transition to adulthood. The British-based African Caribbean family is, itself, changing. But, Hylton argues, from his study of black families in East London, that, *"In spite of differences and changes in group culture most respondents agreed that parents provided the main role model for the next generation"* (Hylton: 1997: 23).

Fontana expresses a concern that often these role models are missing and this makes it more difficult for the individual young person to gain a sense of adult identity (Fontana: 1997: 103). Changes in work patterns, longer and unsocial hours, technological advances, as well as the breakdown of marriages and single-parent families, contribute to a society where its older members appear out of date in their ideas or are not available to provide their adolescent children with the basic information they need to embrace adulthood. This has led Fontana to ask,

"Where are they to find their role models, when fashions and marketable skills change so frequently and so dramatically?" (Ibid: 103)

At the same time as looking to parents, or sometimes in their absence other significant adults, such as step-parents, teachers, youth workers, ministers of

religion, neighbours or aunts/uncles, for advice and information, the young are striving to be autonomous. They are in a catch twenty-two, wanting to be free from parental restraints, to exercise control over their own lives and to be seen to be doing it, yet simultaneously they look to those from whom they want to be set free for help and support. How they deal with this dilemma or conundrum depends on their backgrounds, their culture, ethnicity, social class, economic opportunities, family make up (number of siblings, whether they are older or younger), their own ability, intelligence level and educational attainments.

Bates and Riseborough remind us of the importance of 'social' and 'emotional' capital (Bates & Riseborough: 1993: 142). The former is concerned with networks which offer support and provide access to valued resources, and include imparting a sense of value to the individual where, "*recognition is endlessly affirmed*" (Ibid: 143). The latter refers to the situation where family or friends pass on the benefits of social capital. As an example the authors cite the case of a mother, having benefited from higher education, instead of using her knowledge and skills to further her own career, invests those in her own children to promote their future success in the outside world.

But whatever investment a parent makes in his or her child, the bid for autonomy does not imply a complete severing of relationships. Rather it is concerned with adjustment, and both parent and child seeking and adopting appropriate roles.

Grotevant and Cooper (1986) suggest that the reality is that a sense of 'connectedness' is the way this potential tension is overcome. Young people and their parents remain attached, possibly more by an 'elastic band' than their mother's apron strings enabling the young person to demonstrate that he or she is capable of achieving an increasing distance from parents but knowing that if they stop pulling away the tension will bring them back together.

In the past it has been popular to describe what is perceived as tensions between young people and their parents as a 'generation gap', implying that the latter are out of touch with the former, that they do not understand them and vice versa. Young people are foreigners who speak a different language and exhibit different behavioural patterns. Yet, in disputing this, Coleman and Hendry suggest:

"It is commonly believed by parents and the general public that the adolescent years bring with them conflict and disagreement in the home, as well as widely divergent views on such topics as sex, drugs and morality. Researchers, on the other hand, report good relationships between parents and teenagers, with relatively little evidence of a generation gap in attitudes to careers, education and morality. (Op cit: 78)

There is, regrettably, little comparative research, however, on the different parenting styles of African-Caribbean families in this country to the white population. Hylton, however, suggests that African-Caribbean parents are adopting the practices of the indigenous population:

"Along with trends in the wider UK population, there appears to be a continuing generational change in child-rearing practices among Black families towards an emphasis on co-operation rather than the discipline of physical control." (Op cit: 21)

These changes are not necessarily welcomed by Black parents who feel morally pressured into accepting them. They may feel undermined and, at the same time, confused. If, for instance, they inflict corporal punishment on their child, then they feel that the authorities may take the child away. If, however, they do not exercise this form of control and the child misbehaves or commits an offence, then the authorities also will take the child away anyway. They feel in a 'double bind', a 'no win' situation especially where they fear that their children are in a position to manipulate them by threatening to go to the authorities to have themselves removed in they do not accede to the child's demands (Ibid: 21).

These are issues which may be highlighted in the study. Parents play a key role in the development of their adolescent children as does the peer group.

Peer Group Relationships

Ever since William Foote Whyte conducted his study in the 1930s of the Norton Street gang (Whyte: 1955), researchers have asked questions about the role of groups/gangs and those in them. The authenticity of this approach has been questioned and Whyte, himself, wondered whether his work could legitimately be described as scientific: *"Sometimes I wonder whether just hanging on the street corner was an active enough process to be dignified by the term "research"* (Whyte: 1955: 303). Yet he discovered how slum gangs operate and how leadership of them is exercised. Through participant observation, he reported that:

"I was building up the structure and functioning of the community through intensive examination of some of its parts in action. I was relating the parts together through observing events between groups and between

group leaders and the members of the larger institutional structures (of politics and rackets). I was seeking to build a sociology based on observed interpersonal events.” (Ibid: 358)

Groupings of young people are not new, whether described as gangs or groups, although the warring gang may be more of an American phenomena than a British one (Patrick: 1973). Yablonsky (1970) reported on the more developed violence of gang rumbles and the ‘kill for kicks’ homicides which characterised American gangs and were a cause for concern. Thrasher justified his study of gangs as not merely to gain knowledge for its own sake, but to tackle the causes of crime and delinquency. He suggested that, *“The origins of criminal careers are to be found largely in the social reactions of childhood and adolescence”* (Thrasher: 1963: 361).

Patrick’s research may offer some reassurance. He demonstrated that accounts of gangs in Britain from the ‘Teddy boys’ onward used the term rather loosely. They lacked the violence of their American counterparts. He suggests:

“A general picture is beginning to emerge in which the absence of structured gangs in England in the fifties and sixties is the most striking feature.” (Patrick: 1973: 160)

Instead what he has observed are groups of mostly pre-adolescent youths which exists, as a passing phase, to assist in the transition from dependent childhood to independent adulthood. Murray (1992), on his research into the crowds at Manchester City Football Club, similarly reports that these ‘crowds’ provide young people with a sense of purpose and loyalty, and, at the same time, allays fears of the violence which he suggests are mainly media-generated myths.

So these groupings of young people are an important influence on the lives of some, if not all, young people in their developmental adolescent years. Booton, for instance, charts how the youth institutes, especially provided for young people, of the latter half of the 19th century were in part to prevent young people from disturbing the adults who wished to study and improve themselves by attending the educational institutes, but at the same time, to 'reform' those young people (Booton: 1985). This did not quite work out as planned as, *"those sections of the youth population most amenable to this type of provision (the youth institutes) were not in fact the lower strata of the working class. They frequently resisted such intervention"* (Booton: 1985: 17). The uniformed youth organisations, Boys' Brigade, Church Lads Brigade and their female counterparts (and at the turn of the century the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides), became known as the 'better class or club' and a third type of provision was established for the 'rough boys' particularly those from the slums. Pearson reports that in the 1880s, in Manchester, these working class gangs were known as 'Scuttlers' with their gang fights and rowdyism as 'Scuttling' or 'Scuttles' (Pearson: 1994). Gangs were usually associated with a particular territory:

"Local gangs such as the infamous 'Forty Row' from Ancoats, the 'Bengal Tigers' from Bengal Street, the 'Bungall Boys' from Fairfield Street, Alum Street or Hope Street from Salford would do battle for neighbourhood supremacy, sometimes retiring to parks or open crofts for these engagements." (Ibid: 94)

The anti-social gang has always attracted attention both of researchers and the authorities, and of youth work agencies. The latter have sometimes sought to work with these groups of young people, at least with a mixture of delinquent gang and those friendship groups not attached to a traditional youth centre.

Bernard Davies, in his history of the Youth Service, suggests, "*The Service continued to fret about its failure to extend its reach, especially to the more threatening elements of 'the unattached'*" (Davies: 1999a: 8). There had been, however, some forays into uncharted territory. In 1960, for instance, with a grant from the Youth Service Development Council, the National Association of Youth Clubs established a project working in four areas of the country, providing 'unattached' youth workers to make contact with young people where they were, on their own territory. One worker, after spending some time just sitting around in a local coffee bar, the Mardi Gras, in a seaside town, and becoming 'part of the furniture' became recognised by the other young people in the bar. He reported, "*My gradual acceptance into the group was accelerated last Saturday evening, when I found myself, as one of many others associated with the Mardi Gras, in search of a party*" (Morse: 1965: 22). Another worker, in a different part of the country, reported, "*There is one group of about seven who seem to have accepted me quite happily and call me mate*" (Ibid: 153).

In a similar way the London YWCA established a project, "The Avenues", in East London. Much of its work was involved with group interaction and enabling the young people they contacted to find a "*sense of belonging and solidarity*" (Goetschius and Tash: 1967: 183). Gosling (1961) established a self-programming youth club, "Leicester City Youth Venture" which allowed 'unclubbables' to take responsibility for their own activities. Willis, on the other hand, looked at a group of non-academic, working class boys to chart their transition from school to work (or non-work), and to focus on "*the young worker*

and shop floor culture" (Willis: 1978). The group of 12 'lads' he chose were linked to each other by friendship and were a disruptive element of school life, anti-authority, rejecting all the school offered. They did this by sleeping in class, truancy, avoiding attendance in classes when they were in school, and generally having a laugh usually through sexist and racist remarks aimed at other pupils and 'larking' about. Outside of school they engaged in fighting, drinking, attending commercial dances, vandalism or picking arguments with members of ethnic minorities, for their excitement. Willis suggests that the school, by colluding with their behaviour perpetuates the existing social order by providing uneducated young people for unskilled jobs (if there are any). The reality is that schools are not equipped to educate such young people. Willis suggests:

"This study warns that disaffected working class kids respond not so much to the style of individual teachers and the content of education as to the structure of the school and the dominant teaching paradigm in the context of their overall class cultural experience and location." (Willis: 1978: 189)

So much of the early work on groups or gangs focused on delinquent or disadvantaged young people, and almost entirely on boys. But what of the rest of the adolescent population; those that lead 'normal' lives? Button (1974), using sociometry to plot friendship patterns, differentiated between close friends, other friends, associates or acquaintances in a hierarchical sequence. His research demonstrated that peer groups are not made up of young people who necessarily reciprocate another's friendship. Some young people seem to exist on the periphery of the peer group. They may claim the other group members to be their close friends, whilst the latter only chose them as acquaintances.

Willis (1990) demonstrated that what bound young people together was a sub-cultural style of clothing; Teddy boys with their Edwardian suits, the skinheads *"appropriation of proletarian work clothes, or the punk's borrowing of safety pins, bin liners and zips"* (Willis: 1990: 87). Osgerby (1998) confirms the importance of dress as an indicator of group membership. He describes the 1960s when 'beatnicks' (later renamed as 'hippies') adopted a different yet distinctive style to express their 'counter-culture', presenting themselves as *"imaginative dissidents"* and *"cultivating the image of the pauperised intellectual, threadbare jackets and fisherman's jerseys being set off by goatee beards and horn-rimmed spectacles in a montage of studied dishevelment"* (Osgerby: 1998: 84).

Roszak describes this as a *"progressive 'adolescentization' of dissenting thought and culture, not necessarily on the part of the young but 'their audience'"* (Roszak: 1968: 39). This was perceived as young people forming a counter-culture and, as such, a positive and acceptable, albeit rebellious and dissenting, middle-class response as opposed to the working class sub-cultures which were characterised by unacceptable behaviour.

Young people are members of several groups; family, school, recreational, religious, political, social, even nowadays, via the internet. But peer groups are important to young people because it is through them that they learn interpersonal skills, sustaining them as they move from adolescence to adulthood. The peer group is thought to support the individual member in his or her negotiations with adult authority. It also provides a 'sounding board' for

ideas, one which is egalitarian and not based on a hierarchy. It reinforces and approves trends in fashion or behaviour. Peer groups are essentially single-sex. The reason as Coleman and Hendry explain, is *"a consequence of...different socialisation patterns, (so) peer relationships have a different meaning for young men and women"* (Op cit: 141).

These socialisation patterns result in girls talking together, whereas boys may play competitive games. Coleman and Hendry continue:

"Thus, boys learn to negotiate, to co-operate with a group and to compete. By contrast, girls learn to communicate, to listen and to keep a relationship going. These different gender relationships can be observed for the rest of their lives. Girls have deeper, more emotional and personal relationships, while boys have more instrumental, action-centred relationships." (Ibid: 142)

Peer groups enable young people to begin the process of disengaging from parental authority, because they are free from adult controls. As such, *"peer association is greatly valued by the adolescent"* (Day: 348). Day's research on Peer Groups and Friendship suggested that, *"70% of the young people belong to a leisure-time peer group"* (Ibid: 351). Significantly for this study into British-born black young people, he suggested that, *"friendship and peer group membership patterns do not seem to be significantly affected by ethnic origin"* (Ibid: 352). He concludes (and here we will let him have the last word in this section) by stating that, *"we can be left in no doubt on the universal importance of friendship to young people"* (Ibid: 364).

Practising as adults

Like a butterfly struggling to break free from the confines of the chrysalis, the adolescent is struggling to break free from childhood and parental authority. And like the butterfly once this is achieved they can fly away to make their individualistic and colourful impression on the world. The butterfly merely has to achieve physical maturity and is not weighed down by the complexities described in the foregoing sections. And during this confusing and irregular period of growth the young person has one aim in mind, albeit sometimes unconscious, that of achieving adulthood. They need opportunities to practise at being adult, to act responsibly, to make decisions, to learn about the new style and type of relationships required of adults and to begin to engage in them.

Sometimes the pressures on young people to act as adults before they have been able to practise and gain the appropriate skills, causes pain and embarrassment, which Erikson hoped to alleviate by a period of delay. This is what he calls a 'psychosocial moratorium' by which, "*we mean a delay of adult commitments*" (Op cit: 157).

Erikson suggests that this exists already in a number of forms:

"apprenticeships and adventures that are in line with society's values....a time for work 'out West' or 'down under', a time for lost youth, an academic life, a time for self-sacrifice, or for pranks - and, today, often a time for patienthood or delinquency." (Ibid:157)

So opportunities such as Operation Raleigh, International Voluntary Service, Community Service Volunteers, or undertaking missionary work with a church

serve this purpose as does university life, or back-packing around the world.

These opportunities are, of course, denied to the disadvantaged working class youths, but they can achieve it through confinement in a psychiatric hospital or by engaging in delinquent acts. Erikson assures us that the latter is not all bad:

“For much of juvenile delinquency, especially in its organised form, must be considered to be an attempt at the creation of a psychological moratorium.” (Ibid: 157)

He warns, however,

“This we must consider carefully, for the label or diagnosis one acquires during the psychosocial moratorium is of the utmost importance for the process of identity formation: (Ibid: 157)

Farrington’s research on youth offending revealed that, *“minor offending (shoplifting etc) is very common, serious offending (such as burglary) is uncommon”* (Farrington: 1996: 1). This contradicts the public perception of young people’s criminality.

So it is important for adults, especially youth work practitioners and parents, to heed Erikson’s warning not ‘to give a dog a bad name’ and to enable others to recognise the worth of this period and not to make judgements on a young person’s behaviour. For it does provide some space and freedom for a young person to ‘find him or herself’ and to practise adult skills. How this happens in reality is varied and patchy. High-fliers are given encouragement and status (and often the resources) to gain experiences which enable them to form a sense of identity (such as Prince William cleaning toilets in Chile) whereas for many black adolescents the story is different.

Often criminalised at worst and devalued at best by racist attitudes, they may become disaffected from society and receive confused and contradictory messages about their membership of it. A sense of alienation may follow at the time when they are striving for recognition as autonomous adults. Bocknek suggests that an understanding of how individuals develop may enable an understanding of how social units or clusters may develop. He wonders whether the developmental schema for the identification of people's needs may provide insights into the needs of newly formed groups, organisations or systems (Op cit: 21).

He poses the question:

"Are there parallels to be drawn, for instance, between those conditions that lead to the deterioration and destruction of cultures and the conditions that may lead to the deterioration and psychological disruption of individual lives?" (Ibid: 21)

Durkheim (1957) coined the phrase 'anomie' to describe the condition of social disorganisation and isolation. For young people this also refers to their sense of 'normlessness' in that they have not yet been able to take hold of the norms of adult society.

Might there be a risk that the diluting or even breakdown of the African-Caribbean culture or parts of it, particularly child-rearing practices, in Britain will have a similar knock-on effect on the young people born here?

That is one of the key questions that this study is designed to find answers to.

In this chapter, adolescence has been shown to be a critical period of growth in an individual's life, which in Western society is characterised for most young people by 'storm and stress', albeit in varying degrees. Physical, physiological and endocrinological developments, with growth spurts, have a dramatic effect. Psychological changes can lead to unexpected and unpredictable behaviour. Cognitive development enables the formation of moral concepts and thinking. The search for a separate and independent identity paves the way for the adoption of adult roles and responsibilities.

With the development of sex organs young people are able to form sexual relationships, experiment in sexual activity and rehearse at being adult. This affects the relationships within the family as the young person asserts his or her independence and can lead to tensions especially where the parent disapproves of their offspring's behaviour or choice of friends. The peer group is seen to play an important role in assisting the individual to disengage from parental control. Whilst the young person needs the space to practise the newly acquired adult status he or she suffers a sense of anomie, being unsure, at the same time, of the norms of adult society or being clear over what is expected of him or her.

It is in this context that the research, having previously decided to employ an ethnographic methodology, grounded theory, considers how best to design the study to ensure that appropriate information-rich data is collected. That will be the task of the next Chapter.

Chapter 3 RESEARCH DESIGN - How the study was to be conducted

The previous chapter demonstrated the complexity of the adolescent period of development. This poses problems for anyone researching adolescence in knowing what aspects or features to focus upon or on which of the adolescents' experiences to collect information.

As with the Institutional Focused Study, the pilot research, the quality of the research design is crucial to ensure that the researcher collected and analysed appropriate information-rich data to provide answers to the questions he had determined to pose about intergenerational differences between British-born black young people and their parents' and grandparents' generations.

The research problem, as outlined in the Institution Focused Study, was perceived to be the lack of understanding of the influences on British-born black young people as they progressed through adolescence, particularly any cleavages between them and their parents and grandparents. The previous experience of the researcher, as a youth worker and a youth service manager, recorded in the Institution Focused Study, had indicated that black adolescents were judged by the white and black communities differently, creating tensions between the generations.

The Institution Focused Study considered how best to investigate this issue, with the difficulties over cross-cultural interviewing where a white researcher wished to gather information from black respondents. It concluded that, to avoid or

minimise bias, this would require on-going self-reflection and experimenter triangulation through a black confederate checking the interview transcripts for accuracy.

The pilot study examined the efficacy of the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss: 1967) and concluded that it would be possible to collect information-rich data by in-depth interviewing to generate a theory on British-born black young people. It presented the following procedure to be followed:

- collect data, through in-depth interviews
- transcribe interviews, providing full versions in order to analyse them
- develop categories
- saturate categories, gather further examples until new categories emerge
- theoretical sampling, by extracting relevant samples to test and further develop categories
- coding, to test for relationships between categories and the data
- theoretical integration, by identifying core categories and linking them with both subsidiary categories and established theories
- generating substantive theories, by checking emerging ideas against the text
- extracting a formal theory, by synthesising the substantive theories.

During the pilot study the researcher had looked for examples of similar research on British-born black young people to guide him with the design of this study. He

discovered little that could assist as all attempts were frustrated by the paucity of any interest in this topic.

In any case, as Huberman and Miles remind us that the design of qualitative research is often creative and each study is a 'one-off'. They suggest:

"In effect, qualitative designs are not copyable, off-the-shelf patterns, but normally have to be custom-built, revised and choreographed."
(Huberman & Miles: 1998: 185)

Strauss and Corbin add that whilst the purpose of the research will suggest how best to conduct it, the researcher needs to be confident of his or her ability to adopt and adapt a particular method:

"Although the purpose of the research and the nature of the questions asked often will determine the mode, a researcher ultimately has to work with those modes with which he or she feels most comfortable." (Strauss & Corbin: 1998:33)

Valerie Janesick also likened qualitative research to dance . She suggests:

"All dances make a statement and begin with a question, What do I want to say in this dance? In much the same way, the qualitative researcher begins with a similar questions: What do I want to know in this study?"
(Janesick: 1998: 37)

The pilot study posed a number of questions:

- whether the young people have different expectations to those of their parents and grandparents over their potential educational and vocational achievements,
- similarly, whether differences between the generations, exist in life chances, social status and the individual's sense of identity

- the key factors which influence the choices young people make and the aspirations they hold,
- whether their upbringing in Britain is different from that of their parents' and/or grandparents' generations that it causes cleavages in relationships
- how organisations, such as the Croydon Youth Development Trust, can be enabled to provide effective programmes of social education.

During the data gathering phase of the research, where subjects are interviewed, it may become apparent that any questions need refining, substituting for more appropriate ones, or even deleting, in accordance with the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss: Op cit: 171).

For as the researcher seeks information from respondents they may suggest new lines of enquiry, or new categories to be considered. This may be during the 'formal' interview stage or more informally, afterwards when the tape recorder is switched off. Sometimes ideas occur to the researcher at other moments, when he is driving or engaged in some other activity. The relevance of a chance remark may suddenly become apparent; the 'penny dropping' when the researcher least expects it which makes sense of a particular piece of information, sometimes by recognising the 'underlying theme' of a contribution.

Ideas and interpretations occur also when the researcher discusses the research with others. This becomes possible, for instance, when the researcher is seeking

suitable candidates for interview and asks 'intermediaries' from the black community for suggestions. Understandably they want to know about the purpose of the research and on being told will offer opinions. They can sometimes offer insights into the community which, whilst not an intended part of the research data gathering method, nevertheless provides valuable information which needs to be recorded. Ideas also stem from newspapers or magazine articles or television programmes. These additional inputs are captured and retained through the writing of 'memos'. For as Glaser and Strauss suggest, *"Memo writing on the field notes provides an immediate illustration of an idea"* (Op cit: 108).

To provide an illustration, at a Brunel University research symposium where the researcher presented the ideas for this study, the discussion turned to the relevance of the question on "Which international cricket team do you support?". It was explained that this was included to test the allegiance of respondents to their nationality to reinforce or contradict how they had answered the question, "What do you see your nationality to be?" It was pointed out by those at the symposium that this question might not, on its own, provide the evidence being sought, as not everyone could be expected to support or be interested in cricket, particularly females, and that a similar question on athletics be included.

Another example is one subject, a mother, after the tape recorder was switched off, started to tell of difficulties with her children over their eating habits. The problem, she stated, was that they preferred McDonalds to traditional Caribbean

dishes. We then discussed the issue of Caribbean food, the lack of local specialist Caribbean restaurants. She expressed the concern that many African-Caribbeans were losing the ability to cook traditional Caribbean meals. This provided another category for the research as an indicator of cultural decline and a replacement of Caribbean traditions with British (albeit Americanised!) ones.

Another respondent, again once the tape recorder had been switched off, began talking about her feelings about being black and British. She did not want to be forced into claiming to be Caribbean and cited monitoring forms as an example of this. Such forms used by local and central government (and Brunel University!) for ethnic monitoring purposes only allow subjects to indicate whether they are 'Black African', 'Black Caribbean' or 'Black Other'. She thought this was a form of institutional racism as she would have preferred to be allowed to claim to be 'Black British'. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Some of this additional and unanticipated information led to the prompt sheet, a copy of which is provided in its final form as Appendix A, being amended to include other potential categories. The next Chapter will detail how and why the individual amendments were made.

The research questions had been 'translated' into interview questions to enable structured, yet informal, interviews to take place and all that was needed was people to interview. It was now necessary to determine how many subjects were needed and how they were to be recruited.

As with the pilot study I needed to enlist young people and adults, both of their parents' and also of their grandparents' generations, but not their actual parents or grandparents for two reasons:

1. on a practical point, it was thought unlikely to be able to recruit 'whole' families to participate in the study. The chances of getting sufficient young people whose parents and grandparents were both available and willing to participate were thought to be negligible.
2. the knowledge that parents and grandparents were also being interviewed might inhibit the young person's responses, and vice versa.

The pilot study had raised a concern that some young people had responded with monosyllabic answers which did not lead to a discussion as intended.

These were mainly boys but it was thought that one to one interviewing would enable a greater sense of dialogue than merely result in a 'question and answer' session as it would be easier to probe, and ask 'supplementary' questions. This problem was, of course, foreshadowed by Coleman and Hendry who reminded us that girls are more able to "*communicate, to listen and keep a relationship going*" whereas boys are "*more action-centred*" (Op cit: 142). It was thought, therefore, to seek the input from an additional cohort of black young adults, those 'half-way' between adolescence and parenthood, people approximately in their mid 20s to mid 30s. They would be able, it was hoped, to reflect on their experiences as adolescents, as they would not be too far removed from present

day teenagers. They would also be less inhibited and less pre-occupied with other distractions and would, through having matured, be more articulate.

At this stage it was recognised that a compromise had to be made on methodology. Due to the time constraints and the limitations in resources, it was not thought possible to keep the number of subjects open-ended to enable the researcher to find new subjects until saturation of the categories was reached. He could only interview a finite number.

