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Introduction.

The purpose of any enquiry is to prove or disprove a theory, and if you disprove this theory to gain valuable knowledge on the road to a better theory. The above question comes from a theory held by many, investigated by few, that is of vital interest to all. The earliest political philosophers realised that the question of generations is vital to understanding the state. If a state outlives the generation that invited or created it, how is the power transferred and how do the younger generation react to this process. Early theorists and many today feel that experience and a material stake in society is needed before a person has a right to govern the state even as part of a corporate body. But radicals throughout history have argued that the dead hand of the gerontocracy is preventing the young, the devout and the not yet disillusioned from the radical transformation of the body politic. These questions have been particularly strong since the 19 50s and the appearance of the idea of modern youth as opposed to merely the young. The problem and the political movements and the apathy of youth occupied many sociologists and theorists. However since the 1980s this idea has seemed to wane. There seemed to be the feeling that we are all young now and the youthful radicalism of the sixties and seventies dissipated. However in the last few years we have had riots and mass protests at every meeting of the WTO and the G7, Their has been the return of vicious race riots to the streets of Britain and there was a huge swell of opposition by the age group I'm studying to the war in Iraq. However the WTO has not been reformed and the war in Iraq happened. Seemingly the youth are being ignored is this because they like the poor or ethnic minorities are some how excluded from participation in political power.

To study this question a researcher has a difficult task ahead of him. If the stereotype of dissipation and apathy is true that means, getting interviews or conducting surveys will be difficult. This determines the structure of my dissertation. First the question will be broken down and thoroughly investigated upon the theoretical level; other rival theories must also be looked at. Then a plan must be created for a programme of quantitative and/or qualitative Research. This research must be fully reflexive and the data rigorously analysed. Only then can any firm conclusions be reached. These shall be expounded thoroughly in a lengthy conclusion. As I already mentioned we begin on the theoretical level.

Theoretical Concepts.

The question throws up many theoretical problems mainly based the idea of political participation and of youth as a distinct process or group. To explore the idea of political participation it is essential to look at the idea of citizenship (which in its self a very nebulous concept and as you shall see much contested). It is also necessary to look at the critics of the idea as a whole. It is also important to look at the idea of youth and its development; this exploration will also show the newer idea of social exclusion. It is also necessary to look at the theories of the importance of race, gender and class and if they interdict or subsume youth when it comes to social exclusion.

Citizenship

Citizenship is a very fraught and nebulous concept that it is hard pin down. It is questionable whether citizenship as an idea even applies to a nation where we are officially subjects of the crown. Yet this concept must be explored if we are to set about the study of the question.

When people talk of citizenship they are talking about four very differing ideas. The first and the one that will not concern us is legal citizenship. This is the legal status of an individual and under which countries jurisdiction they belong. The second is the equally ancient idea of political citizenship as in the individual's rights, obligations and their role in government. Another form of citizenship first expounded by Jean Jacques Rousseau is the idea of active citizenship which means full participation in society in government by all. This was developed later by many other political theorists. The fourth type of citizenship is social citizenship and was developed by social democrats like T.H. Green. The idea being that the citizen has rights to welfare and obligations to a more equal society. The three relevant forms of citizenship shall be looked at below.

Political citizenship dates back to ancient Greek democracy and the Roman Republic. From the beginning political citizenship is seen to have three different facets. The citizens have rights to freedom of speech and association, yet they also have a part in the exercising of power. This political power could have been exercised directly like in Athens or through the choice of representatives like the Tribunes and Senators of Rome. The third part of political citizenship is the obligations of the citizen like the payment of taxes or in the past, fighting in times of war. However this ancient form of citizenship is very different from modern citizenship because it was anything but universal. Citizenship was exclusive and excluded slaves, women and in the case of Sparta Helots (the workers and servants). Until the seventeenth century liberties were seen as little more than indemnities or charters granted to certain groups by their rulers. But with the growth of the nation state and the enlightenment, political thinkers began thinking as membership of the nation being universal. First Thomas Hobbes and more significantly John Locke saw the state as arising from the unification of all people in a social contract. Locke thought that the individual should be sovereign and the only role of the state is to defend all individuals' right to life, liberty and property. So for Locke all men had the same liberties and obligations as well as the right to change the government. Locke's ideas were very influential upon the American Revolution. The rights and the powers of all citizens to vote and stand for office were guaranteed by the resulting constitution. The

idea of citizens as having liberties, power and equality in front of the law eventually became the norm in the west and eventually women won full citizenship. This idea of political citizenship is the orthodox or liberal interpretation and this has been constantly challenged.

Alexis De Tocqueville when looking at America believed that democracy worked not because of the individual freedom or equality of the citizen, but rather because of their activity in civil-life.

“Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of dispositions are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types-religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute.” (Page 485, De Tocqueville, Democracy in America.)

De Tocqueville thought that without this society would atomise and the activity that was undertaken by the citizen in association for their own or collective benefit would instead be undertaken by the state for its own benefit. Along with De Tocqueville many theorists have argued that it is constant participation in political or civil life that keeps democracy and the role of the citizen going. Jean Jacques Rousseau had a much more radical view of the citizen as an enlightened and uplifted person. He believed that by subsuming yourself in constant participation you grow into a citizen. A true citizen to Rousseau was a human who had left behind self-interest (or Amour Proper) and whose individual will was now the ‘General Will’ or common good of the community. To Rousseau the citizen must be prepared to alienate his property and individual liberty to achieve a higher form of liberty and political power as part of the group. In this way Rousseau thought that the state would become one and the same as the citizens and no longer restrict or oppress them. Rousseau saw many of the forms of desired participation as being heavily based upon the qualities and abilities of youth, which he saw as military life or at very least a Spartan form of living (**as** you will see below Rousseau had much to say on education, youth and gender that is pertinent to this essay). This view of citizenship as an active participation has been used by many politicians and writers of every political persuasion to attack what they see as the inert even apathetic idea of being a citizen as a trade off between proscribed rights and limited obligation. Fascists and Socialists as well as modern democratic conservatives and social democrats have all drawn on the ideas of Rousseau and De Tocqueville. This means if the young people of today are to be active citizens we must see if they are or feel excluded from the means of participation?

Social Citizenship is a logical extrapolation from the idea of the citizen as an active participant. If the citizen is to be able to participate freely and completely they must have a standard of living high enough for them to concentrate time and effort in this involvement. Rousseau had pointed out that all citizens must have a standard of living to function as citizens. He also pointed out that extreme inequality was destructive to his social contract and the general will. With the development of communism and socialism out of earlier theories such as Rousseau’s in the 19th century, the idea that material equality was paramount to political liberty and participation. From these ideas more moderate views welding citizenship with equality and public ownership were developed. T.H. Green created the idea of three types of rights. Civil rights were the right to free speech etc, political rights were the right to

vote and stand for office and social rights were the new right to education health care and welfare. Social citizenship was particularly important politically in Britain and Europe after the Second World War. The British welfare state, with universal benefits and free to all NHS seemed to reflect these social rights. However the question remained what were the social obligations on the social citizen. This question was never satisfactorily answered by the politicians of the day. However communitarians believe that participation and volunteering in the community could be a part of social citizenship. Today are young people socially and materially able to participate fully as a citizen?

