

YOUTH

IN CONTEMPORARY BRITAIN

CIVILISATIONS DU MONDE ANGLOPHONE SOUS LA DIRECTION DE MICHEL ORIANO

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Avant-propos

L'objet de cette pochette de Documents est de présenter LES JEUNES DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ BRITANNIQUE CONTEMPORAINE.

En Grande-Bretagne, comme dans nombre de pays, les jeunes sont à la une des journaux, font l'objet d'études sociologiques, occupent une place dans les programmes des partis politiques, suscitent de nouvelles lois. Le *malaise de la jeunesse* n'est-il pas le malaise de la société?

L'analyse critique de chaque Document pris séparément, aussi bien que la confrontation des différents points de vue exprimés, devrait permettre aux étudiants de mieux situer ce problème de la jeunesse, de le replacer dans l'ensemble de la réalité sociale contemporaine, en Grande-Bretagne d'abord, mais aussi, par extension ou comparaison, dans d'autres sociétés.

Ces Documents vont des plus factuels (statistiques, diagrammes) aux plus élaborés, voire aux plus polémiques. Ils ont en commun d'être tous récents et d'être tous anglais (à deux exceptions près: 1.2 et 1.3).

La presse - quotidienne, hebdomadaire ou mensuelle - est évidemment la source la plus abondante d'investigations et de commentaires sur la jeunesse. Celle-ci y est étudiée comme phénomène démographique, économique, politique ou socio-culturel. Sur ces différents aspects, chaque journal révèle l'idéologie qui lui est propre. L'éventail comporte des journaux et des publications conservateurs ou franchement d'extrême-droite, libéraux et *underground*.

Il est difficile, dans ce cadre, de distinguer des Documents bruts, car même une interview peut être manipulée de façon à prouver ce que l'on cherche par avance à prouver (4.2 et 4.4, par exemple). Mais on peut distinguer:

- les Documents où la jeunesse est étudiée de l'extérieur par des adultes s'adressant à un public d'adultes (2.3.1 et 3.4.5, par exemple);
- les Documents où les jeunes s'expriment eux-mêmes pour d'autres jeunes (4.7 et 4.9, par exemple);
- les Documents où les adultes s'adressent à la jeunesse, sur le plan économique (3.3.2 et 3.3.3) ou sur le plan moral (4.5), pour lui dicter sa conduite.

Autre source - précieuse - de Documents, les enquêtes sociologiques ou les études spécialisées. Elles mettent principalement l'accent sur les processus de socialisation: famille, éducation, mass-média, travail. Quelques titres: *Adolescent Boys of East London* (Peter Willmott, Pelican Books, 1969); *Education, Employment and Leisure* (M. P. Carter, Pergamon Press, 1963); *The Sociology of Modern Britain* (E. Butterworth and D. Weir eds., Fontana/Collins, 1970); *Television and the Child* (H. T. Himmelweit et alii, Oxford University Press, 1958); *Working Class Community* (Brian Jackson, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968).

Les Documents sont accompagnés d'appareils pédagogiques destinés à faciliter leur lecture. Il s'agit d'éclaircir les points obscurs (au niveau le plus élémentaire, cela justifie la rubrique GLOSSARY), de mettre en évidence l'articulation des arguments, l'idéologie implicite, éventuellement les contradictions à l'intérieur même du texte.

Le Document est vu à la fois comme un tout - dont il s'agit de dégager la cohérence ou les incohérences internes - et comme une pièce versée au Dossier YOUTH IN CONTEMPORARY BRITAIN. En tant que tel, il importe de le situer de façon précise dans cet ensemble en montrant comment il complète tel autre Document de la pochette (d'où les renvois soulignés) et en cherchant quels sont les articles ou livres qui, sur la même question, apportent un point de vue plus développé (d'où la rubrique FURTHER READING).

L'analyse est faite de façon détaillée pour quatre Documents (1.1; 3.1.2; 3.2.4; 4.8). Pour les autres, l'appareil pédagogique indique seulement le sens dans lequel elle pourrait être menée.

Ces analyses de Documents sont directement inspirées des travaux collectifs d'un certain nombre d'enseignants de l'Institut d'Anglais Charles V (Paris-VII). Plus précisément, ce Dossier prolonge le travail en équipe d'un groupe d'enseignants en civilisation britannique en année de licence à cet Institut.

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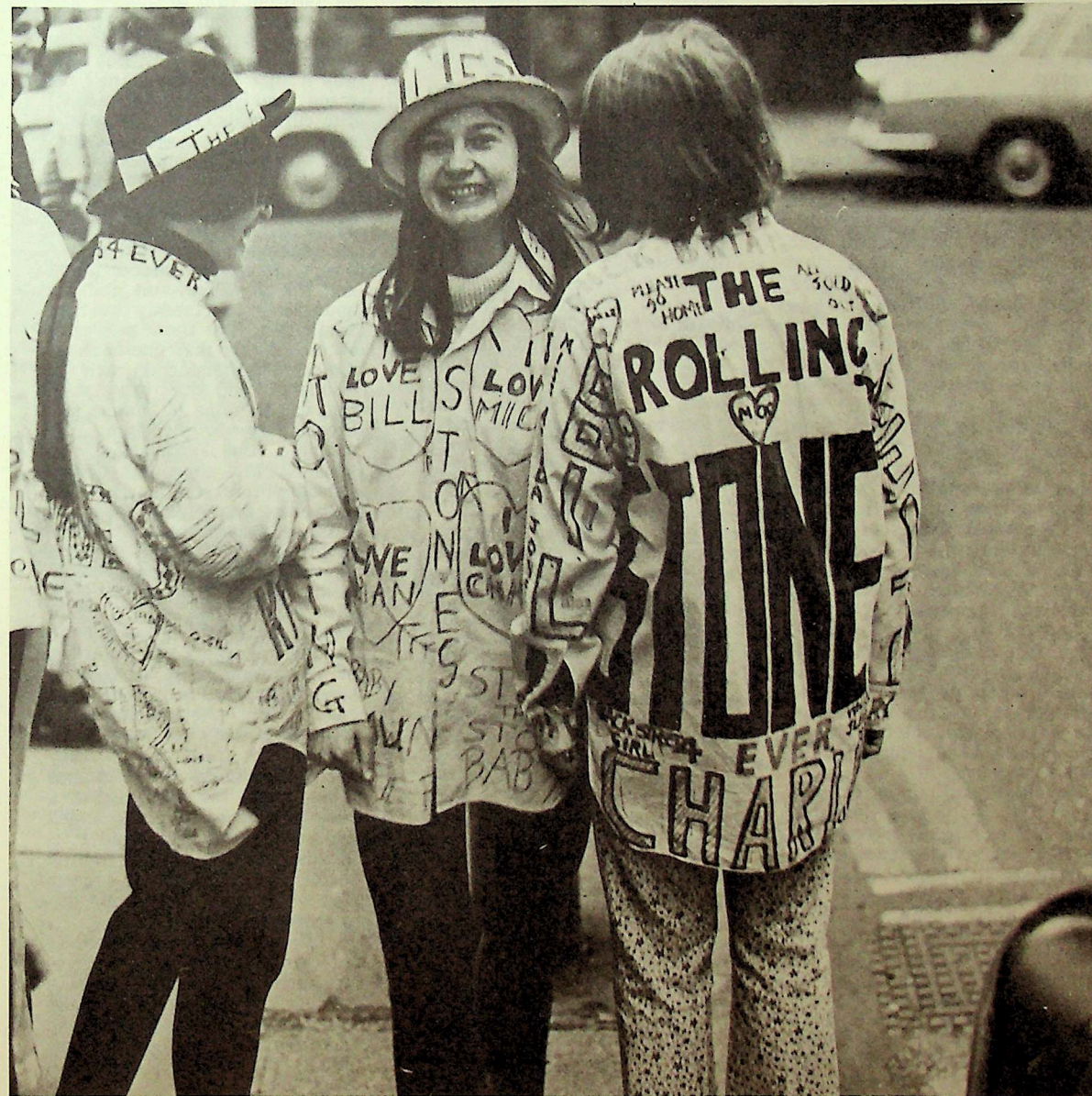
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Documents

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1. Youth: a topical subject (Y)

1.1. 'Why do the young look like this?' (Y,A)

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN recently about the sociological, the ideological, the psychological, aspects of adolescent protest.

Some observers have gauged the pressures—in the home, in school or university, and in society at large—against which the younger generation are reacting; others have described the millenarian ideals that inspire their enthusiasm and the humanitarian aims that engage their energies; others, again, have analysed their principal obsessions—the felt need for drugs, for hysterical music, for sexual indulgence—and have tried to account for the illusion of maturity that contributes so much to their image of themselves: "The basically false statement that children are maturing younger today contains this much truth," says a shrewd, experienced, and not unsympathetic observer, "that adolescents regard themselves as grown-ups directly they enter their teens."

Leaving to experts the sociology, the ideology, and the psychology of protest, let us look at what may be called the physiognomy of the movement, the physical characteristics and the overt behaviour of discontented youth.

No intelligent observer will deny that the young on both sides of the Atlantic have in the last few years undergone a metamorphosis in their speech, their dress, their bearing—in the whole style and conduct of their physical life. One does not have to attend a protest march, a Pop Festival, or a Round House "rave-in," to see how radical the change has been, and one need only walk the length of the main street in any sizeable city to perceive how far the infection has

spread—far, indeed, beyond the universities, so that the new style has long ceased to be (if it ever was) a merely "student" phenomenon.

The classic image of youth, clean-limbed and fresh-complexioned, decent in its dress and graceful in its bearing, no longer decorates our college quadrangles and our city streets; its place has been taken by a strange, unprepossessing crowd. Shock-headed and dishevelled, ill-clad and ill-conditioned, a new breed of adolescents presents itself to view, padding hand in hand along our pavements, soft-shod or bare of foot. Common to either sex are the patched jeans and dirty sweaters; hair seems to have run to seed, hiding ears and neck and fringing young men's faces with a fuzz of beard or whiskery overgrowth. (...)

WHAT, ONE MAY THEN ASK, are the inferences to be drawn from the dress and bearing of contemporary adolescents? What is portended by this startling transformation in their "lifestyle"? Of course, the style is not uniform; it includes a wide range of varieties, from the drab and the squalid to the extravagantly flamboyant; conspicuous here and there among the scarecrows are the peacocks, sporting elaborate outfits on which they must have spent a great deal of money and elaborate coiffures on which they must have spent a great deal of time. But the finery of these popinjays is not of deep significance; after all, the young of either sex have always loved display; it is simply that they have now more money to spend on personal adornment than they ever had before. (...)

Many of our adolescents, no doubt, if one asked them why they cultivated the incult, would

be hard put to it to suggest anything that could properly be called a reason: they do it just because the others do. But what was it that first determined the trend? and what now sustains it? The current is both strange and strong; why did it set that way, and why does it persist?

PLAINLY, THIS DELIBERATE cultivation of the drab and the bedraggled implies a challenge—a repudiation of the dinner-jacket and the dark-blue suit and the bourgeois respectability that they symbolise. But there are, after all, more ways than one of showing one's dissatisfaction with the "square" and the respectable; that can be done by almost any eccentricity—by displaying, for example, the extravagant elegancies that emanate from Carnaby Street and may be seen enlivening the King's Road.

Those who prefer as a form of protest the unclean and the uncouth must be moved by something deeper than impatience with middle-class sartorial fashions or habits; they are challenging not only a particular set of conventions, but all conventions alike, not one stratum of society, but the whole social structure; they are not "concerned with appearances"; they are concerned, in a more serious sense, about the hypocrisy of a society that is itself so much concerned with them, and it is against the whole ethos of that society, enshrined in its conception of decency, that their disapproval is directed.

"We attach"—they seem to be saying—"more importance to the purity of our motives and the nobility of our ideals than to the cleanliness of our bodies or the neatness of our clothes. We are giving the world a lesson in priorities."

In short, they are subscribing to a protest—and it is a protest that has become during the past decade almost world-wide among the adolescent—against the values, the standards, and the assumptions of Western civilisation.

This is not the place to attempt a description or a reasoned analysis, still less a criticism, of this ecumenical movement. It is enough to say that the mood to which it gives expression seems to be negative rather than positive in its tendency, a mood of frustration rather than revolt; that though many of those

In every manifestation of adolescent feeling one can detect this duality of impulse, the animal and mystical: it reveals itself not only in their dress and personal appearance, but in their conception of love, in their craving for drugs, and in their obsession with "Pop." (...). To the protesting adolescent, it would appear, love means two things, but it does not mean a third: it means free indulgence in sex (doubly "free," in that it is both unmercenary and uninhibited—witness the demand for "all-night inter-sex student access" in the universities and the general dependence on "the pill"), and it means a diffused benevolence, which finds expression in altruistic concern for the "alienated" and the oppressed—particularly coloured people and the "Third World"—and also in the impersonal, half-mystical, love of the "love-in," a gathering where, as at the *agapai* of the early Christians, everybody enjoys a loving association, of one sort or another, with everybody else. The one thing that love does not mean to them, it seems, is the mysterious, possessive, devastating passion known to the Greeks as *eros*, the intense preoccupation—favourite theme of so many novelists and poets—of one individual person with another.

DRUG-TAKING IS ANOTHER ambivalent activity that pre-occupies the adolescent generation. Drugs, both the "soft" and the "hard," provide them with a means of escaping from themselves and from the world around them; and the "psychedelics," such as LSD, offer them also communion with the Divine—"the real trip," in the words of Dr Timothy Leary—"messiah, martyr and high priest of the psychedelic"—"is the God trip."

But if LSD helps you to lose

affected by it would gladly accept radical solutions for the problems of society—and they have certainly proved easy dupes, especially in the universities, for leaders with Left-wing axes to grind—only a minority of them are proponents of any political doctrine or followers of any political party; and that so far from the movement's being a proletarian phenomenon, most of those who take part in it come from bourgeois or "privileged" homes. It is for the psychologist to identify those elements in the make-up of the younger generation that predispose them to this

yourself and to discover God, it also (in the Doctor's words) "helps you discover yourself": it unleashes the animal within. "The sexual ecstasy," Leary declares, "is the basic reason for the current LSD boom"; LSD intensifies that ecstasy beyond measure, and a corollary of self-abnegation is a complete release of personal inhibitions accompanied by a reckless abdication of human responsibility—as in the field of sex, so in the field of drugs, the mystical and the animal go hand in hand.

The "LSD boom" has not yet reached these shores; not many of our adolescents have got beyond the stage of "pot"; but "Pop" music has for more than a decade enjoyed a strong, obsessive hold upon the young in every class of society, here as elsewhere all over the world. Youth worships the idols it has created in its own image; the leaders of the "Pop" groups count their devotees (and their dollars) in millions, and John Lennon, of the Beatles, who revealed his attitude to Western classical Art by proclaiming the Mona Lisa "a load of crap," did not exaggerate when he compared his own popularity today with that of Jesus Christ. "Pop" is a religion; in that religion the dual pattern is repeated; and the mystical and the animal elements in it are represented most conspicuously in this country by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones.

The Beatles have gone in for "higher" things, sitting at the feet of an Indian guru in order to imbibe the wisdom of the East, and returning to diffuse a muddled mysticism and to receive canonisation at the hands of Dr Leary—"the four Evangelists, Saints John, Paul, George and Ringo," the Doctor tells us, are preaching "the oldest message of love and peace and laughter, and trust in God and don't worry, trust

mood, and for the sociologist to discover in the adult world around them the reasons for their discontent; to justify or condemn their resentment, to praise or blame the conduct it gives rise to—that is the function of the moralist. The detached observer need not attempt to analyse or to judge, but he may help others to do both these things, by pointing out a suggestive pattern in the physiognomic evidence.

For that evidence does indeed contain a pattern, and the dominating lines in the pattern point in two directions—towards the primitive and towards the holy.

in the future and don't fight; and trust in your kids, and don't worry because it's all beautiful and right." (...)

The Rolling Stones are evangelists of a different order, with a less exalted gospel and a more crudely physical appeal: "Affection with sex and violence on top" was the description of "a teenage audience's emotions towards a pop singer" given to the BBC by Jagger, the handsome animal who is the figure-head of the group: (...)

The animal passions they arouse may spell danger if things go wrong—as was made horribly clear on an evening in California not long ago, when a few feet away from Jagger, as he sang *Sympathy for the Devil* to an audience of 300,000 people, Hell's Angels, unknown to him, went in and killed their man.

When things get out of hand, the spiritual orgy can be as savage as the animal. How do you resist the police if you rely on Love? "Offer them flowers" is one of the answers given in California; but "Throw bottles with 'Love' painted on them" is another. Perhaps "Love" consecrated the knives and firearms employed in the massacre of Sharon Tate.

THE UNITED STATES, IT may be said, offers the young, especially in some of its Universities, plenty to protest about—the remoteness of the Administration, the aloofness of the Faculty, the impersonality of the whole academic process.

Looking beyond the campus, the American student is confronted by the War, the draft, the shame of racialism, the dangers of Black Power; in the background he sees an urban society dominated by the dollar and the automobile, where more and more money is spent

on "consumer durables" and the natural world is polluted and destroyed by the "advances" of technology: small wonder if he is repelled by the grossness of the Gross National Product. And if the reaction of the American young is a violent one, we should remember that they belong to a society where violence is traditional, and that they are incited to extremes of conduct by crackpots like Dr Leary and mischief-makers like Professor Herbert Marcuse, who in this country would find it hard, one hopes, to get a hearing.

But if in the United States the flash-point is nearer at hand, there is on this side of the Atlantic also, and not only among the adolescent, an aching uneasiness about the way the world is going.

(...) they have every day before their eyes vivid evidence of the racial and national dissensions that threaten the world's peace; they observe the standards and the aims of society becoming every day more vulgar and more materialistic; the citizen is impotent beneath the tyranny of unseen powers that control the society of which he is none the less a member; while the individual human being, entangled in a network of man's own creation, is so preoccupied with the business of making a living that he is unable to live his life.

These burdens must oppress the consciousness of young and old alike; if the old sustain them more calmly, that may be because they know from experience what it is to suffer—many of them have lived through two world wars that were not of their making—while the young are perhaps subconsciously envious of their elders for what they have been through.

However that may be, the young of today are certainly not Stoics; they lack the "guts in the head" that, according to the poet, a man has need of if he is to look the universe in the face and still to get a good night's rest. It is no use entreating these immature idealists to take it easy—they can't "take it" at all; philosophical courage is a virtue, just as gaiety is a grace, that seems to be entirely absent from their composition.

Incapable of compromise, unwilling to learn from others, and unable themselves to suggest practical remedies for the manifold inherent wickednesses of the world, they unload upon their parents' generation reproaches proper to Adam and the Creator who endowed him with original sin. Some give vent to their indignation by taking part in political or anarchistic "demonstrations," by occupying buildings, by breaking up or destroying property, or by

hurling obscenities at their elders. Dupes of what Conrad called "the strange conviction that a fundamental change of hearts must follow the downfall of any human institutions," they suppose that a clean sweep of "the system" will lead, not to the jungle, but to a paradise where we shall all live happily ever after.

Others are content to "drop out," surrendering to a nihilistic mood in which Art and Literature seem an irrelevance, Law and Order a mockery, and all individual effort, all human aspiration, pointless. Victims of such despair, some quiet, intelligent, ordinary young men and women have in recent months performed their first and last act of protest by taking their own lives.

Few indeed, at least in this country, are those who opt out as abjectly as that; but the mood of desperation, the desire to register a protest against contemporary civilisation and all they believe it to entail, is widespread among the adolescent; to that protest the drab, the dirty, and the dishevelled who throng our streets are making their own inarticulate contribution; and it is significant that the two types that many of them approximate to most closely should be the saint and the savage, the Nazarene and the wild man of the woods.