So, as with the pilot study, the design was kept as simple as possible. It was decided:

- to interview on a one to one basis, 12 young people, 6 boys and 6 girls, who
 - were between the ages of 13 - 19
 - were resident in Croydon
 - had parents and/or grandparents born in the Caribbean
 - were in regular contact with them, or most of them
- to interview 6 young adults, 3 male, 3 female, who
 - were approximately between the ages of 25 - 35
 - resident in Croydon
 - had parents and/or grandparents born in the Caribbean
 - were in regular contact with them, or most of them
- to interview 6 adults with adolescent children, 3 males, 3 females, who
 - were resident in Croydon

- either themselves or their parents were born in the Caribbean
- were in regular contact with their parents
- to interview 6 grandparents of adolescents, 3 males, 3 females, who
 - were resident in Croydon
 - had grandchildren living in this country
 - were in regular contact with them.

The first task, then, was to recruit these subjects, 30 in all which it was thought would be sufficient to provide what is, at its most ambitious, only a 'snapshot' of the situation. It had been recognised in the Institution Focused Study, that in-depth interviewing was time consuming but necessary to provide the information-rich data necessary for this study. To attempt a larger sample risked inadequate time being allocated to the task of interviewing or further categories being overlooked by the need for haste.

Due to my long association with many black youth and community groups in the Borough I was able to take advantage of the relationship I had built up and the trust they had in me. In addition the youth workers whose co-operation I needed were known to me. The recruitment of subjects was to be through these sources, 'intermediaries' and whilst the researcher lost control of the selection of subjects, this was thought to be the best, if not only, way of recruiting the numbers required.

These intermediaries would use their influence within their centres and networks to find suitable subjects, the youth workers by 'persuading' centre members of the importance of participating and community leaders by encouraging adults to co-operate in a project which would ultimately be of benefit to the black community. The problems over recruiting black subjects was foreshadowed in the pilot study. Small (1983) reminded us of the difficulties. It was hoped that this use of these intermediaries would solve that issue, as found necessary by Whyte in his research (Whyte: 1943). Miller and Dingwall suggest, in support, *"what seems to be important in encouraging people to participate in a research project is the patient and careful building up of relationships with a variety of individuals in different networks who then act as intermediaries"* (Op cit: 68).

By far the easiest to recruit were the 12 young people, although this had problems. Four different youth workers were approached to ensure a spread of black young people across the north of the borough. This did not turn out quite as planned as my instructions, whilst I thought I had conveyed them clearly and precisely, were misheard, misunderstood or ignored. One youth worker, for instance, recruited a group of 5 boys, for a group interview, instead of one to one, of whom 2 (brothers) had no contact with their grandparents. At least two of the boys were dragged away from other pursuits, one from the pool table and the other from a game of 5-a-side football. They gave the impression during their interviews that they could not wait for them to finish so that they could get back to these games. As a result I tended to get one word answers and where the response needed to be thought out the respondent would just say, "don't know".

All these interviews with young people were conducted at their youth centres where I was provided with a separate room, mostly quiet and undisturbed except in one centre where extraneous noise from activities made it difficult to hear some of the responses.

I had not sought parental consent to carry out these interviews, taking the view that the youth workers acted *in parentis* while the young people were in their care. Subsequently, however, one parent telephoned me to complain that I, as a white person, should not have asked questions of her daughter without her prior permission.

I explained that the problem was the time factor in that getting permission would have unduly delayed the research. Apart from that my experience of trying to conduct previous research was that such permission would have been refused, or more likely I would have failed to get any sort of response from parents and permission would have been denied by default. In one case, also previously, a mother telephoned me to enquire about the purpose of the research. I gave her as much information as I could and eventually she advised me that she was happy for her daughter to be interviewed. When her daughter arrived for the interview the mother accompanied her and immediately assured me that her daughter knew what to say. It was obvious during the interview that she had been 'coached' and that I was not hearing her views but those of her mother, suitably sanitised for a white researcher.

With the young adults I had sought the assistance of a member of the management committee of a youth and community centre who had herself been recruited as a young person to serve on it some 10 years ago and who was still in touch with some of her contemporaries. They were given a choice of where they preferred to be interviewed, their home, a youth centre or my office. One chose the latter and the other 5 a youth centre. Two of these recruits had to be replaced, however, when one decided at the last moment that he, after all, did not wish to be interviewed and withdrew his permission and the other, despite several attempts to arrange an interview, when one was finally arranged, failed to attend. I managed to replace them with two additional subjects, who had been approached and who had been 'in reserve'.

Another, at interview, was found not to comply with the criteria for selection, and whilst some of the data he supplied was relevant, nevertheless I decided to recruit an additional subject. This put the total number of young adults at seven. I omitted to transcribe some of his interview as it was not relevant and I am not disclosing the reasons for this as it might identify the subject, something I undertook not to do with all those I interviewed.

The parents were recruited in a similar way. A member of one of the Caribbean groups in Croydon who was also a member of the management committee of a different youth centre, agreed to find me some suitable subjects with adolescent children. They were also given the choice of where they preferred to be

interviewed and 2 opted for my office and the other 4 for a 'neutral' venue, a local youth centre.

The most difficult group to recruit turned out to be the elderly, those of grandparents' ages. Perhaps, as Small suggested, they feel they have too much to lose, but I found it almost impossible to persuade any to be interviewed. As with the others, I attempted to locate an intermediary who would use his networks both in the black community groups and religious organisations, including the black churches in Croydon.. One of my 'contacts', by way of illustration, was immediately defensive and guarded. "I'm a bit busy at the moment," he said. After some gentle persuasion from me, "I'm about to visit the Caribbean." I persevered. "I'll think about it and let you know." A week later I telephoned. "I have someone in mind. I'll be seeing them at the weekend. I'll let you know." I telephoned a week later. "I didn't manage to see him. I'll try again next weekend." Eventually he said, "I've managed to talk to him and I think he'll agree." He gave me his number, which I telephoned and explained what I needed. I hoped he was going to agree to be interviewed but he said, "I'll try to find you somebody." Three weeks and several telephone calls later he told me that he'd found someone, a husband and wife who would be happy to talk to me. I telephoned to speak to them only to find, by their account, that they were too busy to arrange anything. The husband would not agree to anything without the wife being present and the wife similarly without her husband. After a few weeks of frustration, the husband suggested someone else, known to me, who ran a club for elderly Caribbeans. She was immediately co-operative. "Come and talk

to my club," she offered. I explained that I needed to interview them on a one-to-one basis and she said she would set it up.

When I arrived at the appointed day and time I was led into a smallish club room where 11 elderly Caribbeans were playing dominoes at two tables, 4 women at one and seven men at the other. She introduced me as someone who wanted to conduct some research on young people and with a gesture that indicated "over to you" she left the room and me to it. A discussion ensued, somewhat heated as though I was the cause of all the problems they had with young people. I took notes as it was impossible, and inappropriate, to use a tape recorder. I discovered afterwards from her assistant in the centre that she had forgotten I was coming and had not arranged anything to ease my entry into this group of elderly Caribbeans and as for interviewing them one-to-one as far as I could see there were no facilities to doing it anyway.

Whilst this was not what I intended, on reflection I realised, especially as the other 'irons I had in the fire' similarly were getting cold, that perhaps this was the best I could hope for and so I abandoned my quest to interview more elderly people. I began to feel like Evans-Pritchard (quoted in Miller and Dingwall) whose account of his research subjects, the unco-operative Nuer, was that they were "*expert at sabotaging an inquiry*" (Miller & Dingwall: 1997: 68).

As suggested the interviews would be conducted using a tape recorder and then transcribed. To ensure, as I had with the pilot study, that both my performance

and feelings did not influence the outcome of the interviews, or at least I was aware of the possibility that they had, I recorded after each interview how I thought I had performed and any ways in which experimenter bias could have been introduced. The proforma I devised for this purpose is provided as Appendix B.

The Institution Focused Study had highlighted the skills necessary for the interviewer to obtain good quality information and this relied upon the subjects:

- being relaxed
- able to understand the questions, and
- confident that the information they provided would be used appropriately.

It was also important to ensure that the transcripts were an accurate reflection of the interview and, again as with the pilot study which demonstrated the benefits of experimenter triangulation, engaged the services of a black senior youth worker to check the tapes and transcripts, both for their accuracy and to offer any interpretations of slang or 'hidden meanings' in any of the dialogue.

As with the Institution Focused Study, the design of the research was recognised as being crucial to ensure that information-rich data was collected. Consideration was given to the numbers of young people, young adults, parents and grandparents and how each would be recruited. An interviewer prompt

sheet was devised, although it was accepted that this would change as new categories were introduced as the research unfurled.

The interviews were conducted, transcripts of them made in full and checked by a confederate, and the data gathered and analysed. Examples of the interview transcripts are provided as Appendices C to F (2 of young people, one young adult and one parent).

As reported in the Institution Focused Study, a key part of the process, having interviewed the subjects and having produced full transcripts of the interviews, was both to develop categories including new ones, the task of the next Chapter.

Chapter 4 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA - What the study elicited

As suggested in the previous chapter the process of grounded theory involves developing categories from the data and the purpose of this chapter is to analyse that data to articulate the categories which have been thrown up.

The pilot study had suggested some preliminary categories which the main phase of the study built upon. These were:

- family arrangements
- perceptions of nationality/home
- impressions of the Caribbean
- academic expectations
- occupational expectations
- effects of racism

Chapter 2 on adolescence has also highlighted the key features of this period of growth which should be borne in mind, particularly:

- physical development
- psychological/emotional development
- cognitive development
- identity formation
- sexuality
- changing family relationships
- peer group relationships
- practising as adults

Having designed the research phase and put it into operation, the researcher had sufficient information-rich data to analyse. Details of the respondents are offered before proceeding to the categories developed, supported by the words of the interviewees themselves. These are collated and interpreted by a commentary from the researcher.

Data from the pilot study is included in the analysis as the grounded theory approach is a progression with new categories being added as they arise from the data collection. This does mean that the last subjects to be interviewed were likely to be asked additional questions to those at the beginning. The process is designed to build up a picture and, therefore, it is not quite so important, as it is with quantitative research, where every subject is asked identical questions. In any case in qualitative research using in-depth interviews, each 'conversation' is different and the interaction between researcher and subject may unwittingly influence the information gathered either by encouraging the subject to 'open-up' and be more confident in offering opinions and information, or conversely, acting as a deterrent to an open exchange of views.

I have to assume, at this point, that I have reached the point of saturation with all the categories, despite the caveat in the previous chapter on time constraints.

The analysis is provided to abstract definitions of the categories. Once this is achieved in the next chapter I will attempt some comparative analysis, interweaving the theories and ideas of others to provide some theoretical integration. Substantive theories will be highlighted in the chapter following the

next together with a formal theory of British-born black young people. But firstly, some information is provided on the subjects of the study.

With the young people, interviewed in focus groups as part of the pilot study, the total amounted to 56, with 31 young people, 12 interviewed individually and 19 in 5 different groups, 7 young adults, 6 adults of the parents' generation and 12 of their grandparents' generation, 1 individually and a group of 11. The young people by age were distributed as shown in the following table.

Table 1: Young people by age and gender

Ages	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	Total
Male	3	2	4	6	4	2	1	22
Female	-	2	5	1	1	-	-	9
Totals	3	4	9	7	5	2	1	31

The disproportionate number of females is attributable to the pilot study using groups of young people selected by youth workers from young people using their own centres. This may reflect the low numbers of young females attending these centres, or their invisibility in most of the centre's activities, the reluctance of girls to participate, the unwitting preference for boys by the worker or an assumption that they make better subjects or a combination of these. In the individual interviews where I specifically asked the worker to select girls there seemed to be no difficulty in recruiting them.

The first task of analysis was to examine the composition of the households from which the subjects were drawn to begin to explore where there might be differences.

Category 1: Family composition:

In the chapter on adolescence it was shown that during this period of an individual's development, one of the changes forced upon both the young person and his or her parents and grandparents is the requirement to acknowledge the need to 'stand on their own feet' or 'like the fledgling, leave the nest'. This entails a change in the family relationships but at this stage in the study it is not intended to look at these changes. This matter will be discussed later in Chapter 5: What is required, however, is to illustrate any patterns in the make up of family composition, between young people, young adults and parents and this is provided in the following table. It was not appropriate to include the elderly (grandparents), from whom, in any case, this information was not sought.

Table 2: Family composition for young people, young adults when teenagers, and present position of parents group.

	Living with both parents	Living with mother only	Living with father only	Living with one parent plus	Living with aunt	Living with grandmother
Young people	7	9	1	1	3	-
Young adults (as teenagers)	2	3	-	1	-	1
Parents (presently)	2	2	2	-	-	-
Totals	11	14	3	2	3	1

This illustrates that the majority of people in the study, 23 out of 34 who answered that question, did not live with both parents, or if they were themselves parents, then 4 out of the 6 constituted single-parent families. Some respondents had not had a lot of contact with their fathers. Asked for information about their father's occupation, one subject said, *"My dad's, I'm not sure."* This could have been a reluctance to reveal what the father did (especially if it caused embarrassment because it was low grade, or illegal) but more likely the result of ignorance through a loss of contact. Another respondent told me, *"I actually live with my auntie at the moment and I used to live with my dad long long before then and I'm staying with my auntie I don't know for how long."* A young adult, whose parents were divorced when she was a teenager reported, *"I'd liked to have had my dad back that's the only thing I think I've not had my dad."* The absence of one or both parents, then, features strongly in this study. This would serve to deny young people of 'emotional capital' as highlighted in Chapter 2 (Bates & Risborough: 1993) But what of contact with grandparents?

Category 2: Contact with Grandparents:

Only one out of 34 had been living with the grandmother. The research attempted to ascertain what contact young people had with their grandparents. In the group interviews it had not always been possible to extract this information which, in any case, was not sought initially. Information on only 13 of these subjects was obtained. The table below details information on young people and young adults when they were themselves teenagers.

Table 3: Whereabouts of grandparents of young people and young adults (when teenagers themselves)

	In England	In Caribbean	In North America	Deceased	Total
Young People (Individuals)	26	10	2	10	48
Young People (Groups)	8	5	-	-	13
Young Adults (as teenagers)	-	10	2	16*	28
Totals	34	25	4	26	89

* This included 4 where the subject had no contact with any of their grandparents and did not know their whereabouts.

With the 12 young people interviewed individually, 1 had no grandparents, all having died and 6 had one or more grandparent living in the Caribbean. Contact, therefore, was understandably limited:

- *"if I go to Jamaica I see my granddad there"*
- *"it's phone sometimes" (to mother's parents in America)*
- *"only at Christmas time"*
- *"might talk to them (in Jamaica) on the phone"*

Where one parent was missing and the children were raised by the other parent only, contact with the missing parent's own parents was limited:

- *"don't know about my dad's mum and dad; my grandma (mother's mother) lives just round the corner"*
- *"I have contact with my grandparents on my dad's side"*

- *"the Croydon based ones we see all the time"*
- *"Mum's parents are in England we have contact with them (but not the ones in Jamaica)"*

Where both sets of parents were in England, however, from those interviewed individually, then regular contact seems to be the norm as in 5 cases:

- *"good contact as they're in the London region"*
- *"two in London two in Birmingham regular contact with both"*
- *"all four are in Kent yeh all the time I go there like every weekend"*
- *"I see them all the time"*
- *"I see them (both sets of grandparents) a lot"*

The group interviews exhibited some differences; grandparents were seen far less:

- *"every few months"*
- *"once a year"*
- *"last time about 4 years ago"*
- *"every 5 years"*
- *"I never saw them"*
- *"one grandma about every two weeks but not the other in Jamaica"*

These young people were reporting that contact with grandparents, even in this country, was very limited as was contact with the grandparents living in the Caribbean, (and in North America).

The research had also asked about contact with other family members in the Caribbean and also about the subjects' visits there. It sought information on whether or not parents or grandparents owned land or property (which would act as a magnet to 'pull' them back), what the young people's first impressions were, what they liked and disliked about the place and whether or not they would like to live there permanently.

Category 3: Contact with the Caribbean

A table is provided below which illustrates the links that young people, both those interviewed as individuals and in the focus groups, young adults and parents, have with relatives in the Caribbean, whether the parents or grandparents own property (including land), whether they have visited and intend to visit again or for the first time, and whether or not they would wish to live there permanently.

Table 4: Links with the Caribbean and desire to live there permanently

	Links with family	Parents own property	Grandparents own property	Have visited	Plan to visit	Like to live there	Would NOT like to live there
Young people (individuals)	11	4	5	9	12	1	7
Young people (group)	*	3	1	12	2	1	5
Young Adults	4	4	1	6	3	1	4
Parents	6	2	-	6	4	4	2
Totals	21	9	7	33	21	7	18

*This question was not asked of the focus groups, but it is likely that most of them have relatives in the Caribbean.

Whilst the majority of subjects had relatives in the Caribbean (21 out of 25), their links with them varied. Of the young people, for instance, a number reported, *"a large number of relatives out there"*, although in one case the subject admitted, *"I haven't met them yet"*, and yet another, *"we're not very close"*.

So the young people, who were interviewed individually, reported:

- *"big family, most of my cousins, hundreds"*,
- *"dad's got loads of cousins and aunts"*,
- *"lots of uncles and aunties"*,
- *"lots of family"*,
- *"yeh, loads - aunts uncles cousins and all that"*.

In fact seven directly or by inference suggested that the largest part of the family had remained in the Caribbean, as did two of the young adults:

- *"loads, 12 cousins with over 50 children between them"*
- *"yes lots, everyone's a relative"*.

Parents also, where they had relatives in the Caribbean, reported that they were there in numbers:

- *most of my family are there, aunts uncles"*,
- *"aunts and uncles in numbers"*

But the parents revealed a possible changing pattern; one reported, *"the majority are in North America"*, and another, *"only one half-sister"*, in the Caribbean with whom he was not in contact, and another, *"distant cousins"* again with no contact

and yet another, *"just my sisters"*. The last referred to Monserat which was devastated by volcanic eruption about 8 years ago necessitating evacuation by most of the population, which now is only just returning to normality and it may be unwise, therefore, to draw too many conclusions from this. The fact remains that for some families the number who have remained in the Caribbean has diminished significantly.

Not only did Caribbeans emigrate to Britain. America and Canada has also attracted relatives of both young people and young adults. One of the latter reported that, *"my relatives are mostly in America"*, and one young person, *"Just my dad's mum (is in the Caribbean) all the rest are in Canada"*, whilst another said of his relatives in the Caribbean, *"some more are in America"*.

Whilst the total from all groupings who reported that they had relatives in the Caribbean (except for grandparents who were not asked the question), was 21, a few of these had limited or no contact with them. One young adult admitted, for instance, *"before I went in 97 I hardly knew anything about them"*, and another, *"there's no contact"*, and one young person reported that, *"they're not very close"*. One parent admitted that she had had no contact with her *"distant cousins"*.

To determine whether or not parents and grandparents have retained their Caribbean roots the question was asked over whether or not they owned property or land in the Caribbean. The retention of property denotes the desire

to maintain a foothold in one's place of birth as well as a place to return to and may contain as much a symbolic statement of identity as to keep the owner's options open for the future. Of the 44 interviewed 9 claimed that their parents and 7 that their grandparents had property although some may have assumed the wrong generation owned the property. A grandparent, for instance, may have been living in their son's or daughter's property to mind it for them and their grandchild might assume it was their's. The point is that 16 out of the 44 had some sort of 'base' in the Caribbean to which they could go. This disregarded those who had 'sold-up' and moved to North America presumably without the plan to return to the Caribbean at any time in the future.

It seems from the evidence of some respondents, particularly the adults, that land, property and inheritance are linked. One parent reported that it was important to keep in touch with family in the Caribbean to ensure that you did not forfeit your inheritance:

"Yeh by not keeping in touch yeh I feel you know I feel quite if I got a piece of land there I know that I can go back there and I feel good about that..yes some people you know like their family who leave you know like my dad he got x number of pieces of land if he die or if you know he has a will right and he will say this piece of land is for my children but if I left you know (place name) for 25 30 years and hadn't been in touch then they are less inclined to leave me some."

Another, a young adult, provided a different slant, suggesting that those 'in situ' even if not strictly immediate family, might have some priority when it comes to inheritance:

"My grandmother still lives there in actual fact we are then supposed to inherit the house...but then she also if you live in the way that culture is you can't call it adopted but she looks after other children so there is what

she would regard as another daughter who will have a claim well she lives in Kingston so not a million miles and closer to where we are."

One respondent challenged the assumption that property is a major factor in determining whether people keep in touch merely to ensure they secure their inheritance, in view of its low value:

"I mean what's the property worth over there what is it worth I mean you're living in England where the currency is such and such a value compared to something like 45 to 50 dollars for one English pound you're going there for a property I mean it's going to be of little value to you compared with over here."

It does suggest that when people decide to return to the Caribbean that the likelihood is that they will be unable to afford to return to Britain.

The table above shows that 33 out of the 44 had paid a visit to the Caribbean but of these only 18 wanted to visit it again plus 3 who had not visited it yet. Two of the parents, one young adult and two young people said that they had no desire to revisit the Caribbean; *"I don't hanker to go back", "it's not busy enough"*.

The reasons for wanting to return there were varied, mostly to visit families, or if this was to be the first visit, then it was to meet their distant cousins, others to see where their parents were brought up:

- *"mum took me back to meet the family",*
- *"I'm going back for a school reunion"*
- *"we were brought there in order to acclimatise ourselves and to be familiar with where our parents came from,*

- "just wanted to go back and see what it was like really...my wife and daughter would like to see where I was born".

Having then been to the Caribbean, what did young people think of it? As with most experiences there were good and bad and sometimes these appeared contradictory. The following table sets out the numbers of young people who mentioned what they perceived as the positive and negative aspects of life in the Caribbean.

Table 5: Positive and negative features of the Caribbean as reported by young people

Topics mentioned	Numbers expressing positive comments	Numbers expressing negative comments
Friendly people	5	3
Weather/insects	5	5
Scenery/environment	8	1
Security/safety	2	5
Economic factors	1	9
Sense of community	4	-
Excitement	-	1
Relaxed life-style	6	2
Healthy life-style	1	-
Food	6	-
Totals	38	26

Whilst the number of positive comments appeared to outweigh the negative ones, this has to be viewed with some caution. Subjects, in their enthusiasm, sometimes mentioned several topics, e.g. one subject said, "*very hot, beautiful, eye-catching, very nice people,*" and another, "*helpful, cheerful, enjoy life, the food and the weather.*"

The friendliness of the people was mentioned by 5 young people, perhaps as they had mainly gone to the Caribbean to visit their families there, but three did find people "*unfriendly, unhelpful*" or "*nosy*".

And whilst the weather was commented upon positively by 5 young people, ("*hot, very hot, proper sunshine*") the same number found it "*too hot*" or that the insect life (cockroaches, ants, mosquitoes) made it unattractive ("*mosquitoes, being bitten alive at night*").

The biggest positive impact upon the young people, however, was the scenery, mentioned by 8 of them ("*looks really nice, lovely beaches, closeness to nature*"), followed by relaxed life-style (6) ("*completely different life-style, not be in fear, simplicity, the people not so stressed out*"). 6 young people also mentioned food.

The largest response was a negative one, 9 young people commenting on the economic situation; "*great deal of poverty, third world, under-developed, primitive, run down, economics, weak Jamaican dollar*". This, some thought,

caused some local traders to *"try to take advantage of foreigners, raise their prices."*

It could be argued, of course, that coming from relatively prosperous Croydon, a outer London suburb, to a mainly rural Caribbean island, both the contrast of the scenery (there aren't too many beaches in Croydon) and the living standards of the inhabitants would be obvious. What might not was the sense of a lack of security. 5 young people suggested there was more crime; *"more violence"*, *"avoid it at night"*.

The overall impression was, therefore, one of contrast. Some felt 'at home' in a safe, friendly environment free from fear, oppression, and racism. But the idea of this idyllic paradise was tarnished by negative comments which suggest that underneath lies an impoverished community, under-developed, small, primitive and, sometimes violent, where 'foreigners' are 'ripped-off'. For the young people, though, especially where it was their first experience of the Caribbean, they only perceived and enjoyed the freedom, the beaches, the weather, the food and the friendliness of the people. It was the older subjects, and those who had been there several times, who looked beyond the immediate and found it less appealing. One reported that her daughter, *"absolutely loathed it, she hated it"* and another suggested that, *"without the people it would be paradise"*. But what affect did this have on the possibility of returning to live there permanently?

Table 4 indicated that out of the 25, 7 subjects would like to make a permanent home in the Caribbean whilst 18 would not. Of this 7, 4 were in the parent's age group, although this must be treated with caution as, in declaring they would like to live there they added certain caveats, "*yes if I could afford it I'd go tomorrow*", and another, "*only if I had I'd have to be very rich*". This was echoed by a young adult, "*no, not to live, you've got to have money.*" This was in recognition of the need to buy adequate security to prevent him being burgled or robbed.