The idea of citizenship has always been rejected as a positive concept or at least a binding status by many. There are two main foundations for these challenges, the first is that the whole concept is based upon a false premise that the modern state is representative and derived from the citizen's consent, the second is that the mould of the citizen is actually an assault upon personal liberty and individuality. Anarchists argue that the state is not representative or derived from the consent of the people. Rather they see it as a collection of self-perpetuating institutions linked by a ruling class whose power is derived from the exploitation of a monopoly of force. Communists also share part of this analysis. Marxists believe that the state is at the bidding of the social class that controls the means of production and communism by sharing this control among all the need for the state would disappear. Citizenship is only valuable if you believe that the state is derived from the citizen either as a body or individually. The second basis for an attack upon citizenship is that it restricts liberty and political participation. This theory actually shares several assumptions with Rousseau. Rousseau thought that in becoming a citizen the people are converted from a diverse multitude with different opinions and interests into a unified body of citizens attuned to the general will. To Rousseau this is a higher form of freedom, but many have argued that this transformation destroys the dynamism of individuality. It is argued that citizenship leads to every one adopting the values, political parameters and lifestyle of the people who created that ideal of citizenship. So critics of citizenship argue that in terms of citizenship it is an essentially white, male, straight and European concept. It also reduces political participation to proscribed channels and it is intolerant of militant activity. J.S Mill argued that society progresses and functions when the plurality and diversity within society is allowed to express itself, and when the state attacks the customs and conventions of society that assault this. So to Mill the obligation upon a citizen to participate in conventional participation does not exist since the individual is free. This idea has been adopted by those who see the traditional concept of citizenship as gendered or racist. Some have taken this even further to argue that apathy and disengagement from politics is a positive act. Albert Camus argued in 'The Rebel' that by not voting or participating you are not denying yourself a voice you are saying no to the process. This is to Camus a positive act of defiance, but of course this has been attacked as abstract and meaningless because society does not know whether you didn't vote because you were busy or you were rejecting the bourgeois convention. Another view is the rational choice model. This is a cost benefit analysis by the individual whether or not to vote or engage in politics. It may be that young people often do not vote or engage in politics because the salience of most government decisions to their lives is negligible. For instance pollsters have often shown tax, education or welfare policies in the broadest sense to be the major issues upon which people vote. However without children or high enough income to pay much tax or even much call for using the NHS, the individual may see

government as not affecting them so they rationally choose to do something else with their time and effort.

Youth or Adolescence

Youth as an idea separate to childhood and adulthood like class and race was a concept that was first postulated during the enlightenment in the eighteenth century but didn't seem to take on political significance until the middle of the twentieth century. Like the concepts of gender and race it has been argued in the past that there are biological underpinnings to social inequalities or behaviour, however sociology as a discipline is a rejection of this determinist mode of thought. The main biological changes that occur in adolescence are completed by your mid teens and the age group that I am looking at are for all purposes biological adults. It is also argued by most psychologist agree that the psychological step change happens even before puberty so there is only a marginal difference between the working of the brain at 13 or 25. To demonstrate how youth is a social construct you can look at African or Asian societies where marriage, work and sex traditionally happen much earlier, in these societies there is not a long transition from childhood to full adulthood, rather the end of biological childhood is adulthood. So how did the concept of youth as we know it today arise in western society. This question cannot be answered here but I will look at other theories of how this happened. Youth has historically been discounted as a strong sociological factor however the growth of youth culture and its attendant political manifestations in the 1960s seemed very important to political theorists like Daniel Cohn-Benedict and Foucault. I shall also approach the question from a sociolinguistic point of view. However the question remains whether race, gender or class has a greater effect upon young people and their political participation. These will discuss at length these three theories as well as youth and how they interact.

Education is the experience of young people who in my age group have only just left it or are still continuing it. This experience of education will have a massive effect upon the young persons feeling toward society and understanding of politics or their role in the political process. Education must be looked at two ways the first obviously is citizenship education which in its limited way effects the issues and more importantly the process of socialisation in modern education in general and its failures. Citizenship education as separate from religious education found one of its first advocates in Jean Jacques Rousseau. He argued in 'Emile' his novel/treatise upon education that citizenship needs to be taught separately and within the humanities and literature. Education as a tool for citizenship was very important to Rousseau's idea of creating true citizens. These ideas influenced the founding fathers of the French and American revolutions in the creation of universal elementary education with as one of its key roles creating citizens for the new republics. However education in Britain has a very different and troubled birth. In the mid nineteenth century the major private schools were reformed along many of the lines proposed in 'Emile' with the children of the rich staying in Spartan living conditions. Much of the purpose of these schools was to create citizens of the empire, mainly soldiers and civil servants. However the education of the masses was very different, it had been developed by the different churches and the non-conformist groups. This tradition of independence and religious freedom for the schools became law when the

state introduced compulsory elementary education. Religious and moral education was left to the schools themselves which were often partly controlled by the different denominations. When the system was made more comprehensive and uniform in the 1944 education act provision for political or citizenship education was made for the elite 'Grammar Schools' but the vast majority who were 'Secondary Modern' pupils were to be prepared for the world of work or motherhood. The constitution of Britain, its class system and its genuine distrust of state exploitation of the education system to its own ends all encouraged citizenship to be ignored by many schools. Schools only had by law to provide some citizenship education after the creation of the 'National Curriculum' in 1988. However the worth of the very limited provision provided is a controversial issue and so is how to teach the subject. A question is also raised by the American experience of a curriculum dominated by citizenship. Many subjects are taught in insular and nationalistic ways and does not seemed to create informed or interested citizens.

Education in a more general way could have a negative effect upon the later political participation of young people. When education in Britain is looked at there seems to be a falling off in enthusiasm and attainment of many pupils from the beginning of secondary school onwards. Many ideas have been used to explain this. Some have argued that this is where class status is first recognised by the student who often realise they don't have a future in further and higher education but rather in working full time from 16 onward because this is the expectation. However this idea has been challenged by many studies and raw statistics showing boys are failing more then girls and particularly the core subjects of English and Maths. This it has been argued is due to the culture of teenage boys that is repelled by the institutionalism of school. This lack of progress also seems to carry into our age group with more girls going to further education and much higher unemployment among boys. Another argument has been given that the casual and fragmented nature of the economy hits young men harder. Young men traditionally went into trades or occupations with long term prospects and chance of material progress. The marked casualisation of the employment market and the collapse of the manufacturing and primary sectors have destroyed these roles and jobs. It is argued that women who have traditionally been employed on a more casual basis and in the service sector can cope better and are in more demand in the new economy. Many young men on the contrast seem rootless and without prospects. This split seems to cut across all but the highest paid jobs. One reason is the decline of social mobility and permanent occupations, in every level of the job market the chance of promotion and advancement from within has seen to falter. In the past apprenticeships offered a way for advancement for many, and manufacturing industry supervisors and skilled workers often started at the lowest rung of the ladder. Another explanation was put forward by Willis in 'Learning to Labour'. This 'resistance theory' is based on boys creating a counterculture of defiance in schools. This drew on the shop floor and working class cultures. They knew they weren't going to get high paid jobs and rejected 'sissy jobs' or anything they thought attacked their masculinity. There is another theory put forward by cultural commentators, politics and education fails the young so they reject through a culture of studied apathy and cool. However as Naomi Klein says in 'No Logo' this just served to reinforce the young's powerlessness and frustration.