1.2. Explaining the oppression of youth (Y,I,A)

(...) just as a comprehensive ideology was developed about the working class in the last century, a comprehensive ideology explaining the oppression of youth has been formulated in the last twenty years. This ideology functions to explain the discontent and anti-social attitudes of young people in terms of their personal problems (as the poverty of the working classes was attributed to their defects of character by Social Darwinists). This ideology seeks to obscure the emerging class struggle between youth and the dominant forces of society by discussing the "conflict of generations" as if age were the significant source of the conflict. For instance, since the discussion of youth became fashionable, one often hears that half the population is under 25. But since when is 25 the dividing line between child and adult? Biological maturity occurs about 14. Yet the societal recognition of that maturity is being delayed for a longer and longer time. We argue that by delaying the social recognition of maturity so long, a new, unrecognized kind of maturity is emerging. Extending childhood so long beyond its natural limits leads at first to all the psychological distress at the individual level that we associate with adolescence, but then, dialectically, to the construction of youth societies in which the youth mature according to their own standards. These standards are class standards, developed out of the socialized experience of students and soldiers. In other words the young have taken the mark of their oppression — their youth — and turned it into a signal by which to recognize the fellows with whom they wish to express solidarity. Then to become an "adult" involves changing cultures — "going straight." Increasing numbers of persons are finding this culture change too difficult and are simply getting older without becoming "adult." Others take on "adult" roles without adopting adult attitudes and remain sympathizers of the youth class.

In precapitalist societies adulthood was generally conferred contemporaneously with biological maturation, somewhere between the ages of 12 and 15. Conflicts in the maturation process were introduced with the relatively recent innovation of adolescence, which embodies contradictory aspects: the adolescent is biologically and mentally mature but is declared still too young to marry or work. Instead he is exhorted to enjoy his ever lengthening years of "freedom" and to have a good time. But how? If the young are not free to marry and have a family, their awakened sexuality is denied socially and personally acceptable outlets. If they are not allowed to work, their maturing minds have no task worthy of them to do. The system wastes the best years of young lives, offering freedom from drudgery but not freedom to do anything worthwhile with their leisure. The idleness of the young is the essence of bourgeois freedom — the absence of restraint — and its cruelest mockery.

1.3. The young today (Y,E,M-M)

The youth of today are not permitted to approach the traditional heritage of mankind through the door of technological awareness. This only possible door for them is slammed in their faces by a rear-view-mirror society.

The young today live mythically and in depth. But they encounter instruction in situations organized by means of classified information—subjects are unrelated, they are visually conceived in terms of a blueprint. Many of our institutions suppress all the natural direct experience of youth, who respond with untaught delight to the poetry and the beauty of the new technological environment, the environment of popular culture. It could be their door to all past achievement if studied as an active (and not necessarily benign) force.

The student finds no means of involvement for himself and cannot discover how the educational scheme relates to his mythic world of electronically processed data and experience that his clear and direct responses report.

It is a matter of the greatest urgency that our educational institutions realize that we now have civil war among these environments created by media other than the printed word. The classroom is now in a vital struggle for survival with the immensely persuasive "outside" world created by new informational media. Education must shift from instruction, from imposing of stencils, to discovery—to probing and exploration and to the recognition of the language of forms.

The young today reject goals. They want roles—R-O-L-E-S. That is, total involvement. They do not want fragmented, specialized goals or jobs.

2. Some information on young people in Great Britain (I)

2.1. 'Age distribution of the population: United Kingdom' (I)

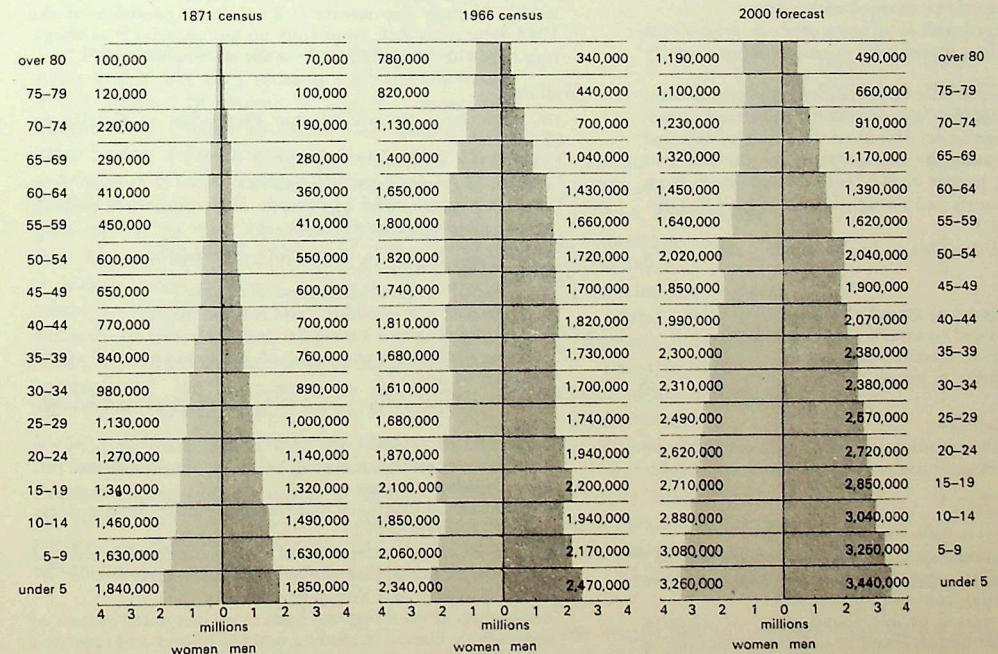
The demographic device of the 'population pyramid' is basically a simple bar graph which has been stood up vertically to give a 'profile' of the age structure of the population. If the same scale is used to compare two countries, or (as is the case here) two centuries, the shape of the pyramids will show at a glance any differences between the two.

Three periods have been chosen for comparison: the census of 1871, the sample census of 1966, and the Registrar General's projections for the year 2000. The 1966 sample census, conducted mid-way between the main censuses of 1961 and 1971, was for Great Britain so mid-year estimates have also been used to give a figure for the United Kingdom as a whole.

The late nineteenth century, with its high birth- and death-rates, shows a heavy preponderance of young people in the population. By the middle of the twentieth century, this tendency had been eliminated, and the result was a population more 'balanced' in terms of age distribution.

By the end of the century the 'pyramid' shape will have re-asserted itself. Successive years of (by 1930s standards) higher fertility in the second half of the century will mean large numbers of children, followed by gradually smaller numbers of middle-aged and elderly people.

The balance between the numbers of people in the labour force and those who are dependants (young and old) has, in fact, become slightly *more* favourable since the 1870s.



2.2. Statute of young people in Great Britain (I,A)

1. Legal statute

Public Law

- Franchise (local and parliamentary) : 18 (1970).
- Young people under 21 :
 - o cannot sit in Parliament,
 - o cannot sit on local council,
 - o cannot be called to the bar.
- Domicile :
 - o a legitimate child takes his fathers's domicile,
 - o an illegitimate child takes his mother's domicile,
 - o a child cannot change his domicile of his own volition until he is 18.
- Capacity to marry :
 - o 1929 : 14 for boys, 12 for girls ;
 - o 1949 : 16 for boys and girls.
 Parents' consent is required under 18 (instead of 21, before 1970) ; if the parents' withholding of consent is unreasonable, a magistrates' court may grant it.
- Passport : young people under 18 cannot get passports without their parents' consent.
- Financial rights : the latest changes in the legal statute of 18 year-olds are the result of the Family Law Reform Act (1970), which gives anyone over 18 the same financial rights and responsibilities as other adults have : legal capacity to borrow money from a bank, to buy on the hire purchase system without family credentials, and to hold a mortgage directly. It also gives illegitimate children the same rights to inherit as legitimate children have.
- Children under 14 cannot enter a pub unless accompanied by an adult ; young people under 18 cannot obtain liquor.
- Driving licence : can be obtained at 17.

Criminal Law

- Under 10 : a child cannot be charged with an offence.
- Under 14 : a child cannot be charged with a crime.
- 10-16 : a child charged with an offence other than homicide must be dealt with in a juvenile court unless charged jointly with an adult.
- Under 17 : no offender may be sentenced to imprisonment. "In England and Wales the Government has presented proposals for taking children under 16 out of the ambit of criminal courts and for separating the arrangements for the trial and treatment of young people in the 16 to 21 age group from the adult criminal courts and the adult penal system." (*Official Handbook*, p. 98.)

Methods of treatment available in law for dealing with young offenders :

- Under 21 :
 - o 10-21 : may be ordered to attend an attendance centre ;
 - o 14-21 : may be ordered to attend a detention centre ;
 - o 15-21 : may be sent to a borstal institution ;
 - o 17-21 : may be given a prison sentence (sent to young prisoners' centres).

Probation (1-3 year periods) :

- Designed to secure the rehabilitation of an offender while he remains at school or at work under the supervision of a probation officer.

Remand (a few months) :

- Young offenders :
 - o under 17 : may be taken in the custody of remand homes ;
 - o 17-21 : may be sent to remand centres instead of prison.

Attendance and detention centres (3-6 months) :

- 10-21 : children or young people found guilty of offences for which an adult can be sentenced to imprisonment may be ordered to attend an attendance centre (non-residential) a few hours a week.

- 14-21 : young offenders for whom a long period of residential training in an approved school or a borstal does not seem necessary may be taken in a detention centre.

Approved schools (maximum period : 3 years) :

- Residential schools for boys and girls under 17 who have committed an offence ; for children and young persons in need of care or protection.

Borstal institutions (6 months-2 years) :

- Provide remedial and educational training. In boys' borstals, emphasis is placed on training in skilled trades ; in girls', training in domestic duties is paramount.

2. Social rights

Education

- Children must receive full-time education between 5 and 15 (1944 Education Act, enforced in 1947) ; school-leaving age raised to 16 in 1972.

Work

- All children under 18 should have had the help of the Youth Employment Service.
- Maximum hours of work for young people :
 - o under 16 : 44 hours a week ;
 - o under 21 : 48 hours a week and 10 hours a day (69 hours in 1884 ; 69 hours for children aged 9-16 in 1825 ; 1819 : a law forbidding the hire of children under 9 in the cotton industry).
- Employment of young people at night prohibited in industry (1831 : night work in factories forbidden to people aged 9-21).
- Apprenticeship is generally entered at 16 and lasts 5 years.
- Young workers under 18 should be granted day release, i.e. time off to attend classes (one full day or two half days a week). Though day release is a statutory provision of the 1944 Education Act, employers do not consider it as obligatory. The Government has not made it compulsory.

Welfare

- 1883 : National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
- 1883 : "The Children's Charter" :
 - o control of employment of children ;
 - o court can place child in custody if illtreatment is proved, or suspected upon sworn statement ;
 - o custody terminates at 14 for boys, 16 for girls.
- 1908 : "The Children Act" :
 - o "negligence" as grounds for court custody ;
 - o setting up of juvenile courts and remand homes.
- 1933 : "Children and Young Persons Act" :
 - o defining a "child" as one under 14, a "young person" as one between 14 and 17 ;
 - o juvenile courts defined as courts of "welfare and punishment" ;
 - o local education authority as a health checking body : it must report children suffering hardships, underfed, etc.
- 1945 : Family Allowance Act.
- 1946 : National Insurance and National Health Service Acts.
- 1948 : "Children Act" :
 - o care of all children deprived of a normal home life brought under the responsibility of the local authorities.
- 1963 : "Children and Young Persons Act" :
 - o establishment on a regional basis of an integrated system of community homes (including remand homes and approved schools) to be managed either by local authorities or voluntary organizations in collaboration with local authorities.

2.3. Young consumer's spending power (I,A)

The power and influence of the teenage population is far greater today than in the years before the last war. Although there are signs that the importance of this group is sometimes exaggerated, not least among the teenagers themselves, it is still true that they have become a more salient section of the community.

Abrams (1961) has studied in detail the economic influence of this group, although it should be noted that his definition of teenager is much wider than ours, for he included everyone who is unmarried and under the age of twenty-five.

Although their total spending power is only 5 per cent of all consumer spending, they are the biggest purchasers of certain commodities. Thus they buy 42 per cent of all the records and record players that are sold, 37 per cent of all bicycles and motor-bicycles, 29 per cent of all cosmetics and toilet preparations, 28 per cent of all cinema admissions and 30 per cent of the money spent on other entertainments, 18 per cent of all recreational goods, 15 per cent of all cigarettes and tobacco, 15 per cent of all money spent on meals out and snacks, 13 per cent of all soft drinks, and 13 per cent of all the money spent on holidays. Their total spending is far higher than it used to be and tends to be concentrated on these commodities. 'Money at the disposal of Britain's average teenager is spent mainly on dress and on goods which form the nexus of teenage gregariousness outside the home' (Abrams, 1961).

People have become well aware of the increased spending power of the teenagers and the suggestion that 'they have too much money to throw about' is often used as an explanation for teenage misbehaviour. But their total spending power is not out of proportion to their numbers in the whole population. Their economic power has become noticeable because they spend their

(...) teenagers these days are generally pretty lucky and in the early years at a job usually have a fair amount of money to spend - unless of course they choose to marry very young and start having a family straight away. (And each year about 50,000 bridegrooms and 150,000 brides are under 21, including nearly 20,000 girls of 16 or 17.) Government figures show that the average teenage male at work earns a weekly wage of about £12 and the average teenage female about £8. Allowing for a minority of those earning more than this and for those still receiving full-time education and so getting less, the averages work out closer to £8 17s. a week for males, £6 for females. Subtracting income tax, National Insurance, and payments to parents for board and keep the average money left to spend is about £5 10s. for young men, £3 15s. for young women. A survey by Research Services has found this typical breakdown of expenditure by teenagers:

money on articles which are highly visible and audible, and because their spending tends to be concentrated on certain areas of the total market. They are also subjected to exploitation by many adults who have realized the commercial possibilities of the teenage market where a large part of the income is not committed to essential family expenditure like rents or mortgages, household goods, or children's food and clothes.

The visibility of this increased teenage economic power has led to its exaggeration. The teenage market is run by adults and all our social institutions are still dominated by older people. Youth has often been in revolt against the old-fashioned and outworn ideas of the older generations and has challenged the traditional and conventional. The main difference now is that the balance has changed. In the past the adults had all the economic power. Now through the mechanics of supply and demand, the teenager has more money to spend and so his ideas and desires are treated with more respect by the commercial world.

The demands of teenagers which were once ignored have now become important, and their activities are reported in the mass media. In some areas, popular music for example, their demands completely dominate the market and the newspapers and periodicals give much of their space to stories about the latest recording stars, the new teenage fashions and the latest teenage craze.

But the newspapers are still run by adults and still reflect the views of the adults who respond to the new economic power of the teenagers with a strange mixture of bewilderment, scorn and envy. So teenagers are news, but only certain kinds of teenagers - those who are in trouble, those who are defying convention, those who are good copy.

	Boys shillings weekly	Girls shillings weekly
<input type="checkbox"/> Clothes	12	20
<input type="checkbox"/> Footwear	3	5
<input type="checkbox"/> Meals, snacks out	13	4
<input type="checkbox"/> Cigarettes	9	4
<input type="checkbox"/> Holidays	6	5
<input type="checkbox"/> Vehicles (incl. running costs)	7	1
<input type="checkbox"/> Records, record players, portable radios	4	1
<input type="checkbox"/> Cosmetics, shampoos	1	3
<input type="checkbox"/> Hairdressers	1	2
<input type="checkbox"/> Cameras, sports goods, watches, pens	2	1
<input type="checkbox"/> Books, magazines	1	1
Other items (incl. saving)	51	28
Total expenditure	110	75

from the *Financial Times*, 28 January 1966

You might like to compare your own spending with these figures.

3. Agencies of socialization (F,E,M-M,W)

3.1. Family (F)

3.1.1. Family ethics (F,A)

The majority of the parents of children who had friends of the opposite sex were unaware of the fact, acquiesced in it or were indifferent. "She'll just as likely be married next year", said one mother, referring to her daughter, who had just said that she would like to become engaged. The mother was not thinking of the girl's current boy friend in particular. She knew that girls do marry young, and was well aware that her daughter might follow suit. It did not occur to her that this could be a matter for positive policy on her part. Other parents acceded to their daughters' friendships only after satisfying themselves that the young men concerned were "nice", and after being assured that the friendship was "nothing serious". A few parents positively favoured their daughters having friends of the opposite sex—"a girl should have boy friends when young—not one, but a lot": it was thought to be sensible for a girl to meet different sorts of men. This enabled them to discriminate. But some parents were worried. It was not a good thing, they felt, for young people to spend so much time together, out nearly every night. Yet if you say anything to them they just flare up, and go out all the more. Parents did not know what to do for the best. For there was the danger that if children were forbidden to have friends of the opposite sex they would "do things behind your back"—"What I don't like, and won't have, is this street-corner business". Perhaps the best policy, therefore, was to welcome friends into the home; at least you knew that they were "not getting into mischief" then. One girl attempted to calm her mother's anxiety, telling her that there was "nothing wrong" in going out with boys, and giving a formidable list of irreproachable activities which her boy friends and girl friends did together—hiking, cycling, swimming, bopping. Her words were an attack as well as a defence, and she spoke for many of her generation—girls could go out with boys without sinning: why were adults so nasty-minded and suspicious? You can have fun without breaking the Commandments. But mothers, with their eyes on the terrible things you read in the papers, were not convinced.

Parents were less concerned about their sons—partly because the youths themselves were less serious in their friendships with girls, but also because although a lad might get himself into trouble it was not such a complicated business. The parents of several boys were strict about this matter, however; there was "plenty of time for ladding and lassing" *after* a lad had learnt his trade. One father reacted sharply when he discovered that his son had been "keeping company with a young lady"—in the words of the youth, "When Dad found out, he said he would kick me up the arse if he caught me with a girl again." There was to be no nonsense in *that* family. Such strictness was not common, however. Many parents were indifferent to what their children did in their leisure time, and many others wanted to keep up with the times, but did not quite know what was "reasonable" for the modern teenager and what was not—they did not know where to draw the line. In practice, they tended to leave their sons and daughters to make their own decisions; as one mother said, "It is his life, and he must live it."

3.1.2. Kinship seen in a middle-class setting (F)

What emerges from this is that the informants, and in particular the women, are independent of their parents before they married, at least in terms of residence. This contrasts with the working-class situation usually described, in which a girl lives at home until she marries and possibly for some time after she marries, until the couple can afford a place of their own. This early independence of girls from their parents, and especially from their mothers, is significant because it affects the type of relationship they have with their mothers, and attitude towards them, in adult life. Certainly we have not found situations at all like those described by Young and Willmott in Bethnal Green, where married daughters depend on their mothers not only for day-to-day services in the house, but also for emotional support in their daily life. The fact that this does not commonly occur in Highgate does not mean that the young wives do not have strong affective ties with their mothers, but residential independence long before marriage, combined with professional training and general independence of outlook, must lead to at least a different sort of relationship between married daughters and their mothers; one expressed not in terms of daily contact and moral support, but in perhaps maturer ways, with dependence only in times of crisis, e.g. in confinements and illness, not in the daily running of their lives.

Independence from parents is not merely an accidental concomitant of professional life. In most cases there is explicit agreement that children should be independent of their parents. This is manifested in earlier life by the willingness to send children to boarding schools. This attitude is apparent, when their children marry, in the strong preference on both sides for the young couple to set up house on their own, and in order that this should be possible parents will provide money towards a house rather than let them have to move in with them.

This stress on independence is significant as one of the main factors in the formation and development of kin relationships and attitudes. It means that young people can choose to live where they like, or where their work takes them because the sort of relationship they grow up to have with their parents, and thus with their other kin, does not depend on frequent and intense contact of any kind. From childhood onwards there are different attitudes and expectations of parent-child behaviour; and different ways of expressing emotion.

This fact makes the assessment of relationships with kin somewhat more difficult. It means that frequency of contact cannot be taken in isolation as the criterion of a close relationship, and in fact it may sometimes be misleading as an indication of the strength of an affective tie between two kinsmen.

The relative freedom, in intellectual and emotional terms, of children from their parents, is important in various ways in their subsequent relationships with extra-familial kin in general. In one respect merely being residentially independent, especially in order to get professional training of some kind, enables persons to widen the scope of their contacts, and to meet people with whom they have things in common, e.g. similar training and intellectual disciplines. Young people will be freer to choose as friends people they like, and this may extend to members of the family as well. 'Community of interest' is often quoted as one of the most important things in the choice of friends from within the family. These people, by virtue of their background, education and occupation, have additional criteria to apply in their selection of kin. In fact one might have expected far fewer and less intense relationships with kin than is the case. What is surprising is not the paucity of kin relationships, but the number and richness of them considering the alternatives open to these individuals, and in many cases the lack of common interests between them.

To return to residential independence—it can be seen that it is not only our informants that have moved from their parental home or home area, but the majority of their kin have scattered too, in this and previous generations.