The reasons, in summary, people gave for not wanting to live there permanently, fall into three categories, economic, environmental and emotional.

Economic factors:

- the poverty
- the poor living standards
- the unavailability of employment opportunities
- the volatility of the currency
- the crime rate (drugs, robberies, especially in Jamaica).

Environmental factors:

- the weather, ("*if I could adjust to the heat*")
- the insects
- the 'third-world' infrastructure (the unreliable electricity supply, lack of mains gas, primitive sanitary arrangements
- the lack of adequate welfare and health care.

Emotional factors: ,

- their ties to England, their family and friends there
- negative experience of the Caribbean (*"I wouldn't enjoy it, I wasn't very happy"*).

Whilst the economic and environmental factors were important, the primary reason for not wanting to live there permanently was the emotional one. Their ties to England, their family and friends were too strong. This was reflected by comments such as, *"I've been around Croydon too long"*, or, *"because I like it here"*. Being able to make the transition to life there was thought to be too difficult; *"no it's so different, I don't think I could adapt to it"*, *"no this is my home, anywhere else I'd be a foreigner"*. After Croydon one suggested, *"too small, feel claustrophobic"*, and another, *"too parochial, like living in a goldfish bowl"*. One thought that they would go, but only if their family went; *"I'd go with my family but not on my own."*

Whilst the majority, then, would not want to live permanently in the Caribbean, although one or two suggested they would not mind moving to America or Canada, especially if they already have relatives there, as one parent summed it up, *"The vast majority the bulk of black youngsters will never go back to the Caribbean (to live) whatever islands their parents are from"*.

So for most young people the Caribbean is a place for sun, fun, food, and sandy beaches, where they can enjoy themselves with their families, however distant they are for most of the year. The downside, the poverty, primitive infrastructure

and insect bites are something to be tolerated because the Caribbean is a good place for holidays. One young adult explained, *"Some people go back just for holiday purposes they know it's a nice place to go for a holiday and they go back for that reason."*

The research attempted to discover whether those who had visited the Caribbean had noticed anything about family life there. They were asked what had they observed. One young person offered the following:

"It's just that most children over there don't live with their parents they live with their grandparents I don't know why that is because my mum was raised by my grandma my dad was raised by his auntie and then by his grandma I'm not sure exactly how that works.."

Some of the young people, however, found this a difficult question to answer. In fact only half of them offered a response, either because they had not been aware of anything or were unable to understand the question and/or formulate an answer. Those that did have a view perceived families as being closer; *"closer than here, more of a family, don't keep themselves to themselves"*, and, *"very really close"*, and, *"the family are more like when you go to your aunt's house and here all cousins"*, as well as, *"brought up to know your family"*. On the other hand there were practices which the subjects found unusual; *"children don't live with their parents, they live with their grandparents"*. And life is not all a bed of roses; *"some find it very hard"*. This view of an extended family suffering hardship was shared by the young adults; *"close-knit families scratching out a living, it was hard to witness that kind of deprivation"*, *"extended family, everybody lives with each other close to each other to help and care for the children, it's very*

communal", "there's a saying, it takes a village to raise a child, everyone knows if something's wrong", "there's a cousin round every corner, everyone is tenuously related and everybody knows everybody, it couldn't work here": On the surface, apart from the poverty aspect, the situation from the viewpoint of these subjects, seems ideal, the responsibility for child-rearing being shared and all one big happy family.

But one respondent perceived the situation differently. She was appalled at what she described as "*family feuding*", arguments which, rather than cement family relationships, pull them apart. She was also critical of some of the sexual practices; of "*the way mothers have 3 or 4 baby fathers, life is based around sex and money; half the village is related to you.*" She was questioning the role of women in Caribbean society where many she thought were still 'baby factories' and used by men for sex, which she thought was a devaluing process.

Those of the parent's generations had observed Caribbean family life over a number of years and were able, accordingly, to reflect the changes that they perceived. These included the notion that, "*families were not so close as they were, they used to be in and out of other's houses much more*", and, "*families aren't as close as they used to be*", and, "*not so much community spirit as there was, they were more welcoming*". They added that financial worries surfaced, so they sought help from their visitors; "*now more can you help me?*" meaning "can you give me money?" One respondent summarised it as, "*with high inflation it's an economic struggle, there's no safety net.*"

One young adult compared family life, particularly the behaviour of young people, in the Caribbean to that in Britain; *"In England young people are more rebellious"*.

The grandparent's generation expressed a view over what was wrong:

- *"in the Caribbean we all look after the children"*
- *"families are more isolated here",*
- *"my mother looked after the children so I could work; here the mothers have to do both",*
- *"the majority of people in the Caribbean live in rural areas; we all know each other",*
- *"I live on my own here; that wouldn't happen in the Caribbean".*

This last remark was echoed by most of the other members of the group which had been established for elderly Caribbean who were on their own and was said with a lot of feeling.

It is perhaps not surprising that the elderly, in particular, should feel a sense of loss of the traditions for venerating the elderly and for the family caring for them in their old age. They could have expected, under the Caribbean system, that they would be surrounded by children and grandchildren and not consigned to the 'dustbin' of isolation and loneliness only relieved by attendance at a club for old people. But the sample group has demonstrated that these traditions no longer apply when Caribbean families settle in Britain. None of the young people or parent's groups, and only one of the young adults, had a grandparent living

with them, and as less than 50% of the total respondents have any contact with grandparents, and much of it is limited, how does the Caribbean community ensure that cultural traditions are maintained and transmitted to the next generation? This issue was considered next.

Category 4 Cultural transmission

Initially it was thought that the question of how cultural transmission was achieved would be through eliciting information on the hobbies and pastimes of young people. As one of the adolescent's tasks is to formulate a cultural identity would they, for instance, undertake activities that would be clearly seen as having some connection to Caribbean life, such as canework, dominoes or street hockey. As the research progressed it was realised that this was unlikely to produce any significant data, where young people were in their school work pursuing an Anglo-centric curriculum, and where the opportunities for Caribbean-specific hobbies would be at best limited and at worst unavailable.

A suggestion had been made that music might contain an element of cultural transmission but this was discounted on the basis that traditional Caribbean music had been transformed, if not highjacked, by the commercial music industry, so that reggae and rapping had become a universal art-form. White stars, such as Eminem could eclipse the popularity of black musicians and, in any case, what had been a way for youthful black protest did not, as such, contain sufficient of Caribbean cultural content to reinforce Caribbean adult norms or expectations.

Due to a respondent's comments on food mentioned earlier, however, it was realised that this would provide an indicator of cultural transmission and the prompt sheet was modified by adding questions to it on favourite food and ability to cook Caribbean meals. This was only available to the young people interviewed individually, although two other respondents, both young adults, did mention the issue of cooking.

Caribbean food is hard to define. It reflects the many diverse influences, historical and cultural, which have shaped the region, although most islands of the Caribbean share a few basic dishes (Henlyn: 2000). So what is it?

According to Jane Hartshorn:

"Caribbean cooking comes from the soul, and most dishes have an informal, home-made feel without any fancy techniques or ingredients, relying more on the overall look, feel and flavour of a dish. Most islanders use recipes that have been handed down through the generations; recipes and quantities are used only for guidance and most cooks add their own secret ingredients or special touches to their favourite dishes. The basic rule of this unique, exotic cuisine is to be inventive." (Hartshorn: 1996: 77)

Hartshorn also assures us that ingredients, although once unheard of outside of Britain, are now widely available (Ibid: 78).

During the interviews the question was also included about the number of times the interviewee ate Caribbean food during the course of a week.

The following table is provided, separating boys and girls, which shows their responses. Hobbies are included.

Table 5: Young people's hobbies, eating preferences, the ability to cook and frequency of Caribbean food.

Boys

Hobbies	Favourite food	Ability to cook	Cook Caribbean	Eats Caribbean food per week
Sports, go out with friends	beans and baked potatoes	Yes	Yes	quite a lot
basketball, ice and roller skating	hasn't one	Yes	Yes	3 or 4 times
football	chicken & chips	Yes	Yes	probably every day
football, basketball, swimming, reading, amateur dramatics	hamburgers	No	No	N/A
out with friends	egg fried rice	No	No	2 or 3
football, riding bike	chicken burgers	Yes	Yes	once or twice

Girls

not much, I'm a home girl	rice peas & steak	Yes	Yes	N/A
dancing reading looking after children	roast chicken, Yorkshire pudding	Yes	Yes	Weekends only
watching basketball, arts, out with friends	Sunday lunch (cooked by Gran)	Yes	Yes	4
ice skating, out with friends, dancing	Caribbean	Yes	Yes	3 or 4 times
none	spaghetti bolognaise	Yes	No	Never
go out with friends	sausages and loads of chips	Yes	No	couldn't eat it every day

As it was predicted earlier an examination of the hobbies of the 12 young people interviewed revealed little information to support any notion that they were an instrument of cultural transmission. There was, however, a distinct difference between boys and girls, to be expected perhaps in accordance with the gender-

specific ways in which adolescents behave as outlined in Chapter 2. The boys predominantly favoured physical, sporting activities such as football and basketball whilst the girls engaged in more passive relationship-building activities such as going out with friends, although some undertook other ones, art, watching basketball and reading. Two of the girls claimed to have no hobbies, but were interviewed in a youth club which they frequented but then will have a different perception of youth clubs to that of the researcher! One of them claimed that she was fully occupied helping in the house, looking after a younger sister and 2 younger brothers.

More significant were the responses to the question on food. These produced some interesting variations. Of the 12, all but 2 claimed that they could cook, but of these 5 could not cook Caribbean food. In other words just over half, 7 out of 12, knew how to prepare a Caribbean meal. Despite this only 3, all girls, quoted Caribbean food as their favourite. All the boys, except one who did not have a favourite food, stated as their preference a variety of 'fast foods', such as chicken and chips, hamburgers, chicken burgers, and egg fried rice. The girls, on the other hand, with the three who preferred Caribbean food, seemed to enjoy food which took time to prepare, non-fast food, such as roast chicken (but with Yorkshire pudding) and spaghetti bolognaise although the 6th girl enjoyed sausages with lots of chips which she cooked herself. It seems that the girls associate good food with home cooking, of whatever style, whereas the boys prefer food from the Americanised fast food chains which perhaps reflects their more active life-style.

This may, of course, reflect the different gender-specific roles expected of girls, to look after younger brothers and sisters, thus restricting them to the home and also concerns for their safety which prevent them hanging about the street or going to fast food outlets. Boys, on the other hand, appear to be given far more freedom to roam and, rather than being discouraged from so doing, it is expected of them.

When it came to eating Caribbean food, 2 did not respond (for whatever reason), one answered to the question, "How many times a week do you have Caribbean food?", "*never*", explaining that her mother cooked Caribbean but, "*Yeh she cooks it, but I don't eat it, I cook something for myself*". One had Caribbean food "*weekends only*", one admitted "*once or twice*", another, "*two or three times*", whilst three suggested, "*three to four*", another, "*quite a lot*", and the last two, "*probably every day*" contrasting with, "*I couldn't eat it every day*". Whilst some of these responses give an impression of vagueness, the purpose was not to accurately chart the young people's eating habits but to ascertain whether or not that important aspect of Caribbean culture was being transmitted to this generation.

It is possible that this question elicited responses which young people thought they ought to make out of loyalty to their families and/or culture, an example of 'impression management'. Some were quick to admit their ability to cook Caribbean food and others to confirm that it was their regular fare at home. This was an area where I noted most fidgeting and avoidance of eye contact. This

was reinforced by some contradictory statements. One girl, for example, cited 'rice peas and steak' as her favourite dish, which she had on Sundays, and claimed she could cook "everything" but when asked what she would be having that evening answered, "pizza". When this was queried, she retorted, "No not pizza, it's not Friday today is it?", implying that she always had pizza on Fridays. When she was asked if this was the case, she responded, a little angrily, "*I don't know what I'm having*", turned her head away from the interviewer and would not answer any further question on food.

One young person who admitted to having Caribbean food 3-4 times a week explained that his grandmother lived nearby and used to call in to his house to prepare meals. He added, "*if you have lamb cutlets it won't be just lamb cutlets it's cooked in my Nan's own way.*" Whilst the research did not examine this aspect of family life, it may be safe to assume that the presence or proximity of a grandmother may determine whether or not young people are encouraged or expected to eat Caribbean food, enjoy it and pass on their taste for it to successive generations, especially as ingredients are now widely available (Hartshorn: 1996: 78).

One of the young adults, who had himself lived with his grandmother and been brought up by her said:

"I suppose maybe I'm at an advantage because I was made to cook from the age of 9 upwards I was made to cook you know certain dishes...it's just like a part of the culture because that's how I grew up I was cooking."

Another young adult suggested that in her childhood the choices were limited and the family ate together:

"My generation we still had the Caribbean influences we still had at home we were given Caribbean food you know if you didn't eat it you didn't eat it was as simple as that there wasn't as many fast food chains there wasn't as much money about..they don't have a family meal they don't sit round a table and have a meal."

The grandparent's group agreed that the eating habits of young people had changed from their own childhood:

- *"they prefer junk food to Caribbean"*
- *"we never had McDonalds in the Caribbean".*

They perceived this as one illustration of how black young people were losing their Caribbean roots.

The fact remains that the present generation are caught up in a changing world where international fast food chains offer an attractive alternative to home cooking. Their preference for this fare may be interpreted in many different ways, but importantly may be one more indicator of the denial of the importance of the traditional ways of life of the Caribbean family and may result in a loss of cultural identity and to that issue the research turned.

Category 5: Identity

In Chapter 2 Erikson's work on identity was examined in view of its recognition as a key developmental task in adolescence. According to his theory the formulation of a separate sense of identity is crucial for the young person to achieve adult status. Black young people, born in Britain, will share this task but

with an added feature, that of having roots in a different culture, the Caribbean, resulting in a more confused task. As Erikson points out, moreover, this search for identity also includes a search “for men and ideas to have faith in” (Erikson: 1968: 128) although this aspect was not explored in the study. But the research attempted to answer the question, “What sort of identity do they seek?”

Respondents, accordingly, were asked to state what they perceived as their nationality and also where they claimed their home to be, to ascertain whether they separated the two in their minds. This might reveal some confusion over identity. The young people, in addition were asked to reveal how they thought their parents would answer those two questions. Their responses are summarised in the following table.

Table 6: Nationality and home of young people, their perceptions of their parents' choices, those of the young adults and parents own choices

	Young People					Perception of parents' choices					
	Nationality			Home		Nationality			Home		
	WI	GB	Mix	WI	GB	WI	GB	Mix	WI	GB	Mix
Young People (I)	1	5	5	1	11	20	2	2	16	6	2
Y.P (Groups)	4	10	-	-	-						
Young Adults	3	2	1	5	1	12			12		
Parents	3	3		3	3						

In terms of nationality, the young people provided a picture of some confusion, five stating clearly that they were British or English, one that he was Jamaican, whilst five were either Black British, (2), or British or English-Caribbean (3). It seemed this last cluster wanted either to keep a foot in both camps or were expressing uncertainty or ambivalence over their cultural or national identity. The final one just did not know, *"I don't know, from my dad I'm Jamaican, but I was born in this country"*. The subjects were less uncertain over where their home is, eleven stating England and only one, the West Indies, from where that young person's parents come, although even then he expressed some confusion claiming both Jamaica and Barbados as mother and father were from different islands.

Another young person, a female, explained the reason for the confusion:

"My grandparents on both sides obviously came from the Caribbean but I don't really feel that's my home because I've always lived over here but part of my culture".

So some will have an emotional tie with the Caribbean and perceive themselves as sharing, at least in part, a Caribbean culture.

When these young people were asked to suggest where they thought their parents would claim as their own nationality and home the majority (16) said 'the Caribbean' whilst 6 thought they would perceive themselves as English. In two cases, though, the respondents thought parents would claim different nationalities; *"my dad's originally from Jamaica and my mum's probably black British"* and when asked if by that he meant his father thought his home was in

Jamaica, he said, "Yes." One boy claimed not to know what his parents' nationality and home were, gave the impression that he wanted the interview to end quickly so that he could return to his game of pool.

The young people interviewed in groups gave a slightly different picture of their perceptions of themselves. Due to the way the process developed with more questions being asked as more identified categories were introduced, two of the groups were not asked about their parents and the contribution of the last group was disregarded when they collapsed into hysterical laughter over a comment one of them made, because this part of the interview became indecipherable, not because it was thought they were not taking it seriously (although one of them was not).

They were, moreover, only asked where they thought their home was, and not their nationality, and out of 14, 4 claimed the Caribbean and 10 England, with 7 of them reporting on their parents as 2 England and 12 the Caribbean. Whilst these figures may be too small to be significant, they may demonstrate a trend of weakening ties over generations to the Caribbean. Again, though, some ambivalence was noted. Whilst claiming that his home was in England, one young person then said, "*Croydon, England, I don't really believe but it's my home but not my origins I don't feel comfortable in this country sometimes I mean black people don't feel they belong in England*". Another reported similarly, that home was "*here (but) well I don't call myself British*".

This is reinforced by the young adults who, whilst suggesting that all their parents would claim both a Caribbean nationality and also that the Caribbean was their home, out of the seven, 2 thought they were British, 1 black British, 1 British Caribbean and 2 Caribbean. The other expressed that he was a 'stateless' person: *"I haven't got one I'm born in Britain and I wasn't born in the Caribbean so I'm definitely not Caribbean so really I have no nationality"*. Another suggested one of the reasons for this apparent identity confusion was the way they were perceived by the persons in other countries:

"(Britain is) my home country I live here but..if I go to Jamaica I'm seen as an Englishman if I go to see my mother in America I'm seen as an Englishman in this country I'm not seen as English yeh but when I'm in the West Indies I'm seen as something different".

Another expressed their frustration and disappointment at not being one or the other, but in no-man's land:

"I would love to say Jamaican but I wasn't born there I know that I'm born here...by instinct most of the things I would fall somewhere between you know section of hard-core Jamaican because it's obviously diluted over time but those were the influences which you know having two Jamaican parents were day in day out".

Being born in Britain, then, acts to deny black young people the nationality of their parents even where they are socialised into that culture which in any case is being weakened all the time they are in this country perhaps not surprising in view of Erikson's work on identity confusion cited in the earlier Chapter on Adolescence.

Parents were also asked to nominate their nationality and home and to the former three reported the Caribbean, one black British, one British and the last again expressed confusion:

"my nationality (laughs) well you see what do I regard I think my position is that is actually being tempered by my environment because I was born in Guyana I came to England when I was 2 and I went back to Guyana when I was 13 when I went back to Guyana I wasn't classified as Guyanese I was classified as British when I'm in Britain I was.. was classified as West Indian (laughs) so I'm a bit schizophrenic on that one..."

Behind the laughter and making light of the situation there is a sense of not being accepted, again a sort of 'statelessness', a denial or rejection of national identity and a stereotypical reaction which implies a 'sameness'.

One respondent, perhaps to avoid this rejection, cocoons herself in an historical perspective, preferring to regard herself as British but in a sort of time warp. She claims to be British but British of the colonial era, thus signifying as a British person in those times that she would not have been a slave but a slave-master.

But also as a Caribbean she displays a sense of identity confusion:

"I actually regard my nationality as British but from a colonial perspective British it's not 20th Century or 21st Century one but more the British which owned and ran the Caribbean so I kind of link myself to I'm British but from the days when Britain owned and ran the Caribbean".

There is, of course, no such nationality as Caribbean and it has been used as a collective noun throughout this study to denote any or all of the islands and mainland Guyana which comprise the 'West Indies'. Some may have an allegiance to their home island rather than to the Caribbean as an entity and one respondent reminds us of that: *"I'm black British but it's a difficult one actually*

because I've been here for so long but I'm still I still not hanker but I still feel Trinidadian in many ways not West Indian just Trinidadian". It is also possible that people from the Caribbean have a notion of a hierarchy or pecking order in terms of the importance of one island against another. In this event their own island is likely to be at the top. For those black people who have been born or live in Britain, they might also place Britain somewhere in this. The Trinidadian quoted immediately above gives an example:

"It's funny because if for instance England are playing Jamaica you know I'm I think my first choice would probably be England you know but if England were playing Trinidad then my first choice would be Trinidad."

This respondent reminds us of the important place sport can have in forming a national identity, also recognised by the research which asked questions of the subjects on their support of cricket, football and athletics.

This did create an unexpected reaction from one of the parents. On being asked which international cricket team he supported, he responded, in a joking fashion, *"That's an interesting one because when you say things like that I think of what's his name Tebbit...Norman Tebbit said that in a very derogatory sense."* This referred to a statement by Norman Tebbit in the House of Commons during a debate on laws to control immigration, when he suggested that loyalty to a country could be ascertained by seeking information on the cricket team they supported. Although it caused a stir and accusations of racism at the time, fortunately no-one took this seriously.

The responses from the research are summarised in the following table.

Table 7: Support for cricket, football and athletics

	Cricket			Football			Athletics		
	GB	WI	Other/ none	GB	WI	other/ none	GB	WI	other/ none
Young people (I)	Nil	4	8	2	3	7	3	Nil	9
Group of 5 yp	Nil	1	4			5	-	-	-
Young adults	Nil	4	3	-	-	3		3	
Parents	Nil	3	3	1	2	3	2	1	1
Totals	Nil	12	18	3	5	18	5	4	10

This table indicates that most young people have little or no interest in these sports. Only in one of the group interviews was the question asked and then not about athletics, and together with those interviewed individually, out of 17 in total 5 supported the West Indies at cricket and 3 in football. 12 in both sports either supported a different team (such as Brazil) or, more likely, none at all. Interesting no one supported English cricket but 2 supported their football team and three English athletics. No one supported Caribbean athletics and 9 out of 12 had no interest in it.

To determine whether black young people did not support English cricket because it was synonymous with white people, the question was asked. "Who would you support if the English cricket team was made up entirely of black

players?" To the young people it made no difference, the five still maintained their allegiance to the West Indies.

The young adults indicated proportionately a greater support for the West Indies, (4 out of 7) though none supported England. The other three had no interest in cricket. They also had no interest in football, although only three were asked that question. Those three, however, all claimed to support the Caribbean in athletics. One of the young adults who claimed no interest in cricket did, however, think that he would support England if all the players were black.

The parents, in cricket, had three supporting the West Indies and three of no interest. Neither would they change their allegiance if the English players were all black possibly because they probably thought, as one put it, *It ain't going to happen!*" Support for football was one for the English, 2 for the Caribbean and three having no interest. In athletics 2 supported England, 1 the West Indies and 1 had no interest. (the other two were not asked the question) One respondent who supported England, however, added, *"Unless a Trinidadian is in the event"*, in which case he would support that competitor.

In total, of the three sports, the following was revealed:

England	-	8 (10 if black cricketers)
Caribbean	-	21
None or other	-	46

Of the 21 supporting the Caribbean 8 were young people (out of a possible 46), 7 young adults (out of a possible 13) and 6 parents (out of a possible 18). This may suggest a trend of diminishing support for the Caribbean teams as cultural ties weaken.

People support sports team, of course, for a variety of reasons; because of the personalities involved, the exciting way they play the game or for the vicarious pleasure they get when their team wins. A number of subjects supported Brazil at football, for instance, often quoting an admiration for their style of play or that they were 'winners'. Cricket's traditional appeal to black young people may be due to their ability, until quite recently, to be the world champions, to demonstrate superiority over whites and in a sense to outplay them at their own game. Black people may have resonated with that and it may have given them a sense of value. Now they are not performing so well, support for them may have declined as their 'inferior' status may be reinforcing the negative self-image of many under-achievers from the black community.

Whatever the reason, however, it would appear that there are generational differences with the young people's support of Caribbean sports teams declining from that of the previous generation, the young adults and the parents. If so, might this be an indication of an area of friction between the generations. The possibility of inter-generational differences was an aim of this study and to this we now turn, focusing particularly on academic and occupational expectations.

Category 6: Academic and occupational aspirations

As indicated in Chapter 2 on adolescence, cognitive development is an important feature for the individual. Also as mentioned in the Institution Focused Study, young black people achieve poorly both in educational terms and occupational attainment. Some of this may be put down to the effects of racism, but this study wishes to discover whether, over generations, the situation is improving. It needed therefore to compare what qualifications young people aimed to achieve to those of their parents and grandparents and also what aspirations they had in terms of occupations.

The first matter of interest is that, without exception, each young person interviewed in the one-to-one situation, in response to the question, "How important are qualifications?", responded, "Very". One went on to explain that these were a means to being admitted to the occupation to which they aspired, especially when this involved gaining a degree. This required doing well at each level so that the individual could access the next stage. She said:

"Well like GCSEs in school I don't really think they're that important I don't think they're that important but college kind of taking passes will get into university all right you can't get certain qualifications you can't go to university."

Subjects were asked what qualifications they hoped to achieve and what occupations they saw themselves doing. In addition they were invited to suggest what they thought their parents expected of them terms of occupations. Their responses are collated and provided in Table 8, below, which has been divided to show the boys and girls separately.