There is another argument based on cultural capital that was put forward by Bourdieu in his

book *Distinction*. He argued that the classes kept themselves distinct and closed through the accumulation of broad cultural capital such as reading habits, music and eating habits. This cultural capital was a code that one needed to have to mix in that class. However the ingenuity of this plan is rather let down by the idea of age. The culture of the political classes and the cultural capital needed to truly engage in the discourse that conventional politics is a white, middle class and middle aged culture. It seems to exclude the cultural experience of the young that is increasingly uniform but also at odds with the older generation. Class demarcations in young people's culture are losing their importance as is witnessed by the social spread of Ecstasy or Cannabis use among our age group. Another indicator of the growing uniformity and distinctiveness of youth culture is in the importance of drink. Drink has always been an important part of British culture but the reckless drinking and the clubbing experience is at odds with the older traditions of social drinking. Indeed the activities of the youth are often either illegal or seen as anti social. These activities are now socially accepted among young people whereas in past generations of young people drug use and binge drinking was the activity of a small mainly male minority. Now the minority taking drugs regularly is so large that it is now counted as a general experience of youth. Politicians for a long time have been troubled by the activity of Britain's youth. Harold Macmillan was the first prime minister to express any real concern in the late 1950s, and also what he saw as the failure of the political process to involve these young people. But politicians in trying to win the youth vote have seemed to be crass or embarrassing and have fundamentally failed. One of the reasons for this could be seen as a matter of language.

Socio-linguistics research have found youth as being very important factor upon the use of English. Youth often makes it distinctive and sometimes radically different from Standard English or the other official codes. According to the theory of sociolinguistics this difference not only reflects social cleavages but also helps reinforce or increase them. Home English when spoken has two different forms of distinction, firstly is pronunciation, which as we shall see has declined as a social signifier and the more important distinction of dialect (this is the difference in grammar, syntax and jargon). Pronunciation and accent became an opening bout in a linguistic clash in this country. The myriad of local accents which were used by the vast majority were seen as representing that person's membership of the 'lower classes'. Whereas the upper and some middle class people sought to speak in 'Received Pronunciation' or RP. The BBC was the guardian of this with its strict rules and cut glass accented news readers, and it was obvious at this time that RP as the accent of politics and the media acted to exclude non RP users. However RP was attacked by new voices in the nineteen sixties. Macmillan with his Edwardian public school accent was soon followed as premier by Harold Wilson's with his Yorkshire burr. The Beatles, Michael Caine, regional DJs and many others helped breakdown the RP domination. However the importance of difference in dialect and usage has not dissipated. In fact with education and the mass media, Standard English has strengthened as the uncontested code for most formal discourse on paper or in speech. (Janet Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 1992 page 41) However SE is still the normal form of speech for a minority. The young especially seem to have developed a form of usage that revolutionizes itself continually with new influences and to reinforce its difference. This usage that was developed in poor and multi racial areas of Britain has spread outwards in its influence and its usage by young people. It has different grammatical structures and even vocabulary. Music, pirate radio and other

forms of media spread this form of English. This young urban form has such a richness and diversity within it that its influence upon the standard forms has become quite strong. However in its heartlands in the large multi ethnic cities it is a usage that marks difference and has the ability to talk about subjects in slang or pejoratives that differentiates the user from conventional society. This usage doesn't matter if everyone is able to code-switch. For instance a friend of mine is a medical student at Leicester, he lives in Tottenham and his parents are from Trinidad. He would write and talk in the code of medical jargon and formal Standard English when working at university. He would speak in a more urban London usage when at home or on the phone to friends and he said he would speak with some of the local 'patois' when in Trinidad. This is code switching at appropriate moments. This means though most young people may talk with elements of this young urban usage when talking to their peer group they have the knowledge and ability to talk or write in the formal legal-official code of Standard English when involved within that world. However the lack of the resource to code switch to the official form can be a form of social or political exclusion. Higher status or professional careers or even education is off limits and you will have difficulty in accessing the legal or political system. The failure of the education system in many of the areas mentioned has meant that the ability to code switch does not exist for many young people and this reinforces disadvantage which is strong in these areas any way. At a less dramatic level the language and jargon of Westminster and even more so Brussels politically can alienate or baffle many. Often the Westminster village fails to communicate with anyone but it self. Talk of 'PR', the 'West Lothian Question' or 'subsidiarity' is alien to all but a student of politics. Jargon in politics like every other Jargon is used to exclude, and it especially excludes the young and the poor.

Exclusion or Apathy

The question of youth and political participation brings us to the idea of exclusion. Social isolation and social exclusion are difficult concepts especially when it comes to voting. The best way to tell the difference is a matter of agency. The socially or politically excluded individual is also a politically isolated individual. However exclusion infers that this isolation is forced upon the individual by society, not necessarily obviously or explicitly; yet their isolation is predetermined by the structure and nature of society or the body politic. A millionaire who does not vote or participate politically and an unemployed single parent who disdains politics are both politically isolated yet the millionaire obviously has the resources to be involved if they wanted to. The question of this dissertation is whether the young are excluded via their age or whether class, gender or race has a greater influence upon the failure of large numbers of young people to vote. The two main theories of voter apathy are the before mentioned rational choice theory. This argues that the young are not excluded but their apathy is rational and calculated. Political decisions in this model are made almost as a consumer looking for the optimal benefit from their time as an individual. However as Electoral Commission says if we follow Rational Action Theory the following question is begged.

"Why does anyone vote at all?" (Voter engagement among minority ethnic communities. The Electoral Commission 2003. Page 14)

Two explanations are provided by Rational Action theory is; firstly that the cost to the

individual are tiny, and secondly that many individuals especially in marginal elections and constituencies and then the individual may think.

“What if I didn’t vote and my preferred party lost by one vote?” (Voter engagement among minority ethnic communities. The Electoral Commission 2003 page 14.)

This could account for the high turnout of 78% in the 1992 general election. This was in marked contrast to the 59% turnout the 2001 election which many saw as a fore gone conclusion. However there is another theory based on the concept of ‘Civic Voluntarism’. This is based upon resources and how they relate to the individuals civic pride or involvement. This argues the greater the level of education and of income the greater the level of civic involvement. (P. Norris Britain votes 2001).