This does *not* mean that relationships are ineffective or necessarily distant between parents and children, or between other sorts of kin. The expected patterns of behaviour are based on strong affective ties which are not, however, expressed in frequent and intense interchange of contact and services or mutual dependence. Just because there is not frequent and intense contact does not mean that the affective tie does not exist. Nor that, in certain circumstances, kin are not called upon for assistance or advice. It is significant that certain services are given regardless of the geographical distance between kin. For example, one of the situations in which mothers are most frequently called in to help is at the birth of a baby. Nearly all the young wives had their mothers to stay in the house at least during one confinement, i.e. when she herself was in hospital. Many mothers travelled from great distances to do this, one or two even from abroad. Thus it can be seen that distance is no barrier to the sort of services these sort of people tend to need. Neither mothers nor daughters expect or want daily exchange of household services in normal circumstances, neither do they generally want constant contact with each other.(...)

Considering a wide divergence of occupations and cultural interests and, in some cases, of class background, a great many ties are maintained with relatives. Generally, contact is not frequent, but this seems to bear little direct relation to geographical distance except insofar as the latter acts as an extreme limiting factor. Where people want to see their kin, wide distances are covered relatively often. Expectations of extra-familial kin behaviour do not usually demand frequent contact, even when proximity allows it. With closer kin, specifically parents and siblings, there is more evidence to support the hypothesis (often held for all kin) that as much interaction will take place as possible at all times. Even for parents and siblings this is not entirely so, but here behaviour approximates more to this hypothesis, and this is so in spite of the ideology of independence with which children grow up, and the complex set of circumstances arising out of a wide range of occupations and cultural interests.

Ties with kin outside the family of origin are maintained on a more selective basis, and they are often manifested only in contact of an intermittent nature. Partly, this is because these ties are not often of a very strong kind—it is fair to say that to a great extent these people function independently of the majority of their kin. But it is also partly because more overt behaviour patterns of any more intense nature are not expected between members of these families.

3.1.3. Kinship seen in a working-class setting (F,M-M)

Most of the boys in our sample were living at home with their parents. Apart from the young man who was married, 80 per cent lived with both parents and most of the rest (16 per cent) with either their mother or father. Two per cent lived with other relatives and another 2 per cent with foster-parents or other non-relatives. Fewer of the older boys were living with both parents—62 per cent of the 19 and 20 year olds, compared with 84 per cent of those younger. But this was because parents had died or separated, not because the boy himself had left the parental home. The boys expected to go on staying at home; there was little demand for residential independence.

'You should stay with your parents till you marry,' said a 17-year-old furniture salesman. 'All the other fellows I know are living at home and expect to stay there. Apart from anything else, you owe it to your parents—from their point of view it's a waste of time if you just pack up and leave them when you leave school. Anyway, most teenagers can't cook for themselves.'

Because most boys lived with their parents and expected to stay on until they married, it does not necessarily follow that they spent much time at home. We asked how many times they had 'stayed in for the evening' during the previous week. This is obviously a somewhat vague question. But the general sense was clear enough to the boys, as the diaries and lengthier interviews showed—they said they were 'in for the evening' if the bulk of their time that evening was spent at home.

More than a third (36 per cent) had been 'out' every evening in the previous week and a similar proportion (35 per cent) all but one or two evenings; only 3 per cent had been 'in' every evening. On the average, each boy had been out five evenings. Younger boys were out as often as older. The fact that these interviews were done in the summer should be borne in mind; at other times of the year the home may have more appeal. But all our information (including some interviews that were done at other times of the year) suggests that in other seasons as well most of the boys' leisure time was spent outside the home.

Home sometimes seemed to be little more than a hotel, somewhere to wash, eat and sleep (...)

But the link with home was usually less tenuous than these examples suggest. First, there was television; some evenings reported as spent outside the home included a spell of watching television inside it. (...) Although only 3 per cent of the boys had stayed in every evening during the week before the interview, 27 per cent had watched television every evening. The diaries showed that the bulk of this viewing was done in their own homes. Younger boys, though they reported no more evenings at home than their older fellows, had watched television more: the proportions who had watched every evening in the previous week were 46 per cent at 14 and 15, 23 per cent at 16, 17 and 18, 12 per cent at 19 and 20.

Also, boys sometimes spent the whole evening at home; nearly two-thirds had stayed in for at least one evening during the week before the interview. For some, this was a deliberate break from the rest of the week. (...)

All this, like the example of television, rather qualifies the general impression of a sharp division between the home and the boy's life outside it, but it does not alter the main conclusion that most boys are mainly out.

Outside the home their companions are seldom members of their immediate family. The diaries included a few examples, mentioned later in the chapter, of younger boys accompanying their parents on visits to relatives. Otherwise they hardly went out together. Apparently this represents a change compared with earlier childhood. (...)

The boys seldom go out with their brothers or sisters either. Nearly three quarters of them had at least one brother or sister at home: 31 per cent had one, 30 per cent two or three and 10 per cent four or more. These siblings did not figure as close companions and only occasionally played any part outside the home. One boy's diary told how he had met his brother unexpectedly in the West End on Saturday night: 'Met my younger brother in Leicester Square; he relieved me of half a crown, and told me about a party he was going to. Said I might go too.' Another, aged 17, described how his elder brother 'asked me to play cricket for his club'; their team won and after the game 'we all went to the local pub and bought drinks for each other. After the pub closed, my brother and I came home together.' But these were almost unique examples.

3.2. Education (E)

3.2.1. Education: a system meant for a minority (E)

The attitudes of the majority of the people have not been uppermost in the creation of our education system. Quite naturally the system is developed and discussed as though the normal progress of a child were through GCE O level to A level to a degree, whereas this route, of course, is abnormal: the vast majority of our young people do not follow it. The majority are often conceived by educational theorists as the failures – those who have dropped out of the line at some point or other. The junior school curriculum tends to be geared to the needs of the eleven-plus, that is to the needs of the minority who will progress to the grammar school. The grammar school curriculum is dominated by the GCE syllabus (and many secondary modern schools, particularly those in the 'better' areas have during recent years tended to follow this line). The GCE syllabus is in turn geared to the needs of the potential university student.

The old 'matric' was for many years widely used as a qualification in its own right by people who left grammar schools at the age of sixteen, or who made up by part-time study for deficiencies in their school education, but it was conceived and developed as a university entrance qualification. The GCE which succeeded it is used in the same way – employers take GCE results into account in seeking workers for skilled jobs – but its syllabuses have not been designed with this primarily in mind. The matric, and subsequently the GCE, have been widely used as qualifications admitting people to courses in teacher training colleges, technical colleges and other colleges outside the universities – in total by a far greater number of people than have used it for university entry – but the content of the examinations and syllabuses, and hence the content of the school curriculum, have been determined primarily not by the needs of the majority but the minority – those who would go on to university.

3.2.2. A possible conflict: school vs family (E,F)

'I can't say that my life changed completely on entering the secondary school except that going out to play with friends had to be put off till after homework. Perhaps I did not feel the change, because I still had a cross-section of friends from secondary moderns and other secondary selection schools. One by one those friends dwindled away, until my band of friends only included those from this school and from the church I attended. Problems did not come from my friendships, but from within the family. Quarrels with my parents usually arise from the fact that other children are earning their living at my age—why can't I be a bit more thoughtful. Usually the replies are—you sent me to grammar school and I can't help you a lot because of my homework. Most of the problems are connected with this—how to help my parents and yet how to continue with my work. Grammar school taught me to read widely, yet at the expense of my parents. I thought an evening could not be spent in a pleasanter way than doing my homework and then reading—and not joining in conversation but when spoken to, to quit.

'In early adolescence when I was with my non-grammar school friends I was well satisfied with detective novels or a "funny" film and "pop music", but now I have learnt to appreciate finer things such as real music and more subtle entertainments. Previously I had to go to a cinema for my entertainment but walks and hikes give me more thrills. I still feel excited when I see natural things on these walks, such as foxes and rabbits and marvellous views.

'At school we are urged to have a fuller education and then serve the country because it has served you, etc., and devote your life to having a career not a family. This creates a problem— whether to want to get married on leaving university or have a career and help the world and one's parents. These are the problems I have had to face in the so-called process of growing. Many of the problems I think are created by people who are now grown up, and are a lot of fuss about nothing—such as the eleven-plus examinations.'

3.2.3. 'The public schools' (E)

Thus far the case may perhaps be considered as established. What we must now ask ourselves is whether we can hope to reform the public-school system without a social revolution. Are the public schools merely the tip of the iceberg of social inequality, not amenable to change without basic changes in our social structure?

Such questions miss the point. To leave the public schools alone until a social revolution occurs is to give up the struggle in the educational field. Public schools dominate British life in a way independent schools dominate the life of no other nation; their abolition would give an immense fillip to the state system.

It may be, as the Public Schools Commission asserts, that some of the more obnoxious features of public-school life are on the way out. According to the Commission corporal punishment and fagging are on the decline, the importance of games has been reduced and 'school spirit' is no longer the thought-controlling influence of the past. The Commission may be right, though a reading of such books as John Wakeford's *The Cloistered Élite* (1969) may leave some doubt on this point. In any case it is rare for these features of public-school life to have been abandoned completely. The public-school ethos remains powerful, along with the evils of single-sexed education and the unquestioning assumption that boarding school (starting at age eight in prep schools) is the right form of upbringing for our future rulers. Such an education not only leaves the desired mark on those who experience it, but in various ways influences most state secondary schools to try to inculcate similar values in their pupils. For example, the prefect system and the insistence on ridiculous caps perching on the heads of six-foot sixth formers in a 'good' comprehensive school can hardly be seen except as the apeing of the public-school tradition. (....)

In 1964 Harold Wilson told the House of Commons that nobody in his Government had attended any of the schools which he had attended. This was certainly an improvement on 1945 when Clement Attlee deliberately chose as his Parliamentary Private Secretary a fellow Old Haileyburian. But such things are still far from uncommon, and as J. B. Priestley once wrote:

It is unnatural, rather sinister, for middle-aged men . . . to be wondering and asking about one another's schools. . . . A large section of English life, public as well as private, is strongly influenced by school-boy values (*New Statesman*, 20 July 1962).

Education for democracy means that those who are in greatest need should receive the greatest advantages. Our present system, on the contrary, ensures that children – and, in particular, boys – of the wealthiest parents receive a privileged education, an open door to the best universities and professions, as well as an education which remains barbaric in certain respects. An undue proportion of financial and human resources are devoted to a tiny, privileged sector of the school population, while at the same time practices entirely unsuited to a democratic age are perpetuated. Most of these children, as the Public Schools Commission observes, 'would have been away to a good start whatever school they went to'. Our values, in short, are the reverse of what they should be. Without absorbing the independent, and particularly the public schools, into the state system, any talk of education for democracy remains a mockery.

3.2.4. 'Comprehensives and equality: the quest for the unattainable' (E)

Britain's Cultural Tradition and the Future

Britain has a great cultural tradition of intellectual achievement. Even in the post war period, Britain has won more Nobel prizes for science and literature per head of population than any other major country. Britain has been enabled to do this partly because of her outstanding educational system which has been so efficiently geared to producing an intellectual élite. This is the system the progressives are now demolishing on the basis of false premises which seriously underestimate genetic class differences and equally seriously over-estimate the value of higher education both for the economy and for all types of temperament. The British grammar and independent schools have been extraordinarily successful in the purpose for which they were designed, the training of an intellectual élite for the maintenance of a cultural tradition. The progressives are destroying this system in a hopeless quest for a degree of equality which can never be attained.

But it is one thing to deplore the destruction of quality education which is now proceeding; it is a more difficult problem to suggest a remedy. The preservation of quality in a democratic age may well be impossible and we should perhaps resign ourselves to the imminence of a new 'dark age' in which the envy, malice and philistinism of the masses, and of intellectuals who identify with them, lead to the destruction of a culture that can never be enjoyed by the majority. Once before, in the concluding years of the Roman Empire, Europe has seen the tyranny of the majority leading to the breakdown of civilisation and the survival of the cultural tradition only in isolated outposts.

Those who hope to prevent such a repetition of history are obliged to think in terms of practical politics. Is there anything to hope from the Labour Party? The Conservatives seem resigned to having lost the battle of the eleven plus, and there are obvious political difficulties in supporting a system which seems to label eighty per cent of the population as inferior. For getting into this position the Conservatives have only themselves to thank for passing the 1944 Butler Education Act, which they should have seen leads to a politically untenable position. Furthermore, the 1944 Act was profoundly alien to conservative philosophy. The idea that state officials should allocate children to different kinds of school, on the basis of the decisions of experts about what kind of occupation they are best fitted for, is part of the philosophy of socialism and the planned society. The conservative tradition is surely one of individual families making such decisions for themselves.

In passing the 1944 Act the Conservatives made a dreadful mistake. But that does not mean that they need capitulate to the comprehensive system. On the contrary, they should now recognise this error and try to re-establish a modified form of the pre-1944 position. The solution is to restore the grammar schools as independent fee paying institutions with scholarships for intelligent children from poor families. The essential point is that where schools are a state service they are subject to majority control and this inevitably means the destruction of minority values. Only by establishing grammar schools as private institutions independent of the power of the state can minority interests survive.

The practical steps are admittedly difficult. Professors A. Peacock and J. Wiseman and Dr. E. G. West have suggested a voucher system which might be possible. As an alternative I suggest that the first step should be to re-open the direct grant school list and encourage state grammar schools threatened with comprehensivisation to become direct grant schools. This would of course involve the introduction of fees on a means tested basis. At the same time tax allowances should be given to parents educating their children privately, so that the introduction of fees would be to some degree offset by the tax allowances. With this concession existing direct grant schools might be expanded and new ones founded, so that the pre-1944 position would gradually be restored. Every major city would have at least one independent direct grant school at which able working class children would be educated, and there would also be a number of fee paying private schools. In addition there should probably be a system of state loans for any parents who wished to send their children to fee paying schools. No-one could then complain that any family was unable to obtain a grammar school education for its children because of poverty. The responsibility for deciding whether to incur this expense would rest with the individual family and would do something to restore the feeling that people are responsible for their own destinies, which has become so eroded in Britain since 1945. All parents would then have a choice of which school to send their children to, and no child would suffer the stigma of having failed the eleven plus. This would perhaps be the most politically practical way of ensuring the preservation of quality education in Britain.

3.2.5. A plea for the Binary System in higher education (E)

I must begin by mentioning a severely practical reason for this policy and the system of higher education that goes with it. That is that the system already existed. I did not invent it; it had been developing steadily since the turn of the century or earlier. Alongside the universities we had the training colleges under local authority or denominational control; and we had a strong and growing sector of higher education in FE. Indeed Table 3 of the Robbins Report showed, perhaps to the surprise of many people, that over 40 per cent of students in full-time higher education were outside the universities.

This was the plural or binary system – whatever you choose to call it – which we inherited. Were we then to convert it into a unitary system entirely under university control? I do not know whether this was seriously suggested. True, we differed from Robbins about the colleges of education; I shall refer to this later. But as far as FE is concerned, while there may have been argument about the future of a tiny number of colleges, it could hardly be proposed that it should altogether lose its higher education sector. Certainly the Robbins Committee never proposed this; indeed the whole rationale of their proposal for the CNA was precisely to strengthen this sector.

The plain fact is that we did not start off *tabula rasa*; we started off with a given historical situation. A plural system already existed; and whatever anyone's views as to how they might have liked to start off from scratch, we could not two years ago have done a major surgical operation and converted the existing system into an entirely different one. We could not, for example, have taken the 35,000 full-time and sandwich students doing higher education in FE, or even the 9,000 degree and Dip Tech students, and transferred them to the universities; apart from anything else, this would have split all the leading colleges right down the middle. It would have been utterly wrong, at a time of rapid expansion in higher education, if all the various authorities – autonomous universities, local education authorities, voluntary bodies, boards of governors – had been thrown into a melting pot of administrative reform, merely for the sake of tidiness.

So much for the severely practical reason. But there were also, in the Government's view, strong arguments on merit for maintaining the plural system which we inherited. One such argument relates to social control. I expressed this badly at Woolwich because I could have been understood to imply that the universities were not socially responsive. Of course I did not intend to imply any such thing. I would not suggest for a moment that they are not responsive to any intimation of the national need that they can discern for themselves, or that Governments are able to give them. They always have been responsive and never more so than today. Yet given the high degree of autonomy which they enjoy, there is a sense in which the other colleges can be said to be under more direct social control. This becomes clear if we consider (to take one or two rather extreme examples) the twenty per cent productivity exercise in the colleges of education or the control over courses and class sizes in the technical colleges. And I would add two wider points; first, that it is in my view a valuable feature of our democratic tradition that elected representatives and local authorities should maintain a stake in higher education; secondly, that at a time of rapid expansion and changing ideas we want not a monopoly situation in higher education, but a variety of institutions under different control – a unitary system would surely imply an omniscience which we do not possess.

No doubt the distinction between the universities and other colleges will lessen as on the one hand we seek to give more academic freedom to the latter, and on the other hand the universities come under growing though friendly scrutiny from the UGC and public and Parliamentary opinion. But I feel clear that side by side with an autonomous sector of higher education we must also have a public or social sector.

3.2.6. The student movement in Britain (E,A)

(...) Traditionally, there have been two complementary images of the student in England. The first, reserved for a small privileged minority, was that of the 'undergraduate' – a debased version of the renaissance polymath, a gentleman taught by gentlemen, freed from prejudice by the tranquil ceremonies of Socratic debate. Comfortably housed, well fed, sometimes even waited on by feudal retainers, the undergraduates developed little or no corporate consciousness. The liberal philosophy of academic freedom and the non-vocational university united both teachers and taught in an abstract and unfettered quest for wisdom. The university was a community of gentlemen well versed in the arts of civilization. This was the ideal of Oxford and Cambridge. Later, provincial universities were often a shabby but sedulous imitation of it.

But the undergraduate was only a small proportion of the student population. The vast majority of students – in art and technical schools, training colleges and institutions – enjoyed neither the privileges, the prestige nor the educational advantages of a liberal education. Neglected or ignored, deprived of social identity, they were condemned to the bleak waste land of a cheap and grindingly utilitarian higher education. The unalloyed input/output model of utilitarian education was concealed by blazers, communal drinking, debating clubs and a predominant atmosphere of philistinism. (...)

This stultifying apartheid of liberal and utilitarian higher education was strikingly successful in preventing the emergence of any collective student consciousness. The very notion of the 'student' is a recent one in England, where it was for long obscured by the myth of the 'undergraduate'. Student unions meant no more than clubs for nursery training in the skills of parliamentary repartee (locally), or cheap passes to foreign museums and youth hostels in southern Europe (nationally).

This peculiar national backwardness has buffered the explosive impact of the recent expansion of higher education. Britain is still some considerable distance from the development of a mass student revolt. A central reason for this has been the prior historical absence of any revolutionary culture in Britain. To be truly explosive, the temporary concentration of young intellectual workers needs a vital and creative anti-culture to oppose the otherwise suffocating weight of official academic orthodoxy. In France, Italy, Germany and Japan students can gain this necessary sustenance from a powerful tradition of critical and penetrating Marxist thought. In the United States, a lively populist tradition, whatever its intellectual shortcomings, has provided much of the necessary tinder to set alight the student revolt. In Britain the situation is different. Far from challenging the reactionary values embodied in the university, British intellectuals (or what passes for them) have traditionally shared these beliefs and done their utmost to foster conformity to them. Just as the student is presented with an institutional division between non-vocational humanism versus utilitarian technocracy, so he finds the same sterile couplet incarnate in British thought. The absence of any native revolutionary intellectual tradition has thus been an important brake on the emergence of a militant student movement.