Table 8: Academic and occupational aspirations of young people and their perceptions of their parent's occupational hopes for them.

Boys

Subject	Qualification sought	Occupational hopes	Perception of parents' hopes for them
1	A levels - possibly university	computer technician	to become a lawyer
2	unsure but something which will enable him to build computers	fireman - professional basketball player	to do well - to be a fireman
3	A levels (music, drama) but NOT university	actor or rapping star	just a good job
4	degree	lawyer (or an actor)	Dad want me to be a lawyer, Mum an actor
5	Don't know - college possibly	don't know	don't know
6	A levels (IT, media studies & English)	a professional footballer (or something with computers)	to do well

Girls

1	A levels	social worker/counselor	don't know
2	degree	child psychologist	they want me to do what I want to do (as long as I'm happy)
3	degree	psychologist (or something in art & design)	Dad wants me to be a computer programmer, Mum a nurse
4	degree	professional dancer (or an accountant)	office worker (or follow what I want to do)
5	degree	work in a bank - as an accountant	bank work
6	degree	social worker (with children)	don't know (Dad says as long as you have money)

Apart from one male subject who was not very forthcoming (the one with his eye on the pool table), the majority displayed a sense of having a clear idea on what occupation they wished to pursue and what qualifications they needed to attain to achieve their goals. There were, however, striking differences between the

boys' and the girls' academic aspirations, and in the case of the former some contradictory messages were conveyed. One male subject, for instance, sought a qualification which would enable him to build computers but then suggested that he would prefer to be a fireman (which is what his parents wanted him to do) or be a professional basketball player. Another, who hoped to get 'A' levels in information technology, media studies and English said that he wanted to become a professional footballer but added that he *"liked computers"*.

Only one male wanted a professional qualification to become a lawyer although he was undecided because, *"My mum wants me to be an actor and my dad wants me to be a lawyer."* One of his stated hobbies was amateur dramatics and his own preference was to become an actor and singer with law as a 'backstop'.

The other males appeared less ambitious academically, with 3 limiting their aspirations to 'A' levels, although one added, *"possibly university"* while another stated clearly that he did not want to move on to university. Apart from the 'lawyer' the others chose occupations which did not require qualifications at university level, although 2, either as a main or second choice, did want knowledge of and skills in computer technology.

The females presented a different picture, one limiting her aspirations to 'A' levels only with the other five all hoping to gain a university degree. Four out of the six sought a qualification which would enable them to work with people, two as social workers and two as psychologists. One of the latter, however, added

that her university place was conditional; *"if I get the grades"*, otherwise she wanted to do *"something in art and design"*, her favourite subject at school and her hobby. Another, whose hobby was dancing which she participated in at the youth club, hoped to become a professional dancer but suggested that when she became too old, *"well I might move up to like an accountant, something like that."*

The young people's perceptions of what their parents wanted them to achieve occupationally suggested that this was not a source of conflict except in a minority of cases. One, for instance, reported, *"they said that why don't I become a lawyer but I'm not too keen on becoming a lawyer"* and he was not sure if he wanted to go to university. The majority of young people tended to perceive their parents as agreeing to their choice of occupation; *"they want me to do what I want as long as I'm happy"*, or, *"to do well"*, or, *"dad says as long as you have money"*. The only potential sources of conflict were with one male whose parents were divided as cited above over their different aspirations for him, one wanting him to be a lawyer and the other an actor, and the female who wanted to be a psychologist who reported, *"my dad wants me to be a computer programmer and my mum wants me to be a nurse."*

But these differences did not seem to pose a problem. It was thought, initially, that parents might have unrealistically high aspirations for their children and, therefore, the study sought information about the occupations of parents and grandparents in an attempt to discover whether black young people were hoping, albeit perhaps unconsciously, to attain upward social mobility through inter-

generational occupational mobility reinforced by parental hopes for them. This might demonstrate how the job profile of British born black people was changing from that of an unskilled labour force of the 50s and 60s to one which reflected the general work profile of the population of Croydon. Table 9 shows the occupations young people are hoping to attain together with those of their parents and grandparents, where known.

Table 9: Occupations of parents and grandparents together with the occupational aspirations of young people.

Subject	Young person's hopes	Parents' occupations	Grandparents' occupations
1	computer technician	Dad - social worker (U/Q) Mum - social worker	Nurse others unknown
2	fireman or professional basketball player	Dad - accounts manager Mum - clerical assistant	Nurse train conductor
3	actor or rapping star	Dad - postman Mum - Housewife	Electrician, Nurse others unknown
4	lawyer or actor	Dad - lawyer Mum - civil servant	lawyer doctor
5	don't know	Dad - chef Mum - receptionist	don't know
6	professional footballer (or something to do with computers)	Dad - don't know Mum - pattern cutter	don't know
7	social worker/counsellor	Dad - fitter Mum - learning support tutor	mechanic others - don't know
8	psychologist	Dad - painter & decorator Mum - school meals supervisor	don't know
9	psychologist (or something in art & design)	Dad - builder Mum - nurse	don't know
10	professional dancer (or accountant)	Dad - don't know Mum - accounts clerk	don't know
11	bank worker - as an accountant	Dad - in fashion industry Mum - social worker	Builder others - don't know
12	social worker	Dad - care worker (U/Q) Mum - bus driver	builder, postwoman others - don't know

The first fact to note is that many of the young people were unaware of their father's or grandparent's occupations, 3 in the former case and 5 in the latter which included all four grandparents. In other cases young people only knew some of their grandparent's occupations or, if they were retired or deceased what they had been, so that another 5 only knew one and did not know the other three and 2 where they knew two and did not know two. This suggested a separation had occurred with the grandparents' generation, a disconnection the implications of which will be discussed in the following chapter.

This means that out of a possible 48 grandparents in total, 33 were unknown with another 4 unmentioned, presumably unknown, and only in 11 cases was information available. Apart from the subject whose grandparents included a lawyer and doctor, the remainder had semi-skilled or unskilled jobs; 3 nurses, 2 builders, 1 electrician, 1 mechanic, 1 train conductor, and a postwoman.

The parents displayed a similar pattern. The occupation of the parents of the young person whose grandparents were a lawyer and doctor, were themselves a lawyer and a civil servant, hence his father wanting him also to become a lawyer.

Of the other 19 parents (3 were not known) most were semi-skilled or unskilled although an interesting pattern was emerging as four were social or care workers, two of them unqualified, one an accounts manager and another a learning support tutor. Three more had clerical jobs (clerical assistant, accounts

clerk and receptionist). One was unemployed, a housewife who through choice was caring for the subject's 2 sisters and 2 brothers.

This seems to demonstrate that through the generations, people from the Caribbean have attained upwards occupational mobility, an indicator of social mobility, as only 5 out of the sample had manual occupations with more of the subjects' parents being employed in white collar work than their own parents.

The young, themselves, appear to be repeating this pattern as many are seeking admission to the professional classes through their choice of academic career and occupation. Not one of the young people interviewed expressed the intention of undertaking manual work, such as builder or driver.

This section of the research is fraught with difficulty as it is the one most susceptible to impression management. Did the young people, for instance, claim to be unaware of their grandparents' or fathers' occupations because of any negative connotations they might elicit as being socially undesirable? Were they protecting the reputation of their families in particular and the black community in general by denying the researcher this information? And, conversely, were they exaggerating their own academic and occupational aspirations to enable the researcher to gain a favourable impression of black young people in Britain today? Or, perhaps, are these young people living out a fantasy when they aspire to be psychologists, actors, professional footballers, basketball players or dancers. The numbers of such 'high-powered' occupations in such a small cohort would seem to be stretching coincidence. This may

merely reflect the problem of 'allowing' other people to select the participants; they may choose those who will give a good impression. So the researcher is in a double-bind, but this will be discussed further in the final chapter which will provide a postscript on the methodology.

For whether there is exaggeration or not, or a measure of impression management, the fact remains that this demonstrates that many young people from the black community do aspire to occupations far different from their grandparents and parents, affording them higher social status and greater economic well-being.

The research attempted to discover whether this difference was a source of disagreement or conflict between young people and their parents and if there were other matters which might have served to exacerbate any breakdown in relationships, beyond normal adolescent disturbances. It also tried to examine the varying perceptions that parents and grandparents had of young people today and also what young people themselves thought that their parents and grandparents would think of them.

Category 7: Parents' and grandparents' perceptions of young people

In Chapter 2, on adolescence, it was noted that choice of friends; dress, style can all cause problems for the young person's relationship with older adults, parents or grandparents. The peer group often has more influence on the young individual than his or her parents at a time when they are practising to be adult.

The research attempted to discover what parents and grandparents thought about young people.

Firstly, the researcher asked young people if they ever disagreed with parents and grandparents and, if so, about what. Due to the lack of contact with grandparents, as evidenced above, however, the data on them is not analysed as its limited nature would render it meaningless. Relationships between young people and their parents may be conditioned by the views the latter has on young people generally and information on this was sought. Through the focus group it was also possible to collect data from grandparents on their perceptions of young people.

Responses to the questions over disagreements with parents produced a variety of areas of conflict. Only two of the males interviewed individually reported that they never argued with their parents, possibly again an example of impression management, but the remainder all reported varying degrees of conflict. The parents interviewed also described differences they had with their own adolescent children.

Whilst for both male and female, choice of friends, household chores and tidiness, as well as looking after younger brothers and sisters, were issues they shared, girls also claimed to be in conflict over their parents due to what they perceived as their over-protective attitudes. The times to be in by at night, the use of the telephone and the way they dressed affected their relationships with

their parents. Boys on the other hand were often in competition with their fathers. One male, for instance, reported of his relationship with his father, *"Well we disagree cos we're not the same so we're always not arguing but in competition against each other."*

Another male suggested that the reasons for any disagreement, *"could be anything"* suggesting that this was a constant condition they were in. One of the females reinforced this, adding that they argued over *"practically everything"*.

This was because, she thought, *"my dad doesn't trust me..he's over-protective"*.

A parent confirmed that, in respect of her daughter:

"Oh we disagree over everything we disagree over things like, my life, going out as a wave and the company she goes out with."

Another parent reported that she and her daughter argued, *"constantly"* and over, *"the state of her bedroom mainly, housework, her sitting on the land-line all day, boys and homework."* Another parent added:

"Oh yes we disagree about wanting to go to parties regards always coming in late we disagree about the type of clothes that she wears we disagree about her eating habits she's a typical teenager we disagree about the phone bill."

Parents were not only concerned about their female children. A father said of his son, *"I have a fear of him being on the streets very late but he seems to think that he can handle it."*

The young adults, in reflecting their own adolescence, confirmed that they also suffered parent-child conflict during this period:

"Yes I think we disagreed about what time I should come in what time I should go out we always argued over money."

Another agreed, but added that his mother locked the door and he had to be in before she did so or he stayed out all night:

"Coming in late most young people are coming in late every night and having the door locked."

Yet in his case there was a contradiction which may have led to some role confusion for while in some respects his mother treated him as a child, he was also expected to substitute for his absent father which he found to be a difficult task:

"I think from the divorce side of things it meant that my father had to leave therefore I was the only male in the house I mean it's at that stage..like put the dustbins out on Thursday night and I hated it."

The young people interviewed through the focus groups all admitted to having arguments with parents, again over what time to come in at night and taking their share in the household chores. One suggested that these arguments were always over, *"petty things that...what... that's probably my mum's worst problem arguing about stupid little things."* Looking after younger children featured strongly as an irritant as it prevented the individual from going out with their own friends. One reported that he argued over, *"looking after my younger brother"*.

Another suggested that it was better if you were an only child:

"difference if you're a single child than if you've got a brother or sister so most of the time cos I'm in the middle they tend to say oh my brother is too old and my sister is too young so I've got to do it things like washing up the dishes after I've done it the past week tidy up your room tidy up the house."

Only one subject alluded to arguments about his 'criminal' behaviour: "*when we go thing wrong you catch my drift..when you get nicked done that quite a few times...they didn't like that.*" As this was in the group there was a chance he was 'playing to the gallery' and either creating or maintaining an image as a 'hard man'.

Young people gave the impression that they were not happy with the disciplined approach of their parents as they perceived this as being over-protective. They felt that their freedom was being curtailed if not trammelled and they felt hard done-by. One reported, for instance, "*I was aggrieved..I wanted to be out with my friends like everybody else.*"

So the research asked the question of young people, "What do you think your parents and grandparents think of young black people today?" In general terms their responses all suggested that they thought adults had a negative view of young people especially the boys. One suggested that parents thought they were "*too bad*", which she amplified, "*behaviour going out whatever they're getting out of hand they reckon that kids nowadays are worsen than how they were sort of back in the Caribbean.*" This was because, according to another subject, "*black people don't really go around on their own we go around in groups get mixed up with those causing trouble.*" So because they went around in groups they were all identified with the ones that caused trouble. Another explained that this was because they had created an image for themselves which encouraged others to stereotype them; "*well some of us black people are spirited*

of us wearing hoods”, and, “they’re (black boys) not showing a good impression like they stand around the streets not doing nothing for themselves.” This gives the impression that they are, “violent...out of control”, and, “that we’re bad and like we’re up to no good again being together.”

Grandparents, in particular, are frightened by young people; *“I think some of the grandparents are scared of young people of my generation because they’re more violent.”* To illustrate the point another added, *“yeh my grandma is one of those people she’ll walk with her handbag tucked under her arm like when she’s going to the bank.”* By this it was meant that the grandmother held her bag closely to her body wherever she went as though she was expecting to be mugged.

One subject suggested that grandparents thought young people were *“disrespectful”,* a theme endorsed by one of the young adults who thought that young people were perceived as *“unruly gits”*. The older generation thought that young people, he continued;

“They’ve become unruly they have no respect for authority they have no respect for their elders you know because you’ve got to imagine being raised the way that they were raised.”

The grandparents when interviewed endorsed this sentiment. They suggested that as a result of a lack of discipline children are unruly, badly behaved and treat their elders with contempt:

- *“they listen to their friends rather than us”*
- *“they see white youngsters cheeking their elders and they do the same”*
- *“young people have no respect, no manners, they’re allowed to do what they like and you can’t do a thing about it”*

- *"they have too much independence"*
- *"they demand pocket money - we never had any in the Caribbean"*
- *"they are allowed to be on the street at all hours, when they should be indoors"*
- *"they want the things their friends want, trainers, new clothes, and they don't want to earn them by helping"*
- *"they expect to be given everything they want"*
- *"parents give in to young people's demands too easily".*

Another grandparent interviewed individually suggested that the lack of discipline in the British system of child-rearing was to blame:

"...youngsters who came over from the Caribbean from Jamaica with parents here they're a lost generation because the discipline that they were brought up in in Jamaica when they come here the state take over the role of the parents and the state tells you that you couldn't discipline your child....you cannot inflict any corporal punishment and therefore we have a problem with our youngsters in that they just accept all the bad habits of the indigenous population and they're a lost generation."

A parent confirmed that young people were different from her own generation;

"oh my goodness they're clearly difficult lazy mouthy they want everything and do nothing." This was explained, *"I suppose the media TV what does other people have what do other young people have..they want the same."* Another suggested that,

"they feel disenfranchised...they only have some white role models because I think in terms of if you look I would say the input of some black people into society particularly around youth culture they seem to be stuck in that...I'm saying that music plays an influence..and the life styles that go with it seem to be driving their lives."

The lack of appropriate black role models, then, confines black young people to limited aspirations centred around music and because they are disconnected to the black adult community they suffer a lack of purpose. One parent explained, *“they don’t appear to have a great affinity with the traditional black community..they seem to have lost their identity...they’re more assimilated into what would be a hotch potch of a culture.”* Another suggested that there was a conspiracy to keep black people subservient; *“sometimes I’m very pessimistic on what they (young people) have to say...and I’m beginning to think that instead of it getting better it’s getting worse people’s attitudes towards black people and the decision makers attitudes towards young black men they seem to have a plan that will keep them in certain position as long as possible.”*

The picture is somewhat depressing in that young people feel that the adults think they ‘are going to the dogs’, a message reinforced by the adults themselves. What is recognised is that British-born young black people are different from those born in and/or raised in the Caribbean. Disrespectful, unruly, expecting something for nothing, they exist in a society without adequate black role models and appear to have no sense of identity.

Does living in Croydon have any effect on this situation? Do young people feel in any way ‘attached’ to Croydon as a neighbourhood or does it reinforce negative feelings of alienation? The research attempted to find answers to these questions:

Category 8: Perceptions of Croydon

In similar fashion to enquiring what young people thought of the Caribbean, the research asked questions on what they thought of Croydon, its best and worst aspects. This was in an attempt to get both a measure of their satisfaction with the place in which they lived, but more importantly, whether they felt at home there. Similar questions were asked of the young adults and the parents to attempt a comparison to ascertain whether the young people's views were shared or not.

The response by the young people was varied. Five out of the twelve mentioned the proximity of family or friends as a positive feature:

- lots of people to talk to...lots of friends to play with.."

- "close to my friends"

This was echoed by the young adults:

- "it's my home..I'm close to my family I'm close to my friends"

- "I've met some wonderful people as a teenager that sort of shaped my life"

- "that sort of immediate family"

Other responses by the young people featured the proximity of a large shopping centre, the open spaces, the fact that there were a lot of people around, the last causing the subject to report that: *"I'm quite comfortable with it."* Another thought about Croydon, *"It's just fun."*

The views of the young adults were also varied. Whilst the majority mentioned family or friends, one suggested, *"community..what I like most was the sense of community.."*; another that, *"I suppose it's the fact that the security the health service's there education's there there's a lot of opportunities."*

This last comment was echoed by a parent; *"the schools are better the qualifications are recognised all over the world."* Another parents agreed over the strong sense of community; *"I would say.. the.. it's more say community community or village like I would say atmosphere...you're not anonymous."*

Three of the parents suggested that its closeness to London was an advantage; *"I like the fact that I can get access to and from you know all parts of London."* Another agreed, *"Croydon's very convenient for everywhere really so it's just the location,"* and another, *"London that gives you access to everything".*

The multi-cultural nature of Croydon was also valued; *"South London does reflect my customs and my culture as well as you know the wider and more indigenous community."*

When it came to reporting what young people perceived as the aspects of Croydon that they like least, 6 of the 12 mentioned violence and criminal behaviour especially robberies. This was summarised by one young person who said:

"There's a lot of violence going on as well I'm hearing all that stuff in the news like people getting killed people getting raped and stuff like that and robberies going on it's happening in Croydon our local area."

Another added: *"I think Croydon's fine apart from the robberies in the paper and things like that,"* and another, *"it's all I hear about is people getting robbed and that that's why my dad doesn't like me going out so much."*

Another cited the lack of entertainment for young people and another, *"a bit far out from London."* When prompted he suggested Croydon was too far from *"the action!"* One young person thought that Croydon was, *"a bit crowded at times"*, indicating a feeling that she did not feel safe.

Two of the young adults thought that there was a lack of opportunity, due to racism, which one described as, *"being invisible"*, and the other that reactions to her at interview made her tense and nervous causing her to under-perform. A third young adult thought that Croydon was *"becoming very impersonal."* She suggested that at 15 or 16 it was normal for people to go in and out of each other's houses but now, *"it's very much more closed doors and less trust."*

Another thought that at that age (15 or 16) she had found adults in the black youth organisations very patronising because, *"they didn't have an understanding of young people."*

Generally, apart from those parents who thought Croydon was getting too expensive and that, *"there's no night life in Croydon for young people"* few of the responses suggested anything that might impinge directly on the lives of young people. One bemoaned the cold winters; *"the winter's like the end of the world."*

Another disliked the traffic; *"I hate the traffic I always do."* She continued to explain that this was due to her perception that this restricted people's freedom to play outside, as she had done as a child, and reinforced the comments by of the young adult over no longer being able to pop into each other's houses;

"there doesn't seem to be that kind of openness people are that much more private and feeling that they're closed off you know you can't sort of go knocking on people's doors and sitting around each other's porches."

One parent criticised the physical environment although he noted that changes were occurring which would improve it; *"it's a concrete jungle really it's not a very pretty town the architecture's now beginning to change that's changing."*

Young people, then, seemed to have more in common with young adults than parents, in perceiving Croydon as having a sense of community and providing family and friendship networks. Parents were more concerned with its location and proximity to London. Young people's concerns about living in Croydon centred around their personal safety, citing the violent and criminal behaviour as well as over-crowding. Adults were more concerned over the weather, the price of shopping, the traffic and the physical environment. Young adults also mentioned the negative effects of racism and this issue will now be explored in more detail.

Category 9 Effects of Racism

At no time during the interviews were any questions asked directly over racism unless this was raised by the interviewee first. Questions, which it was hoped would prompt the subject to raise this as an issue were asked, usually in the form

of, "If you had a magic wand is there anything you would change about your life or about living in Croydon?" The rationale was that the researcher did not want to put words into the subjects' mouths or ideas into their heads which would skew or influence the responses. It was hoped, however, that racism is such a pertinent issue for people in the black community, that it was certain to be raised.

Perhaps, however, due to the fact that no direct question was asked about racism, some subjects did not refer to it, possibly because they assumed that it was not a concern of the research, or because they may have felt that this is well-worn path that many black people have trodden and that I was both aware of it and did not want it re-opened, or maybe because the 'prompt' was either too weak or ambiguous to elicit a response. Whichever this was, not everyone grasped the opportunity to raise this as an issue.

All the focus groups did provide examples of racism. It only needed one person in the group to raise it as an issue for everyone else to follow suit. What they offered were examples of racist attacks by white gangs (such as the 'smilers' who it was suggested gave black youngsters a wide smile by enlarging their mouths by use of a razor!), or more likely, a catalogue of incidents of police brutality or harassment. Only one mentioned the educational system which he accused of providing, "*a biased view of history.*"

Contributions in the focus groups included:

- "*police got a one-sided view about all young blacks want to be aggressive are ignorant (meaning - 'losing your temper') and violent.* (This

phrase was interpreted by the black youth worker who had checked the transcript for accuracy and authenticity)

- *"I got picked up by the police in the street for no reason walking down the road...doing something I wasn't doing..handcuffed me"*

- *"I've been stopped a few times..we were with a white guy a friend of mine and the police stopped and thought we were mugging him they asked him if we were mugging him"*

- *"like me and my one of my friends we were walking up the road and the police pulled us over and they started dragging out one of my friends who never even did nothing.."*

One of the difficulties in inviting such comments is that in the group situation they seem to have the propensity to escalate as the subjects, particularly boys, feel the need to outdo each other in the incidents they relate. I noted on the form used to record my reflections of the interview that this was the case and felt that exaggeration and impression management made many of the contributions unreliable. At one point, in one group, I asked, "When was the last time any of you were arrested?" which brought the discussion to an abrupt halt when none of them provided any answer except one who said, *"I didn't say I'd been arrested."*

With those interviewed individually, only one of the 12 mentioned racism directly and another 'discrimination', the former, again, being concerned with the way the police behave with black young people and the latter about how he felt treated at school:

- *"there's a lot of racism I think...they should stop the beating of black boys because there had been a robbery in the area"*

- (if I could change anything it would be) *"not to be discriminated against..(by)..teachers and other pupils."*

For young people racism was mainly associated with law and order issues perhaps because this is what confronts them in their daily lives whereas wider issues around employment and social, economic and political discrimination is not yet relevant in view of their lack of experience and their ages. But would the young adults and the parents have a different view?

Young adults, perhaps surprisingly, focused more on their lack of educational opportunities which led to a lack of employment opportunities as well as the racist practices in the selection procedures. One subject reported, for instance, on difficulties in obtaining jobs for which she might be interviewed. She explained that she had an English name but noticed on arrival for interview that they had not expected a black person. The hostility she felt caused her to under-perform so that it became a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Only one young adult mentioned relationships with the police but more in the context of the racism inherent in society. All shared the view that young people today were affected by racism, and some reported on the anger which resulted.

One offered an explanation which summarised the views they expressed:

- I'd say it's mainly about the racist society that they live in and how they feel they're treated and you know they they don't think about how to respond in a positive way kind of you know forward themselves or you know they just react with aggression a lot of the time...if you dwell on the race element of it it's I feel that they're at a disadvantage you know the young black people and they feel they're at a disadvantage that's what make them so enraged or even more enraged than your average you know majority.."

Another young adult thought that young black people were ill equipped to deal with racism which had become more insidious:

- "I think our generation had brought about a change that the attitudes haven't changed I think black people are more acceptable I think they still hit barriers and the barriers are more subtle...and then the barrier hits them in the face and they get angry about it and they've every right to be...my generation really tucked away a lot of things that our parents gave to us a lot of the strategies and I think young people aren't equipped enough to deal with it to deal with what will happen and what is going to happen.."

This was reinforced by a parent who suggested:

- "I see the young black sometimes I'm very pessimistic on what they have to say having gone through some of this myself and I'm beginning to think that instead of I it's getting better it's getting worse."