Conversely the lower the income and stake in society the lower the civic involvement. So the young with low wages and a smaller stake in society have less desire or resources to volunteer time and effort. Indeed Norris provides statistics of the standard deviation from the mean. See below

Turnout and Constituency Characteristics

	Standard Deviation	Coefficients
Council estate resident in greatest hardship	-0.17	-0.09
Council estates residents with	-0.7	-0.10
High unemployment		
Census proportion of families with dependent	-0.31	-0.26
Children headed by one parent		
Census proportion population aged 16 to 24	-0.20	-0.20
Affluent executives in family areas	0.07	0.05
Affluent greys in rural communities	0.19	0.14
Wealthy achievers in suburban areas	0.23	0.18
Rsquared	0.71	0.76

Note: all coefficients are statistically significant to the $p < 0.05$ level. British parliamentary constituency, database 1992-2001.

(P. Norris, Britain Votes 2001; page 215)

Only the single parent families have a higher negative deviation from the mean then the 18 to 24 year olds. On the other hand affluent older people deviate by the amount of 19%. This table then seems to on the surface confirm age as a prime factor in voting or not. However the above table cannot confirm that because it does not include a serious study of wealth or race. For instance anecdotal evidence suggests that inner-city and multi-cultural areas have the largest proportion of young people. So the statistic above could be hiding the effect of race or poverty as well as age. So we must look at the other factors and if they exclude to a greater extent then age, which may can be explained by apathy. If these factors are more significant then age the question is disproved. The most prominent of these ideas must be looked at first at a theoretical level.

Other Factors?

These concepts that may cut across age as a social variable suggest themselves. One of these is Gender. It has already been mentioned that many feminists see citizenship and parliamentary politics as male concept. The basis of this argument is self evident, Rousseau was at great pains to stress that in his view men were made to be citizens and women fit only to act as little more than child bearers and diversion for the men. Though few were as misogynist as him, women did not win the vote upon an equal franchise in Britain until 1928. Indeed women MPs up until 1997 were few and far between and even now with some improvement they are still less than a fourth of the House of Commons. Another problem is that if a women MP is going to be successful they are meant to must hide their roles as mothers. In short they must become a male in political terms. This is why Margaret Thatcher forced her voice lower and always cultivated an image of aggression and masculinity. Language is also a disadvantage in political participation. As Janet Holmes says women tend to speak in different ways to men. They tend to use more hedges and fillers as well as tag questions this often makes their sentence less sure or assertive and more hesitant as well as more conversational. It is argued that this hesitance reflects women inequality in society. Whereas 'rhetoric' which is the usual form in political meetings or parliament is almost always seen as a male form of speech that shows power and is of an assertive and declaratory tone. It is obvious that gender is important when we look at age. At the Girls do markedly better at GCSE and even at A-Level yet more young men Get degrees and by the end of the age range young women are hitting the 'glass ceiling' and have on average lower incomes than their male counterparts. If they've had children already their individual income is much lower. However these trends have all decreased in their inequality over our age group in the last few years and young women's language and habits have changed remarkably and are now observably closer to their male counterparts. Gender also has a relationship with race and class. Recently some Afro Caribbean women have argued they are much more invisible in British culture than their male counterparts. The stereotypes of Asian women also are seen as negative, with an image of submissive and meekness. This means it remains to be seen if Gender has more importance than age, race or class in political participation.

Race may also have more influence than youth upon political participation in our age group. Indeed many of the socio-linguistic problems caused by young urban English mainly affect the Black and Asian communities. Indeed the young people who often feel most alienated from the political process are ethnic minorities. The lack of representation or political outlet for the grievances and racism directed towards the young Asian men involved in the summer 2001 riots was named by the Parekh Report as important in the cause of this. Indeed white people in our age group are found by pollsters to be much more likely to vote than Black or Asian people. Westminster itself seems too many black or Asian people as a white middle class club with a few token black or Asian members. However the Parekh report itself saw the lack of jobs or political representation for both the young Asians and White people the cause of the Oldham and Burnley riots. There are other questions posed by the issue of ethnic minorities. The most important of these are the utility of the category of ethnic minorities. The experience of Asians from the three major religions and the three nations of partition; i.e. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh perhaps cannot be corralled within the label of

Asians let alone ethnic minorities. For instance recent studies showed the mean income of Indians was higher than in the white population. However some evidence suggests that many people of Bangladeshi origin are more likely to be deprived. Religion as well may be a large factor, in the case mentioned above the majority of Indians are Hindu and the majority of Bangladeshis are Muslim. But also religion is still an effect upon society with sectarianism still strong and extremely divisive in Ulster. Class is seen as cutting across race when unemployed black or Asians feel alienated from the small ethnic minority middle class that often is seen to represent them politically. There are also large divisions within the minorities that is often based on age. This is partly because of the very different experiences of the different generations of minorities. This difference will be large because a person born here of immigrant parents will always have very different experiences and identity than their parents.

Class is an issue that was seen for much of the twentieth century by many to affect political participation. It affected what party you voted your ideology and the way you got involved in politics. There are three major ways to look at wealth stratification and power and each of these three comes from very different political standpoints with very different solutions presented. The first is the traditional interpretation of class as dividing society into mass classes with differing interests and relations both to government and the means of production. This formulation was of course first created by Karl Marx. But his idea of capitalism causing the division of society into the middle classes and working classes became wildly accepted by many who were not believers in class war and violent revolution. In Britain the Labour Party's expressed purpose was and still is to represent the workers and secure their rights and a greater equality in society as a whole. Sociology as a discipline was greatly influenced by the theory of class divisions. These divisions were seen to be caused by the differing relations with the economy. The working class were the class that worked manually for a wage whereas the middle classes own property and as a class the capital and wealth in the economy. Education, age, race and gender were all explained as being effected by class. However as the manufacturing sector started to decline and home ownership spread to the masses. The difference in lifestyle and the type of work done by those traditionally seen as the middle class and working class began to lessen. Instead there grew new problems of a minority that suffered from permanent unemployment and poor housing. American conservative sociologists came up with the notion of the underclass. This is based on the idea that long term unemployment and the consequent welfare dependency destroys the stability and unity of family life and leads to crime and drug problems. To these sociologists the problem of the underclass is not just created by poverty but also by the failure of traditional families and consequently of morality and self respect. This theory is not only controversial because it attacks the morality of the poor but also because large parts of this 'underclass' were from ethnic minorities and this meant many people attacked this concept for latent racism. The social democratic and liberal left came up with a theory that sought to move on from class and explain inequalities suffered by the ethnic minorities. This theory of Social Exclusion has become very popular in the last fifteen or so years. This theory argues that a minority is excluded from the full benefits and ability to interact in society because of extremely low pay, unemployment, poor education or racism. This theory is a reformist theory because it says if you improve education, provide full employment and try to tackle institutional racism and public ignorance you will be able to tackle social exclusion. All these theories argue that wealth is more important than age as a social actor.

These concepts must be borne in mind when generating and analysing data and the other social factors must always be cross checked with the affect of age.

Research 1.