3.2.7. Structure of technical education: diagram (E)

Qualifications		Number	Likely future number	Types of courses	Courses for
Dip. Tech., B.Sc. London; professional qualifications; postgraduate diplomas; higher degrees and diplomas	Colleges of advanced technology	10	→ ?	PT + FT	University level only TGT + P + research + postgraduate
Some Dip. Tech. and B.Sc. London; professional qualifications; Higher National Diplomas and Certificates; City and Guilds Final examination	Regional colleges	25	→ 30?	PT + FT	Superior TN + C + some TGT + P + some postgraduate and research
Some Higher and Ordinary National Certificates; some City and Guilds Final and Inter examinations; general education, e.g. GCE 'O' and 'A' level; domestic and catering courses*	Area colleges	155†	→ 210†	PT + FT	TN + C + some P
Ordinary National Certificates; City and Guilds Inter and some Final examinations; general education, e.g. GCE 'O' level and some 'A' level; full-time domestic, catering courses, etc.*	Local colleges of further education	275?†	→ ?†	PT + FT	TN + C + general education
*Commercial courses not indicated, though many technical colleges have commerce departments and courses; the same is true for art courses and schools within technical colleges	Four-tier structure — see White Paper on Technical Education (Cmd 9703) and Ministry of Education Circular 305	†No official numbers yet stated		PT = part-time courses FT = full-time courses, including sandwich courses	TGT = technologists TN = technicians C = craftsmen P = courses to graduateship of professional institutions

Colleges of advanced technology Battersea (London); Birmingham; Bradford; Bristol; Brunel (Middlesex); Chelsea (London); Loughborough; Northampton (London); Salford; Welsh (Cardiff)
Regional colleges Borough (London); Brighton; Brixton (London); Hatfield College of Technology; Huddersfield; Kingston-upon-Thames; Lanchester College of Technology, Coventry; Leeds College of Technology; Leicester; Liverpool (Building); Liverpool (Technology); North Staffordshire; Northern (London); Nottingham; Plymouth and Devonport; Portsmouth; Rugby; Rutherford College of Technology (Newcastle-upon-Tyne); Sir John Cass (London); South-East Essex Technical College, School of Art (Dagenham); Sunderland; The Polytechnic (London); Treforest; West Ham; Woolwich (London)

3.2.8. Work leads early leavers to study (E,W)

For the past five years, groups of young workers from England and Germany, many from dead end, unskilled jobs, have spent 12 months in each other's countries, not in factories, but as community workers. During the year they have toured their host country, and spent part of each week in further education.

Many have found that the experience has woken them up to unsuspected talents and aspirations, and they have accordingly "re-routed" themselves towards new careers, or back into full-time education.

This scheme, and the philosophy behind it, is now going to be a component in an ambitious five-year research project being carried out in a depressed area of London by Mr Terry Walton, a sociology lecturer at Kingsway College.

His project, which is already two years old, consists of a longitudinal study of 135 early leavers from three secondary schools in the Kings Cross area. These young people have been split up into groups: some are now being put through a new kind of social education course at Kingsway, while others are to be sent on the international exchange scheme after 12 months at work.

The course is built round the Summerhill motion that pupils should be given what they ask for. When I talked to the students four weeks after the course had begun, some of the girls said that they had surprised themselves by asking for a formal English lesson. They had suddenly become aware of the importance of what they called training. "If you use the word 'education', they associate it with school and reject it", said Mr Walton.

Mr Walton's theory is that the present social education provision in the last year of school could well be abandoned in favour of "project" education at the age of 17, consisting perhaps of something like the foreign exchange scheme.

He bases his theory partly on a conviction that what most people need is "education permanente" or

"recurring" education now increasingly being advocated in Western European countries. He also believes that many young adults often need a period of time during which they can simply keep trying out new roles.

Mr Walton, who himself left school at 15, formed his ideas as a result of two reconnaissance surveys carried out in one neighbourhood. His impressions of the lives led by early school leavers during their last months at school and their first few months at work make depressing reading.

In his "incomplete, identikit picture" of the early leavers during their last year at school, Mr Walton observes that, while their home backgrounds varied considerably, none of the homes he visited had any place where they could study privately. In modern houses there were at least two children to a bedroom and a "through" living room where "television or talking made private thought difficult".

Most of the parents he talked to said they had no views about future education, or qualifications for jobs, and some even said that their children's future was the schools' responsibility.

A fair number of the adolescents were on probation, and many of their parents said they "had given up caring" about their future.

Many of the adolescents resented going to school, said it was a waste of time and that they were "losing money". He visited a betting shop in Camden and saw some of these teenagers "lazing about outside" during school hours, together with some of the young workers who were supposed to be taking part in college day-release courses.

The career guidance and youth employment services told Mr Walton that the job opportunities available to local early leavers were very limited: boys could become electricians or car mechanics, while the girls were offered places as telephonists, clerical workers, or hairdressers.

He found that in his area there were 200-300 small businesses offering a limited number of short-term jobs. Since many of these firms employed very few staff, they were not inclined to grant day-release for semi-skilled workers.

British Rail, traditionally one of the biggest local employers, said that they could offer jobs as cleaners and porters but were "reluctant to employ the early leavers till they were 18 because of their frequent immaturity". Factories further away in Harlesden and Wembley offered some semi-skilled work, but said they regarded boys of 16 as too immature to leave near costly "continuous line plant".

Very few of the adolescents in the survey had got jobs through the Youth Employment Service or with help from career guidance at school—they had got their jobs through parents, relatives or friends. A number already lived on part-time earnings and from windfalls gained in a variety of ways, and proposed to continue in this way after leaving school.

Mr Walton says: "The only way many saw for getting on was by some form of delinquency, a big win, or starting their own small business."

He has also carried out a smaller survey of early leavers now aged 18 to 19. This revealed that more than half were dissatisfied with their jobs, that exactly half were in unskilled work, and that only a minute proportion were getting any form of further education—all under their firms' sponsorship.

"Perhaps the saddest outcome of the survey was the number of respondents who felt that it was too late to change", Mr Walton writes in a draft report. "Even those who at one time had had aspirations to greater things had rationalized this away to adopt a resigned acceptance of the inevitable. In another social class such respondents may well have joined the ranks of the 'late starters'."

3.3. Mass-Media (M-M)

3.3.1. 'Television and values' (M-M,I,A)

WHERE TELEVISION MAKES AN IMPACT

Where television has made a positive impact it is subtle and consistent. On the whole it bears out the hypotheses derived from the content analysis.

Television influences the way children think about jobs, job values, success, and social surroundings. It stresses the prestige of upper-middle-class occupations: the professions and big business. It makes essentially middle-class value judgements about jobs and success in life. It stresses initiative and good appearance, and suggests that success in life depends not only on moral qualities but on brains, confidence, and courage. This influence shows itself in two ways. First, it broadens the child's knowledge of different occupations and leads him to a more adult awareness of the prestige attaching to them. Secondly, it affects his value judgements; more of the viewers than the controls come to believe that the most important qualification for 'getting on' is not being afraid. Such a child would prefer a job which requires brains and independent thinking, and where neat dress matters. As regards wish-jobs, he thinks more in terms of upper-middle-class occupations, so that in fantasy at least television has made him more ambitious; he is also more attracted by glamorous occupations.

Viewers seem to be affected by the materialistic outlook inherent in many television plays. When considering what sort of adult they themselves would like to be, they tend to think more of the things they would like to own than of personal qualities or the work they would like to do.

Television has also provided young viewers with a visual education on social-class differences, on which they draw when judging a person's importance by his dress or describing how people in other social classes live.

The difficulties of adult life which form the principal theme of so many television plays seem to have influenced the adolescent viewers, making them more anxious than the controls about their competence in dealing with adult life, more reluctant to leave home and school, and more worried about going out to work and about marriage.

The BBC's policy of presenting foreign countries (especially European) to children has led many viewers to consider foreigners with more detachment and to make fewer value judgements about them. The children tended to reproduce an image of foreigners which was influenced by the way they had appeared on television.

HOW THE EFFECTS VARIED DEPENDING ON THE TYPE OF CHILD

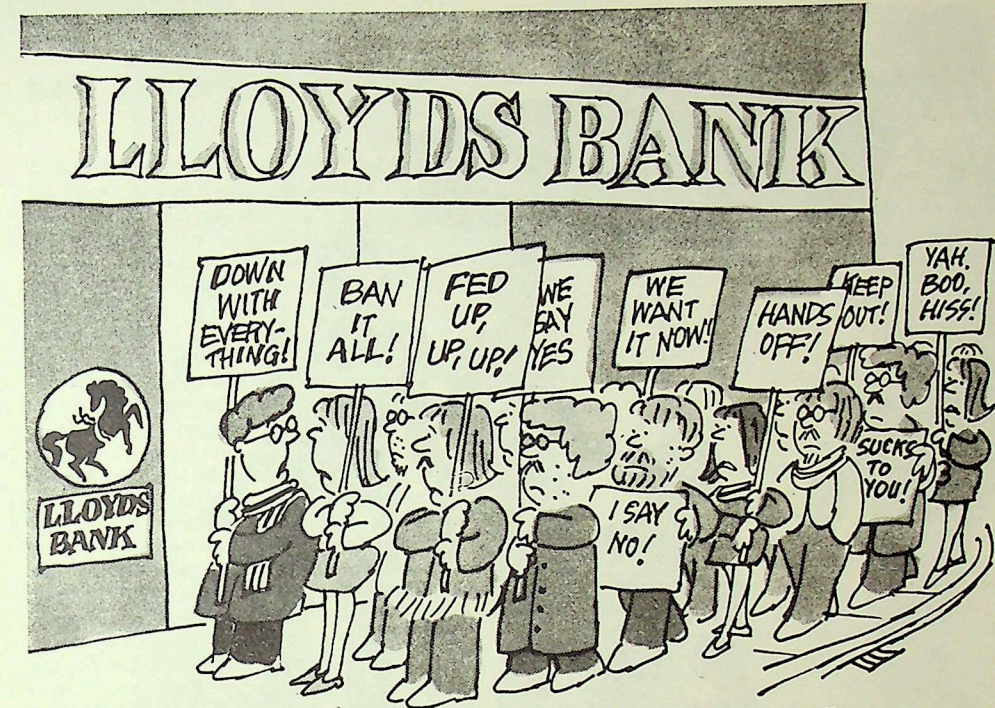
The influence of television on the 13-14 year old grammar school children is negligible; their views are more formed, and they have more access to alternative sources of information. Further, they see television rather less frequently than the other groups and are generally less responsive to it.

In general, it seems, the groups most influenced are children from secondary modern schools, especially those of only average and below average intelligence. They read fewer books than other groups, and if they have no television they obtain knowledge of the world from comics, films, and the BBC Light Programme. For them television provides an important source of additional information.

Television does not reduce differences in outlook resulting from social class. It does, however, make the child of below-average intelligence look at things rather more in the manner of the intelligent child: it provides him with information and ideas that the latter has already picked up in other ways.

The effect of television differs for boys and girls; we have already noted that girls react to viewing and other forms of mass communication more than boys. They are more interested in people, dress, and settings, and are thus a more responsive, more readily influenced, audience. In particular, however, they seem more disturbed by the anxiety-laden view of life presented by adult plays. We suggest that this may be because television offers so few positive models for girls, either in children's television or in adult plays. Unhappiness seems to be the common lot of television heroines and there are no female equivalents to cowboys or detectives to provide the reassuring counterpart. (...)

3.3.2. 'Lloyds Bank say yes to student freedom' (M-M,I,A)



"The trouble with Lloyds is that there's nothing to protest about."

Lloyds Bank say 'yes' to student freedom.

Because Lloyds Bank don't make charges to students. Our services are absolutely free—so long as there's money in your account for us to pay your cheques with.

This is no gimmick: rather, sound business. If you're a first-year student you may be wondering how to deal with your grant cheque. The best way is to open a bank account. This will enable you to plan, control and keep track of your spending all

the time. Lloyds Bank tend to be understanding about the very occasional and unavoidable overdraft. We would be delighted to open an account for you either before you set off from home, or immediately you arrive at your college or university.

Just contact the local Lloyds Bank manager: it's his job to help young people manage their money. There are branches in every university town.

Lloyds Bank looks after people like you



3.3.3. 'Club 18-30' (M-M,I,A)



**If you're over 30, you're past it.
If you're under 18, you're not ready.**

Club 18-30. Summer holidays specially planned for the 18-30 generation. From £33.

When it comes to holidays abroad, Club 18-30 has a pretty lively reputation. (We're not for grey-beards or babes-in-arms.)

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3.4. Work (W)

3.4.1. First day of work (W,E)

To be taken abruptly from school at fifteen and thrust into a mammoth factory is a second weaning. Leaving a secondary-school system which offers little more than a taste of the fruits of intellectual civilization before being thrust into the relative barbarity of the industrial system ensures that personal development inevitably depends on the occupation and the social culture of the workplace. Fortunately, some industrial workplaces do provide environments where full and humane personalities can develop.

I was just fifteen when I left secondary modern school to start an apprenticeship in a heavy engineering factory. The vividness of the transfer left an indelible imprint. One day I was a boy among boys – and girls – the next I was a boy among men. The school had been small and within it I had established my identity and pattern of relationships. The factory was immense and strange. Within its one square mile, perimetered by high wire and company police, twenty-two thousand men, women, boys and girls spent a considerable part of their conscious lives. The noises of the school had been the human sounds of endless chatter and the movement of bodies: the sense of space was confined to classrooms and playing fields. The crescendo of the factory was mechanical: the cacophony of machines and of the disintegrating brotherhood of metal molecules was only punctured by the irrepressible screech of the buzzer regulating the working existence of so many people. As the notes of the buzzer descended the decibel ladder the sounds of the mechanical world were replaced by those of the workers intermingling, uncontrolled for a short interval by work discipline.

Because in many ways its demands were similar to those of school, where periods of classroom were punctuated by play periods, I fell relatively easily into the pattern of factory discipline. But I never fully accustomed myself to the fundamentally alien world of machines and patterns of production not involving intimate human participation.

This huge plant which was to be my daily horizon of experience, and within which much of my personality was formed, employed eleven hundred apprentices. Such a large number had created the need for a special administrative department dealing with all aspects of apprentice training and welfare. And it was into the hands of this department that I fell on my first day of work. We – that year's crop of chosen fifteen-year-olds – were assembled in a small hall at 7.30 a.m. Drawn almost exclusively from working-class families we huddled together, half expecting that our first working day would, after all, begin like school with the managing director reading prayers. Instead, the head of the apprentice training scheme introduced us to the religion of factory discipline: we were now men, he told us, and we must work hard and diligently not only for the good of the firm, but also for the good of our own souls. Our satisfaction in life would come from acquiring the status of modern craftsmen; we were the fortunate few who would escape the 'dead end' jobs and the ignoble fate of the labourer. And with this message locked in our hearts we were assigned to different parts of the plant.

3.4.2. 'The teenage doldrum' (W,E)

ALTHOUGH the older people of Peterborough talk of pre-war dole queues which stretched three abreast from the labour exchange to the empty shops on the Broadway, today's display of unemployment in the city—2,213 are out of work—is much more public.

There is little evidence of the adults who are without jobs but about 10 a.m. each day teenage boys start to drift into the Cathedral Square. By midday there may be 60 to 100 boys and youths sitting on the walls of the raised flowerbeds or milling under the arches of the seventeenth century Guildhall which features prominently in the guide book they give to Londoners interested in Peterborough's town expansion programme.

Peterborough's problems are of a much lower magnitude than those of the Clyde or Tyne, but when unemployment is so obvious in a community with such a strong reputation of postwar prosperity it is fair evidence that there is something more than a temporary recession at hand. (...)

During previous difficulties the heavy engineering firms at Peterborough have rarely laid off their apprentices. They considered it essential to have trained men for better times.

"Now some firms have reduced their intake of apprentices by as much as a half and of course they have their pick of the best qualified lads," said Mr Arthur Gostage, Peterborough's principal careers officer. Mr Gostage now has 271 unemployed under-18s registered with him, including 132 who have not had jobs since leaving school.

He does not believe that there will be an easy solution, but he does want to offer the jobless teenagers something more than idle chats in the Cathedral Square. With Mr Arthur Bower, the city's youth officer, Mr Gostage is opening the Peterborough Youth Centre to his charges and skilled men, some of them themselves on the dole, who will offer to give the boys basic crafts training.

Careers officers have been meeting at Swansea this weekend for their annual conference. An emergency session on unemployment was arranged and 440 delegates crowded in to hear colleagues from the areas of Britain with the gravest problems. But areas like Peterborough were not absent from the discussions. Mr Dennis Prince, careers officer for County Durham, told the delegates: "Things must be bad when normally prosperous areas of the country are getting a serious taste of unemployment."

Speaking of the human misery, depression, and frustration of some young people unable to find work, Mr Prince said one boy told him: "You know all that careers talk we had at school? Well, they never told us how to be unemployed."

Nationally, the latest available figures show that 49,788 boys under 18 and 29,467 girls are out of work and 34,569 are school-leavers. New entrants for apprenticeships for boys dropped from 49,370 last year to 42,896 this summer. Only one region—London and the South-east—has more vacancies for boys than there are job-seekers and even this is only a margin of 13 per cent, compared with 129 per cent a year ago.

The careers officers and those closely concerned with employment welfare are convinced that the technological shake-out, rather than a simple trade recession, is at the base of the problem. The Rev. Bill Wright, industrial chaplain for Tees-side, carries with him a Guardian article printed last January warning that there was little to offer those losing their jobs under productivity deals.

"The jobs will never be replaced in the existing firms. This is technological unemployment," Mr Wright said. "On Tees-side we are dominated by the chemical and steel industries and both are virtually eliminating unskilled jobs. The unions certainly don't seem to be worrying about this. They seem to take the attitude that, so long as nearly all members are able to earn better money, then it will be quite acceptable to carry the remaining 5, 6, or 7 per cent."

This summer on Tees-side employers wanted a batch of GCE "O" levels or CSE grade 1s from the apprentices they were prepared to take on. "These youngsters will spend part of their time at technical college and will obviously be quite highly educated at the end of their training," Mr Wright said. "In the end, I think they are going to be a bit too bright for the jobs they are now being trained for. I only hope they have the opportunities to go on from there or there is going to be a great deal of frustration in years to come."

"The steel and chemical industries are already so complex that men with degrees are now required for what are virtually foremen's jobs. This means, of course, that our great problems are with the less academic lad who in previous times could usually have been fitted in. They are not school-leavers. These usually get a job somewhere. It's the lad who has had five, six, or 10 jobs. He's unstable and reacts badly to authority and now there is no labour shortage nobody wants to know him." (...)

3.4.3. 'Youth on the dole: 36,000 in the hunt for a steady job' (W,E)

On January 11 there were 5,449 school leavers unemployed in Britain—an increase of 1,628 on the figure for December—according to figures issued by the Department of Employment and Productivity.

There is nothing particularly serious about this increase. There is always a jump from December to January when the new batch of school leavers comes on to the market—particularly in Scotland, where December is still a statutory leaving date for some authorities.

What is more serious is that in December 3,821 young people had been out of school for five months, and still had not found jobs.

But even this figure masks the real problem. On January 11 there were 36,555 young people under 18 out of work many of whom may only have done a few weeks' work since leaving school, thus disqualifying themselves for the official definition of "school leavers."

Most of these are concentrated in areas like Liverpool, Glasgow, and the North-East where adult unemployment is high.

The hardest hit are almost everywhere the unskilled and the semi-skilled, as technological progress increasingly limits their opportunities.

The chief careers officer for Doncaster now has great difficulty in placing boys who want jobs as operatives. Factories prefer to take adults. There are plenty of vacancies for girls in Nottingham—with Boots, Players, and the hosiery and knitwear industries—but a steadily diminishing range of unskilled opportunities for boys.

Wherever the employment situation is tight the problem of what are now often called "chronic job-changers" is immediately thrown into high relief. As many branches of the Youth Employment Service are now finding, young people who, for reasons of social or psychological inadequacy, are constantly changing jobs, soon find that they have exhausted the gamut of local firms willing to hire them.

Some careers officers have thus acquired a phalanx of regular attenders. Mr Terry Collins, the divisional careers officer for Stevenage, now has at any time about 20 young people—most with some emotional handicap—whom the increasingly sophisticated local firms will not touch.

"Firms cannot afford youngsters who will be disruptive, and some of these certainly would be", Mr Collins said last week. "It's a total impasse I don't know what I'm going to do with them."

A scheme was recently mooted by the Hertfordshire youth Employment Service to try to persuade firms to accept one or two each of these young people, but it turned out to be "a twinkle in our eye rather than one in the eyes of the firms", the county careers officer said sadly this week. The employers apparently feel that they should get some financial subsidy from the community for making this kind of sacrifice.

The probable growth of this group recently prompted the National Youth Employment Council to make a study (*At Odds*). A report by a working party of the National Youth Employment Council) of unemployed young people with particular reference to four categories: those "reluctant to work"; who "change jobs frequently without adequate reason"; whose "behaviour and attitude are so unsatisfactory that employers are reluctant to engage them"; and the delinquent.