He explained that the early work to counter racism had been eroded: *"there was progression then everything's been wiped out..I had some hopes..and I felt things were happening but I would say over the last 5-10 years things have just reverted to what they were."* The majority of the parents, though, did not specifically mention racism. In fact of the 6 only 2 did, one directly as above and the other more in terms of educational opportunities:

- "why is it at primary school you can have all these black kids who show they're just as intelligent and they hit secondary school and then something just happens a block happens and they suddenly become part of this excluded..that's what I would have a magic wand change their attitude..they had a equal opportunity that's what I would change."

The one grandfather who was interviewed in the one-to-one situation was more vociferous than all the others. He agreed that the educational system, *"does not give black youngsters the equal opportunity that they need..every day of their lives they suffer from discrimination in one way or another."*

He reinforced the previous comments by a parent about the progression-regression feature of policies and practices to counter discrimination:

- "discrimination is not as bad as it was in the 60s and 70s there has been some improvement but also there is subtle forms of inherent racism which we suffer from."

The message, then, is clear. Not only is racism still a cancer in society but its forms are more subtle. Legislation and efforts by the race relations industry may have sought to redress racism in all its manifestations and thereby improve matters for black people but it appears that, in reality, whether consciously or unconsciously, the social, economic and political institutions and those that run them, find other, more subtle ways of perpetuating their position of privilege. The McPherson Report into the Metropolitan Police Service's handling of the Stephen Lawrence murder highlights how institutional racism intervened to thwart the investigation. The discrimination which results from racism in all its forms affects the young more than any other generation as their expectations are for a more equal and equitable society and, moreover, if the assessment of more than one of the subjects is correct, they are less tolerant of those who perpetuate the system and less prepared to stand by and allow it to continue. The possibility exists for an angry reaction and whilst no-one is suggesting what form the expression of that anger might take, recent history of civil disturbance includes rioting by black young people in Brixton, Bristol, Birmingham and Broadwater Farm.

The Croydon Youth Development Trust has a role to play in raising awareness of issues which affect young people and whether or not it can develop programmes to enable black young people particularly and the black community more generally to advocate for clearer policies and practices which combat the present racism in society, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

This Chapter has analysed the data from the interview transcripts and has suggested the following 9 categories, from those developed during the Institution Focused Study, conducted as a pilot scheme, and further developed during the main research phase:

- family composition
- contact with grandparents
- contact with the Caribbean
- cultural transmission
- identity
- academic and occupational aspirations
- parents' and grandparents' perceptions of young people
- perceptions of Croydon
- effects of racism

In accordance with the process of grounded theory, as detailed in the Institution Focused Study, the task now is to move to theoretical integration, by identifying core categories, by merging them and linking them with subsidiary categories and established theories. This is the point at which, according to Glaser and

Strauss, that the work of other theorists is taken into account to reinforce, shape or refute the data or the findings. It is expected that it will be possible to suggest some theories from the data and the preceding analysis.

This is the task of the next chapter which leads towards the generation of a theory on British-born black young people.

Chapter 5 DISCUSSION - enabling the data to tell the story

The categories developed in the preceding chapter now require to be integrated with work from other researchers in order to suggest some substantive theories, although these will not be articulated until the following chapter.

In adopting the process of grounded theory, it was recognised in the Institution Focused Study that theoretical sampling involves selecting categories for comparison on the basis of theoretical relevance. It was also suggested that to provide a fuller picture as possible, different kinds of data, different views or perspectives, which Glaser and Strauss have called 'slices of data', are required.

In order to make sense of the information from the interviews and memos analysed in the preceding Chapter, it is necessary to consider what others have contributed to our knowledge about black young people in Britain.

It is also essential to begin to develop relations between the categories elicited through the research, which as Glaser and Strauss term it involves, "*integrating categories and their properties*" (op cit; 105). The data, therefore, is presented in the form of a series of opposites or challenges, beginning with a discussion on the family, which traditionally has been an important feature of Caribbean life but now may, by necessity, be changing in response to the new situation parents and their children encounter in Britain.

Caribbean family life vs Black family life in Britain

As an outsider to Caribbean society, socialised into a 'typical', traditional, white, Western family (two parents, two children), the interviews about family life both here and in the Caribbean provided a description of parenting patterns which challenged my perceptions of what was 'normal'. Subjects reported that children, more so perhaps in the Caribbean than in Britain, were raised by a variety of people, mainly grandmothers, but also aunts and others. The notion of an extended family, although familiar to me as a concept, was not something I had experienced. In any case, whilst this phrase was used by a number of subjects, Hylton points out, from his study, that this is not a concept with which many Afro-Caribbeans resonate. He suggests that it does not reflect the family pattern where the 'family' includes all, and what is termed as the nuclear family in Western society is called the 'immediate family' in the Caribbean. Hylton concludes that, "*the majority of respondents were ambivalent towards the term 'extended family'*" (Hylton: 1997:130). It does, however, seem to explain what was meant by the Caribbean saying, "*it takes a village to raise a child*".

These changes in family patterns as a result of migration may be important at a time when one of the adolescent's tasks is to forge a new relationship within the family which signifies his or her acceptance into adult status. In Chapter 2, on Adolescence, the importance of appropriate role models was highlighted but their absence may leave young people more confused. Child rearing practices are also changing as the traditional practices of the African-Caribbean community

become weakened. But I was left with the questions over how it came about and whether or not it was a legacy of slavery.

Two recent pieces of research, both MA dissertations at the Centre of Youth Work Studies at Brunel University, by Sinclair (1992) and Anderson (1994) provided some answers.

Sinclair examined both the historical separation of African people from their culture and homeland which occurred as a result of the slave trade, and also more recent influences on people from the Caribbean and Africa to part from their children and the arrangements they then make for their parenting.

She cites Rodney (1981; 37) in warning of the dangers of adopting a prejudiced and racist stance by comparing unfavourably the cultural patterns of the African with that of the Western idealised family with close bonding between children and their mother. And yet there has been a recognition of the efficacy of the extended family or communal arrangement which may exist. She reminds us that early European societies experienced a phase of communal living which has become largely extinct although it still prevails in Africa, particularly in villages outside modern cities which in themselves reflect a more Western approach.

An assumption seems to be made throughout many commentator's accounts of Caribbean life that the impact of slavery had no socialising effect on them, that somehow they retained their African roots and customs without being 'tarnished'

by the community patterns of Western society as perpetuated by slave owners and plantation managers. There is evidence, of course, of mixed marriages and rape which created a privileged group of 'coloured' slaves who served as domestics and were segregated from the black plantation workers. (Morrissey: 1991: 281) Many also were given the surname of the plantation owner or manager thus depriving them of their African, family name. Higman lists the names of slaves in 1825 such as "*Ann Ellis, Charles Rose, Becky Richards, Richard Trail, Elizabeth Miller*", all black slaves (Higman: 1998: 259). Perhaps what is important, however, is to recognise that many may be searching for an African identity to discover their roots. If so, what does this mean?

Forde provides an example, of the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert:

"the sole effective social group among the Bushman is a small band of people usually related by blood or marriage and varying from twenty to one hundred in number..each maintaining a strict autonomy within its territory. Individuals and small parties may pass from one band to another...the Bushman band and its territory, then, is a miniature realm."
(Op cit; 27)

The closed communal life of the village meant, therefore, that inter-marriage was a necessary feature, apart from the occasional introduction of an outsider to prevent too much in-breeding, with its threat of producing deformity in the strain. In a sense, even if on the surface, a village appeared to contain a number of extended families, in reality they were all inter-related, however loosely.

Sinclair shows that in some tribes the men were often absent for long periods when they went on hunting trips, necessarily leaving the child care to the women.

And this responsibility was shared by all the women, not just the immediate family. Where, for instance, a mother's milk ceases to be nourishing, she has to look for another woman to continue to feed her baby and the most suitable assumes this responsibility whether closely related to the baby's mother or not.

Margaret Mead provides examples of 'multiple nurturing figures' to demonstrate that in some societies it is perfectly normal for this task to be shared (Op cit: 245). This is not merely confined to babies, but is on-going throughout an individual's childhood. Sinclair explains,

"In Africa, age plays an important part in family structure, in that grandparents and the departed are seen to have a guiding influence on the young and the family as a whole. Children are viewed as belonging not just to their parents but to the whole community. Therefore, for a child to be brought up by any member of that family is regarded as the norm," (Sinclair: 1993: 22)

Craven, writing about West Indians in London, albeit from a Western perspective, further explains,

"Fostering of children, not seen as this in African families, occurs all over black Africa, though it varies in frequency and pattern from ethnic group to ethnic group. It is practised in both rural and urban environments, with children of all ages, sometimes until they are ready for marriage. The foster parents might gain certain rights over the child (and duties too), though full rights remain with the true parents and the descendant group of one, for while a child stays with the foster parents, they are responsible for his or her upbringing whether they are related to the child or not." (Craven: 1968: 28)

Craven offers examples of child-rearing practices in Northern Ghana where children from as young as 4 years old may be sent to live with members of the extended family for a variety of reasons; the schooling of the child, the need for elderly relatives to be looked after or because the family are childless.

What these examples demonstrate is that the practice of multiple care and separation of the child from his or her natural parents can be the norm and, therefore, will not be as traumatic as would be the case in Western society where bonding and attachment is normally restricted to the natural parents.

Sinclair then points to how these patterns were disrupted when Africans were taken into slavery to the Caribbean. She quotes research undertaken by a group of youth workers in Brent, the Black Workers' Support Group:

"Analysis of the patterns of authority in slave family life reveals that only slave owners or their overseers had authority. In such a system fathers and mothers had no legitimate authority or any claim to their children. Mothers may have been an exception, in that their authority over their children lasted during the infant years or at least until the children were old enough to go out and work in the fields." (BWSG: 1986: 4)

Family life was beginning to change for the black family as children no longer 'belonged' to the parents, the extended family or even the village or tribe but the plantation owner. The result, as contained in a report of the Commission for Racial Equality was that, *"slavery led to the break-up of the tribal and family structure of the Africans"* (CRE: 1977: 11).

Even, however, when slavery was abolished, the role of the female as the main, and in some cases as the sole, authority figure, continued:

"With the abolition of slavery and the emergence of free Caribbean nations, the role of female as authority figures in the domestic household groups among the black poor working class continued especially as economic circumstances forced men to travel abroad in search of work. In the context of the Caribbean Creole society, we can conclude that females especially the elders played an important part in economic, child-rearing

and household maintenance functions. It was around them that the survival of the black family has depended.” (BWSG: 1986: 5)

It seems that the arrangements which existed before slavery became, to a limited degree, to be re-adopted with grandparents and the extended family playing an increasing role in the child-rearing practices. Whether they survived the next period of upheaval, the flood of immigration to Britain in the 50s and 60s remains to be seen. Much depended of the ability of Caribbean society in Britain to preserve those customs and traditions which have maintained their distinctiveness.

Anderson explains that, in the past, this was achieved by a system of passing on the importance of the history of the community. He suggests:

“In spite of continuous upheavals within the nineteenth century slave environment the sales of children, fathers and mothers, the black family has continued to offer stability via the subsumed African customs and structures, e.g. story-telling, relating historical African events through selected Griotic members of the community, etc, i.e. those members whose role it is to ‘pass on’ and ‘take note’ of the community’s history.” (Anderson: 1994: 36)

Madhubuti warns that this stability is under threat because of the absence of fathers:

“The present generation of black children is by and large being raised by black women and their extended family networks. The strain on single-parent mothers is duly harsh and often unreal. This condition influences the mother’s activities with her children as well as how she approaches future relationships with black men.” (Madhubuti: 1989: 39)

This pattern of ‘absent fathers’ and ‘single mothers’ was apparent when Caribbeans were encouraged to immigrate to Britain in the 1950s and 60s.

Family units were unable to come as a whole; the men arrived on their own leaving their wives and families in the Caribbean, to be sent for once they had settled in. So the pattern of the role of the woman as the main authority figure was repeated.

The position of fathers is more complex than as at first it might be thought. Alleyne, for instance, explains how many Jamaican rituals derived from the Ashanti culture include those where a pregnant wife is returned to her mother's home for 'assistance and advice' on the basis that *"this is considered necessary at this time"* (Alleyne: 1988:154). However, whilst *"this practice is still very much alive in Jamaica today but on a much smaller scale than previously"*, (Ibid: 154) it is not, of course, possible where mothers are in Britain and the grandmother in the Caribbean or even in another part of Britain.

This is not necessarily unique to Caribbean society. In Britain in previous centuries, grandmothers performed an important role in family groups which *"..much often have been multi-generational"* (Laslett: 1968: 93).

Robertson adds that. *"Edith Clarke, anthropologist , has given the close bond between mother and son as one of the reasons why the young Jamaican men refuse to marry or form close relationships with women before the death of their mothers"* (Robertson: 1987: 18).

So by tradition, in some cases, fathers may not be available to share in the child-rearing duties. And, as the research showed, neither are grandparents, who may have stayed in the Caribbean when their children migrated, or returned there, or may have died. Even those in Britain do not have the regular or sustained contact with their grandchildren they enjoyed in the Caribbean.

The result is that family life for people of Caribbean decent in Britain is vastly different. Discipline of children is reportedly more lax here as corporal punishment is forbidden by law. A perception exists that young people have no respect for their elders or for authority. Parents are seen to be adopting the prevailing child-rearing practices of the indigenous, white population. Hylton suggests,

“Along with trends in the wider UK population there appears to be a continuing generational change in child-rearing practices among black families towards an emphasis on co-operation rather than the discipline of physical control. Part of the reason for this change could be the pressures emanating from a changed ‘moral’ consensus within UK society...other parents, however, have changed their child-rearing practices after a measured and deliberate examination of their own childhood experiences in which they were subject to physical discipline from their parents and the extended family members.” (Ibid: 21)

If, then, family traditions, historically the bed-rock of Caribbean social stability, are changing in favour of a more Western pattern, have other traditions similarly been eroded for young black people in Britain?

Caribbean traditions vs Anglicisation

Some young people in the study reported on their lack of contact with other family members both in the Caribbean and elsewhere. The picture presented

conjures up a sense of isolation, with mothers bringing up their children on their own and compares unfavourably with accounts of the family networks in the Caribbean where it appears to be 'one big happy family'. As reported, families are 'very close' and everyone knows everyone else. As the study also showed some of the subjects who had more extensive experience of the Caribbean expressed concerns that this closeness was lessening, and others found it to be claustrophobic and primitive.

And, as shown in the study, young people were ambivalent about their nationality but not where they would identify as their home. They were clearer over their parents' identity and almost exclusively perceived this as being the Caribbean whereas the majority of young people thought of themselves as British, although sometimes they wanted to retain a foot in both camps by calling themselves 'English-Caribbean'. Identity confusion is a feature of adolescence, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, and this apparent ambivalence might be what Erikson calls a 'psychosocial moratorium'.

If they do see themselves as British, rather than Caribbean, but their parents are Caribbean what effect does this have on their relationships where there might be a clash of expectation? Or are they, as in Phinney and Rosenthal's words 'unexamined' or 'searchers' in terms of their ethnic identity. (Discussed in Chapter 2)

In some cases young people reported, for instance, that they were expected to help with the housework and look after younger brothers and sisters which we know from the study was typical of family life in the Caribbean. This, however, caused some resentment. Young people wanted to be out with their friends, many of whom did not have these roles or responsibilities thrust upon them.

In addition, it was the grandmothers in particular, who ensured that traditions were passed on, and their absence creates a gap or gulf into which these now fall as there is no-one to fulfil this function. In any case, according to Alleyne, it is the effects of the modern, technological world which weakens traditions which are perceived as inappropriate where 'individualism' replaces 'community' in the pursuit of wealth. He suggests, of Jamaica, for instance:

"Today in Jamaica, European culture pressures to get materially rich as individuals rather than to get spiritually rich together, and this is producing severe conflicts. Technology and modernisation are invading all quarters of the human mind and destroying links with Africa. Jamaicans are losing touch with their ancestral traditions, myths and legends, for modernisation fosters rootlessness." (Alleyne: 1988: 165)

He also draws attention to the dysfunctional effects of migration from rural to urban settings which reflects the pattern of most immigrants from the Caribbean to Britain. In the former, he suggests, *"their culture and ways of life were in harmony with the environment"*, whereas the latter creates, *"social and cultural alienation"* (Ibid: 155).

So not only is the key actor in cultural transmission missing but the prevailing social climate has changed to render those traditions inappropriate in a modern society or created a sense of anomie for the migrant living in a 'foreign' land.

The study attempted, nevertheless, to elicit whether young people used their leisure time to maintain a Caribbean culture. Did the activities they undertook have a culture-specific flavour? The immediate answer is 'no' as most subjects were engaged in the sorts of activities enjoyed by the majority of young people in Britain. The study concluded that it had, "revealed little information to suggest any notion that they were an instrument of cultural transmission."

Eating habits and the ability to cook Caribbean food were examined to determine whether this important aspect of Caribbean culture was being maintained. The evidence suggests a swing against Caribbean food in favour of the 'Americanised' fast food such as McDonalds or KFC (formerly Kentucky Fried Chicken). Unlike Chinese or Indian food, the lack of identifiable and readily available restaurants serving Caribbean meals, signifies a denial of the popularisation of such fare. And as Caribbean food, unlike Chinese or Indian, requires Caribbeans to cook it is unlikely that the indigenous population will learn the art. Cook books contain recipes for curries and stir-fry and most homes possess woks, but a lot of recipes for Caribbean dishes are passed on from mother to child and so is confined to the home (Hartshorn: op cit: 77). This gives a message that Caribbean food is not valued outside the home.

To reinforce this notion, in the Croydon Library there are some 380 books on cookery, approximately 100 on 'regional' cookery offering recipes from all parts of the world. Of these, 8 are Chinese, 7 French, 15 Indian, 17 Italian, 5 Jewish and only 3 Caribbean. What sort of message does this convey about the value of Caribbean food?

Young people, then, want to be more like their white counterparts by not being expected to help with the housework, nor look after younger brothers or sisters. They want, instead, to be out with their friends, engaging in activities which are not culture-specific. And when it comes to the food they eat, they will accept Caribbean food occasionally but often prefer English or fast foods.

This paints a picture in which black young people are more 'at home' in Britain in all aspects of their lives. They, whilst not rejecting Caribbean culture entirely, operate alongside their white counterparts.

This is hardly surprising as they are being socialised by an English educational system which takes little or no account of their culture. But does this educational system encourage black young people and give them an expectation that they can compete equally with their white peers academically leading to the occupations of their choice? Unlike the original immigrants from the Caribbean who were recruited mainly to undertake the dirty, low-paid and menial jobs do the present generation have different aspirations, and if so, does this create tensions in the family and in the wider Caribbean community?

Parents' academic and occupational status vs young people's aspirations

It was clear from the interviews that most young people hoped to do well at school, at least sufficiently well to gain qualifications which they each, without exception, regarded as being 'very important'. Many, in addition, wanted to progress to university to gain a degree leading to a professional qualification, although a minority, particularly the males, were still vague and reported wanting to do 'something with computers' or 'become a singer/actor'. Significantly they each had other options to fall back on.

Many of the young people were ignorant of their grandparents' occupations and apart from one subject whose grandparents included a doctor and a lawyer, all of the others were semi-skilled or unskilled. Parents fared a little differently with approximately 25% of them in skilled or professional occupations.

The pattern is beginning to emerge of more black people aspiring to and obtaining professional and more highly skilled occupations through the generations. Whether they are able or allowed to reach their goals is another matter. Bates and Riseborough suggest that family and education are inextricably linked and the former may affect what happens in the latter, by enhancing or inhibiting the child's chances. They state:

"Family and education are important sites of reproduction but the key site remains relatively invisible, having no institutional base; this is the interface between the two. Family circumstances become linked with specific levels of education/training and hence with occupational strata and sectors through the circulation of 'differential currencies of opportunity' in the form of material conditions; domestic and emotional factors; cultural values; gender codes; social networks; geographical mobility; access to information and occupational cultures." (Bates & Riseborough: 1993: 11)

From this we can deduce that the single-parent, female, black and with limited educational qualification and background may well be disadvantaged compared to another parent and this disadvantage will be visited upon her child(ren). The disadvantage suffered by black people has been well recorded. As an example, the findings of the National Centre for Social Research on "Black Caribbean Young Men's Experience of Education and Employment", which interviewed 18-30 year olds, showed:

"- 16% of the Black Caribbean young men surveyed had no qualifications whatsoever, academic or vocational. The corresponding figure for white men of the same age is 8%.

- This study confirms the findings of previous research which shows that the Black Caribbean community, in general, have vocational qualifications or other educational qualifications (e.g. nursing, teaching, HND etc) as their most common type of post-16 qualification.

- 9% of those respondents who held any academic qualification had an ordinary or higher degree as their highest academic qualification. This figure compared with a figure 27% for white men of the same age. However, there were indications that more Black Caribbean young men were studying for and gaining degrees than in the past."
(Fitzgerald, Finch & Nove: 2000: 3)

This study also reveals that 85% agreed that they had the ability to do better at school, which was reflected by one of the subjects, and 81% that a good education makes it easier to get a good job, with 92% agreeing that it is important to get good qualifications.

Sewell's study of 'Black Masculinities and Schooling' provides some reasons why black males do not always fare well at school. He puts this down to the disproportionate rate of exclusions; "African-Caribbean students are consistently

over-represented in exclusion data" (Sewell:1997: xiv). They also have a disproportionate amount of control and criticism, borne of a racist perception on behalf of teachers. This has a negative effect on the pupils. There was also a 'culture of resistance' established by the pupils. To co-operate with the school system in an attempt to benefit from schooling involves a denial of black culture. Sewell confirms; *"For African-Caribbean boys 'success' in schooling is clearly a hazardous and complex process whereby they are in many cases forced to 'present' themselves as having rejected their own community and peer group"* (Ibid: 17). So there is pressure on them to adopt the behavioural patterns of the white indigenous population. This suggests an element of confusion; young people want to do well but the price is rejecting the culture of your parents and grandparents who also want you to do well. For many the reality is clear; whatever the cost, education is a means to qualifications and occupational stability. So again, this study also reveals that many young people regret that they messed about and did not take full advantage of what the school was offering them.

Young black people, it would appear, are recognising the value of gaining good qualifications as through them lie their hopes for better opportunities in the job market. Whether they are able to realise their hopes may be determined by other factors which will be considered later.

For many doing well at school may give them a sense of identity. But because of the possibility that in so doing they have to reject the culture of their parents and

grandparents for some this may create other tensions and pressures? So is it possible, as their parents and grandparents would hope, that they still have a sense of having 'roots' in the Caribbean or do they seek an entirely new kind of identity, that of a black British person?

Caribbean roots vs British identity

When asked about their nationality, the young people in the study expressed some confusion. "I was born here but I don't feel British," reflected the attitude and views of most of them. They looked for a category in which to place themselves, particularly such as 'Black - English' or 'Black - British' but, in reality, this was denied to them. On ethnic monitoring forms, for instance, including those used by Brunel University, these categories are missing and they have to choose from 'Black - African', 'Black - Caribbean' or 'Black - Other'. Luthra has pointed out that the evidence from the National Survey of Ethnic Minorities by the Policy Studies Institute in 1997 suggests that black young people thought of themselves as British, twice that of the 35-59 year old age group (Op cit: 331).

And, when asked where they thought their home was, most said, "Here in Britain", although they perceived their parents as claiming home to be in the Caribbean. Their own views of the Caribbean were mixed, some loved the beaches, food, people, relaxed way of life whilst others found it to be full of insects, too hot, too crowded, violent and that they were treated as foreigners.

Kirton reports on Jamaica, for instance, to illustrate the issue over the economic situation, *"Recent estimates show that one out of every three Jamaicans have household expenditure which puts them below the national poverty line"* (Kirton: 1992: 23). He adds, *"Unemployment is rife, averaging 24% over the last 15 years"* (Ibid: 25).

He provides a view of the island which confirms why some young people would not want to live there:

"Whether in the squalid 'ghettos' of Western Kingston or the impoverished rural communities of St Catherine's, the toll exacted by the economic crisis is clearly visible. The crisis has many dimensions and takes different forms. In desperation, some people turn to crime. Burglaries, robberies, larceny, drug-dealing are all on the increase. In response, the police resort to brutality and frequent killings; in 1989, 180 Jamaicans were killed by the police. The fastest growing economic sectors in Jamaica are now drugs - and the security industry. Domestic violence, child abuse and drug dependencies are all serious problems." (Ibid: 5)

It is hardly surprising that few of the young people would want to move to the Caribbean and live there permanently. Parents, on the other hand, presented a more varied picture; some did, some didn't. What may determine their ability to return there to live includes whether or not they had property or land or an expectation to inherit either, and whether they have kept in touch with the family out there. If not, not only will they be made to feel unwelcome, but they may well find themselves disinherited.

But part of the ambivalence that parents feel about returning permanently is the tension they feel over the inevitable separation from their children who refuse to

go with them. Their view is summarised by the comment, "It's all right for a holiday, but I wouldn't want to live there."