There are two branches of methodology; quantitative and qualitative research. The first is a study based upon an analysis of data transformed in to numbers. This means in social research that you are trying to find the patterns within aggregate data. However social research is dependent upon data that is interpretive. For instance you are looking at human attitudes, relations and societies. This means that the labels used must cover truly representative samples. The collection of this data must therefore be extremely painstaking at be as general as possible. How this is done is vital to the validity of the research. There are three types of data in quantitative analysis. Nominal data is numbers divided into categories and the measure of central tendency is the 'mode' (i.e. the most frequent). The second is ordinal which is as the name suggests is ordered in a league, the central tendency is measured by the 'median' or in other words the middle of the order. The final type of data is ratio, this is mathematical data that can be doubled and divided, and its central tendency is the 'mean' (also known as the average'). The problem with any data that is meant to represent a population will have to be as wide as possible in its collection and the information gathered will be extensive but be of shallower understanding. Conversely, qualitative research is based upon a more intrusive look at social processes and attitudes. This has several implications, the researcher will be more involved and there is more risk of their attitude and presence affecting the situation. The individual researcher will also always interpret and focus on certain things differently from each one of their peers. The sample will also be limited because high intensity of the work and necessarily therefore less representative of the population. To deal with these problems quantitative research has mathematical equations and rules that determine officially the validity and significance of social phenomena. In qualitative research there can be no set rules to validate or invalidate the research. However the test of validity must be determined by the researcher. A true researcher must be reflexive at all times. What does 'reflexive' mean? It means in essence that the researcher always considers three things. They must always reflect upon their own intervention when collecting the data. This means no questions can be leading or so formal as to affect the participant, this is because the answers and data must be unaffected and natural. The second way the researcher must be reflexive is to keep conclusions or analysis separate from the gathering of research. This means the researcher must act solely in gathering data at this point of research. The third way the researcher must be reflexive is that they must explain and recognise the peculiarities and bias of the subject of investigation. You are not looking in qualitative research at whole populations but a part of this that you have accessed. This means the researcher must recognise and deal in analysis with the peculiarities and generalities of the data. This accounts for the verbosity and the criticism that I direct toward my data.

Polling Day

The research began by taking advantage of the local elections held on May the 5th 2003. One of the polling stations being right outside the window of my room made this even more inviting. I decide this would allow me the opportunity to start the research. It afforded the opportunity of conducting both qualitative and quantitative research unobserved. Before the research itself is looked at the variables that would affect the research need to be considered first. The first is the particular timing of the election. The election was after the fall of Baghdad and what seemed too many like the second gulf wars conclusion. This war had proved very controversial indeed until its outbreak the polls consistently recorded the majority of the population as being against it. Young people as well were found by these polls to be much more anti-war then older people. The protests and stop the war coalition had a lot of youth support. Indeed on the day of the war breaking out their where walk outs at some schools and sixth forms including Eton. However since the start of the war the support for the war had grown gradually and the fall of Baghdad had caused what some commentators called 'the Baghdad Bounce,' or a large increase in the personal ratings of Tony Blair and support for the war. However the polls showed many people still against the war and anti-Blair. These circumstances may have caused a politicisation of young people and effected turnout. Yet there some factors mitigating this climate. It was a local council election not a general election, so the question must be put as to whether people voted on local or national issues. Certain evidence tends towards the local elections being about local issues not national ones. The results that stood out in that election were the BNP massive gains in certain parts of Lancashire; this was entirely to do with local tensions in those areas. In that election Labour also regained control of Hull and increased their seats in the Scottish, Welsh and London assemblies this was all against the grain of labour losing seats in much of the rest of the country. However the universally small turnout of around 35% like all recent local elections suggests that it upon national issues that the minority who vote are using to decide.

The Ward

The ward itself must be looked at, in many ways it is unrepresentative of most wards, however I do not believe there is such a thing as a representative ward to be found in the entire country. Stoneygate ward in Leicester is a two member ward in the inner-city. It is a very mixed ward with some areas of deprivation. It is mainly private Victorian terraced housing. Significantly a very large proportion of the population is member of any one of a number of ethnic minorities. However the highest population is Asian, with a large mosque just down the road from the polling station I was observing. There is also a large transient population due to it being a popular student area and also the large amount of rental properties. This would mean that there is a significantly higher population of young people then usual in this ward. The polling station itself was a united reform church in the centre of both the largest concentration of student housing in the ward and an area that is majority Asian.

Methodology.

This tells you the peculiarities of the ward and the setting for the research. However there are the possible flaws in the methodology and the most important of these is the problem of the human frailty of the researcher. It is impossible to tell the exact age range of everyone or to leave behind all bias or experience in the attempt to categorise. The intervention of the researcher is necessary in interviews and observer notes. This necessarily creates the risk of the researcher affecting the actions and also answers collected from the participants or the interviewees. The method used got round this by using first of all user participation then unnoticed counting and classification. The second part of my research on that day raises the problem of researcher fallibility when it came to guessing age. However due to polarisation of the age range of the voters and a column for created for when it was not possible to tell the age of the individual, the researcher did not have that much difficulty. To spread out the time of observation I observed for an hour from 1200 to 1300 and then from 1600 to 1700. Throughout this period I had an excellent view, obscured from outside in an upstairs window, looking at the only entrance. At first the Party canvassers standing outside confused me, but once I recognised them all I disqualified them from my tally.

First I as a researcher and as a voter went and voted and did some participatory observation. The results I got were inconclusive although the stewards handing you ballot sheet were all in their 60s this was probably inevitable. The church itself definitely could have intimidated some young people yet it is obvious that in that case religion would have been the greater factor not age. The regulation and announcement boards outside the polling station was printed and written in a style unchanged since when women got the vote. Yet this is a superficial factor, it is highly unlikely that young person would be more likely to vote if the posters were printed in a more modern typeface. The party canvassers outside the entrance were a mixture of ages and races but where all male, as were all the candidates; with the three main parties all having at least one of the candidates who was Asian. However the green party that also had two candidates seemed to have little local organisation. They had delivered no Leaflets in our area, and unlike the other three parties they had no canvassers at the polling station for the long periods I observed it. The campaign literature varied: the Labour Party, which held the ward until the election, campaigned upon what they saw as their record on local services. The conservatives mainly stood upon attacking labours local record, whereas the Liberal Democrats were more focused on the international situation. The local issues that were mentioned above were education, council tax and law and order. The latter especially may be of more than some little interest to our age group since they are the most likely to be the victims of crime and also to be the perpetrators of such felonies. However the tenor of both the Labour and Conservative approaches to law and order may differ from the experience of many young people especially in this area. Just around the corner from the polling station is a hand painted sign on a wall accusing the police of perjury in a particular case. The researcher knows nothing more about this case, but there have been persistent accusations of institutional racism in the police (especially against young Black and Asian men). The most prominent instance of accusations of institutional racism was the Stephen Lawrence case in which the official inquiry found endemic racism in the Metropolitan Police; this has been supported by the Commission of Racial Equality which argues there is much racism in all the major services and institutions.