On the basis of replies from several youth employment committees, they found that probably one in every five young people unemployed at any given time came into this group.

While they found that more than three-quarters of those who were unemployed had been out of work for less than eight weeks, they also found that nearly two-thirds of those aged 16 had had more than five jobs, and that over one fifth of the 17-year-olds had had more than 10 jobs.

"In other words", they conclude, for these unsettled young people, "obtaining a job is less difficult than retaining it".

Half the young people in the sample had been dismissed; the others had left voluntarily. Nearly half had had "domestic difficulties". Few, however, were in the care of local authority children's departments. Almost all of them had been to secondary modern schools, or had been in the lower streams of comprehensives. Very few had passed any examinations, and most had left school at the first opportunity.

Various ideas are now being floated to help these young workers. Mr Collins suggests a "half-way house—a sort of junior Remploi—not for the physically handicapped but for the socially disadvantaged where they would learn some semi-skilled trade".

Dr. Peter Daws, Gulbenkian senior lecturer in education at Keele University, suggests that the Department of Employment and Productivity might extend the function of its industrial rehabilitation units, which are at present used mainly for psychological assessment and for retraining workers who have had accidents.

Mr. Edward Herbert, youth employment officer for Coventry, claims to have reduced his numbers in the job-changing category by assigning two specially trained employment assistants to help them.

The working party responsible for the N.Y.E.C. study also suggest that the Y.E.S. should build closer links with children's officers, with probation officers and with the youth service.

It is now generally agreed, however, that schools can play a major part in saving many adolescents from becoming chronic social misfits by including vocational guidance in the curriculum.

Dr. Daws estimates that less than 10 per cent of schools allow curriculum time for self-assessment, and study of the process of getting a job at present. A report on vocational guidance in Liverpool's secondary schools, which has just been produced by an H.M.I. and two Central Youth Employment executive inspectors, describes it as "disturbing" that in some schools the only guidance pupils are getting is from the Youth Employment Service, and that some heads do not regard it as important enough to be timetabled.

3.4.4. 'Jobs for the new graduates: today, a degree isn't just passing the 21-plus' (W,E)

Before the explosion in university numbers that followed the implementation of the 1963 Robbins Report on higher education, a degree was considered a passport to a good job. About 4 per cent of any age group entered university, of which over 90 per cent successfully completed their course. The jobs that demanded a degree could have been said to be about equal to the number of available graduates. In such a balanced market, there was little to trouble either the universities or the employers. The passport was valid.

Today the market is falling. The number of students in the universities has risen from 118,000 in 1962 to an estimated 220,000 now, or about 7 per cent of the age group. The new skills and jobs to absorb this increase have developed more slowly. Where at one time the arts graduate could reasonably expect to trade his English degree for a job in management, the slowly developing management courses and the science of management have placed such a man in limbo. The sophistication of present technology has made the degree courses in the applied sciences less relevant. Though a degree will remain a passport through the 1970s, it will increasingly be a passport without a visa.

Latest available figures show that the total number of students graduating in British universities in 1967-8 was well over 42,000, an increase over the previous year of about 6,000. For the first time the number entering employment exceeded the number undertaking courses of further study or training. Not by much, however - 40 per cent of the new graduates continued study, and 41 per cent went to work. The other 19 per cent were either lost to view or went abroad or had not found jobs by the end of the year.

What happened to the group that went to work depended on what they read at university, which university they attended, and the level of the degree that they obtained. The marketability of a degree in a particular discipline can best be gauged from the number of graduates still seeking employment at the end of the year of graduation. For men the most marketable subjects are the vocational disciplines and the applied sciences, and the least marketable the social sciences and the arts. For women the pattern is varied by the continuing lack of opportunity in the applied sciences and the lower level of pay they have been forced to accept in many other fields.

Subject for subject, if employment is the criterion, the best buys for men are degrees in mathematics, engineering, and the sciences; the worst, degrees in English, modern languages, and history. The traditional limitations placed on the employment of girls produce a pattern that places the political sciences and engineering at the top of the worst-buy category, with a consequent improvement in the value of an arts degree. However, much also depends on the relative production of, say, chemists against the number of chemists needed. There is no evidence (and indeed no need) that a degree taken in one subject disbars the graduate from obtaining employment of a totally different nature. With diversification of courses and cross-disciplining, the vocational relevance of a particular degree is becoming less important. (...)

The assumptions on which a pre-Robbins degree was sold no longer hold true. And with them has passed the myth of the value that an arts degree had over the sciences. Quite simply, the courses have become so particular that they no longer fall within the rigid frame of reference that employers once used. Though there may be more graduates chasing work than ever before in the history of British education, even leading employers will tell you that they are still looking for the 'rounded man'. Which is as about as specific as selecting medical students by their ability on the rugby field. The degree has become in fact the 21-Plus. (...)

3.4.5. Young workers and trade unions (W)

A very generous estimate suggests that no more than one-third of the respondents (including those who were members as well as those who were not) had a reasonably clear picture of more than one or two of the functions of trade unions. These boys and girls thought almost exclusively in terms of the sickness, strike and accident benefits which derived from membership. Ignorance about unions was, indeed, often self-declared. Few children had even a vague understanding of the unions' political aims. No respondent had been involved in educational activities associated with trade unions, unless those who worked for Co-operative Societies and attended Day Release classes organized by the firm be excepted (the children did not relate their studies, even trade union history, to their union membership, however—work and classes were kept in separate compartments in their minds). The nearest approach to cultural or social activity occurred in connection with a youth who, because he lived close to the headquarters of his union, was entrusted by his fellow workers to call with their subscriptions each week. In return for this service he received a few coppers from each of the men to enable him to have some beer at the union social club. The youth was under age not only with regard to the licensing laws but also to the regulations of his union.

Moral, social, political and cultural purposes of the trade union movement were not, then, known or understood. But there was also ignorance about practical benefits. Some members repeated, parrot-like and without comprehension, benefits of which officials had told them: others could not mention one benefit, and disavowed any interest in the matter. Ignorance was perpetuated by the confusion over deductions from wages: children did not understand them, and got mixed up over contributions to sickness funds which were unconnected with unions, and over savings clubs stoppages and insurance stamps, and repayment of loans for overalls. They were also confused about the cash payments to various people who came round collecting for football competitions, the sports fund, the annual works outing—and trade union dues. Thus one girl would not rule out entirely the possibility that she belonged to a union: certainly she was in the works social club, if that was anything to do with it. There was no understanding of the organization of unions, even at the branch level. Members knew no more than that they paid a weekly subscription to a man who came to collect it, but whose official position they did not know: some did not even know the name of the union to which they belonged. Several boys and girls seemed to have washed their hands of the whole business—they had no objections to paying their weekly contributions, but did not want to bother themselves more than that. They did not pretend to understand, and could see no point in doing so; the men who collected the money seemed to know all about it, so they thought that they might as well leave it to them.

4. Young people's attitudes (A)

4.1. 'Old youth and young' (A)

THE TWO CHIEF FACTORS determining the political and social conduct of the young in the 1960s are their affluence, as has been suggested, and the atom bomb. A subsidiary factor, so far as Europeans go, is the sharp decline of global European power since the 1930s.

Let me consider this last first. In the 1930s, it was not altogether fanciful to believe, if you were a young European, that what you did, or didn't do, might affect events. European governments were far more powerful then, and by bringing internal pressure to bear upon them, you might hope to make political changes that could eventually alter millions of lives in other lands. (...)

But no one young in Europe thinks that now, or hardly so. It is true many young French conscripts took an admirable "anti-patriotic" line in Algeria—thereby helping to salvage their country's honour, and predict the conclusion to which de Gaulle, and most of the French nation apart from lunatic generals and politicians, would at last painfully come. Yet what inhibits the young today is the feeling that nobody much overseas is going to listen to what Harold Wilson has to say—or even President de Gaulle: for the key decisions are made in Washington, Moscow, and Peking. All the same, I think the young today are less than generous—or intelligent—when they speak contemptuously of those who, in the 1930s, went "romantically" to fight in Spain. An army is never "romantic," nor is to die, as so many did.

The attitude of the young towards the atom bomb, with which I entirely sympathise, is, "You old people made it, dropped it, and now that you've had most of your lives and we're just beginning ours, you threaten to drop it again." If youth were not "rebellious" in face of this horrible reality, it would be surprising. All the same one can see that, here again, this problem is so vast as to inhibit action. If a civil war breaks out in Spain, you can go there or not, "romantically" or otherwise. If five nations, with more to come, have atomic arsenals guarded by such hordes of secret policemen as the world has never seen before, what do you do, or not do, about that?

Of the political activities of the young, we may first notice that though, of course, young men and women do still join political parties, this is no longer the chief focus of their action, as it was thirty years ago. In the Western world, it has so far taken four main forms—often interlocking. First, protests in various ways about the atom bomb and/or the Viet Nam war. Second, protests against racialism, to a small extent in Europe, more effectively—or militantly—in the U.S.A. Third, withdrawals, or "droppings out" into private beat or psychedelic worlds of negative protest that do have slight political overtones. And fourth, participation in government-sponsored bodies like the Peace Corps. Let us examine these, and see if they seem more, or less, effective than the activities of the 1930s already described.

SO FAR AS PROTESTS about the atom bomb go, these seem to me to have had no effect whatever. I am not being sarcastic about this, or denigrating youthful efforts to convince their fellow-countrymen of how perilous the possession of these weapons is to *everyone* in the world—"defenders" as much as "attackers." Yet clearly, unless a vast majority of all ages in each of the five countries that at present possess atomic weapons, would unbelievably turn against their governments and make them throw the damn things into the sea, they will one day almost certainly be used. Yet despite all youthful propaganda, the general cry, not only in the West but in the two Communist countries that possess bombs, is, "More, more, more! Give us the 'security' that will ensure our own destruction."

On the Viet Nam war, the protest has been slightly more effective. I think the time has at last arrived when one can say, without being dubbed "anti-American," that this war is, to say the least of it, a colossal error—for opinions and evidence of this come pouring in from America itself, not just from "protesters," but from impeccably respectable sources. Leaving out all questions of morality (though these are, of course, the chief ones), it is clear from all past experience, both American and of those who have also tried to suppress militant non-

European nationalisms, that this war can only be "won" by escalating it into a world war (which nobody will "win") or by, perhaps, quintupling at least the present American forces and staying in Viet Nam for several decades. The young in America, realising this as skilled strategists do not, have made a slight dent in governmental complacency.

The participation of the American young in the attack on racialism has shown great enterprise and courage; yet even here the effort has been misdirected. For Stokely Carmichael is right when he says, "Leave the 'Negro problem' to us, and tackle your own white problem." The Jews have learned that, when it comes to the crunch, only Jews help Jews. Likewise the Negroes: only they can fight their battle. The white battle in this sphere is against white racialists. Hard and dangerous though it may be to join forces with Negroes on the wrong side of the tracks in a Southern city, the real area of white endeavour is on the far side, preaching the gospel to white racialists. This is ten times as dangerous and difficult, but the only place where the battle can be won—or fought—by whites.

THE "DROP-OUT" WORLDS? It would be pleasant for me to suppose that the good word of Bakunin and Malatesta has at last penetrated to the kids, but these worlds really seem those of personal evasion. They may solve some personal problems (while creating others), but have no impact on the huge conformist majority—apart, perhaps, from providing tourist attractions for adult sightseers in California. In fact, they're no more nor less than a form of self-indulgence: no harm in that, perhaps, for adults are self-indulgent too, when they can be... But if so, why pretend this life has some special virtue about it? It's *la Bohème* all over again in a modern context, with even less to show for it than the dreadful pictures one suspects Mimi's mates actually painted. What is more, while Mimi's lot probably were struggling after something, there is a strong scent of Pop and Mom or someone with loot in the background, to bail these kids out if the going gets too tough. When pseudo-religion gets mixed up with it, as in the multi-cult fantasies of Dr. Leary and his followers, the phenomenon becomes pretentious

and depressing. Christ: Buddha: the Hindu sages: all their sagacity and vision, and the profound experience of their disciples over centuries, are instantly available to you and me, like, man, after a trip or two! This is really "belief" of the kind the most hypnotised evangelist would welcome in the faithful.

With the Peace Corps and suchlike, we are back in the zone of the "conforming young" mentioned at the outset. There is something in the title of any organisation—in its choice and its acceptance—that should instantly put one on one's guard. Thus, "Moral Rearmament" has always made me think immediately not of morality, but of weaponry. "Peace Corps" is doubly suspect. As we know without Orwell telling us, any governmental body talking "Peace," means the opposite; while "Corps" has an inappropriate military ring for so benevolent a body. If I were, say, an African, and anyone from this Corps arrived to instruct me, I would have two questions ready for him. "Why do you want to teach me—is there nothing your culture can learn from mine?" And then: "We have long been used to missionaries who came to instruct us, while their own nations became increasingly pagan. Have you, too, not grave social problems in America that need your attention first?"

Where modern youth seems to have done best is in the use of its new affluence. Contrary to expectation, and to the moans and groans of adults haunting bingo parlours and saloon bars, the young have used their money to bring about no less than a minor cultural explosion. About quality LPs, paperbacks, films, even theatre, they know an astonishing amount. No doubt the Beatles are not typical (and yet they are, since millions of kids buy their records), but to watch their artistic evolution over the past five years has been amazing. The lyrics are now poetry, the music embodying classical, oriental, African and electronic strains. The young have also learned how to dress, if that's a cultural achievement. They earn their keep as well. Singers, actors, models, dress designers, photographers, all in their teens and early twenties, have earned more foreign currency for Britain recently than hundreds of adult grumblers who lament their style, and earn us absolutely nothing. (...)

4.2. 'We want MORE from life!' (A)

"IF I were a boy," says Carol Wilson, "I would be terribly ambitious. I'd want to reach out and grab the world for my own."

"But, as I am a mere girl, and only just turned 19 at that, maybe the best I can do is to get myself a little chunk of the world and reshape it the way I want."

Now Carol Wilson, from Throckley, near Newcastle, reckons that as far as teenagers go she is pretty representative of the crop we have today. And when she talks of forging her own destiny hers is no Walter Mitty fantasy.

The name Carol Wilson may never become famous. Nor does she expect it to. But she certainly intends to make a contribution to the world she lives in.

And in giving a little more she believes she will be well justified in taking something for herself.

Carol is a radiographer at Newcastle General Hospital. She is very pretty, with long dark hair and clear bright blue eyes and lives very comfortably in a semi-detached home with

her parents, two brothers, and one sister. Life, you might say, has been kind to Carol Wilson and she is sensible enough to acknowledge her good fortune. Yet she is not satisfied—she wants more from life, and she intends to do something about it.

This, perhaps, is where the youngsters of today—girls particularly—differ from the older generation. "I believe we think a lot more than our parents did at our age," said Carol. "We know what we want a lot sooner because our minds are probably more mature and this unfortunately tends to rebound on us and people regard teenagers as bumptious and outrageous."

"But already I know what I want—to travel, to soak up knowledge and to meet lots of different people. That's why I chose a career instead of a job in a shop or a factory. There will always be opportunities for me no matter where I end up. That's why I'm not engaged or married. Not that I'm against marriage, far from it. It's just that it's not for me right now."

"Still, I believe young people have got a more responsible attitude to marriage than many of the older generation give us credit for."

"In the old days people used to get married and produce children and that's the last you'd see of them. Teenagers now want to lead a fuller life."

Carol is determined to get the things she wants: things like a big house, cars (one for husband one for herself), good schools for her children and frequent holidays abroad. She's ready to work for these things, she says.

"A lot of older people scoff at the young," she says. It is a kind of traditional sport. As far as my generation is concerned we are regarded as long-haired weirdies, shiftless non-conformists. They are so wrong. We may not go along with some of the accepted patterns of life but take a long look at any group of youngsters today and you will see they are conformists down to their bootlaces.

"It's a tiny minority who look and act outrageously that give the rest of us a bad name."

By the turn of the century Carol Wilson hopes to be living in an environment of prosperity and peace that she has played a significant part in creating.

"Whether I will get all I want is doubtful," she said. "But perhaps I'll be prepared to settle for happiness."

4.3. The ethos of a 'poly' (A,E)

The mass media have given prominence to the student revolution, but an important student counter-revolution has gone unnoticed. In higher education's poor relation—those non-university colleges where nearly half the country's students are enrolled—expansion and change are breeding a new type of student who will increasingly challenge our conventional picture of both students and the educational system. (...)

Unlike most universities, with at least a dozen humanities and social science departments, these rapidly expanding technical colleges usually have a single general studies department, and perhaps a business studies department. These departments have very few students of their own. Most of the teaching is done as a "service" for other courses, and it is poorly staffed and equipped. Studies have shown that it is the academically able, senior students of social studies or humanities who are the "carriers" of the classical liberal and radical traditions of the universities. They are politically active and by sheer weight of numbers make illiberal views illegitimate and therefore unexpressed, even if such opinions continue to slumber in, for example, the engineering faculties. But in the technical colleges, which ironically are supported by liberals who wish to open up education to all, the students are less well-qualified, there are very few postgraduates, and the engineers are the dominant group; the arts and social studies students are in a very small minority.

An example of the dominant illiberal "climate" in the non-university colleges was the visit of a prominent right-wing politician to one college. A sit-in of about 100 students took place, mostly from nearby universities not noted for their radicalism. These students were unprepared for the hostility overwhelmingly expressed against them, and many were dragged from the hall with considerable violence. Six college students who promised to maintain "law and order" (over and above the technicians and academic staff volunteers who acted as "stewards") were presented to a meeting of the local education committee and publicly praised by the governors. Posters before and after the event called on the ordinary (engineering) student to act against a militant minority not of socialists but of sociologists. (...)

Our study of the student attitudes in one college confirms that, compared to what we know of universities, an illiberal ideology prevails, even to some extent among the sociology students who are normally treated as the Red Guards of the student revolution. Our study also suggests that such rigid segregation occurs, with stereotyping on both sides, that even the grafting on of non-technology (but still vocational) courses will not alter the conservatism of the technical colleges. (...)

This raises the question of what are the major factors influencing the students' values. Obviously the student arrives at college as the product of a particular social class and educational experience. He then integrates into the college community in certain ways (largely determined by the demands of his course). But it takes time for the student to exchange his pre-college values for new ones. It happens more at university than in the technical college. The change

in university is towards the dominant value-system—ie, to the left. The college change is in the opposite direction for engineers, towards the dominant conservatism. The trend among sociologists is less clear. All told, there were about 1,500 full-time engineering students in the college we studied, and about 150 sociologists. (...)

The engineers saw themselves as experienced, practical and hard-headed, while they saw their sociologist counterparts as "immature and idealistic . . . long-hair and lazy." The basic working class anti-intellectualism—a common feature in the home, school and work backgrounds—was reinforced by their antipathy to the conspicuous free time that the sociologists spent in discussions.

On the part of the sociologists, there was considerable academic snobbery. Being in the minority in the college, they tended to exaggerate the importance of the theoretical discussion, articulate expression and wide reading which they felt differentiated themselves from the "limited, narrow-minded . . . thick engineers." (...)

The engineer is not a "joiner," spends little spare time in the college and more outside, does little talking, and that within his own course and year. The sociologist likewise interacts with his own kind, and although he spends more time in the college, does so in situations where his friends and his values predominate. We can explain the engineer's values largely in terms of those he brings to the college. These are not touched by the sociologists as almost no contact takes place, and there is only a small degree of contact with other engineers, both within his own group and others. There is therefore less of a subculture created in his group and he is less exposed to any other subcultural values outside. Such interaction as does take place tends to reinforce his conservatism, and his choice of newspapers confirms this.

Thus the young working class Tory engineer and his middle class counterpart receive a vocational training that in no way endangers his world view. The sociologist, on the other hand, is not only exposed to a liberal staff, but interacts extensively with his peers, and even marginally with the engineers. There is a conflict between the departmental and college subcultures which dampens an otherwise liberalising effect. The hard-line conservatives have a support outside the department but the hard-line left has very little support and tends to accept a more moderate perspective.

The main difference between university and college is not simply the kind of students that enter. Rather it is the heavy work load of almost all students.

Providing better union facilities will not alter this, as the engineers have no time to use them; segregation will continue, and more students will graduate with illiberal ideologies. It would be wrong for liberals to comfort themselves with the evidence that these engineers are also a-political and un-organised. A few incidents have already shown that issues like race provide a focus for unexpectedly strong right-wing action. The impact of the Robbins report is to strengthen this sector of higher education, and by stressing quantity not quality, to strengthen the conservative strain in British politics.