Karen Fog Olwig, reporting on children's attitudes on the island of Nevis, which she describes as "*an externally-oriented society*" (Fog Olwig: 1987: 154) demonstrates that, "*most of the children did not see much future in staying on the island*" (Ibid: 165). This is mainly due to the economic situation and the lack of employment opportunities so that the young inhabitants feel that their only hope is to go elsewhere in search of jobs. Many of the other islands of the Caribbean are likely to be in similar positions, and, therefore, there is little incentive for young people to go there from Britain, especially when they see their counterparts deserting it.

This study of the Croydon cohort showed clearly that young people did not feel that they had roots in the Caribbean, but then they did not feel entirely 'at home' in Britain either. Why is this? One reason is that African-Caribbeans, according to Hylton use self-help and self-organised community groups to "*create individual and community pride*" (Hylton: 1999: 33). Many of the key players in these have an 'African-centric' approach and "*wanted to build a strong African-Caribbean community*" (Ibid: 34).

But many young people feel disconnected from the entrapment of an African-Caribbean identity which they fear the adults in that community wish to impose upon them. They do not feel African-Caribbean and unlike the Asians in the

study by Anwar (CRE: 1976) do not have a foot in each culture but feel rejected by both.

In terms of the future, young black people may have to learn from history, particularly borrowing from the freedmen, those slaves granted their freedom by the plantation owners. Sio reports on how they developed an identity and forged a place in society:

“As they became conscious of themselves as a group an identity developed that embodied a distinct sense of difference. The sense of identity manifested itself in the definitions of acceptable behaviour among themselves, the terms they used to define themselves, and their view of themselves in relation to whites, to a particular island, and to the Caribbean region as a whole.” (Sio: 1991: 153)

In similar fashion young black people may need to discover a separate and distinctive identity, different to that of previous generations of black people, a new Black British citizenship and gain a view of themselves in relation both to whites and black adults. For this they may need models, not those of a bygone era, but contemporary ‘heroes’ with whom they can resonate, and not just sports or pop stars.

And they may need help to do this by providing support, understanding and the space to try out new ideas, make mistakes but find expression for their needs and desires. Erikson called for a moratorium as a necessary ingredient in the formation of an identity and, more than ever, black young people need this at this time.

One serious impediment to this searching for identity is the will-sapping effect of racism and the question remains for Croydon on how black young people can be accepted as equal members of the community when at the same time they are disadvantaged by its inherent racism.

Integration in the Croydon community vs the negativism of racism

In an attempt to ascertain whether or not young people felt at home in Croydon they were asked what they thought the best and worst aspects of it were. The response suggested that, by and large, they were happy to live there as they had family and friends easily available as well as good shops and open spaces. Crime and violence were perceived to be the worst aspects.

When it came to wanting to change anything the police were mentioned in the context of brutality and harassment. Mention has already been made in this study of the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry Report which castigated the Metropolitan Police Service for their handling of the case and the way it allowed police officers to deal with black young people. While young people can rightly criticise any actions by the police which amount to harassment, the group interviews seemed to encourage the participants to try to 'out-do' each other in their personal accounts of encounters with the police. That is not to concede that their experience is invalid even if prone to exaggeration.

McGonville has reminded us that there is a false perception that young men, in particular, from ethnic minorities are more likely to be engaged in criminal activity.

She suggests conversely, *"In fact, some evidence shows very little difference between the levels of property crime in white and African-Caribbean communities"* (McGonville: 1998: 5).

The Youth Lifestyles Survey 1998/9 shows that, whereas 10% of young whites were stopped by the police, nearly twice as many (18%) of young blacks were stopped in the same period (Flood-Page, Campbell, Harrington & Miller: 2000: 49). And we know from research by Phillips and Brown that in 1998, for instance, black people in Croydon represented 20% of the total arrests by the police whereas they constitute only 8% of the local population (Phillips & Brown: 1998: 14).

A number of respondents, particularly the young adults and parents, mentioned racism as the key aspect in preventing black young people from achieving their potential both educationally and in terms of occupation. McGonville confirms this from her study; *"Young people from ethnic minorities face a level of discrimination in education, in employment and in the wider society that often puts them at a serious disadvantage"* (Op cit: 5).

The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) has also published research findings that show that black pupils are 3-6 times more likely to be excluded from school than their white counterparts. The National Council for Social Research (NCSR) report, previously cited, exposed a growing gap between the school results of ethnic minorities and white pupils. Approximately two-thirds of those

interviewed (62%) felt they had been treated unfairly because of skin colour (Fitzgerald, Finch & Nove: op cit: 3).

The Daily Mirror (14th August 2000) under a banner headline 'The Race Disgrace' reported on an investigation they had undertaken, which showed that *"Ethnic minorities..have fewer top posts - just 1.7% - in the Civil Service than 10 years ago."* It quoted Lord Alli, himself an ex-Croydon resident, as saying, *"Nought per cent of the top civil servants are black. There are no black permanent secretaries, no black ambassadors."* The report showed how this pattern was repeated in the armed forces, the police, fire and prison services and amongst judges. This illustrates the point that black people are denied opportunities at the highest levels. A suggestion of some of the subjects of this study is that racism is becoming more subtle. Why is this?

Wrench and Solomos provide some answers. They suggest that, in the case of employers under the Youth Training Scheme, for instance, the black young people themselves were perceived by them to be deficient in some way, rendering them unsuitable. In their words:

"The problems of the young blacks were assumed to be similar to those of the physically and educationally disadvantaged groups, implying that the reason why young blacks were most likely to be unemployed was due to their own 'problems' rather than to anything that was happening in the labour market or the structure of British society in general." (Wrench & Solomos: 1993: 166)

They cite examples of careers staff being unable or unwilling to challenge the racist views of employers and thereby colluding either actively or passively with discriminatory measures (Ibid: 167).

They also suggested that black young people tended to avoid travelling to areas where there had been incidents of racist attacks and also of not attending for interview if they perceived the situation to exclude black workers by exercising self-selection. They take the view, "There are no blacks working in there, therefore I'm not going to get a job there because I'm black" (Ibid: 169).

Gilroy asks what happened to all the anti-racist policies and practices designed to eradicate racism in favour of a fairer and more equitable society. Part of the reason, he ventures, is that much of the anti-racism orthodoxy was discredited as being too prescriptive and became an easy target of the right. The somewhat dictatorial character of anti-racism, particularly in local government, became the issue to be debated rather than the effects of racism or the plight of the victims.

The early interventions 'drained into the sand'. Gilroy suggests:

"These assaults on the fundamental objective of anti-racism and the attendant practice of multi-culturalism in education, social work and other municipal services have passed largely unanswered and vocal political support for anti-racism has been hard to find. This is partly because the cadre of anti-racism professionals which was created during the boom years of radicalism on the rates has lost its collective tongue; its political confidence has been drained away." (Gilroy: 1992: 49)

This is partly due to the desire politicians, either local or national, have for quick-fix solutions. Because the effects of anti-racist measures have to be evaluated over time, politicians, if they think nothing is happening, quickly move on to other

matters. Or they pretend that this issue has been sorted out and leave it for someone else to deal with. Whichever this is a form of institutional racism and provides the evidence that racism has become more subtle.

An example has already been provided. The most recent publications of the National Youth Agency fail to mention racism as being of concern to young black people. It is as if the issue has gone away or been dealt with!

The reality is, in any case, that if people, for whatever reason, want a way around the legislation or any local policies and practices, they can find it. And sometimes measures designed to ensure that practices are not discriminatory, merely replace one form with another. An example is the Croydon Council's staff selection procedures which has become a test of comprehension which favours those who know how to manipulate it, so internal candidates have a built-in advantage over those from outside. As the internal candidates are most likely to be white (Croydon has been criticised constantly for under-representing the black population of the borough in its work force) and the external candidates black (having been encouraged to apply to ameliorate the in-balance) here is another form of institutional racism via a system which was meant to stamp it out.

Adding to the problem is that the black defence organisations, such as the Commission for Racial Equality, or more locally the Croydon Race Equality Council, have been discredited and have lost any influence it may have had. They are there for 'window dressing' and have no real impact on policies or

practices, but remain to demonstrate the concern of those in power to consult ethnic minority groups as and when necessary (but as little as possible).

Wrench and Solomos remind us that immigration is one of the key issues for Europe especially as the debate on asylum seekers is likely to become a "hot potato". They warn that immigrants, even if they have been settled for some time are still perceived as 'outsiders' (Op cit: 6).

Young people, caught up in this, cannot feel they are welcome. But at the same time they feel disconnected from their parents' and grandparents' Caribbean roots. They exist in a no-man's land.

As already mentioned they are denied the opportunity of claiming as their nationality, 'Black British'. Is this yet another example of institutional racism, that white people do not want to accept them as 'one of them'? Possibly not. It is likely that one of the black defence organisations had been consulted and had agreed to exclude 'Black British' as a category. The reason is that black adults would not want their children to be anything other than Caribbean. And hereby lies a dilemma. Hylton provides an example, of a Caribbean parent, who when interviewed for his research, *"appeared to have an undaunted commitment to continue with a positive non-European (Caribbean) self-reference irrespective of the place of birth"*, but wished this identity to be passed on to successive generations. She was quoted as saying, *"Well I never allow them (her three children) to call themselves British"* (Hylton: op cit: 8).

The African-Caribbean community, itself, is on the horns of a dilemma, then. It wishes young people to maintain and perpetuate its cultural traditions without the traditional mechanisms for cultural transmissions being in place. At the same time it denies young people the opportunity to forge a new identity as British black citizens.

The result, and in summary, is that young black people feel bewildered and for adolescents making the transition from childhood to adulthood, they find themselves in a cultural vacuum. Outcasts from the African-Caribbean community and 'foreigners' to British white society, they feel excluded.

They are, in the words of a grandparent, "*a lost generation*", both lost in the sense that their parents' and grandparents' generations are unable to rely on them to conform to their expectations as progenitors of Caribbean culture, and lost in the sense that they have no individual or group identity which is distinctive and appropriate for the emergence of the Black British citizen.

In this Chapter, the categories from the preceding one have been integrated together with the theories of others. It was felt to be appropriate to present them as opposites, or challenges, as this reflects the tensions which face British-born black young people.

These were:

- Caribbean family life vs black family life in Britain
- Caribbean traditions vs Anglicisation
- parents academic and occupational status vs young people's aspirations
- Caribbean roots vs British identity
- integration in the Croydon community vs the negativity of racism.

This should enable the research to move to the next stage in the grounded theory process, as outlined in the Institution Focused Study, to the generation of substantive theories and their synthesis into a formal theory of British-born black young people.

Chapter 6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS - Towards a theory of British-born black young people

In this Chapter the research, having gathered the information, developed categories of the data, and then integrated them, is drawn to a conclusion with three main objects.

1. The findings are summarised and some substantive theories on British born black young people and the community in which they operate, are offered.
2. These theories are condensed and synthesised into a formal theory in accordance with the grounded theory approach (described in the Institution Focused Study and Chapter 3 on Research Design).
3. The implications of the findings on the future work of the Croydon Youth Development Trust are summarised.

This third object is important for, as David Marsland has claimed, *"I believe it (the Youth Service) has a crucial role to play as a catalyst and facilitator of the kinds of advances in the circumstances of Afro-Caribbean youth"* (Marsland: 1986: 9).

His paper addresses ways of improving the success rates of Afro-Caribbeans in society through the family, schools, higher education and employment.

But why the Trust and not the local authority? CYDT, apart from being uniquely positioned as an organisation which promotes innovative work, recognises that local authorities often have other priorities. Mohan Luthra explains: *"Young*

people need adult support and good local social provision in order to mix with their peers and understand each other's culture and faith and construct a dialogue. Youth work appears to have slipped off the local government agenda over the last few years" (Luthra: 1997:430). The Trust, without wishing to trammel the local authority's responsibility for setting its own priorities, is committed to ensure that the issues raised in this study are placed on a high priority position on the Croydon Youth Service's agenda.

Towards some substantive theories

Africans, forced into slavery and taken to the Caribbean, have suffered it would seem, a "double whammy" to their customs and traditions. Firstly, the slave owners disrupted the pattern of the African extended family by treating the slaves as objects to be bought and sold, in the process separating families. Immigration to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s has again had the effect of separating families, throwing the child-rearing practices into turmoil and forcing on mothers in particular unaccustomed roles. For whereas previously the grandmother would take responsibility for the upbringing of the children, leaving the mother to work, either as a wage earner or on the family's land, the position is that black mothers in Britain have to combine the nurturing role with that of being the main breadwinner, as well as, in most cases, also acting as a father-substitute in the absence of the fathers.

The traditional family support system, the extended family, with grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins all available to help out and share the responsibilities for the children, is no longer there, leading to a sense of isolation.

In the light of this, the following substantive theories are offered:

Theory 1: *Caribbean families in Britain suffer from the loss of traditional extended family networks with the responsibility for child-rearing transferring from the maternal grandmother to the mother.*

Theory 2: *Black British mothers of Caribbean descent are more likely to have to combine the role of parent, breadwinner and, in some cases, substitute father.*

The transmission of traditions and customs is an issue for the Caribbean community in Britain. Whether by design or default many traditions are being replaced by those of the indigenous white population. The absence of grandmothers and storytellers, historically the instruments of cultural transmission is one factor, as is the 'political' and 'economically-driven' climate which promotes individualism at the expense of co-operation and community loyalty.

Young people are in a cleft stick. Some of the traditions, such as helping about the house and with younger brothers and sisters are perceived by many young people in the study as being anachronistic and inappropriate for a modern,

technological society, especially as these expectations are not laid on their white counterparts. They want equivalent freedom to go out when and with who they like without what they perceive as a burdensome responsibility. When it comes to eating habits, whilst Caribbean food is appropriate for special occasions, they prefer English and 'Americanised' fast food outlets. Mothers especially collude with this; with the joint responsibilities of breadwinner and housekeeper, they may be too tired to prepare a Caribbean meal at the end of a long day particularly if they know their child would prefer something else.

Food is an important aspect of Caribbean culture and the evidence suggests that this is being eroded along with other traditional aspects of Caribbean life.

Theory 3: *For young black people in Britain, Caribbean cultural patterns are giving way to those of the white community.*

It is well acknowledged that family and school are important determinants of a young person's successful development, or otherwise. All the young people in the sample agreed, without exception, that qualifications are 'very important'. Most of them had high hopes academically and also that these qualifications would enable them to achieve a professional qualification. Some hoped to be psychologists, social workers, a lawyer and an accountant.

These young people, as a generality, are seeking higher qualifications and inter-generational occupational mobility (an indicator of upward social mobility). They

do not intend to accept, as were their grandparents and to a certain extent their parents, the dirty and low-paid jobs that nobody else wants. McAdoo (1997), reporting on the American experience, suggests, "*Although it is true that many African-Americans have achieved the education and financial security of middle-class status within the past few decades, there are middle-class families now extending into the sixth or seventh generations. They have served as role models within the African-American community*" (McAdoo: 1997: 139). Whether these aspirations can be realised more quickly in this country or whether these young people will become frustrated, remains to be seen. It does suggest another substantive theory, No 4.

Theory 4: *Black young people aspire to higher qualifications and seek upward occupational, and thereby social, mobility compared to previous generations from the Caribbean.*

Young black people were ambivalent over what they perceived as their nationality. Parents, they thought, had a clearer notion and would be able to claim Caribbean nationality and with some sense of pride. When asked to nominate where their home was they were more certain and most thought, 'Britain'. But parents, they thought, might offer a variety of responses, although the Caribbean was the most prominent.

Their views of the Caribbean also varied, with some liking it more than others, but few sufficiently to want to live there permanently. It lacked opportunities, and

was under-developed and primitive with crime and violence. But it was just the place to go on holiday.

So these young people did not feel they had roots in the Caribbean, but then they found it difficult to perceive themselves as part of British society. The paucity of contemporary black models in Britain confirms their self-doubt and lack of self-worth and so they are left in a vacuum without a sense of identity and culture.

The Black community in Britain is a culture in transition but instead of trying to turn the clock back, as many adults attempt, black young people need to forge a new sense of identity for themselves as befits their emerging status as British black people.

Theory 5: *Black young people feel a sense of disconnection from both the white community and the black, African-Caribbean community which serves to deny them a sense of identity.*

Respondents generally were satisfied with Croydon. Young people enjoyed having family and friends nearby and adults the fact that they were accessible to London. Crime and violence was a cause for concern.

Of greater concern, however, especially to the young adults and parents, was the undeniable effect of racism as they perceived young people being denied opportunities through racial discrimination, despite the equal opportunity legislation and policies and practices of the local authority. These seemed to have disappeared although with the current sensitivity of asylum seekers, the debate on immigration is likely to intensify.

Young black people born in this country should no longer be perceived as immigrants and that they are is, in itself, an example of racism. What complicates the picture, however, is that adults in the African-Caribbean community want their children to retain a Caribbean identity when in reality they are striving for a separate and distinctive one.

The result is that they have become a 'lost generation', lost through disconnection from parents and grandparents whose culture they eschew, and lost in a bewildering maze as they journey through adolescence and attempt to find their own identity as a British black citizen.

Theory 6: *British born black young people suffer subtle forms of discrimination borne of the inherent racism in society.*

Towards a formal theory of British-born black young people:

Family life for people in Britain, originally from the Caribbean, is changing. The loss of extended family networks throws an additional burden on the mother who

has to combine the roles of breadwinner, housekeeper and sometimes father-substitute. The young are seeking ways of adopting the cultural patterns of the indigenous white population and in so doing rejecting that of their parents and grandparents. They are also aspiring to higher educational qualifications than previous generations and also inter-generational upward occupational mobility, which will also, in time, accord them higher social status.

Mixed marriages may also provide a 'superior' status. One young person in the study suggested, for instance, *"In the Caribbean you're ranked by the colour which was linked to slavery so cos his (the great grandfather, who was of Scottish decent) offspring were quite fair going down the line my mother was considered where she lived she was considered quite wealthy"*. Morrissey's account of 'coloured' slaves, mentioned earlier confirms this point (Morrissey: 1991: 281).

These aspirations for higher social status, together with the loss of the usual vehicles for cultural transmission, causes them to be disconnected culturally from parents and grandparents. The racism inherent in British society also limits their opportunities and frustrates their acceptance into British society.

In a no-man's land, they are a 'lost generation', needing to acquire a totally new sense of identity, which is distinctive and yet appropriate for the new British black citizen.

In summarising these points and synthesising the substantive theories previously offered, I suggest the following formal theory of British-born black young people:

Formal theory: *Black young people, born in Britain, are likely to feel disconnected from both the African-Caribbean community and unwelcome by the white community and thereby suffer a sense of cultural anomie. This is exacerbated by the racism inherent in society which denies them the opportunity to forge a necessary, new and distinctive identity as an emerging British black citizen.*

Implications for the Croydon Youth Development Trust:

One of the hopes of this study was that it would highlight issues which would inform the future work of the Croydon Youth Development Trust. Whilst this is not the place to make recommendations, it may be important to list those issues which the study has raised, particularly if the Trust is to take seriously the findings and the position that this disadvantaged minority, the British-born, black young person finds him or herself in. The implications would seem to include:

- How best to identify, recruit and promote contemporary black models of success?
- What should be the content of the Trust's programmes to enable black young people to gain a sense of identity and self-worth?

- How can it identify, and also assist young people to identify, the subtle forms of racism which occur in society, and finds ways of combating them?
- How best can it affirm young people in their quest for an individual and group black identity?
- How best can it ensure that black history is contextualised to the needs of British-born black young people?
- How best does it disseminate these findings and its responses to ensure that they reach the widest possible audience?

If these issues can be tackled and resolved, it is hoped that this 'lost generation' will be enabled to make the transition to adulthood as British black citizens having made the journey through adolescence and emerged with a new distinctive identity.

Whilst the generation of both substantive and formal theories would normally conclude the research, because the methodology was crucial to the collection of the data and its interpretation and analysis, it is thought desirable to examine how grounded theory has been employed, to determine what lessons can be learned for future use. The question is asked over its relevance to this type of research, particularly in interviewing young people.

Chapter 7: A FOOTNOTE ON METHODOLOGY - A reflection on grounded theory

As a postscript to the research, it seemed an appropriate task to examine the efficacy of grounded theory to a study of young people which relied on in-depth interviewing techniques. A suggestion was made in the Institution Focused Study that this technique was consistent with the youth worker's approach and, therefore, would easily be accomplished provided a distinction was made between the different aims and purposes of research and social education. The implications would be that the grounded theory approach could then be a useful tool in the youth worker's armoury for learning about young people and transferring youth work skills to a research mode.

This Chapter thus provides a personal reflection on the process to enable both myself and others to learn from my shortcomings but also to share the sense of excitement which this process can provide.

A bit like the man in the street, who upon being asked directions to a certain part of town, responded, "If I was going there, I wouldn't start from here!", had I known or understood more about the intricacies of grounded theory before I started there is every chance I would have employed some other methodology. I perceived it was an inherently flexible and simple way of collecting and analysing data which would be complementary to a youth work approach to engaging with young people. Not that I would suggest there is anything wrong with the ideas of

Glaser and Strauss as developed by them in 1967; more that I feel I may not have done justice to the richness of their theory, which I now know is suitable for the style and flavour of the research I wished to do.

If I could start afresh I would doubtless benefit from the advice of Hueser, as contained in his paper, "Grounded theory Research; not for the Novice", only made available to me long after I had started my research. In it he suggests, "*The unstructured nature of the inductive inquiry method causes difficulty for the beginning researcher*", as he warns that the danger exists that he may get, "*bogged down in mountains of data with no clear plan or data analysis infrastructure to analyse the data*" (Hueser: 1999: 11).

This rings bells for me as I found that the process turned out to be more sophisticated than I had originally envisaged, though whether this was due to my innocence or naivety or to the grounded theory approach being developed post 1967 to counter the initial criticisms of it being unscientific, is hard to tell. Glaser, in particular, wished the methodology to be flexible and eschewed attempts to make it more complicated in an attempt to gain scientific respectability. As previously cited, he suggested that, for instance, its development into a verification model "*was exactly what we were trying to get away from*" (Babchuk: 1997:4).

So in my enthusiasm to get started the first interviews were conducted without any idea how the data would be analysed because I had a notion that this would

suggest itself as the research unfurled. I was also somewhat seduced by what I perceived to be the flexibility of the approach and assumed that decisions over analysis could wait until at least some of the data had been collected.

That being confessed, because of the limited nature of the research and the relatively small number of subjects, I was able to manage the analysis without engaging a complicated process of formally coding the data although I did employ a more informal method, mainly in my head. In other words I was getting an idea of the shape of the research, the key categories and possible outcomes as the interviews developed. What I failed to do, however, was record this in any systematic way. Had, of course, the inquiry been on a wider canvass with a larger number of subjects then a more rigorous coding system would have been necessary.

The second issue concerns memos. Initially as ideas occurred or information/data was provided outside the formal group or one-to-one interviews, I tended to think I could remember what was said. Very soon I found I had to record them and in so doing collected a large number of jottings, mainly on pieces of paper, which I could sort and place in some order. These were my memos, in Glaser's and Strauss's terminology, which I found invaluable, as important if not more important than the interview transcripts themselves. They offered information-rich data, particularly the subjects' true feelings, or interpretations of events and situations. They also allowed me to record my own understanding of the subjects, their aspirations or the underlying feelings which

drove them. Sometimes, and often when I was doing something else such as driving my car, I would suddenly make sense of something which had been said, as though the mist had cleared or the penny dropped. At the first opportunity I would make a record. These memos gave the research its direction, suggested new categories or that an existing category was becoming saturated.

One of the problems encountered during the research was my reliance on intermediaries to recruit most of the subjects. I have to be prepared to release control over the selection of those to be interviewed, and while I tried to make my requirements as clear as possible it was obvious that there were times when they were misunderstood or ignored. It is possible, whether deliberately or sub-consciously some subjects were chosen because they could be relied upon to give a favourable impression of Caribbean family life or arrangements in the black community. That so many young people, for instance, aspired to a university education was somewhat surprising except that black young people are increasingly encouraged to better themselves. And, of course, trying to create a better impression may have been the concern of the individual and not those selecting them on my behalf. Allowing for some possible 'exaggeration' or an over-optimistic aspiration, the subjects revealed that there were important inter-generational differences in occupational expectations.

A great deal of time was spent on attempting to recruit subjects. I seriously under-estimated the difficulties in persuading adults, especially the elderly, to allow themselves to be interviewed. I thought the intermediaries, being

themselves black, would 'unlock' doors for me, but this was not to be the case.

Hylton offers an explanation:

"The local African-Caribbean fear of 'outsiders' - even when the outsider shares the same ethnic origins as the community - stems from the community's real experience of being 'used'. In the past this has taken the form of information being gathered about the community and then sometimes used for personal gain in a manner that did not advance the interests of the community." (Hylton: 1999: xxix)

Whatever reassurances I offered seemed to go unheeded and, in the case of the grandparents, I was forced to abandon my attempts to interview them individually and hope that the focus group provided the data I was seeking. As the primary focus of the research was young people, I hope that this omission has not limited the value of the study.