Results

The quantitative research conducted in categorising and counting those going into the polling station has many problems and cannot be representative of the national figures, and a reflexive researcher must recognise these and deal with these problems. These will be assessed finally below. However first it is important to look at the results of the research (Appendix 1). This is obviously nominal research since the categories are not mathematical but semantic. This means the measurement of central tendency is the mode. However this is of marginal utility giving us 25-60 year old men as the largest category, or men in general as opposed to women. In total 36% of the voters were recognised to be in the younger 18 to 25 age group. Even taking into account observer error (This to be safe is calculated at twenty percent) this is 29%. This when you consider the 25 to 60 age group is only 55% unadjusted (43% adjusted) and the even more surprising only 16% of the voters being 60 or over. This high number of young people is surprising to the assumptions and evidence toward the contrary conclusion that the young are under-represented at voting especially at local elections. This evidence suggests the youth are not excluded as a class of people. Yet it does strongly suggest there is a large inequality and disadvantage against women in all age groups. To explain this there are various possible explanations the most obvious is that this is an aberration that the limits and failings of my research coincide with an insignificant phenomenon at this polling station at those times. However to be so uniformly down in all age groups at both times suggests even if it is just at this polling station it is not insignificant. Another explanation is that for whatever reason women vote less than men. This reason could be because of the tradition of women being disengaged and disenfranchised from the voting, however in the last two general elections more women voted than men. This leaves the explanation that women vote less in council elections than men. This is not impossible and there is anecdotal evidence for it. The finally being that because the area has a large Muslim community that the missing 20% or so of women do not vote because of the tradition of disenfranchisement of women politically in some strictly Islamic households. Another possibility is that out of the two large student areas on this side of the city that the one which is in Stoneygate has less female students than male because of the worse reputation of the area. This is though, hard to prove and would be marginal. Another possible explanation is that the specific issue of the Iraq war led to a higher turnout especially among men who are less excluded or more interested in foreign and defence policy. Indeed at an anti war rally three weeks earlier that I attended in central Leicester none of the speakers were women and they were conspicuous by their scarcity in the crowd. However the specific circumstances of the election, the ward and its demographics when taken into account are; to say the least; un-typical. However it is impossible to say that the research is A-typical.

Research 2.

There are many types of qualitative research. As you have seen above there is the participant observation in a process. There are also studies of language, texts and media involved in processes (however this would tend to be a socio-linguistic study rather than a

sociological one). A different and wide ranging area of methodology is based upon interviews and questionnaires. Questionnaires can be useful if they can be adequately distributed and a high level of response can be engineered. But it is very difficult to get this response and so the minority who are respondents tend to skew the findings. Questionnaires also tend to give information in a quantitative form and does not really collate the rich variety or subtlety of social processes. The best form of qualitative analysis usually comes from interviews of various forms. The face to face interview can be the most responsive and intensive form of research. The richness of the data is provided by the fact that the interview allows people to digress and in doing so can release important information. The disadvantages of the face to face interview are, most importantly the presence of the interviewer which may affect the answers given by the interviewee. This could be because the interviewee is trying to please the interviewer or even to give a good impression of them. With Vulnerable populations this is always a great risk. Another problem is the Labour intensive nature of the interview even if conducted by phone. The arranging of the interview takes time as does the interview itself. Then the analysis and coding of interviews is also a painstaking process. Another problem is how to get a wide enough and impartial sample population for interview. Often this means finding a 'gatekeeper' who can lead the interviewer to a range of willing victims through the gatekeeper's social network or role in an organisation. However this 'gatekeeper' must not skew the selection or have a vested interest in promoting certain answers. This means the researcher must always make sure that the gatekeeper sticks to their instructions and the interviews themselves remain anonymous and are conducted without any third-party presence. The researcher also has an ethical responsibility to see that information is nameless and confidential; the researcher must also ensure information only used for the purpose of research. This must all be made plain to the interviewee before-hand so they are aware of that dimension.

Interviews in Research

There are three types of interview; the structured interview, the focus group and semi-structured one-on-one interviews. The structured interview is a very good way of allowing large amount of people to give easily transformed and analysed information. The questions can be multiple choice or with a limited number of possible answers. This will give you quantitative information. The questions could be close ended to get specific information out of the individual like Age or when they left full time education. These can give qualitative information that gives the interviewee the facts and excludes the interviewee hedging or affecting the information with unwanted data. The questions can even be more open, but they will be the same for every interview. This also means other people can be delegated too carry out the interview and thus a more extensive number of people interviewed. The main drawback is its dependence upon the validity and success of the questions when drafted because any drawbacks in the question themselves will be transferred to the answers received. The questions could if wrongly drafted skew the results and be leading questions, they also could miss big issues that a more informal discussions could glean from the chaff of the more conversational style. Another diametrically apposed style of interview is the oft talked about focus group. In which a group of interviewees are given a topic (rather than asked a question) and with each other they discuss it and the researcher must pull the information out of this.

The strength of this system is the wealth of material which seems on the surface incidental that can be gathered from the interaction. The other advantage is the informal nature means the conversation is more natural and thus probably more spontaneous and may truly reflect the feelings of the individuals involved. The researcher also cannot lead the process or affect it directly and thus the response is less likely to be created by the question. However focus groups have flaws which recently have become more apparent. The main flaw is the effect that group dynamics will have on the discussion. Almost like in the film about juries '12 Angry Men' the most strident and sure of themselves will dominate the discussion and the meekest will not articulate their views if they are counter to these loud aggressive voices. Another problem is the affect of people not want to offend the other participants or be seen as a crank or extremist. Their always is the possible problem that the individuals when talking about controversial issues like race will hide their true views behind platitudes and clichés. In short people don't want to rock the boat when their views are anything but anonymous. The focus group also makes the problem of gathering contributors and analysing the myriad and tangle of conversation that is the data in focus groups. Focus Groups lose the advantage in Labour hours the minute you start trying to organise them. Another form of Interview is the semi-structured one-on-one interview in which there is a bare skeleton of open questions that is replicated in all cases. However you then pursue lines of questioning that comes from the answer given and at other times allow the interviewee to expound on the subject in a more general or particular sense. This has the advantages of both the one-on-one formal interview with questions to which you get answers but gives you the flexibility to take this much further. It can also be flexible in length dependent on the mood, attitude or knowledge of the interviewees. Its problems are basically the problem caused by the intervention of the interviewer and the effect that has on the answers of the contributor. The researcher to counter this must always be self-aware and try not to ask any leading or biased questions. Another problem is the very high cost in labour and time expenditure; the interviews I did were short but took from a bit less than ten to twenty minutes. This is much longer than a structured interview on the same questions would take. The analysis as well takes much longer than the structured universal interview would need. However on the whole in this case the semi structured interview seemed the most salient and useful for this dissertation.