4.4. 'The search for soul' (A,F)

YOUNG RICHARD went to church so his mother could get on with cooking the Sunday lunch. It meant so little to him that at the age of nine he became a Lutheran "because they were giving away prizes to children who attended regularly."

But today this 20-year-old bank clerk with the hippy-length hair is a practising Christian who believes: "You don't have to go to church to be one . . . that's just the jam on the bread. The important thing is to love the

people around you.

"Until a year ago I was a typical product of the permissive society. I read pornography, looked forward to sleeping around, told dirty jokes, and enjoyed sexy films.

But I was not particularly happy. All the time I felt there was something missing.

VALUES

"Then I met a young man in the bank who had a special quality about him. When he got married I was invited to the wedding. The ceremony, it was in a Congregational church, was tremendously moving. It was so sincere. For the first time I discovered that the important thing about church-going was the love of Christ—not a series of petty rules and regulations.

"Now I realise why many young people are rebelling against authority. Society is so materially geared that it offers them nothing satisfying for the soul.

"They are looking for a better way of life, a different set of values—and their parents are failing them.

THREAT

"Today's teenagers are living with an H-bomb on the doorstep, constantly under threat that they are not going to be around much longer. So they want to squeeze as much out of life as possible, as fast as possible, because they might not be here tomorrow.

"Young people are certainly not as bad as they are often made out to be. Many are doing good work, but we seldom hear of them. The publicity is reserved for the minority—admittedly quite a large number—who have their priorities wrong.

"And it is adults who encourage them to go wrong. Take drugs, for instance. At my school the majority of fifth and sixth formers took pills and smoked pot.

POLITICIANS

"The drug pushers made the stuff readily available so the kids would be hooked later on. The only reason I didn't try it is because I was frightened what my parents would do if they found out.

"The politicians don't do enough to stamp this sort of thing out. I voted Labour in the last General Election, but I wouldn't vote again because as far as I can see all the Governments seem to save one thing and do the other.

"None of them really seem to care about the poor people in this country. They are only interested in balancing the trade figures and raising the standard of living of those who are already well off.

WORRY

"Many politicians genuinely try to do their best but they have the reaction of the public to worry about—and the public expects to see something to their benefit immediately, whereas many of these problems are long term and cannot be solved overnight.

"The new abortion laws are a case in point. Although it is easy to say they are a necessity in modern society, what we are really doing is papering over the general degradation of moral standards rather than attempting to root out the cause.

"Contraception within marriage is one thing, but I cannot accept free love. I am not a prude, but sex before marriage is not for me. It is certainly not what the Lord taught us we should do.

MORALITY

Richard added: "What this country needs is a return to the 'old-fashioned' standards of morality and decency. But before altering society as it is now it is necessary to change people's minds.

"The American Jesus Movement has realised this. As a result of their work there is now no call in certain parts of the United States for the local strip club.

"Basically I suppose it all comes back to how children are brought up. My father and mother have just celebrated their 25th wedding anniversary, so I know the advantages of being raised in a happy home.

"They were a lot harder on me when I was young than parents are with their children these days. When I misbehaved I got hit. Today the kids just laugh at parental authority. There is not the same respect between them that I knew—and it shows when they get older."

4.5. 'Are YOU the one girl in every eight who will ruin her life this year? And is it your fault?' (A,F,E)

OH, YES! It's a great age, this. Youth was never so lauded, money so plentiful, music so loud, hair so long. Such a lucky generation, ours—with its Beatles and boars; Dee Jays and Dylans; James Dean on a poster; transistors in every hand; tellies in every home; eyelashes in a strip; the Pill in the handbag; new moralists in a new, permissive society. What a time to be living. . .

. . . And dying. This year, 250,000 lives will be aborted—painfully, illegally—in the back streets. One in fourteen of all the babies born will have no name—66,500 are illegitimate. Only measles is caught oftener than Venereal Disease. 160,000 British victims will call at clinics for treatment this year, and 1,500 will be under 20 years old.

"It's these young people, of course," say the old. "It's the bomb," say the young. "We won't even be old." "How can she do this to us?" sigh her parents. "After all we gave her, all we did for her."

True, they gave her life: a bib and Beatrix Potter; taught her the kerb drill, fed her corn-flakes, sent her to school. But when it came to sex, they were more silent. Told her not to be cheap ("Why not?" she said). They talked of shop-soiled goods ("But am I for sale?" she asked). They muttered about nature and her hampster ("But what's he to do with it?" she puzzled). So they gave up and she gave in.

"She's always in trouble," remarked some famous parents recently about their daughter's latest disaster. "We laugh about it. . ."

. . . Laugh! Ha, ha! about drugs? He, he! about sex? Ho, ho! about a ruined marriage? And when she wrecks her life, they'll cry and make excuses: "We never could do anything with her, you see. . ."

A Honey reader writes:

"This letter is a protest to all those parents and teachers who are supposed to give sex education, but only express disgust at our morals.

I was told the facts of life in a detached, clinical way. Nothing else, except that it was wicked to indulge in premarital relations.

When I found I wanted to sleep with my boyfriend, I felt surprised, unhappy, guilty. No-one had warned me of the tensions of frustrated desire nor explained the strength of the sexual urge—especially in boys. I was shocked, and not emotionally equipped to cope.

I think sex is taken far too seriously, in general. After all, it's just another basic instinct, isn't it? And the actual act is a physical experience which can be forgotten quickly. So here are my three pleas:

If society expects us to keep a moral code, involving lots of self-discipline, why aren't we taught it from childhood? It can't be expected to materialise suddenly when sex rears its head. Secondly, if we are to have a healthy attitude to sex, people should explain, fully, how to cope with all physical and emotional experiences. Lastly, let's get sex into proportion. It's a part of life, like sleeping, eating and working, and ought to be accepted as such. . ."

This would be comforting if true. But it isn't. Sex may be a basic instinct but it needs controlling. To most of us, it is more than a physical experience. If it weren't, then it would be as satisfactory each time—like scratching an itch! And men would all have a successful first experience instead of one which often leaves them feeling ashamed, disappointed and humiliated. Sex, for a woman, means eventual pregnancy. And babies mean a permanent mate to look after and love them. Casual sex hurts. But this girl has worked out—through trial and error—a sad, cynical approach to sex which may easily jeopardise her future love and marriage.

Another reader writes:

"All women long for children right from childhood and, subconsciously, I think they try to fulfil this desire. When they do, they're overjoyed. I certainly was, though I was expecting an illegitimate baby. But nothing, as often happens, went right.

John—the father—ordered me to have an abortion immediately. Through my own doctor, I went to a supposedly 'sympathetic' surgeon and a psychiatrist. Both refused because they said pregnancy wasn't affecting my physical or mental health. As a last resort, I went to another hospital. Again the answer was 'No', and I was advised to tell my parents at once. I didn't. I just bought some wool and began knitting. John seemed resigned to the fact that I would have his child and, mentally, made tentative adoption plans. But I knew I'd never be able to give up my child. . .

A week later the letter came asking me to present myself at the second hospital 'at . . . o'clock, Monday . . .' I tried to persuade John to take me there but he wanted no part in it. On the fourth day, they operated. I was sixteen weeks pregnant.

How I wish I'd never gone through with it, now. If only I'd had the courage to defy everyone, and had my 'bastard' child. I dread my own death—will God forgive me for the sin I committed? I can't remember when I last laughed. I'm always depressed or in tears and, though we need the money, I often can't be bothered to go to work. Soon John and I will break up—we're swiftly drifting apart, although I'm still living with him as his wife. Soon I'll lose my job, too. Perhaps I'll go abroad and try to build a new life. But I know that whatever I do, nothing—even more children—can erase the memory that I once had a child within me and I destroyed it. . . murdered it."

Sheila saw doctors and psychiatrists but no one told her that her actions could ruin her life. One even said it was natural to have children, but not how complex this function was—that it could alter and affect her whole personality. Another girl, who wasn't particularly maternal and couldn't have coped with an illegitimate child, told me that, after her abortion, she couldn't see a baby without crying. But why did either girl get pregnant in the first place?

Easy to be wise after the event, of course. Not so easy before. There are any number of different reasons for pregnancy. Sometimes it happens because a couple do not use, or do not properly understand, contraception. Some boys believe that it is there only to avoid VD, thinking that if a girl is "not the kind to have the disease" they needn't bother with precautions. After all, they do not take the risk. The more casual the sex experience, the less need to worry. And, after stories of hot baths and gin, they often believe that abortion is no problem. . . .

4.6. 'The faces from another world' (A,F,W)

THE concept of communes is, as "Time" pointed out recently, as old as antiquity: infinitely older than the mum, dad, and the 2.4 kids we think of as a family today. Communes have been ebbing and flowing throughout history, from a dream of Plato to the widespread quasi-religious settlements of 19th century America. Today a new peak of interest has been reached with an estimated 3,000 American communes and other flourishing groups all over the rest of the world, from India and Japan to the UK Home Counties. . . .

The communities of human beings that have always existed—monks in monasteries, stockbrokers in Belgravia flats—are bound together either by a specific faith or for economic reasons. Even Israel's kibbutzim, though perhaps the most efficient and concrete blueprints for communal living in modern times, stem more from the need to build up a society than from any abstract philosophy. Today's commune movement includes a greater variety of people and interests than ever before, and these people are brought together more by a desire to escape the 20th century rat race through self-sufficient units than by any other single factor.

In Britain, the movement is loosely linked together by the "Directory of Communes," a bi-monthly "Communes Journal," and occasional newsletters, all emanating more or less regularly from a broken-down building in London's W2. "We provide a forum for discussion and co-ordination of effort . . . nothing more. We have no censorship except on the basis of cost and relevance. We publish names and addresses of all members to prevent any possible growth of a power structure and we don't allow rejection or expulsion of a member for any reason whatsoever. Collective decisions are made by the whole Movement."

The walls in W2 are covered with notes describing projected or existing communes from Wales to inner London and greetings from communes abroad. The directory lists units of every many - splendoured kind and each differs from the other except in one thing. "Our main hang-up" says one communitard, speaking for all, "is bread."

Phil, a London link-man, says the movement has some 300 subscribing members and believes there are hundreds more communes, gatherings in cottages and flats of people who have never heard of the official movement.

"We function more or less as a circle of friends, we try to help people who are interested in forming communes and the idea has really taken off in the last year or two, though we've been going since 1965."

The "Directory of Communes" reveals a multitude of aims and philosophies. Someone writes from Blackheath that their commune is basically a Socialist group—"most of us work and all our income is pooled, 10 per cent is taken to support political/commune activity. Previous private possessions are maintained as such except where frequent use makes them "feel" that they belong to us all, e.g. the gramophone." Another outlines their money system: "we pool everything except £5 each for personal use." Someone else writes from Wiltshire: "if we are indeed the golden generation whose purpose it is to build a world based on the laws of God as opposed to the laws of man, then we must have land on which to build this new world." Others describe their struggles to start organic market gardens, potteries and cottage industries like candle-making, weaving and silver work—anything that earns sufficient money and is based on "love and mutual aid."

The directory itself, in a foreword, says "we may wish to develop our community in the midst of a town, based on handicrafts or even on traditional means of earning a livelihood . . . we believe the great majority would hope to achieve independence of employer and perhaps even trade." They add, "the one thing that distinguishes any commune from the rest of society is its drastic reduction in need of almost all the things which our productivity orientated society is geared to mass produce."

The movement is much given to debating the intricate repercussions of a future society given over to communal living. How will the low consumption need affect industry? When and in what way will a central Government attack communes as they begin to pose a threat to power? When everyone lives in communes, how will taxation affect future rebels—those twenty-first-century freaks who insist on "pairing?"

A newsletter from South-west Africa describes the difficulties of a newly-married couple within the commune—they needed privacy to get to know each other, but "were we breaking down the fellowship and unity of St Simon by leaving (for a flat a mile away), were we leaving to become

just another couple in another box in another row of boxes?" Eventually, this problem is solved—the newly weds move out but share all work and meals, a solution that seems to be widespread. The ideal for many is a hacienda—separate dwellings all round a central house. One man wants to recreate the sort of organic community that the English village once was "minus the bloody squire and the parson."

Communitards are bound together not only by escapism but by the desire to enter into all manner of life styles from acid trips to a pagan renaissance. Sexual mores, too, differ from one commune to another and all is not the long orgy outsiders sometimes imagine. . . .

But far more important than sex is the nitty gritty of living that often turns the "Commune Journal" into a sort of hippy "Gardener's Almanac." Articles discuss do-it-yourself sewage systems, fish farming, raising vegetables on allotments and drainage ditches, and they are hilarious and touching with their incongruous mixture of practicality and dreams—raising vegetables is "your growing experience" and a system where sewage is discharged in a fountain on to gravel is described as "a small turdy waterfall, the alternative society's answer to the plastic fountains and fishing gnomes." Readers want to know how to make their own clothes, shoes, string instruments, anything that involves freedom from the employer.

Their need and their generosity in that need is all-pervading. Invitations and constantly extended to anyone who writes first and is willing to share the work, though every now and then, echoes of disastrous visits filter through—"one character who deliberately crashed did some negative work for us at a time when we could spare none," and "Keith's agoraphobia necessitated an earlier departure than was originally intended." But on the whole most people in the commune movement share a puritan ethic of behaviour and hard work that is light years away from the popular image of long-haired layabout weirdos.

"We could establish 12-person communes with supporting industry at the rate of one a month," reports the movement's Federation Fund, pleading for contributions of £1 a week from readers, "and full-sized kibbutzim on the scale of Japan or Israel within three years. But only if we all believe in it together."

4.7. 'Is your school democratic?' (A,E)

Are you allowed to express your views?

Is your future life dependent on the whims of your headmaster and staff (the headmaster must give a report and reference for university, college and first job).

Are school games, especially rugby, compulsory? Rugby football is often played just to keep up the school's reputation.

IS THE CANE USED IN YOUR SCHOOL?

Such punishment should be outlawed. It is a barbaric remnant of the brutality of the last century. Only in a few countries in the world are teachers allowed to use it.

ARE YOU VICTIMIZED FOR UNORTHODOX APPEARANCES?

Has your school petty rules about such things as length of hair, length of skirts and coats, the wearing of rings and nail varnish, make-up, style of shoes, the colour of socks, and other trivial matters completely unrelated to education?

ARE YOUR SCHOOL SOCIETIES' NOTICES, PUBLICATIONS AND VIEWS CENSORED?

Must school societies have official approval from the headmaster? Are you allowed to put up notices, posters, even ones connected with school activities, without permission? Does the headmaster censor all material going into the school magazine, the end result being a stereotyped publication?

Above all, are you allowed to express your thoughts without risking punishment?

WHY IS EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE SO LOW?

Why are qualified teachers after years of training only paid £18 a week? Why do so many classes have over forty pupils? Why are education cuts being made left, right and centre?

We support the teachers' strike.

All over the country Schools Action Union groups are being set up. These are groups of school students who are interested in pressing for a better, more democratic education.

If you would like to discuss the nature of your education or possibly form a Kenilworth Schools Action Union, come to a meeting at 7.30 pm on Tuesday 2 December at 42 High Street, Kenilworth. *Published by the Coventry Schools Action Union.*

4.8. 'The skinheads: a youth group for the national front?' (A,E,W)

"What me and my mates like to do is go up Hamstead and roll the hippies. You know - we go up to 'em and ask 'em for money, and then duff 'em up if they don't give us any. It's good, it is. You should see their faces when we start 'itting them."

This remark was made during a class-discussion at a College for Further Education by one of the "skinheads" - a new group of delinquent youths that emerged out of the last football season. Although there are not very many of them - yet - they already constitute a problem. A youth club leader in Walthamstow told me:

"They are ten times worse than anything we've had before. They are completely negative and completely brutal. They bring out your worst instincts - you wish someone would come and lock them up for a very long time..."

The betrayal of the working-class by the Labour Government - the revelation of its inadequacy as a repository for working-class aspirations - has left a vacuum of bewilderment in people's consciousness. In such a vacuum any polarity of thought which is dynamic and seems to know where it's going will gain ground. At the moment this polarity is being supplied by the right as much as the left. The skinheads are only one example - perhaps only a small one - of a drift towards a fascist or semi-fascist position by sections of the British working-class.

They are called skinheads because they wear very short crew-cuts. They are also called crop-heads and pin-heads for the same reason, and hobs because they wear hob-nailed boots (all the better to kick you with).

At first they confined their activities to having punch-ups on the terraces with the supporters of rival football teams, and going around smashing things up when the match was over. But by the end of the season they have developed a corporate identity, and their activities spilled out of the football ground. Press reports said that during the race-riots in Leeds a lot of the worst violence against the blacks was perpetrated by "large gangs of youths chanting football slogans."

They were also very much in evidence at the free pop concerts. At the second concert at Parliament Hill Fields they went around the edges of the crowd systematically beating people up, and finally brought the concert to an early end by throwing bottles at the group on stage. It was clear that they had come to the concert with the specific intention of disrupting it as far as possible, and in this they were successful.

The skinheads may well only be a passing phenomenon. But the signs are that with the coming football season they will become more and more in evidence - to the extent that they may well represent a hazard for the left.

The interesting thing about the skinheads is that they represent an assertion of working-class identity against the Hippies and

Lefties - groups that they very reasonably consider middle-class and irrelevant to their life-situation. A lot of it is straightforward jealousy. The Trendies are the ones who come top in class, who usually come from comfortable and secure homes. The skinheads are the real drop-outs - as opposed to the fancy drop-outs who take a few months off work to do very nicely living by their wits.

These latter people aren't really drop-outs at all - they are people whose dissatisfaction with society had led them to take a long holiday from it. The skinhead is rejected by society. He is *dropped* out - because he is thick, because he can't cope with responsibility, because he's disorganised. He lands up in the lowest-paid job where he has to work long, boring, unrewarding, unrecognised hours before going back to a home that has blatantly missed out on the glitter of the affluent society.

These people have watched the Trendies getting all the glamour and the girls for as long as they can stand. Now they are asserting themselves. The form their self-expression takes is lumpen, brutish and negative. But it is recognisably working-class, and for that reason it is increasingly successful - with other working-class boys and, even more important, with some of the girls.

The working-class image is evident in the fanaticism about football - which is what really started the whole thing - and in the uniform. The big boots are the boots of the building labourer, and are often nothing more or less than work-boots. Then they wear large pairs of jeans with, believe it or not, braces - a masterpiece of *unhipness*. Finally, they wear cardigans and the very short hair that has given them their name. The combination is a cross between an ordinary English workman and an American teenager of the fifties.

Their attitudes, also, represent a crude expression of a lumpen working-class identity which has been untouched by psychedelia and (middle-class) Swinging London. To put it quite simply, they hate 'long-haired hippy wierdos, student layabout lefties, and wogs.' They see all three groups as living off their backs; as having a privileged existence which doesn't stop them from making trouble and in some way assaulting the identity of ordinary people.

On things like strikes - and working-class militants - the skinheads are rather more confused. They sympathise instinctively with the rebels against the bosses (whom they also hate), but most of them are so naive they fall an easy prey to official propaganda about the Interests of the Nation and the Needs of the Economy. They also feel that industry, like everything else, is a competitive jungle where the smartest guy wins. If the boss can make more profit out of his workers (and if South Africa whites can keep the blacks in slavery) then that just proves that he's clever and is getting what he deserves. "E's got it up 'ere," they say with admiration.

It's the blacks, of course, that they really hate, with all the passionate contempt that the underprivileged have for the even more underprivileged. They would happily see all the "fuckin' wogs" kicked out of the country, or even slaughtered. Most of them have participated in beating up of blacks, and have enjoyed the sense of power it gave them. Leeds is only the most dramatic example of this.

It would be a mistake to think of the skinheads as straightforward fascists, though. They aren't — not yet, anyway. They hate Lefties and Hippies, but they hate coppers (the Bill) even more. At Parliament Hill they were singing:

"Harry Roberts is a king,
Is a king, is a king,
Harry Roberts is a king,
He kills coppers."

Traditional institutions like the monarchy leave them cold. They may occasionally mouth patriotic platitudes about the country going down hill, and about spongers living off the tax-payer, but their loyalty to their country is far less important to them than their loyalty to their football team.

They are in fact almost completely negative in their outlook. They reject just about everything, and are systematic about nothing. It would be more appropriate to call them Reactionary Anarchists than Fascists.