Despite any misgivings that I might have had on methodology, however, particularly on my ability to employ grounded theory honestly and rigorously, I am more convinced than ever on its appropriateness for discovering what is going on in any community, whether it be of a minority grouping, or different age set, as it attempts to ground the theory in data provided by the people in that community. It can enable them to highlight their situations, in their own words, to describe their thoughts, hopes, aspirations and desires, It is, therefore, a most suitable tool for youth and community workers as it builds on their professional skills and natural rapport with young people.

My only hope is that, and to borrow from William Foote Whyte, that my work, despite its shortcomings, has sufficient merit to be dignified by calling it

'research', particularly grounded theory, a process developed by Glaser and Strauss as a method of constant comparative analysis in 1967 and which I hope I have proved to be still relevant today.

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Appendix A

Croydon Cohort Study

Interviewer Prompt Sheet - Young People

In conjunction with Brunel University, the Croydon Youth Development Trust is conducting research into what it's like to be young, black and born and/or living in Croydon. We want to know if adults have different ideas to yours in what you should be doing now and in the future.

So we'd like to ask you a few questions. Is that OK? These will be in the strictest confidence. Your name will not be used, nor any personal details which could identify you. This tape will be wiped once the necessary information is taken off it. If there is any question you don't wish to answer, then you needn't. And anything you say but then wish you hadn't will be deleted if you ask it to be.

Firstly we need a few personal details.

Age.....Gender.....Where were you born?

Family composition?

Does anyone else live with you? (What is their relationship?)

School/occupation? Favourite subjects?

What do you see yourself doing in 5 years time? 10 years time?

How important are qualifications?

Which qualifications do you hope to achieve?

Hobbies/pastimes?

What's your favourite food?

Can you cook? If so, what sort of things?

Which international cricket team do you support? And which football team?

If the English cricket team was composed entirely of black players who would you support?

So what do you regard as your nationality? And your home?

Can you tell me about your parents?

Where do they regard as home?

Where were they born? Mother....father.....?

And grandparents? Where were they born? Where do they live?

What contact do you have with them?

What is the occupation of your father/mother?

Do they have any qualifications?

And the occupation of your grandfather/grandmother?

Do either parents/grandparents have property in the Caribbean?

Do they have any family in the Caribbean? (How close are they?)

Have you ever visited it?

Do you plan to visit it (again)?

What were your first impressions of the place?

What did you like best/least?

What did you observe about family life in the Caribbean?

Would you want to live there permanently?

Why...why not?

Would your parents/grandparents like to live there?

Have they plans to do so? Or what stops them?

What occupation do they hope you will take up?

Do they have any other ambitions for you?

What ambitions do you have for yourself?

Are there things you disagree over? What?

What do you like best about living in Croydon/England?

And what least?

What do you think adults of your parents generation think about young people today?

What do you think adults of your grandparents generation think about young people today?

Is there anything else you wish to tell me about yourself or your parents/grandparents?

If you had a magic wand is there anything you would like to change about being young and living in Croydon?

Thanks for your help.

Appendix B

CROYDON YOUTH DEVELOPMENT TRUST

COHORT STUDY

Interviewer's self-assessment sheet

Did the subject appear relaxed?

What hindered/helped this?

How relaxed were you able to be as the interviewer?

What hindered/helped?

Did the interview/interaction flow easily and naturally?

What helped/hindered this process?

How much did you feel the necessity to

- interrupt?

- prompt?

- suggest?

- interpret?

Did you notice any contradictions between what was being said and the non-verbal contributions?

How honest was the subject? (and what may you think so?)

Can you quote any examples where they were not?

Are you able to offer reasons for this?

Did the subject understand the questions?

Did he/she try to double-guess what the interviewer was probing?

Or answer in a way which suggested that he/she was trying to say what he/she thought the interviewer wanted to hear?

Appendix C

CYDT: COHORT STUDY

Interview of Y(M)/1 on 24.08.00

Interviewer: I need to know your age?

Subject: Yeh I'm 15 years old

Interviewer: 15 and you're male obviously, and where were you born?

Subject: I was born in Croydon South London

Interviewer: What in one of the hospitals?

Subject: Yeh Mayday Hospital

Interviewer: Oh Mayday right okay now what's your present family composition? Who do you live with?

Subject: I live with my Mum and my Dad

Interviewer: Mum and your Dad anybody else there?

Subject: No Grandma used to live there but

Interviewer: Used to live there?

Subject: Yeh she's got her own house now

Interviewer: Right so she's moved out you're saying? But you haven't got any aunts or uncles or anybody else living with you just the three of you?

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: And you're at school presumably?

Subject: Yeh going to year 11

Interviewer: Right and I won't ask which one. What are your favourite subjects?

Subject: Probably PE graphics and German

Interviewer: German? Right, what do you see yourself doing in 5 years time?

Subject: Probably doing a job I'm not sure what as probably a computer technician or an accountant

Interviewer: *Right, something to do with figures; and what about in 10 years time?*

Subject: Ten years time I'll probably go out to the States get a job and raise a family of my own

Interviewer: *How important do you think qualifications?*

Subject: Qualifications I think are very important they're essential to get certain jobs and if you haven't got them you have to like start from the bottom of the list and then work your way up it it takes a long time

Interviewer: *Right, so what qualifications do you hope to get?*

Subject: I hope to get an A in maths A in English NVCQ in IT that's it I can't think of anything else

Interviewer: *But you don't want to go on to university?*

Subject: I could go on to university I haven't quite figured it out yet

Interviewer: *Right so you mean that's a possibility you're saying?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *What hobbies and pastimes do you have?*

Subject: I like to go up to the park and play sports I like to go out with my friends and go to Croydon and just hang around there ??

Interviewer: *Right so there's nothing specific you do?*

Subject: No not really

Interviewer: *Now what's your favourite food?*

Subject: ? beans and baked potatoes

Interviewer: *Baked potatoes? And can you cook?*

Subject: Yes, I cook some things I can't cook a range of things like the things that I can cook I cook well

Interviewer: *And what sort of things would you cook?*

Subject: Spanish omelette I can cook quiche I can cook various I can cook ? and swordfish dumplings

Interviewer: *Right, so some of those are Caribbean foods?;*

Subject: Cos my parents are Caribbean

Interviewer: *Yes but do you have Caribbean food a lot?*

Subject: Yes quite a lot

Interviewer: *Which international cricket team do you support?*

Subject: I don't really watch cricket but if there was any it would have to be West Indies

Interviewer: *West Indies?*

Subject: Because my Dad supports them

Interviewer: *I see it's because your Dad supports them. Now if the English cricket team was composed entirely of black cricketers who would you support then?*

Subject: Still West Indies

Interviewer: *It would still be West Indies, okay, and what football team?*

Subject: Manchester United

Interviewer: *What about international?*

Subject: Holland

Interviewer: *Holland, is there any reason for that?*

Subject: Because they're a really really good team

Interviewer: *Oh I see it's because of their skill; but you haven't got relations in Holland? Okay what do you regard as your nationality?*

Subject: British

Interviewer: *You're British? And where's your home?*

Subject: London

Interviewer: *Same place, okay. Now I need to ask you something about your parents. Where do they regard as home?*

Subject: Jamaica

Interviewer: *Jamaica, and they were born there, Jamaica?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *Both of them?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *And have you got grandparents still?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *And where were they born?*

Subject: They were born in Jamaica as well

Interviewer: *And where do they presently live?*

Subject: They live in England now except my Granddad who my Grandma and my Granddad not married any more my Granddad moved to Jamaica

Interviewer: *Oh did he go back you mean? He was over here and went back?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *And what sort of contact do you have with them?*

Subject: Yeh good contact cos they're all in the London region and if I go to Jamaica I see my Granddad is there

Interviewer: *Right but how often do you see your Grandmother here in London?*

Subject: Every two weeks

Interviewer: *Oh once a fortnight roughly Now what's your father and mother's occupations?*

Subject: They're both my Mum is a social worker and a social carer my Dad's a social worker

Interviewer: *And do you know if they have qualifications?*

Subject: Yeh my Mum 's had a line of jobs she's been very successful and she's got the right qualifications for her job I'm not sure about my Dad I think he's just worked his way up

Interviewer: *And do you know what your grandparents occupations were?*

Subject: My Grandma was a nurse and I think my Granddad I'm not sure what he did actually

Interviewer: *Do your parents I mean I assume your Grandfather by flying back out to Jamaica has something out there where he's living but do your parents have any property in the Caribbean?*

Subject: Yeh we've got a small house up on the hill it's you know I can go to for they're various absolutely vantage tree I can then get up there

Interviewer: *And I know your grandfather's back in the Caribbean but do you have any other family back there?*

Subject: Yes I got a big big family most of my cousins I don't even know them

Interviewer: *What there's so many of them?*

Subject: Yeh hundreds

Interviewer: *So how close are they; you're saying some of them you don't know so some of them aren't very close are some of them close?*

Subject: Yes some of them are close we keep in contact with them

Interviewer: *You keep in contact. How does that happen?*

Subject: We send them E mails

Interviewer: *You've been there have you; did you say to me you've been there?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *How often do you go to visit it?*

Subject: I've been there three times now

Interviewer: *And do you plan to go back again?*

Subject: Yes I should be going back either this year or next year

Interviewer: *What were your first impressions of the place?*

Subject: Hot very very hot I was thinking it was very beautiful and well the scenery's very very eye-catching very peaceful everyone just takes it who's over there and it's very nice people

Interviewer: *What did you like best about it?*

Subject: I suppose it's just the freedom that you get over there you can do whatever you like really as long as it's not bad for you (gentle laugh)

Interviewer: *Not illegal you mean?*

Subject: Yeh you get arrested then

Interviewer: *What you're saying that it's easy going is it and relaxed are they the sorts of things you are saying? What did you like least about it?*

Subject: The mosquitoes it's certainly the mosquitoes cos they're everywhere you can't get away from them

Interviewer: *Really! What are, you may not be able to answer, but what did you observe about family life in the Caribbean?*

Subject: ?? it's just that most children over there they don't live with their parents they live with their grandparents I don't know why that is because my Mum was raised by her grandma my Dad was raised by his auntie and then when his grandma I'm not exactly sure how that works but

Interviewer: *That was the thing which struck you as odd did it that the grandparents seemed to be bringing the children up and what did that do then did it enable the parents to go to work or something?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *Would you want to live there permanently?*

Subject: Yeh if I could adjust to the heat I would live here it's a very nice place

Interviewer: *Right so it's just the heat is it? One of your grandparents has gone back do you know if your parents or your other grandparents would like to go back to live there?*

Subject: Yes because they're always saying I want to go home for the holidays stuff like that

Interviewer: *Right and do you know if they have any definite plans though?*

Subject: No I'm not too sure I know they all got houses there but my cousins live there at the moment cos in case people break into the house

Interviewer: *So they're house-sitting is he, right, okay do you know what, talking about your parents now, do you know what occupation they hope you're going to take up?*

Subject: I'm going on as I discussed before

Interviewer: *What you've discussed it with them do you mean?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *Oh right so they're happy about that?*

Subject: Yes they are

Interviewer: *And do you know if they have any other ambitions for you?*

Subject: They said that why don't I become a lawyer but I'm not too keen on becoming a lawyer

Interviewer: *Now are there things that you disagree over you and your parents?*

Subject: No not really stable relationship??

Interviewer: *You don't argue about anything?*

Subject: I'm things switch off

Interviewer: *Now what do you like best about living in Croydon?*

Subject: Got to go out there there's lots and lots of shops around lots of people to talk to you never really get lonely and it's not like countryside where there's not another person around for the next three miles so you don't get lonely at all and they have lots of friends to play with there's lots of things to do so you don't really get bored either

Interviewer: *And what do you like least then about Croydon?*

Subject: There's a lot of violence going on as well I'm hearing all this stuff on the news like people getting killed people getting raped and stuff like that and robberies going on it's all happening in Croydon our local area

Interviewer: *And you say it doesn't happen sort of in Jamaica?*

Subject: Yeh it does happen in certain parts of Jamaica

Interviewer: *Not where you were? Okay what do you think adults of your parent's or grandparent's generations what do you think, not necessarily your own parents or your own grandparents, but people of that age group what do you think they think about young people today I mean black young people that is?*

Subject: Well some of us black people are spirited of us wearing hoods and going around starting trouble cos I had a discussion for my English class the other day they were saying about stereotypes and that's one of the stereotypes and we're going to be classed like that for a little while but I'm not sure how long and some of us have got a good image but some of us in certain parts of the world seem to have a bad image

Interviewer: *Now is there anything else you want to tell me about your parents or grandparents you think would be interesting?*

Subject: No not really

Interviewer: *The last question right, you can start relaxing now, if you had a magic wand is there anything about your life or living in Croydon you'd want to change?*

Subject: Anything I'd want to change because I live in a quiet sort of area in Croydon I want to move to a more active part of Croydon but still friendly you know what I mean just move up to where there's more activity I can do without having to go far cos I like to be busy

Interviewer: *And that's it you're saying where you live is a bit too quiet for you?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *Okay and that's the only thing you'd want to change?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *Okay, well thanks a lot that's really all(end)*

Appendix D

CYDT: COHORT STUDY

Interview of Y(F)/2 on 24.8.00

Interviewer: Your age?

Subject: 17

Interviewer: 17 and I can see you're female. Where were you born?

Subject: Croydon

Interviewer: What's your family composition; who do you live with presently?

Subject: I live with my Mum my older brother my younger brother and my younger sister

Interviewer: Right so there's Mum and 4 children? And nobody else, you haven't got a Granny or an aunt?

Subject: Not living with us

Interviewer: And what do you do at the moment, are you at school or college or working?

Subject: I'm doing youth work part-time at Parchmore but I will be starting college in September going to college to do health and social work

Interviewer: Health & social care? What do you see yourself doing then in 5 years time?

Subject: University hopefully get further education cos I want to be a child psychologist

Interviewer: Right so are you doing you're at college so are you doing A levels to enable you to get on to university is that what you're trying to do?

Subject: Yeh well I've got to start at the NVQ it's equivalent to 5 GCSEs and then I'll be able to either go straight on to psychology and sociology or I'll take the advanced NVQ to get in to university

Interviewer: And what about 10 years time

Subject: I hope I'll be a child psychologist

Interviewer: *So if I ask how important are qualifications?*

Subject: Well like GCSEs in school I don't really think they're that important I don't think they're that important but college kind of taking passes will get into university all right you can't get certain qualifications you can't go to university

Interviewer: *But university qualifications you're saying are important? Okay and what about hobbies or pastimes?*

Subject: Hobbies I'm interested in dancing reading looking after children I love being around children I you know just watching tele reading books

Interviewer: *What's your favourite food?*

Subject: Chicken

Interviewer: *What sort of chicken?*

Subject: Roast chicken with carrots roast chicken with potatoes yorkshire pudding

Interviewer: *Now that sounds very English, is that English food? What about Caribbean food?*

Subject: Well I like curry better I don't know if that's Caribbean but I just it's like my Mum cooks like corn beef stew I mean

Interviewer: *But you don't have a lot of Caribbean food at home?*

Subject: Not that much mainly mostly on weekends

Interviewer: *Right, so on special occasions you have it would you, and can you cook?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Your Mum's taught you has she?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *And you cook Caribbean food?*

Subject: Yes sometimes

Interviewer: *Which international cricket team do you support?*

Subject: I don't

Interviewer: *What about athletics?*

Subject: I don't

Interviewer: *What about football?*

Subject: Arsenal

Interviewer: *What about international*

Subject: International England

Interviewer: *England. If the English cricket team was composed entirely of black people would you then support cricket or do you just find it a boring old game?*

Subject: I think it's boring.

Interviewer: *Okay what do you regard as your nationality?*

Subject: Black British

Interviewer: *And your home is?*

Subject: England

Interviewer: *I need to know a bit about your parents. Now where do you say you're living with your Mum are you in contact with your Dad?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Do you know where they regard as home?*

Subject: I think my Mum would back Jamaica she was born in England my Dad was born over in Jamaica so Jamaica

Interviewer: *So they're both they're both come born in oh sorry your Mum was born here but her parents were born in Jamaica and your Dad was born in Jamaica do you know where your grandparents were born?*

Subject: Jamaica

Interviewer: *All of them?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *And where do they live at the moment?*

Subject: Well my Mum's mum and my Mum's dad are over in England and my Dad's Mum is over in Jamaica and my Dad's dad is dead.

Interviewer: *And do you have much contact with them?*

Subject: My Mum's Mum and my Mum's Dad but not my Dad's mum.

Interviewer: *Do you know the occupation of your father and mother?*

Subject: My Dad's a painter and decorator and my Mum's a just part-time mid-day supervisor

Interviewer: *And do you know if they have any qualifications?*

Subject: I think my Mum's got some A levels but I'm not sure about my Dad

Interviewer: *Do you know anything about your grandparents' occupations?*

Subject: I can't remember what they've done I know my Nan told me that she'd done I think she'd read in ..what's she read in.. I can't remember

Interviewer: *Alright, if you don't know you don't know. Do you know if your parents or grandparents have property in the Caribbean?*

Subject: My Dad has he's got land he says that this is with his sister I don't know about the rest

Interviewer: *Do you have any family out there I mean I know you said your Gran's out there?*

Subject: Yes I got lots of family out there

Interviewer: *Lots of family out there, what aunts and uncles and cousins?*

Subject: Yeh but I don't know them I haven't met them yet

Interviewer: *You haven't met them but do you write to them or phone them?*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *So you're not very close*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *Have you ever been there?*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *Do you plan to?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Do you know when?*

Subject: We should be there end of this year in fact it will be next year

Interviewer: *You've actually got some firm plans to go?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Now you haven't been there but have you formed from what people have said to you about it have you formed an impression of the place?*

Subject: Well my Mum went there last year and showed me some pictures and there's like nice waterfalls the scenery crystal fairs its just looks like a big party have a good time over there and the house is everything not like the one bedroom over here it's like one house in a big bay and there's not another one like further away but yeh it looks really nice

Interviewer: *So you're looking forward to it?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Do you know if you would want to live there permanently?*

Subject: I don't think so

Interviewer: *You don't think so; do you know why?*

Subject: I suppose because I'm fairly used to England and everyone I know is over here I wouldn't like to leave everybody behind

Interviewer: *Do you know if your parents would like to go and live there permanently?*

Subject: I think my Dad wanted to and I think my Mum wanted to but I'm not sure about my Mum I know my Dad wanted to

Interviewer: *Do you know what occupation they hope you will take up?*

Subject: My Mum wants me to be what I want to do

Interviewer: *Right she's happy for you to pursue your own plans and do you know if they have any other ambitions for you?*

Subject: No they're just happy if I'm just playing something good when I told them I wanted to be a child psychologist right they were shocked that I was actually going to do that because when I was at school I wasn't into those sort of things but they don't mind

Interviewer: *They don't say when you don't you get married and settle down like any other sensible girl; I wondered if that would be their response?*

Subject: Yeh they want me to be happy but they always tell me that to be careful with boys and everything that they mess up behaviour and then flit

Interviewer: *Okay are there things you disagree over you and your Mum or your Dad?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *What sort of things?*

Subject: Just housework basically

Interviewer: *Oh right you're expected to take your share of the work?*

Subject: Yes but because they say I'm out so much like one of us might be more in than the other and then you know that's not fair

Interviewer: *Yes, I did the washing up yesterday...Alright I see is there anything else you disagree over?*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *It's all harmonious is it?*

Subject: Yes apart from the housework everything's fine

Interviewer: *What do you like best about living in Croydon?*

Subject: The people around me I got a lot of you know lovely family I've got friends

Interviewer: *But I mean you'd have them wherever you went in a way wouldn't you cos you'd develop them; is there anything about Croydon itself you say I'm glad I live in Croydon because..?*

Subject: Well I don't know it's because I've lived round here for so long you know but everything's just close together you know if you want anything you can just walk down the road

Interviewer: *What about what if I asked you what do you like least about Croydon what would you say?*

Subject: I don't know I just think apart from some people that live by here I think that Croydon's fine apart from the robberies in the paper and things like that

Interviewer: *Generally speaking it's okay?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Okay now what do you think adults of your parents generation the people of their age roughly what do you think they think about young black people today?*

Subject: I think I think a few of them think that well they don't get enough discipline or they're rude basically they feel a lot of the black boys you know because I don't even know it's just because they've been so much been bad it's not how it was in their day whereas we struggled more and so much they say they commit crimes and then they just don't care if they're just trying to help themselves but

Interviewer: *Who struggles more you say it's what parents say we struggled more you have it too easy is that saying they're saying?*

Subject: No that there's a lot of like complex people parents animals and especially around the Croydon area and that's why I think there's a lot of you know crimes and everything and kind of basically the brave of my generation are doing it because the parents well the mothers or whoever they live with they have that much money and support them if you understand what I'm saying I don't know could be a nice place I think they would think it could be a nice place if every need was being met everyone was at school doing..

Interviewer: *Everyone behaved themselves?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *What about grandparents; what view do they have of young people?*

Subject: I think they're scared of them some of them

Interviewer: *They're what sorry?*

Subject: I think some of the grandparents are scared of young people of my generation because they are more violent

Interviewer: *Right is there anything else you want to tell me about yourself or your parents or grandparents?*

Subject: We've like them well we haven't struggled but we haven't had lots of money but then my Mum has kept us from being hanging around we went to school all going to college so it doesn't matter you know do they have enough money or you have a lot of money you've still go to eat and that

Interviewer: *Right now, this is the last question so you can begin to relax, if you had a magic wand is there anything you would like to change about being young and living in Croydon?*

Subject: I would arrange more things for young people to do apart from walking up and down the street I think I'd do that

Interviewer: *What about the way young people are treated; what about black young people?*

Subject: There's a lot of racism I think especially in the way things are run so they stop the trapping them yesterday they should stop the beating of black boys because there had been a robbery in the area and just because they disagree with them they think that they're bad they just make it worse for the culture make everyone feel that this is something about colour doesn't mean you're bad or good or one of them sort of thing

Interviewer: *Okay thanks a lot*

Appendix E

CYDT: COHORT STUDY

Interview of YA/6 on 22.08.00

Interviewer: First of all a few personal details. Your age?

Subject: 35

Interviewer: And it's obvious that you're female. Where were you born?

Subject: London England

Interviewer: In London. When you were 15 or 16 what was your family composition?

Subject: I had a mother and 2 sisters and a brother

Interviewer: So there were 4 children and your mother in the home. Right did anybody else live with you?

Subject: Yeh my father

Interviewer: Your father. So there was your mother father and 4 children; no aunts or uncles or anyone like that?

Subject: No. Sorry can I just make a correction my brother didn't live with us

Interviewer: Right, he didn't actually live in the family?

Subject: No he actually got sent back to the Caribbean when he was a baby to be raised by his grandmother

Interviewer: Are you in touch with him?

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: What I mean you were at school presumably at that age what sort of what were your favourite subjects?

Subject: My favourite subjects were sports and English

Interviewer: When you were 15 or 16 what did you see yourself doing in 5 years time?

Subject: In 5 years time I thought I'd be in university.

Interviewer: *What about in 10 years time?*

Subject: Thought I'd still be single have my own house and car

Interviewer: *Right, doing what?*

Subject: Being an accountant

Interviewer: *At that age you thought you'd be an accountant when you were in your mid 20s? How important did you think qualifications were?*

Subject: I thought they were very important until I got my first part-time job

Interviewer: *What qualifications did you hope to achieve at that age?*

Subject: At 15 or 16 I started to do my O levels to go on to Uni but I didn't know what I was going to study

Interviewer: *Right you didn't know you didn't have a clear idea? And did you achieve any qualifications?*

Subject: Yes I mean I've got my A levels and I went on and did my part-time youth work certificate and other bits and pieces like accounts first-aid was one of the little things I did then I got my Certificate in Technology

Interviewer: *What about hobbies and pastimes at the time?*

Subject: My hobbies were judo netball ?? and youth work

Interviewer: *What at 15?*

Subject: At 15 yes I used to be a senior leader if they had such a thing

Interviewer: *Where was that?*

Subject: That was at Sir Philips

Interviewer: *Right, there you were helping with the junior club were you?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Now in those days which international cricket team did you support?*

Subject: I didn't support cricket

Interviewer: *You didn't; what about athletics?*

Subject: Jamaica

Interviewer: *Jamaica?*

Subject: Yes Merlyn Ostle (?) I remember very well

Interviewer: *What was the name?*

Subject: Merlyn Ostle he did the 100 metre runner for Jamaica

Interviewer: *Okay what about football team? No Now if the English cricket team was composed entirely of black players who would you support?*

Subject: As opposed to who else?