The Interviews

I decided the best way to continue with the research was to conduct interviews with members of the age group and from the data a coding frame could be created and analysis of the data proceed. As we have seen the semi-structured interview seemed the best way to conduct interviews to gain qualitative research data on this subject. It is also the best way considering the nature of the project as a solo undertaking. Focus groups seemed attractive but the organisational complexity and the way the interviewees were sourced discouraged this. The interviews as created had to do five different tasks.

1. Recognise for the record the age, sex, occupation, education and where they live (i.e. at home, as a student or in their own home). These questions are closed and always universal. Race is also a universal question but is self reported.
2. Did they, have they or do they intend to vote. How they felt about voting and any information linked to this.

3. Their general interest in politics and social issues, do they read newspapers and/or watch TV news on politics. Do they or have they got involved in politics outside of voting?
4. Do they think they will get more interested with age or not. What else like race, gender or class affects this participation?
5. Did education affect this participation and what affect did it have on their idea of citizenship. Do they consider themselves political citizens?

These questions are loose questions to be teased out and not necessarily to be directly put to the interviewee. This you shall see in the example of the question sheet below.

Interview Programme

- Sex (by observation)
- How old are you?
- What's your occupation?
- Do you live in your own home or with your parents?

- Have you ever voted in Local or General elections? If not why not?
If so what was your reaction?

- Have you got involved in political activity? Yes, How
- Do you think you will get involved No, why not

- Do you think your age affects your politics? Yes, How
No, why
- Do you think other things are more important: such as race, class, gender

- Did your Education affect your attitude to politics? If so how
- Did you study citizenship in any way at school? If so what do you think of its use?
- Do you consider yourself a citizen?

This interview plan was developed toward the later half of the interviews and includes adaptation, omissions and additions developed as the interviews went on. This evolution also went on as the interviewees changed (see below). The Interviews were held either at my home in Hull or in Leicester. In this case there was only the interviewee and the researcher in the room and many of these interviews were recorded rather than written. About half of the interviews were conducted by phone; in this case the interviews were slightly shorter.

Interviewees.

As you can see Appendix 2 the interviewees are not an accurate representation of the population. Less than half are women and various ethnicities and regions are unrepresented. However this is not a mathematical or quantitative survey. Instead there should be a myriad of voices, experiences and opinions. To do this I felt no single institution could be a gateway to this diversity. I have many acquaintances from university and indeed I did interview some

of them. This gave me a geographical and ethnic range that could not be reached in Hull. Yet there are several problems with interviews through this route. Firstly they are all by their nature of being current or ex-university students well educated. They also tend to be middle class and often affluent as well as all being between 21 and 24. More of them than usual as well would have studied politics and have an interest than is normal. Another group open to me was work colleagues, this area however only in the end provided me with three interviews and two of the interviewees were university students. I then used my brother as a gatekeeper. At first this may seem to reinforce the middle class bias; however this is not the case. My brother led me to interview people he knew from the NVQ course he is on. Many of these are now working full time in manual jobs. These interviewees were younger and proved to have very different experience and opinions of politics. Indeed an issue that came up time and again was Asylum seekers which did not come up with any of the other interviewees. This I feel shows the range of interviews and their validity

The Coding Frame

The issues brought up by the data and their links and relationships are to be found by the process of coding. This was started through the recognition of the issues and concepts brought up by the interviews. This led to laying out these out in a preliminary coding frame (appendix 3). However this can only show possible links but not significance or the process of interaction. This morass has to be untangled. The key to doing this has to be to reduce the issues to the importance and to the effect of the key factors on all the other lesser factors. There is of course cross fertilisation and even the key factors have influence on each other.

1, Age

This is of course is one of the defining issues for this question. The question that must be answered of course is whether the individual is excluded from political participation by their tender age. Yet this question for methodical reasons outlined above could never be put directly in the interviews. So the question was put indirectly. There were people who said they were isolated from the entire political process and those who played a passionate part in it. A concept which seemed to be reinforced strongly by many of the interviewees reached through my brother is rational action theory. Time and again irrelevance of subject to daily lives seemed to come up. They agreed with the idea they would get more involved when they were older and this is key to the rational action theory. When owning property, having children etc will make them interested in the meat and potatoes of politics. However all of them mentioned and even were angry about certain issues. One of these was the asylum seeker issue which in Hull has led to racial tensions. The other major issue was Law and Order, particularly violent crime and street robbery. They recognised these issues as political issues but said their participation or voting would change nothing. However they did not recognise themselves as excluded by age and one of them saw any exclusion as a more class based phenomenon. Those who did vote also often saw their interest in politics increasing with age, along the rational choice model but some saw international and moral issues as important and these they would argue are not affected by age. Only very few of the interviewees are involved in political parties. They however recognise age is a big factor in Parties; all of the major parties are grey and old. Education seems to be a big

factor in the division between voters and non voters.

2, Education

As I mentioned Education is obviously a major factor in the level of participation. Many of the non voters identified negative educational experience and no one identified a positive citizenship education (or hardly any at all). Education seems to be a cleavage politically and socially. Those with higher and academic further education are far more likely to vote. They are also far more likely to participate generally and have an interest in politics in general including international issues. Education is according to my interviews has an effect comparable and in nexus with class.

3, Class

Class or deprivation came out of the data as an extremely important and vital component in the political process. As one of the interviewees said "its all rich men in parliament, all men in suits" (interview 2). This view seems general, and all though only one or two people argued along class lines, there was plenty of data that supported the educationally and economic exclusion of many young people. More investigation is needed but education seems to be divided upon a class fault line. Class also seems a better explanation then exclusion because none of my interviewees was truly socially excluded but many feel at the margin of politics as young working people. The issue that was often used by the interviewees who felt like this was race or the asylum issue.

4, Race

Race is an inflammatory issue even within my humble research. Both the ethnic minorities I interviewed and the Hull young apprentices mentioned it as an issue in political participation. From the ethnic minority interviewees there was much variation but all of them recognised race as an issue in political participation. In fact one interviewee mentioned the Political Parties attitude on asylum seekers. However he may have been galled by the attitude of some of the some of the young men in hull. The one thing that they both have in common is contention over the idea of citizenship. Citizenship is the absent concept in the data. Hardly anyone though or felt they were true political citizens. Every one of the interviewers felt citizenship as alien to them and citizenship education as useless. The interviewee mentioned above felt that the asylum issue and its handling by politicians was inadvertently creating an idea of citizenship that he didn't wish to be apart of. The anti asylum apprentices didn't see themselves as citizens yet they felt that the asylum seekers were embraced as such. These issues seem in their articulation to be specifically male and that brings to gender as an issue.

5, Gender and participation.

If participation is class based it also seems to be male. Although all the women in the survey voted, they more then the men saw participation outside of voting as alien. This isn't to say there is any expression of exclusion because of their gender but that political campaigns and protest is to an extent gendered as male just as it is often middle aged. Because participation

is seen to develop with age by many interviewees, the gender issue affects this. This process of participation is a minority pursuit and as such it is not that socially limited but it tends to be a male world and it often excludes when it is at the higher level of participation. However participation excludes primarily through wealth and education, a minimum amount of both is needed and this rises with the level of organisation. Being discourages participation in certain organisations yet it does not exclude it and in the more radical and revolutionary organisations young people is the norm

Conclusion.