The danger is that the attitudes they do have are largely unconscious and unformulated. This makes them easily manipulated by any group that seems to think along most of the same lines as they do. This has not been lost on the National Front, for whom the skinheads now frequently profess at least verbal support, and who are rumoured to be active among them.

More serious still, the skinheads' combination of racism and brutality means that in any racial explosion they would almost certainly play an important and vicious part.

The skinheads may well restrict their activities to spoiling football matches, and provide more trouble for the police than for anyone else. But they could also become a strong enough influence on working-class youths to have political as well as social significance. It might not be a bad idea for us to prepare for this possibility.

There are two things we can do about the skinheads. The first is to mobilise the working-class kids that have not been taken in by the skinheads' mystique. There are many thousands of working class boys and girls in this country who were deeply impressed by the May Events in France, for whom the word "revolution" is an exciting word, who are anti-authoritarian in a positive and constructive way. These young people — some of them still at school, at Further Education Colleges, some at training centres and factories — see the skinheads as the nasty, thick little louts they really are.

It should become a major priority of all left-wing organisations to reach these young people and organise them. In fact it is a fantastic error that this work has not been going on for months already — an error that confirms a lot of what the skinheads say about the left and its priorities.

The other thing that may have to be done is that the left itself may have to defend itself against these charming little thugs. Free Concerts of Hippies have already been attacked. It seems quite likely that well-publicised left demonstrations will be the next in line — particularly demonstrations about race. The Hippies will no doubt sit tight in astonishment each time their games get spoilt and their friends get beaten up, but the left cannot afford such a passive role. The history of fascism suggests that fascism is only defeated when it is physically smashed.

4.9. 'Alternatives: drugs' (A)

In the 1950s drug use (mainly marihuana) spread from the blacks to the Beatniks and thence to the Hippies; in other words to the 'disaffected young', to people who, because of the inherent marginality of youth and social, economic and technological changes, came to see themselves and were seen by others as outsiders, alienated from an alienating society. This particular 'Youth Culture' had a number of interrelated characteristics: it was composed initially of 'outsiders' who, because they were not entangled in social institutions, were in a position to develop a radical critique of bourgeois society; it was largely middle class, articulate and possessing some access to the means of communication; it was

artistic and could therefore express its views through poetry and music; finally it provided social and cultural support for drug use. Largely because of these special characteristics, existing as it were in relationship with changing social conditions, this culture has spread with such astonishing speed that it can now offer a radical alternative to the disintegrating bourgeois society.

Dope has played and will continue to play a key role in this development. Psychopharmacologically, drugs (especially cannabis and LSD) sensitise the individual to the taken-for-granted nature of the social world and the arbitrariness of existing institutions which may lead to the realisation that there are other ways of doing things and thence to the possibility and desirability of changing the world. More important is the simple fact that drugs are illegal and therefore those who use them are, by definition, criminals and subject to all the repressive mechanisms the Establishment can muster. This has some interesting consequences.

Thanks to the changed moral perception of drugs during the first part of this century all illegal drugs have acquired an image of addiction, danger and moral depravity. So deeply

entrenched has this image become that the very word 'Drugs' evokes fear and horror in policemen, judges and politicians. Out of this has arisen an image of the drug user as a morally degenerate dope fiend — needless to say, this only applies to the young or black or working class and not to the thousands of middle class, middle aged barbiturate addicts. At some point in the 1960s this image collided with the public's conception of the new youth culture — those scruffy kids with their terrible music and disgusting politics were all dope fiends! The result was the 'hippy' of the popular newspapers, a new image of considerable power which spread rapidly, absorbing other elements of contemporary culture to create a new life style.

The Establishment, intuitively aware of the political and economic threat posed by the new movement, used the alleged drug 'addiction' as an excuse for harassing anybody under 25 who didn't look like a Boy Scout. The predictable result has been a sudden and dramatic widening of the generation gap with the overnight radicalization of large numbers of people who happen to like long hair but probably couldn't tell a joint from a works....

Analyses

Photo Limot-Rapho



1.1. 'Why do the young look like this?' (Y,A)

- The *Sunday Times*: a 'quality' Sunday paper founded in 1822;
 - ° largest circulation among the quality Sundays: 1,464,000 (1970);
 - ° political tendency: Independent-Conservative;
 - ° controlled by: the Thomson Organisation Ltd.;
 - ° readers: middle class in their majority, although 29 percent belong to the working class; majority of readers in age group 25-55; slightly more successful with men than with women.
- The author: John Sparrow, Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford, one of the contributors to the *Black Papers* (see Doc. 3.2.4).

1. GLOSSARY

the Round House: an Arts Centre in Chalk Farm Road, London NW1; conceived by Arnold Wesker in 1960; created in 1964 after a resolution made by the Association of Cinema and TV technicians at the 1960 TUC Congress. Its aim was to be "a permanent centre which would serve all the Arts under one roof; be a social and community as well as an Arts Centre; and by making the Arts available to all who sought them, makes art a natural part of more people's lives ...".

a rave-in: cf. a love-in, a sit-in, a teach-in. Insists on the notion of communion within a group gathered for a special occasion.

College quadrangles: inner courts in the traditional colleges, cf. Oxford and Cambridge.

a Square: a person who has a conservative outlook on life and does not approve of permissive non-conforming attitudes.

Carnaby Street: London W1, between Regent Street and Soho; famous in the 1960s for pioneering flashy teenagers' fashions.

King's Road: Chelsea High Street, London SW10; one of the haunts of members of the swinging London set, crowded with young people especially on Saturday afternoons.

agapai: Greek word: a love feast or feast of charity among the primitive Christians, held before or after the Communion, when contributions were made for the poor.

soft and hard drugs: the former create psychic dependence; the latter, psychic and physical addiction.

psychedelic: see Glossary, Doc. 4.1.

Timothy Leary: a former professor at Harvard dismissed from his post for propaganda in favour of LSD; sent to prison in March 1970 for possessing marijuana, he escaped and is now living in Algeria. He is considered the 'high priest of the drug culture' and preached the message "Turn on, tune in, drop out".

guru: the religious leader of a Buddhist community; a holy man, followed by disciples.

Hell's Angels: one of the anti-establishment movements born in California; gang members ride motorcycles, wear steel helmets and even Nazi badges, look tough and are violent. There were 2,000 in G B in 1969.

Sharon Tate: an American actress, the wife of Roman Polanski, murdered in 1969 by a group of fanatics belonging to a sect whose leader was Charles Manson.

2. TYPES OF VOCABULARY AND STYLE USED

2.1. Who is speaking?
Neither a psychologist, nor a sociologist, nor a moralist, but a 'detached observer'.

2.2. About whom?
"the younger generation" - "children" - "adolescents" - "youth" - "the young" - "young man" - "students" - "the adolescent generation" - "teenage audience". (These terms are all repeated several times)

2.3. To whom?
The readers of the *Sunday Times* (see above).
People who:

- have a certain knowledge of the cultural world of young people in London and in the US ("a Round House rave-in" - "square" - "Carnaby Street" - "King's Road" - "love-in" - etc.);
- have a certain amount of classical culture ("millenarian ideals" - "sartorial" - "ethos" - "ecumenical movement" - "agapai" - "eros" - "stoics" - etc.).

- 2.4. How?
- 2.4.1. Two types of vocabulary are used:
- a subjective, descriptive vocabulary characterised grammatically speaking by the number of adjectives and adverbs. This vocabulary follows two patterns, one derogatory, almost verging on abuse, the other laudatory:
 - ° derogatory: "hysterical" - "illusion of maturity" - "infection" - "ill-clad" - "ill-conditioned" - "scarecrows" - "popinjays" - "dupes" - "muddled mysticism" - "the animal" - "crackpots" - "mischief makers" - "vulgar" - "immature" - "incapable" - "abjectly" - etc.../ puns and witticisms: "their devotees (and their dollars)" - "to cultivate the incult" - "hippily ever after".
 - ° laudatory: "clean-limbed" - "graceful" - "fresh-complexioned" - "decorates" - "philosophic courage" - "gaiety is a grace" - etc...
 - a vocabulary borrowed from social sciences which is aimed at creating the objective tone of the 'detached observer': "bourgeois" - "middle class" - "alienated" - "a stratum of society" - "the social structure" - "values" - "standards" - "frustration" - "duality of impulse" - "uninhibited" - "inhibition" - "subconsciously" - etc...
- 2.4.2. Two types of statements:
- inferences ("they must have spent" - "they must be moved" - "they seem to be saying" - "the mood seems to be negative" - "many ... would accept" - "it would appear" - etc...);
 - dogmatic assertions ("no intelligent observer will deny" - "the young have always" - "plainly ..." - "of course ..." - "no doubt" - etc.).

3. DIFFERENT POINTS OF THE ARGUMENTATION

- §1-3 ... "discontented youth":
- object of the 'inquiry': aspects of adolescent protest;
 - recapitulation of other approaches:
 - ° sociology of the protest
 - ° ideology of the protest
 - ° psychology of the protest;

- his own approach: not that of an expert - wants to "look at what may be called the physiognomy of the movement ..."

§4-5 ... "overgrowth":
- 1st observation:
° radical metamorphosis of the young
° change taking place on both sides of the Atlantic
° far-spreading infection;
- 2nd observation:
° disappearance of a former type of youth
° appearance of new adolescents (dirty, etc.).

§6-7 ... "why does it persist?":
- questions:
° significance of the change?
° reason for this trend?
- restriction:
the style is not uniform; "from the drab and the squalid to the extravagantly flamboyant" (young people have now more money at their disposal).

§8-11 .. "Western civilization":
answer:
change = challenge;
protest against "the whole ethos of society".

§12 "evidence":
the 'inquiry':
° neither an analysis nor a criticism;
° the 'detached observer' points out 'a suggestive pattern'.

§13-22 . "Sharon Tate":
ambivalence "in every manifestation of adolescent feeling" (conception of love - craving for drugs - obsession with pop)
--> twofold pattern: the primitive - animal
the holy - mystical
° love:
free indulgence in sex;
diffused benevolence (concern with Third World/love-in);
not the individual, possessive passion = eros.
° drug:
unleashes the animal within (sexual ecstasy);
communion with others - discovery of God.
° pop:
animal aspect (Rolling Stones: physical appeal);
mystical aspect (Beatles' Indian guru - non-violence).
--> spiritual 'orgy' can be as dangerous as animal orgy (cf. massacre of Sharon Tate).

§23 the end:
- history and perspective of the movement:
° good reasons for adolescent protest in the US;
° but "aching uneasiness about the way the world is going"; "on this side of the Atlantic also" (enumeration of evils):
--> young and old "oppressed" alike by "burdens" of contemporary society but:
° the young:
"immature idealists" - "not Stoics" - no "guts in the head" - no "philosophic courage"
- "incapable of compromise" - anarchists - nihilists - etc... - "dupes" or "victims";
° ≠ the old:
Stoicism (two World Wars).

To sum up:
The author looks at the adolescent protest on both sides of the Atlantic. According to him:
- their protest is directed against and accounted for by:
° the dysfunctioning of the social system
° the existence of evil in the world
° but also by the moral shortcomings of the young (lack of stoicism, of philosophic courage, etc.);

- the two forms taken by this protest (violence or nihilism) are pointless (an illusion or mere abjection).

4. AUTHOR'S POINT OF VIEW

That of an upper middle class academic, a Christian humanist, a conservative remembering with nostalgia what the young used to be, and passing moral and aesthetic judgment on contemporary society at large and young people in particular.

5. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

5.1. Method:
- The author repeatedly insists on the fact that his approach is not that of an expert and that he does not intend to analyse or judge. Yet, despite his sprinkling of words borrowed from the social sciences, his use of a highly subjective vocabulary, his numerous assessments and interpretations show that he judges and analyses what he was supposed only to observe.
- Two questions may be raised:

° Is it possible to describe any object with 'objectivity'?

° Is it possible to describe what has not already been defined as the object of description?

Here, we do not know whether J. Sparrow is speaking of 'adolescence' - i.e. an age-group which roughly goes from 13 to 20 - or of 'the young', which is a much vaguer concept, or even of 'young men and women', which includes people in their early thirties. Moreover, although the object of the 'inquiry' is defined as being 'discontented youth':
° the constant use of the definite article implies that the author is describing all the young, overlooking the fact that a number of young people are satisfied with their lot:
° even in the discontented group, he is exclusively concerned with middle-class youth: the young, to him, are the students.

cf. Bourdieu et Passeron, *Le Métier de sociologue*, (Mouton/Bordas, 1968, p. 44):
"... Faute de soumettre le langage commun, instrument premier de la 'construction du monde des objets' à une critique méthodique, on s'expose à prendre pour données des objets pré-construits dans et par le langage commun."
cf. M. Mauss, *La Prière* (ibid. p. 144):
"... Il nous faudra donc, avant tout, transformer cette impression indécise et flottante en une notion distincte. C'est là l'objet de la définition. Il n'est pas question, bien entendu, de définir d'emblée la substance même des faits. (...) Elle (une telle définition) est seulement destinée à engager la recherche, à déterminer la chose à étudier, sans anticiper sur les résultats de l'étude."

5.2. Contents:
This lack of methodological coherence reflects a type of thinking dominated by prejudices (or preconceived notions) - e.g. the intrinsic characteristics of the young; the superiority of the older generations over the younger; the general decadence of our society (an idea already found in the Latin poets or in Pope); the syllogism: some young people with long hair and a love for pop music are murderers, therefore all young people with long hair and a love for pop music are potential murderers; etc. Such preconceived notions serve to justify a certain ideology, that of the ruling class. The purpose of this ideology is to defend the existing social system, here by condemning those who do not conform to the norms. Sparrow's "inquiry" is in fact a political commitment.

1.2. Explaining the oppression of youth (Y,I,A)

- This essay is a modified version of a paper first appearing in the *International Socialist Journal*, 1968.

- John Rowntree teaches economics at York University in Canada, and Margaret Rowntree teaches political science at the University of Toronto.

1. GLOSSARY

ideology: "L'idéologie consiste ... en un ensemble à cohérence relative de représentations, valeurs, croyances: tout comme les 'hommes', les agents dans une formation, participent à une activité économique et politique, ils participent aussi à des activités religieuses, morales, esthétiques, philosophiques. L'idéologie concerne le monde dans lequel vivent les hommes, leurs rapports à la nature, à la société, aux autres hommes, à leur propre activité, y compris leur activité économique et politique." N. Poulantzas, *Pouvoir politique et classes sociales*, Maspero, 1968, p. 223.

Darwinist: a supporter of the biological doctrine of descent by natural selection with variation, advocated by Charles Darwin (1809-1882).

2. GUIDE-LINES

2.1. Content:
- "This ideology functions to explain the discontent ... problems": cf. the type of explanation given by J. Sparrow (see Doc. 1.1):
"However that may be, the young of today are certainly not Stoics", etc.
- "Biological maturity ...":
cf. age of voting, marrying, working, etc. in G B (see Doc. 2.2);
cf. S. Allen, "Some theoretical problems in the study of youth", *Sociological Review*, XVI.3., Nov. 1968, p. 323:
"Nor is there any agreement in empirical work on what constitutes youth. In Britain this has included the years from twelve to twenty-five or a block of years in between; or the basis has been from puberty to marriage. The right to marry, to vote, to own property, or enter legal agreements, to join the army, or drive a car, or drink alcohol in public and countless other formal rights are products of discrete historical processes and are conferred at a variety of ages with little or no reference to capability or lack of it".
- "... all the psychological distress that we associate with adolescence ...": anthropologists have shown that cultural conditions alone make adolescence a period of stress and strain. Cf. Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa, A Study of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies* (first published 1968; Penguin Books, 1969).

- "... the relatively recent innovation of adolescence ...":
cf. Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie de la famille sous l'Ancien Régime*, Plon, 1960.
cf. Frank Musgrove, *Youth and the Social Order*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964, Chap. 3, p. 33: "The Invention of the Adolescent":
"The adolescent was invented at the same time as the steam-engine. The principal architect of the latter was Watt in 1765, of the former Rousseau in 1762. Having invented the adolescent, society has been faced with two major problems: how and where to accommodate him in the social structure, and how to make his behaviour accord with the specifications. For two centuries English society has been involved in the problem of defining and clarifying the concept of precocity".
- "... their awakened sexuality is denied ... outlets.": there are other types of society in which juvenile sexuality is not only accepted but encouraged. Cf. Margaret Mead, *op. cit.*
- This oppression, produced by the structure of our society and creating, as stated in this excerpt, a kind of youth culture: an open door to further oppression, this time more clearly ideological (cf. the films *Easy Rider*, *Joe*, *Taking off*, etc.)?

2.2. Critical assessment:
From a theoretical standpoint the Rowntrees' analysis of the 'oppression of youth' raises at least two questions:
- Apparently this analysis belongs to the Marxist pattern of interpretation of society (notion of 'class struggle'). Then how can the young be considered as a class, since according to Marx classes can only be defined in terms of the system of production and are the social expression of production relations in a given society?
- Are not the Rowntrees confusing the ideological oppression which is that of the young as well as that of other social categories with the exploitation defined by Marx in terms of the infra-structure?

FURTHER READING

- J. M. Tanner, *Education and Physical Growth*, University of London Press, 1961.
- J. M. Tanner, *Growth at Adolescence*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1962.
- Wilhelm Reich, *La Révolution sexuelle*, 10/18 (p. 481-482).
- T. B. Bottomore, *Classes in Modern Society*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1965.
- T. B. Bottomore & M. Rubel ed., *Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, Penguin Books, 1963-1970

1.3. The young today (Y,E,M-M)

- Born in 1911, Marshall McLuhan is a Canadian and is a professor of literature at the University of Toronto.
- In his most famous books:
 - ° *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of the Typographic Man* (1962),
 - ° *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964),
 - ° *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (1967),
 - ° *War and Peace in the Global Village* (1968),he has studied the interaction between the medium (the channel) and the message. To him the medium actually determines the message, the means prevails over the end. McLuhan argues that the mass media alter the human being by their very nature, independently of the content of the message they communicate. The invention of the alphabet - and later of the printing machine - gave prominence to eyesight over the four other senses, thus destroying the primitive balance. The invention of the telegraph in 1844 was another landmark, the first step towards the civilisation of electronics. Finally, the development of radio, TV, the cinema, and of computers, has brought about a revolution in the way we use our senses and opened up a new era: the return to a tribal society. But, says McLuhan, "we confront (the) new situation with an enormous backlog of outdated mental and psychological responses". One of the consequences of our maladjustment to a new technological environment is the anachronism of our system of education.

1. GLOSSARY

a rear-view mirror society: one of McLuhan's favourite expressions, meaning a society looking backward instead of forward.

blueprint: a plan or drawing made by printing on sensitized paper, the drawing showing up in white lines on a blue ground.

processed: treated or prepared by a special method.

role: the different expectations regulating the behaviour of an individual in a given social position.

2. GUIDE-LINES FOR AN ANALYSIS

- McLuhan's medium to convey his message ("the printed word" in this case: vocabulary and style).
- McLuhan's attitude towards the young: to be compared with J. Sparrow's point of view, and to the Rowntrees' interpretation of the oppression of youth (see Docs. 1.1 and 1.2).
- McLuhan has said elsewhere: "Apparently, education is now facing a tremendous problem of transition between two worlds. In fact they both coexist. Making a transition from one vast embracing technology to another would seem to call for the utmost attention, offering the utmost challenge to human understanding". He has also stated: "I wonder whether the rebellion of children today in classrooms and against the book has anything to do with the new electronic age we live in?"

FURTHER RESEARCH

- Raymond Williams, *Communications*, Penguin Books, 1962; revised edition 1968.
- J. D. Halloran, P. Elliott, G. Murdock, *Demonstrations and Communications: A Case Study*, Penguin Books, 1970.
- O. Burgelin, *Les Communications de masse*, S G P P, 1970, Le Point.
- J. Cazeneuve, *Les Pouvoirs de la télévision*, Gallimard, Collection Idées, 1970.
- H. T. Himmelweit, Q. N. Oppenheim, P. Vince, *Television and the Child*, Oxford University Press, 1958 (see Doc. 3.3.1).

3.1. Family (F)

3.1.1. Family ethics (F,A)

- In *Education, Employment and Leisure*, M. P. Carter (Lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh) presents the results of a study carried out at the University of Sheffield with a grant from the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The study is based upon the experience of 100 boys and 100 girls who left five secondary modern schools in Sheffield in 1959. Each of these children was interviewed three times - during the last term at school, and three months and one year after starting work.