Interviewer: *As opposed to any other country?*

Subject: If it was composed.. no I still wouldn't

Interviewer: *What did you regard as your nationality when you were 15?*

Subject: Caribbean I was not a black British citizen

Interviewer: *And where was your home, where did you think your home was?*

Subject: In the West Indies

Interviewer: *Now I'm going to ask quickly about your parents. Where were they born?*

Subject: My Dad was from Barbados and my Mum was from St Vincent

Interviewer: *And where would they regard as home?*

Subject: Barbados and St Vincent

Interviewer: *And grandparents, they were born?*

Subject: In the Caribbean

Interviewer: *And where were they living when you were 15 or 16?*

Subject: In the Caribbean

Interviewer: *Did you have any contact with them in those days?*

Subject: No it's just my grandmothers both my grandmothers both my sets of grandparents died when I was very young

Interviewer: *Now what was the occupation of your father and mother?*

Subject: My mother was a domestic and my father was a railway guard

Interviewer: *Can I assume from that that they didn't have qualifications?*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *Do you know what your grandfathers and grandmothers occupations were?*

Subject: No I know they had a lot of children

Interviewer: *I don't think that's an occupation (laughter) Okay do either of your parents or your grandparents because presumably they were living there, but do they actually own property in the Caribbean?*

Subject: My grandparents did own property in the Caribbean

Interviewer: *But your parents don't?*

Subject: My mother does

Interviewer: *She does; and what about family, do you have any family in the Caribbean?*

Subject: Yes lots

Interviewer: *A lot you say?*

Subject: Yes you can go to a particular part of the Caribbean and everybody's a relative

Interviewer: *What both Barbados and St Vincent both islands are you saying?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *But how close are you to them?*

Subject: Not very it's only in recent years where I've actually gone back to find out

Interviewer: *Had you visited it when you were 15 or 16?*

Subject: I have been to St Vincent oh at that age had I visited no

Interviewer: *You hadn't, right. But you have since?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Both St Vincent and Barbados?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *And do you plan to visit them again?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *What were your first impressions of the place when you went there?*

Subject: A bit primitive what when I went I went to St Vincent when I was 7 and I was horrified that my mother grew up in a place like this and I've only been to Barbados in the last 2 years I can actually see the attraction of why everybody comes back home

Interviewer: *To Barbados you mean?*

Subject: To Barbados though you know like I've been to Jamaica in the last three weeks and I can actually see why the older generation now actually want to go back it's a completely different life style

Interviewer: *Okay what can you tell me I mean can you say a bit more about that?*

Subject: Okay even they can walk down the street and not be in fear of another race or not feel intimidated and not feel that they're despised or you know feel any way about it they can actually live their lives a lot freer different nations go to the Caribbean but they don't treat them with any disrespect like they get over here

Interviewer: *Are you talking about black people?*

Subject: Yes I mean there is I'm not saying that it's ideal I mean there is some real violence you can get that in any country in the world but you don't get that sense of you know am I going to be racist attack ..

Interviewer: *What the sense of hostility that you fear all the time?*

Subject: Yes you sometimes have that sense of fear being a black person that you think should I do that should I do this have I got the time to get into an argument or you know you don't have that it's all sort of removed if you go to your house and everybody knows everybody that's the community as well you can walk down the road and you can guarantee that somebody knows you and they know you quite you know not because of who you are but because of who you know I'm the relative of you know like my mother that's somebody's daughter but they know me as whoever's daughter

Interviewer: *So you're part of a family as it were? But what would happen if I went there would I be treated in the same way?*

Subject: You'd be treated with respect as well because they don't differentiate cos what I found quite strange was to see a white person and they speak with a Jamaican accent but if this was here you know "what!" but they're not treated any differently nobody's got double heads or features you know where does he come from and these sorts of oh yes that that is actually Daddy and you maybe me tell me who is Daddy his granddaddy is his Auntie is and all the rest of it while over here you fell cut off and isolated you just live your life in a box and it's really strange to see

Interviewer: *What did you observe about family life in the Caribbean?*

Subject: You know there's a saying it takes a village to raise a child that's what it is you could be two blocks from your house do something wrong you can guarantee that somebody's going to know because when you get home your mother will know you know so they tend not to do things that you know will get them into trouble

Interviewer: *It's still like that today you're saying?*

Subject: Yeh it's quite creaky

Interviewer: *What did you like best about the Caribbean while you were there?*

Subject: What I liked the best was actually doing the history part on families cos I

Interviewer: *Tracing your roots?*

Subject: Yes my (son) said it's really interesting that he went to a place where his Granddad was born and his granddad took him round

and showed him the family grave the family plot the family land how all his cousins all his relatives and he came back and said I never knew I had such family he was inspecting different things and you know how they made them you know I think he was really quite inspired by it that it wasn't him alone in England

Interviewer: *And what did you like least about it?*

Subject: The fact that it could be a prosperous country if Britain hadn't abused it when it was taking sugar when it was in plantations and they actually ran the country down and then they eaten ?? bananas sugar ?? so that caused massive poverty to the island that's the only thing I didn't like the politics of it all

Interviewer: *Okay now would you I mean you can't answer this probably but when you were 15 or 16 but you presumably didn't know enough about the place, to know whether or not you'd want to live there permanently?*

Subject: When I was 15 or 16 I wouldn't know

Interviewer: *What would you say now?*

Subject: Now I'm actually thinking about it actually thinking about you know getting a plot of land building a house and actually leaving England

Interviewer: *Really what going there to return. And what about your children would they want to live there?*

Subject: He because of the sea people seldom get them out the water and the life-style is so much yes totally different from that in England so I just think from my families point of view that the education system's better they will achieve because they'll be in a group with their peers and I think their friends will be better off whether they'll be happy going I don't know but in the long term
|

Interviewer: *Do you think there's a difference between going back for a holiday as it were and going back permanently?*

Subject: No because I've actually thought about leaving the country I didn't know where to go I've looked at America looked at Barbados I've looked so we've back to ?? looked at Japan

Interviewer: *Yes but what about your children I mean?*

Subject: They she didn't want to come home but he was quite happy to stay because of the sense of family he felt

Interviewer: *Oh alright so he felt welcome there and wanted? What about your parents though, would they want to go back?*

Subject: They were planning they're both planning to go back so my father's retired now and he actually went out last year to look at a house to look at some land for him to go back and my Mum's been looking as well

Interviewer: *Do you know what occupation your parents hoped you'd take up when you were 16?*

Subject: When I was 16 their only life was for me to go to work to get money cos I remember that very well cos my Mum was a single parent she got divorced at when I was 13 but quite so it was quite early stages for her being a single parent and having to you know bring us up on one wage and you know feed and clothe us and everything her hope was sort of for us to help out in the home

Interviewer: *Is that why you didn't go to university?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *So did your Mum presumably expect you to get any qualifications? Presumably not?*

Subject: No she expected me to do both cos I spoke to her about it cos my first job was in a tax office and she was very proud that I became a civil servant you know write letters this you know the ?? is a civil servant and she works in a tax office and you know but she she was torn between providing for her children and keep having to provide for her children and for those to get an education at the same time but what she wants for her grandchildren is completely different

Interviewer: *Right, what does she want for her grandchildren?*

Subject: They will go to university or she'll kill them you know they will go to university or they will die so what she would have invested in us she tries to invest in them you know which I find very strange I think I should have had that so yes

Interviewer: *Compensation is it?*

Subject: Yeh

Interviewer: *Probably a bit of guilt and regret*

Subject: Yes I think so

Interviewer: *What did they have other ambitions for you at that age?*

Subject: That I wouldn't become pregnant I wouldn't be a single parent I wasn't allowed to have a boyfriend because they would lead me astray it was very basic aims that I wouldn't get in trouble with the police

Interviewer: *It was all very negative?*

Subject: Yes but at the time when I was growing up there was the sus law and there were an awful lot of young males being put away at that time and it's like somebody's son had been arrested somebody's son had been put away so there was nothing positive to look at it was to keep the children safe keep them at home make sure they didn't get into trouble and if they could make it then that was good

Interviewer: *Did you have ambitions yourself?*

Subject: I mean I wanted to be a youth worker when I started work when I was about 16 I sort of changed tack when I became a yes when I was employed at the youth club I wanted to be a youth worker and then I thought hang on a bit my head can get hurt but I mean I did have this sort of ambition myself but I don't know at 15 or 16 you think I can do that later on I can go back and do that

Interviewer: *Are there things you disagreed over at that age?*

Subject: No but I did go..

Interviewer: *You didn't have problems about what time you came in bearing in mind what you've said about safety and avoiding getting into trouble?*

Subject: No when Mum said come home I came home I wasn't..I was a good girl my sister wasn't but I was a good girl

Interviewer: *What did you like best about living in Croydon?*

Subject: I met some wonderful people as a teenager that I think sort of shaped my life yes there was **** and **** a right pair and I think they had some guiding influence cos at the time I didn't have many male guiding influences *****used to keep me on the straight and narrow you know if I wanted to get off track and ***** always sort of had that influence as well

Interviewer: *Right, what least do you like about Croydon?*

Subject: The other groups dealing with adults that didn't have an understanding of young people what I found really frustrating so it would be like Mr Cummings Verley Joseph the Association of Jamaicans they were something else out of this world those sorts of people that just want you to sit down and shut up and not speak you know they'll just tell me what I want and how I'm going to get it and that's it

Interviewer: *Well they're a fairly traditional Caribbean weren't they or is that not..the elders speaking on your behalf?*

Subject: They were pretty much so yeh they were very much taking the elder role but they chose not to listen at the same time but elders are supposed to listen

Interviewer: *Right is there anything else you think you ought to tell me about your parents or yourself or your parents or grandparents?*

Subject: Maybe my great-grandparent he was Scottish my great-grandfather and because of in the Caribbean you're ranked by your colour which was linked to slavery days so cos his offspring were quite fair going down the line my mother was considered where she lived she was considered quite wealthy so she came to England when she was 17 she came on an aeroplane not on a boat she came you know so they were quite distraught that she became a domestic she ended up as a domestic because when she first came she did accounts in the 60s she worked in an accountants firm in the 60s which was considered for a black woman to get a job like that was considered you know quite good but she had a child when she was the next year and she had nobody to look after this child and in them days so she sent him back to the Caribbean so we grew up quite apart we only saw him when he was 16 and then we didn't know him so and that's what they did when they had the first one which they all said was a mistake they sent him back to the Caribbean

Interviewer: *Now what's your general impression of young people today I'm talking of black youngsters how would you describe them?*

Subject: They have no sense of identity of who and what they are because if their parents are young it's I mean I think because there's no extended family they have no sense of aunt uncle as opposed to British young people they can say I'm going up to Granny's I'm going up my Nan's I'm going up Aunt this and Aunt that they don't have that I don't think they have that that basis and I think they're all beginning to merge into one you

can't differentiate between the black person talking and the white person talking or an Asian

Interviewer: *Right so you're saying that the identity bit is about the sort of extended family and the way that social system operates are you?*

Subject: Yes because it doesn't operate I don't know it's very strange over here it doesn't operate at all I don't think it does

Interviewer: *It doesn't operate with whom?*

Subject: Well I mean when I was working in youth work and when I was a manager of a centre it was very clear that we had a high proportion of young single women who didn't have strong male influences to raise their sons so their sons were raised by the group of their peers they sort of raised themselves I think you know they didn't have anybody to sort of keep them in check I think in the Caribbean if you're out of order there's always somebody to come to slap you about the head

Interviewer: *So in fact you're saying that you know you might have one biological father but you have several fathers around to tell you to behave yourself or else?*

Subject: Or else oh yes and it's quite dispersed you know like families I think a black family over here like your mother could live in North London you could live in South London and your Aunt in North London and somebody else could live whereas in the Caribbean you could all live within a mile and it's walking distance you know so if you walk down the road you can guarantee that somebody's going to see what you're doing

Interviewer: *So how would you say they're different from your own generation?*

Subject: My generation we still had the Caribbean influences we still had at home we were given Caribbean food you know if you didn't eat it you didn't eat it was as simple as that there wasn't as many fast food chains there wasn't as much money about you know but whereas in this generation I don't know where they get the money from I'm a parent and you know I don't know where they get the money from they don't have a family meal they don't sit round the table and have a meal

Interviewer: *Do you do that do you cook Caribbean food?*

Subject: I make a point of cooking Caribbean food

Interviewer: *And your children eat Caribbean food?*

Subject: Not all the time

Interviewer: *Not all the time but they eat it are you saying that there are some youngsters that don't eat Caribbean food?*

Subject: They don't know what they don't know what it is they really don't they wouldn't recognise it if you put it in front of them you know ***** says I don't eat rice and peas I don't like the peas pick the peas out I had to do it you can do it cos my son started that and I said you know pick the peas out as long as you know just eat the rice and you're not getting anything else but it's all they don't recognise you know like I was talking about this you know with my husband I said you know I don't cook as much Caribbean food as my mother did you know my mum used to cook it every day but I don't cook it every day so that means my child is not exposed to what I was exposed so when he goes on he'll be exposed to less of it

Interviewer: *Well particularly say for arguments sake if he married a white person?*

Subject: Exactly

Interviewer: *And their children will probably never eat Caribbean..there aren't any restaurants are there Caribbean restaurants?*

Subject: There are a few but they're very few. You've really got to search them out when we do I remember when we was at the centre where I was a manager of I had a it amazed me you know I thought they'd know what it wasn't heavy food what's this what's that and you know I'm going well this is not good news

Interviewer: *If you could give young people one piece of advice about growing up what would it be?*

Subject: Don't disrespect your mother or your father

Interviewer: *That's it is it?*

Subject: Yes cos once you start if you can do that to your parents then that's it I think you know you have no I don't think you have much hope of being respectful for anybody else

Interviewer: *What do you think parents and grandparents think of black teenagers today?*

Subject: They don't think they're spoilt because they don't have anything to spoil them with but they want they want too much without having to put any effort into it so I mean they talk about in the 60s how they had to work jeans off three jobs sun up sun down and you know just to keep their families together whereas young people today expect that they will get ?? they will expect that they will get 20 pounds for a pair of jeans and you know but that I don't know where that stems from whether it stems from being in Britain and that's what you know like the other cultures do you know give everything to their kids well they do if you look at football kit who can buy football kit you know I would never spend forty pound on a top for a football kit I wouldn't do it but that's what you know society that's what they do

Interviewer: *When you were 15 or 16 was there anything about your life that you'd liked to have changed?*

Subject: Yes I'd liked to have had my Dad back that's the only thing I think I've not had my Dad

Interviewer: *Where did he go in the end?*

Subject: No they got divorced

Interviewer: *I know you said they got divorced*

Subject: Yes they got divorced but he went to North London

Interviewer: *Oh right so he moved away?*

Subject: He moved away and we ceased to because there was a sort of custody battle that we were living with him first and then

Interviewer: *So you miss your Dad do you?*

Subject: Yeh I was a Daddy's girl

Interviewer: *Well that's it really. Thanks*

Appendix F

CYDT: COHORT STUDY

Interview of P2 on 11.7.00

Interviewer: First I need a few personal details. Your age?

Subject: O Lord..39

Interviewer: Obviously you're female. Now where were you born?

Subject: Barbados West Indies

Interviewer: When did you come over here then?

Subject: When I was 6 months old

Interviewer: Oh right so you don't remember it. And your family composition at the moment? Who have you got in the family?

Subject: My immediate family? What me and the kids. Does that include the kids? I am a single parent..

Interviewer: Right, but you've got a partner haven't you?

Subject: We've more or less split up.

Interviewer: You have split up. I'm sorry to hear that right, so there's you and three children, how old?

Subject: 18, 10 and six.

Interviewer: Right, so you've got a teenage what?

Subject: Female

Interviewer: Daughter, you've got a teenage daughter? Is there anybody else living with you?

Subject: No

Interviewer: So you've got no other sort of aunts or uncles..

Subject: No

Interviewer: And your occupation is?

Subject: Clerical assistant

Interviewer: Clerical assistant. Now what do you see; just focus on the elder child not all of them, but just the 18 year old, what do you see her doing in 5 years time?

Subject: I have no idea I'm being honest I really don't

Interviewer: So in 10 years time you would say even more no idea?

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: What does she do at the present?

Subject: She's in college doing A levels

Interviewer: Doing A levels, OK and does she hope to go on and do something else?

Subject: Honestly I don't know where she's going

Interviewer: Really?

Subject: No

Interviewer: How important do you think qualifications are?

Subject: Extremely important

Interviewer: Do you have any yourself?

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: What do you have?

Subject: GCSEs, RSAs, Secretarial diploma and O levels

Interviewer: What qualifications do you hope she will achieve?

Subject: A levels

Interviewer: Just A levels? What about beyond....

Subject: Degree

Interviewer: You hope she'll go on to university then..what sorts of hobbies or pastimes do you encourage her to have?

Subject: Social..interactive I don't really put ideas in my children this 100 plus thing I think it's a good for her I may encourage her

Interviewer: *No but what would you hope if you found .what you know I'd really like her to do this what would it be?*

Subject: Anything to do with computers at the moment

Interviewer: *Right now which international cricket team do you support?*

Subject: West Indies

Interviewer: *West Indies eh*

Subject: I do hope they win I don't actually watch it or anything

Interviewer: *Do you support a football team?*

Subject: Arsenal

Interviewer: *Arsenal..what about international football teams?*

Subject: None really I ..I think it was last year the reggae boys were playing I supported them simply because

Interviewer: *Now what do you regard as your nationality?*

Subject: (Benjan?) Barbadian

Interviewer: *And where do you say your home is?*

Subject: Barbados

Interviewer: *Barbados, although you live here your home is in Barbados; now I want to ask about your parents, now where were they born?*

Subject: Barbados both

Interviewer: *Both of them in Barbados. Do you have any contact with them?*

Subject: My Mum deceased..

Interviewer: *Oh your Mum's not here any more and your Dad?*

Subject: My Dad is in this country, yes.

Interviewer: *Over here? Do you have any contact with him?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *What were their occupations.*

Subject: Oh manual

Interviewer: *Both of them manual. Do you have any property in the Caribbean?*

Subject: I don't no

Interviewer: *Do you have any family in the Caribbean?*

Subject: Most of my family are there

Interviewer: *What would they be?*

Subject: Aunts and uncles

Interviewer: *Mostly aunts and uncles; you don't have any sisters or anything like that?*

Subject: I don't have any sisters

Interviewer: *No but being out there; you don't have any other family out there?*

Subject: No aunts uncles aunts and a grandma

Interviewer: *So how close would you say you were to them?*

Subject: As close as you can be ie we write letters back and forth

Interviewer: *So you write what regularly or it is just birthday cards and Christmas cards?*

Subject: We write every 3 or 6 months

Interviewer: *Have you ever been back there?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *What was that..why did you go there?*

Subject: First of all I went back when I was 11 with my brothers my Mum took us back to meet the family and so on and I went back two years ago and I'm hoping to go back next year

Interviewer: *And that's just to sort of relink with the family rekindle your relationship with the family?*

Subject: Very much so

Interviewer: *But you don't go for any other reasons?*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *And you're going next year you say?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *You presumably were too young to remember what it was like when you left, originally, but you went back when you were eleven, did you ..are you aware of anything that's changed since you went the first time?*

Subject: Very much so. When I first went back we didn't have an inside bathroom most families didn't have an inside bathroom most people walked barefoot most houses were wooden and were on stilts we found children free and different

Interviewer:*But they're not now are you saying?*

Subject: Not now they're mainly fringe plots most people have their own houses and that's it really and it was more mixed with families everybody was close to each other if not lived with each other so

Interviewer: *So you're saying that in that time what it's about 17 years between the time you first went when you were eleven and the next time you went last year or a couple of years ago you're saying that your perception is that families aren't as close geographically as they were*

Subject: They're close but not as close as they were originally

Interviewer: *They're not even go into each other's houses all the time whereas before they lived near each other and were always in and out?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *Okay that's interesting. What did you like best about Barbados?*

Subject: Oh my goodness what is there not to like

Interviewer: *Best is not lots of bests..*

Subject: There's too many to mention there's too many

Interviewer: *Well come on give me a few*

Subject: First of all there's the weather kindred spirits everyone looks after each other everybody is friendly even if you didn't know people but they looked after you just being able to be fresh

Interviewer: *Right so there's a feeling of warmth you're saying both in terms of the weather but also the people*

Subject: The people

Interviewer: *What did you like least about the Caribbean?*

Subject: The mosquitoes (laughs) being eaten alive at night

Interviewer: *Really?*

Subject: Yes, that was ??

Interviewer: *Would you want to live there permanently?*

Subject: I could see myself doing that

Interviewer: *What you could see yourself going back there at some point?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *What does your daughter think of it? She's been there?*

Subject: She has they went last year for the first time she didn't want to leave

Interviewer: *She didn't want to leave?*

Subject: She didn't want to leave no

Interviewer: *So do you think she would like to live there?*

Subject: She's never voiced that no

Interviewer: *So you don't know if she'd like to stay there permanently or not; if she didn't want to leave it sounds as though she liked it but is that as a holiday but you don't know do you?*

Subject: No I didn't ask her

Interviewer: *Okay so you don't know if she hasn't got any plans to do a visit?*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *Okay what occupation do you hope she'll take up?*

Subject: I'm not quite sure she chops and changes I can't really say maybe something to do with computers anyway ..

Interviewer: *But what do you hope she'll take up?*

Subject: She's said that's what she hopes she'll take up..

Interviewer: *But what do you want her to do?*

Subject: Anything she's comfortable with

Interviewer: *Right you're happy as long as she's comfortable?*

Subject: Yes

Interviewer: *You haven't got in your mind or she's good as this I want her to do that?*

Subject: No

Interviewer: *Do you have any sorts of ambitions for her?*

Subject: I want her to achieve her full potential

Interviewer: *Right, you want her to work and work hard do youdo you know what, I think you've probably answered this, you don't know what she wants to do herself what ambitions she's got?*

Subject: No not really

Interviewer: *Now are there things you ever disagree over?*

Subject: Constantly (laughs)

Interviewer: *Constantly, is this a mother and daughter thing?*

Subject: I think it's a mother and daughter thing

Interviewer: *Right what sort of things do you disagree over?*

Subject: The state of her bedroom mainly

Interviewer: *The state of her bedroom, What else?*

Subject: Housework her sitting on my land-line all day

Interviewer: *Right telephone?*

Subject: Boys and homework (laughs)

Interviewer: *That's fairly normal. What do you like best about living in Croydon, or in England?*

Subject: Oh that's a hard one, I haven't really thought about it best thing about living in Croydon I know Croydon I know the people in Croydon I always been in or around Croydon I have still got ...no I have no problems with people in Croydon

Interviewer: *Is there anything about Croydon you think, or even about being in England, you think oh that's you know I'm glad I'm here because it's better than anywhere else?*

Subject: I suppose you could say that educational aspects of it

Interviewer: *Right, what you mean the schools are better you mean or..?*

Subject: The schools are better the qualifications are recognised all over the world

Interviewer: *What you mean if you had a qualification in England instead of Barbados it has sort of greater currency as it were?*

Subject: Very much so

Interviewer: *What's the least thing the least you like about being (I can't even say it) about being in Croydon?*

Subject: It's very expensive nowadays I can honestly say I don't shop in Croydon as such

Interviewer: *Right, so it's expensive. Is that typical of England do you think?*

Subject: No but Croydon is expensive and there's no night life in Croydon for young people

Interviewer: *How typical do you think your daughter is of young people today?*

Subject: I would think she's very typical

Interviewer: *Right, so what's your view of young black people generally?*

Subject: Oh my goodness they're clearly difficult lazy mouthy (laughs) they want everything for and do nothing

Interviewer: Is that different to your generation?

Subject: Very much so very much so we listened more I think we took onboard what our parents were saying even though it hit kind of late in some cases but young people these days their ideals are totally different their ideals seem very little very little in fact in having fun and looking about the future all the time ..

Interviewer: Right, what do you put that down to?

Subject: I suppose the media TV what does the other people have what do other young people have all over the world they want the same

Interviewer: If they were in Barbados do you think they wouldn't?

Subject: Very much so it's very much about learning over there and getting your qualifications make something of yourself so you can get the house and get the car mobile phones were practically unheard of over there there were some but they're not as plenty as they are over here their ideals are totally different they don't they didn't need as much stimulation as such when I say stimulation I mean like the theme park the play station the game boys and all that they made their own games they made their own entertainment they used their brains more than over here they cope less relations that's why they get into problems

Interviewer: Okay now if you had a magic wand is there anything you would change about living in Croydon apart from it's too expensive?

Subject: I would make Croydon more for the people than it was now to my mind Croydon is about money

Interviewer: What do you mean it's about the commercial centre and supporting businesses rather than for the residents?

Subject: Very much so I find I have to go out of Croydon to do most things because it's too expensive even the simplest things in big supermarkets are quite expensive and you should go out to other boroughs they look after their residents even if it's giving them a discount they get cards and things and go to different expectations which Croydon doesn't do

Interviewer: Okay, well that's it. Thanks for your help.