What is to be made of the above process or inquiry?

To begin (and end with) the question is whether young people are excluded as a class from political participation. The investigation into voting showed there is apathy but no feeling or evidence of exclusion. However in looking into the murkier idea of a young people as a whole being excluded from political participation here is much more to prove. This picture was mixed. It is plain from the above dissertation of the findings that no agency and process intervenes systematically against all young people.

It complicates the process when the individual is economically disadvantaged. This often ties in with a poverty of educational resource which itself at its most disastrous can exclude individuals from playing a part in society as a whole. Race often feeds into this disadvantage with young members of ethnic minorities often excluded from their own community by elders or the alien middle class elite of that culture speaking for them. This is what happened in Burnley and Oldham. There was a culture of racism and violence against Asians on the streets caused by deprivation in both communities and the exclusion of the young working class males. The elders of the Muslim community and the Labour Party councillors all tried to ignore this and push their own agenda. This allowed the situation to develop in 2001. The protests and Marches against the war show that young people can be a powerful political force and the issues that they can unite over are serious issues of foreign and environmental affairs. This is because the young do not have the stake, property and children of older people in society. This means they can focus on a more radically large agenda and less upon fiscal, welfare and education policies. Young people then are an important constituent of the political process but are not sufficiently united in opinion, interest or experience. The two areas where there is evidence of exclusion are the mainstream political parties and parliament. I think almost all young people feel that it is not significant that none of their age group is in parliament because you need to rise to high public office, however the extreme greyness and age of parliament makes young people question what they know of the young and their world.

However in the end the question of this dissertation is not proved and I would like to investigate education, class and politics, because the big cleavage seems to be dependent on economic circumstances and educational chances. There are many questions on this I would wish to pursue. This nexus between class and education seems to large extent predetermine society and accentuate subsidiary factors such as ethnicity and gender. This I

would study through the early years of secondary schools. Indeed a proper survey should follow children from say ten until they are in their late twenties.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1: Entrance to polling station by observation.

TIME	Under 25 Males	Under 25 Females	Over 25 Males	Over 25 Females	Over 60 Men	Over 60 Females	Total Males	Total Females	Total
1200 to 1300 tally	6	3	20	13	12	8	38	24	62
1600 to 1700 tally	13	11	22	15	3	4	38	30	68
Totals	19	14	42	28	15	12	76	54	130

NB. At 1600 there is a Lib Dem canvasser man outside who may be 25 or younger and two other older men canvassing for the conservatives and Labour.

NB. At 1649 it starts raining and continues until the end of the observation.

Appendix 2 the individuals interviewed.

Four different matters are presented to show the profile of the interviewees:

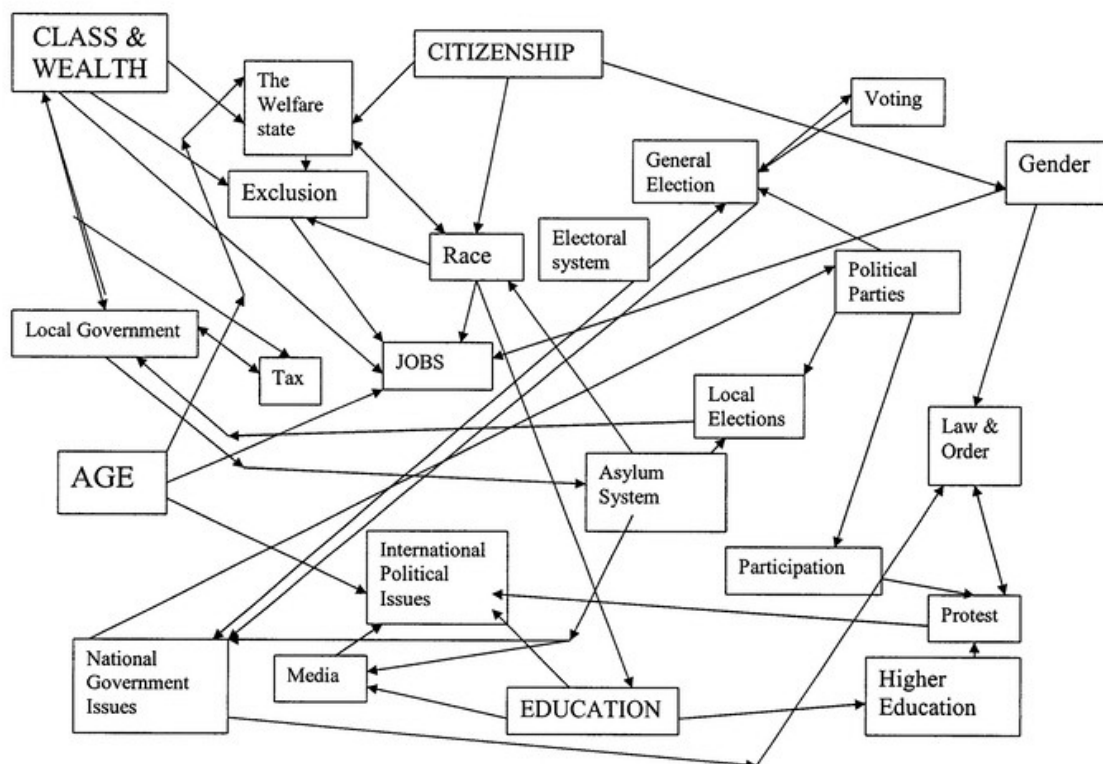
- 1, Age
- 2, Sex
- 3, Ethnicity (self Declared)
- 4, where they live (family home or in their own home)

- 1, 18, male, white, Family home, low level further education. Hull
- 2, 18, male, white, family home, NVQ, Hull
- 3, 18, male, white, family home, working casual, Hull
- 4, 23, female, white, own flat, Student, Derby/Leicester
- 5, 21, male, white, at home, ex student, York
- 6, 22, male, white, at home, student, Manchester
- 7, 18, male, white, at home, MacDonald's, Hull
- 8, 22, male, afro-Caribbean, own place, student, London/Leicester
- 9, 21, female, white, at home, casual work, Leeds
- 10, 22, female, white, own place, white collar job, Birmingham
- 11, 21, female, Asian, student house, white collar job, London

12, 22, female, Asian, student house, student, Birmingham
 13, 21, male, Anglo-Turkish, at home, manual work, London
 14, 21, male, white, at home, farmer, York
 15, 21, male, white, student house, student, Leicester/Leeds
 16, 21, male, white, at home, white collar, London
 17, 21, female, white, student house, student, Leicester/London
 18, 22, male, white, student house, student, Kent/Leicester
 19, 24, male, Asian, own flat, student, Leicester
 20, 22, female, white, shared house, waitress, Cumbria/Leicester
 21, 20, female, black-Scottish, lodger, barmaid, Glasgow/Hull

Appendix 3

APPENDIX 3 – CODING FRAME



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