1. POINTS WHICH CAN BE MADE

- 1.1. Parents' attitudes towards children:
 - positive policy (interfering):
 - ° against: three fears:
 - relationships with friends of the opposite sex will hinder marriage;
 - will lead to early marriage;
 - will blemish the honour of the family.
 - > Attitude derived from a certain conception of sex:
 - denial of juvenile sexuality;
 - defence of virginity and of the existing institution of marriage;
 - sex seen: as a consumer of energy (here vs work),
 - as something wrong.
 - > Attitude derived from a certain conception of the family: strong parental authority (physical and moral) over children.
 - ° for: sex is to be favoured.
 - > Attitude opposed to the first type of attitudes.
 - 'laissez-faire' policy (non-interfering):
 - are indifferent;
 - want 'to keep up with the times';
 - do not know where to draw the line between what can be permitted and what cannot.
 - > Attitude linked to the idea that overt authority raises conflicts; adjustments preferred to maintain the family structure.

- 1.2. Different parental attitudes towards boys and girls:
 - a 'double standard':
 - ° not such a big responsibility for a boy; less serious friendships; if in trouble, less complicated.
 - ° trouble essentially for the girl, which implies that contraception is not thought of (see Doc. 4.5).

1.3. Parents' attitudes vs children's attitudes:

- Two ways of speaking of friendship with the opposite sex:

Parents	Children
"marry"	"engaged"
"to follow suit"	"nothing wrong"
"not getting into mischief"	"without sinning"
"do things behind your back"	"nasty-minded and suspicious adults"
"keeping company with a young lady"	"fun without breaking the commandments"
"nonsense"	

Actually, children give an image of their relationships with friends of the opposite sex in keeping with the model presented by their parents:

- ° no allusion to sexual impulses although they have been recognized by biologists and psychiatrists as determining young people's behaviour; or even to the sublimation of these impulses (romance).
- ° by saying that adults are "nasty-minded", they imply that sex is "wrong".

FURTHER RESEARCH

- F. Engels, *L'Origine de la famille de la propriété privée et de l'Etat*, Editions Sociales, 1954.
- M. Schofield, *Sexual Behaviour of Young People*, Penguin Books, 1968 (Part II, chap. 7).

3.1.2. Kinship seen in a middle-class setting (F)

- This is an extract from a paper by J. Hubert (first published in the *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 1966) dealing with "a small sector of the results of research among a set of middle-class families in London". The object of the study was "to analyse the structure and estimate the magnitude and social significance of the kinship systems of British middle-class families".
- The Highgate sample: the study started with a pilot investigation of 30 families living on a private housing estate in North London (Highgate), generally considered to be a "good middle-class area", with a high proportion of professional people living on it:
 - ° of the 60 individuals, 22 were born in London, 11 in the South of England, 11 in the North, 6 in Scotland, 1 in Ireland, 9 abroad;
 - ° 21 pairs first met in London, 2 in their hometown;
 - ° 11 couples met through college and work, 4 through relatives;
 - ° on the whole, spouses were not drawn from a home environment;
 - ° most of them had been living away from home for some time before marriage (including 2/3 of the wives).

1. GLOSSARY

Young and Willmott: two sociologists, the authors of *Family and Kinship in East London* (1957) and of *Adolescent Boys in East London* (1966), both written after studies they made in Bethnal Green (see Doc. 3.1.3).

Bethnal Green: a borough in East London, populated mostly by manual workers.

siblings: children of the same parents.

2. STYLISTIC APPROACH

- almost no intervention from the narrator: impersonal turns: "in most cases *there is ...*", "It means that ...", "it can be seen that ...", "it is fair to say ...", etc...; one exception: "We have not found situations ...".
- numerous negative constructions: "the fact that this *does not* commonly occur in Highgate *does not* mean that ...", "... one expressed *not* in terms of daily contact ...", "... *not* in the daily running of their lives ...", "Independence from parents is *not* merely ...", "... *does not* depend on frequent and intense contact of any kind", "It means that frequency of contact *cannot* be taken in isolation ...", etc...
- this discourse seems to refer to and refute a previous discourse presenting affective ties in the middle class family as being much weaker than in the working class (cf. her quotation of Young and Willmott).

3. DIFFERENT POINTS

- ... "lives": general presentation of the results of the inquiry:
- independence of middle-class children as opposed to those of the working class:
 - ° indices of independence:
 - different residence,
 - professional training,
 - outlook different from the parents',
 - no daily contacts,
 - ° indices of dependence (married middle-class daughters):
 - reliance on mothers in time of crisis
 - ° indices of dependence (married working-class daughters):
 - day-to-day services in the house,
 - emotional support in daily life.
- in spite of this independence strong affective ties between children and parents in the middle class.
 - Relationship between middle-class married daughters and their mothers expressed in "perhaps maturer ways".
- ... "previous generation":
- statements:
 - ° independence is part of the middle-class ideology, manifested by:
 - boarding school system,
 - financial help given to children to set up a house.
 - ° idea of independence is the key-concept to explain the attitudes towards family:
 - first consequence on children's lives: choice of residence,
 - second consequence: the kind of relationships with parents has an influence on the "subsequent relationships with extra-familial kin in general":
 - greater freedom to choose friends (outside or inside the family),
 - 'surprising' number of kin relationships.
- ... the end:
- statements:
 - ° family:
 - existence of strong affective ties although "no frequent and intense interchange of contact and services ...",
 - ° kin:
 - very numerous ties maintained; no frequent contact,
 - ° ties with parents and kin approximately that of the expected pattern:
 - parents and siblings "... as much interaction will take place as possible at all times",
 - all kin "... are maintained on a more selective basis, and they are often manifested only in contact of an intermittent nature".

4. AUTHOR'S POINT OF VIEW

This text, offering a sociological analysis of the kinship systems of British middle-class families, is not expected to be coloured by the researcher's personal opinion. Yet the author's judgment clearly appears at least once when she says that the relationship between middle-class mothers and daughters is expressed "in perhaps maturer ways" than in the working class.

5. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

5.1. Method:

The main level of vocabulary and the impersonal presentation of the results of the inquiry seem to imply a certain 'scientific objectivity' on the part of the researcher, since sciences are presented in our society as a neutral field, estranged from ideologies.

Yet two points should be made:

- the presentation of the findings includes statements and interpretations which are never presented as such, and the choice of indices is never explained (see above, part 3).
 - there is no definition of certain key-notions, such as 'freedom' or 'independence'. For instance, is independence to be measured only in terms of residence, education, infrequent contact? Can independence exist in spite of financial dependence (money given to set up a house of one's own)?
- Also, how is the strength of affective ties to be measured? And therefore what is meant exactly by strong (or weak) affective ties?

5.2. Content:

Such flaws in the method point to the researcher's (unconsciously?) biased approach:

- by not qualifying the term 'independence', for instance, J. Hubert seems to share the middle-class values. In fact there is no real independence; there is security for the children, who can fall back on their parents in times of need and stay away the rest of the time.
- by saying that the relationship between married daughters and their mothers is expressed 'in perhaps maturer ways' in the middle class than in the working class, she implies that the middle-class family is superior to the working-class family. This is all the more misleading in that the so-called 'maturer ways' are essentially determined by the residential independence of the middle-class married daughters. In fact the author is stating the economic superiority of the middle class over the working class (see Doc. 3.1.3).

6. FURTHER DISCUSSION

- One must bear in mind that the article was originally published in a journal read by specialists. In a book aimed at a wider public, however, it might have been useful to assess the relativeness of the concepts used in the inquiry. The "magnitude and social significance of the kinship systems of British middle-class families" (the object of the study as presented by J. Hubert herself) is assessed in terms of the strength of affective ties, such that strong affective ties may be taken by the uninformed reader as a universally relevant criterion for the "magnitude and social significance of the kinship systems" of any type of family, which is not the case: e.g. Samoa in the Pacific Islands: "... The close relationship between parent and child, which has such a decisive influence upon so many in our civilisation that submission to the parent or defiance of the parent may become the dominating pattern of a lifetime, is not found in Samoa (...). The Samoan picture shows that it is not necessary to channel so deeply the affection of a child for its parents (...). In our ideal picture of the freedom of the individual and the dignity of human relations it is not pleasant to realize that we have developed a form of family organization which often cripples the emotional life, and warps and confuses the growth of many individuals' power consciously to live their own lives". Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928, Penguin Books, 1969, pp. 168-172.
- Are not these 'affective ties' institutionalized by a society in which any transgression of the parent-child love relationship is condemned as abnormal? And if that is the case, can one still speak of freedom and independence?

FURTHER READING

- Ph. Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, Plon, 1960.
- E. Butterworth & D. Weir ed., *The Sociology of Modern Britain*, Fontana/Collins, 1970 (chap. 1: 'Family').
- P. Willmott & M. Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, Penguin Books, 1962.

3.1.3. Kinship seen in a working-class setting (F,M-M)

- In *Adolescent Boys in East London*, Peter Willmott (co-director of the Institute of Community Studies) presents the results of a series of interviews of 246 boys between 14 and 20, carried out in the summer of 1964. This study was done in Bethnal Green, East London, since "as an urban 'working-class' district, it seemed characteristic of the type of community in our cities whose young people are believed to be so disturbing".

1. SUGGESTIONS FOR AN ANALYSIS

This document should be studied in comparison with document 3.1.2, both being written by sociologists dealing with the dependence or independence of children in and outside the home. The analysis could be conducted along the same lines. A comparative critical assessment should discuss the following points:

- reasons for residential dependence,
- residential dependence and independence in everyday life,
- nature of the main link with the family.

2. FURTHER DISCUSSION

- structure, nature and functions of the middle-class and the working-class families;
- the peer group as an agent of socialization for the working-class child.

FURTHER READING

- Brian Jackson, *Working-Class Community, some general notions raised by a series of studies in Northern England*, Longman, 1967.
- Jeremy Seabrook, *The Underprivileged*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968.

3.2. Education (E)

3.2.1. Education: a system meant for a minority (E)

- Eric Robinson (see Doc. 4.3), now deputy director of North East London Polytechnic, carried out a tireless campaign - crystallized in his book, *The New Polytechnics* - to persuade polytechnics to reject the "subject centred" approach of the more traditional university departments, in favour of a "student centred" one. He believes that the creation of a system of mass education not only "demands a review of educational institutions", but also "requires a review of the content of education and the whole academic machinery which constrains it" since the present system of diplomas, examinations and courses is designed for the selection and education of an élite.

1. GLOSSARY

curriculum: a fixed course of study.

11-plus: see Doc. 3.2.4.

G C E: General Certificate of Education. The most important external examination in secondary schools. In 1951 it replaced the previous School Certificate and Higher School Certificate examinations. Is held at two levels, Ordinary (O) and Advanced (A). Passes in individual subjects at A level are graded A to E in descending order of merit, and these grades are used by universities in deciding whether to admit students.

grammar school: see Doc. 3.2.4.

junior school: State primary school taking children from 7 to 11. (From 5 to 7, children go to an infant school).

Destination of school leavers : England and Wales

	1960-61				Numbers of leavers (thousands) (-100%)	1968-69				Numbers of leavers (thousands) (-100%)
	Universities	Colleges of education	Other full-time further education	Employment		Universities	Colleges of education	Other full-time further education	Employment	
Percentages by type of school										
Boys :										
Public sector schools	3.5	0.9	5.2	90.4	290.8	5.9	1.4	8.6	84.1	293
Assisted and independent schools	29.8	1.7	16.8	51.7	21.4	32.2	2.0	23.9	41.9	23
All schools	5.3	0.9	6.1	87.7	312.2	7.8	1.5	9.7	81.0	317
Girls :										
Public sector schools	1.7	2.8	8.3	87.2	280.4	3.0	5.1	11.7	80.1	277
Assisted and independent schools	12.2	10.4	36.8	40.6	20.2	17.4	12.2	31.9	38.4	19
All schools	2.4	3.4	10.2	84.0	300.6	4.0	5.6	13.1	77.3	297

5. FURTHER DISCUSSION

- content of syllabuses and examinations;
- selection (entrance to schools and internal streaming) (see Doc. 3.2.4);
- nature of the relationship between education and the individual, between education and society.

matric.: matriculation examination to get into a university. Specified passes at the G C E O and A level now give exemption from matriculation.

secondary modern school: a state secondary school for pupils who failed the 11-plus examination and are not selected for a grammar school or a technical school.

syllabus: list of subjects to be studied.

2. CONTENT

The ideas could be brought out through a study of the words and argumentation, e.g. "The attitudes ... have not been uppermost (...)", "Quite naturally the system ... whereas this route, of course, is abnormal (...)", etc.

3. AUTHOR'S STANDPOINT

E. Robinson considers the issues in terms of minority vs majority, like R. Lynn, but reaches radically different conclusions (see Doc. 3.2.4).

4. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

- cf. *Britain, an Official Handbook*, published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office (H M S O), 1969, p. 151: "The number of pupils in all schools staying on beyond the minimum leaving age has been steadily increasing, and in 1967 30 percent of the 16-year-old age group in England and Wales was still at school".
- cf. *Social Trends*, a publication of the Government Statistical Service, H M S O, 1970, p. 130, table 83:

FURTHER READING

- Tyrrell Burgess, *A Guide to English Schools*, Penguin Books, 1964; revised ed. 1969.
- John Vaizey, *Education for Tomorrow*, Penguin Books, 1962; revised ed. 1966 (chap. 5, 'Differentiation and Selection', is especially relevant).

3.2.2. A possible conflict: school vs family (E,F)

- Brian Jackson (born in 1932) came from a working-class home, went to the local grammar school and then on to Cambridge. He repeated this pattern by teaching in primary schools for four years (*Streaming: An Education System in Miniature*, 1964), then by studying working-class children moving through grammar school (*Education and the Working Class*, 1962), and finally by helping to establish at Cambridge an 'open' college for students at home. He has been Director of the Advisory Centre for Education, and publisher of *Where* for several years, but remains primarily interested in sociology and English.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

Question implied in this text:

Is the Grammar School a middle class institution whose values conflict with the ethos of the working class?

- an unequivocally affirmative answer to this question is given by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden in *Education and the Working Class: Some general themes raised by a study of 88 working-class children in a northern industrial city* (1962; revised edition, Penguin Books, 1966). The broad conclusion of this study is that the grammar schools have failed the nation by failing the working class and must give way to the comprehensives (see Docs. 3.2.1 and 3.2.4).

- On the other hand, Robin Davis in *The Grammar School* (Penguin Books, 1967) challenges Jackson and Marsden's thesis. "Not all 'working-class' parents fit the pattern of dissatisfaction with the grammar school" appearing in *Education and the Working Class*, he argues. "The values of the grammar school are classless and inseparable from an academic education, and if the working class want those values, it is for them to come some of the way to meet them. And in honour to them, in spite of Jackson and Marsden's strictures, many of them do." (p. 195).

Note: Both Brian Jackson and Robin Davis were once successful working-class boys attending grammar schools.

FURTHER READING

- Beside the two books mentioned above:
- Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*, 1957 (Penguin Books, 1958), especially chap. 10 'Unbent springs: a note on the uprooted and the anxious', dealing with the uprooting, the sense of loss which some scholarship boys experience.
 - Peter Willmott, *Adolescent Boys in East London*, 1966, revised edition Penguin Books, 1969 (see Doc. 3.1.3), especially chap. 5, 'School', dealing with approval or criticism of the various types of schools.

3.2.3. 'The public schools' (E)

- David Rubinstein taught history in London comprehensive schools from 1956 to 1965. Since 1965 he has been lecturer in social history at the University of Hull. He is the author of *School Attendance in London, 1870-1904* (1969) and (with Brian Simon) of *The Evolution of the Comprehensive School, 1926-1966* (1969).
- *Education for Democracy*: a collection of essays whose general theme and outlines are illustrated by the following quotations taken from the introduction:
 - ° "Education for democracy, not for aristocracy, meritocracy, plutocracy, or any other kind of élitist system."
 - ° "Essays in this book attempt to justify the following, amongst other things: nearly all children could benefit from the quality of education at present reserved for an élite at the public and grammar schools; most children could benefit from the abolition of streaming, rigid syllabuses and selection, and none need suffer; underprivileged children need special help if their talents and abilities are to develop to the full; all children could benefit from less authoritarian teaching and from learning in 'open' situations that give them a measure of autonomy; many more young people could benefit from some sort of higher education."

1. GLOSSARY

public-school system: public schools - some of them dating back to the fourteenth century - flourished in the Victorian era, taking in the sons of the newly rich (the Industrial Revolution's middle class) and giving them the manners of the aristocracy. Their aim: to educate 'Christian gentlemen' and prepare them to be members of the ruling élite. Officially, public schools are independent schools with membership in the Headmasters' Conference, Governing Bodies Association or Governing Bodies of Girls' Schools Association. There are about 300 of these schools. But usually the term 'public school' is restricted to schools with membership in the Headmasters' Conference (H M C; 110 in England and Wales). The most prestigious are the 'Sacred Nines': Charter House, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Winchester - all boarding schools; and two day schools: St. Paul's and Merchant Taylor's.

independent schools: outside the state system; attended by fee-payers. They may be controlled by a governing body (public schools) or run solely by their own proprietor (private schools).

Public Schools Commission: set up in 1965 by the Secretary of State "to advise on the best way of integrating the public schools with the state system of education". Its general conclusion (1968) was that independent schools were "a divisive influence in society". It recommended a scheme of integration. "The only justification for public expenditure on boarding education", it said, "should be the need for boarding, on social or academic grounds." (T. Burgess, *Guide to English Schools*, p. 112).

corporal punishment: the cane is still used in English schools. It will be forbidden in London primary schools from January 1st, 1973 (*Echos de Grande-Bretagne*, 2.12.1971, p. 14).

fagging: in public schools it is customary for a junior boy to 'fag' for a senior, i.e. do his chores for him.

prep. schools ('prep.' for 'preparatory'): independent schools for boys from the ages of 7 or 8 to 13. They prepare their pupils for 'Common Entrance', the qualifying exam. for entry to public schools.

state secondary schools: mainly grammar, secondary modern and comprehensive schools (see Doc. 3.2.4).

prefect system: in public schools selected senior pupils enforce discipline on the rest of the boys.

Harold Wilson: Labour party leader; Prime Minister 1964-1970.

Clement Attlee: former Labour Prime Minister (1945-1951).

Parliamentary Private Secretary: Junior Minister whose function is to relieve the Prime Minister of some of his burden, e.g. by answering parliamentary questions on his behalf.

old Haileyburian: an old pupil of Haileybury public school.

J. B. Priestley: English novelist, critic and playwright, born 1894.

2. CONTENT

- the public school role, as seen by D. Rubinstein, may be analysed through expressions such as "dominate British life", "thought-controlling influence", "ethos remains powerful", "an open door to the best (...)", etc.
- two main points:
 - ° the effect of the public school on the individual,
 - ° its role as an institution moulding future rulers, used by many as a social escalator.

3. AUTHOR'S STANDPOINT

- stated in the last sentence and stressed in the use of words such as 'obnoxious', 'ridiculous', 'evils', etc.

4. CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

- "children ... of the wealthiest parents."
- fees: on the average, £510 for boys, £454 for girls (1967); Eton: £684 (1969); paid throughout 5 years, to which must be added the extras (uniforms, sports equipment, travel, etc.).

- "a tiny, privileged sector of the school population."
- number of pupils in independent secondary schools (1969): just over 6 percent of the total number of children in secondary education (*Social Trends*, 1970, p. 125, from table 78. See Doc. 3.2.1).
- public schools contain between 2 and 3 percent of all boys aged 14, and 16 percent of all boys in sixth forms (*Fabian pamphlet*, 1964, p. 1).

- "a privileged education." Public schools enjoy:
 - a better staffing ratio: 12.7 at worst, to 16.5 in state grammar schools and 18.9 in secondary modern schools. (*Britain in Figures*, 1971, p. 80. See Doc. 2.1).
 - better qualified teachers: graduates: over 90 percent in public schools (*Fabian pamphlet*, p. 12) to 75 percent in grammar schools and 16 percent in secondary modern schools (*Britain in Figures*, p. 80).
 - superior school facilities: extensive buildings and playing fields, fully modernized laboratories, excellent libraries, etc.

- "an open door to the best universities."
- in 1961 over 50 percent of the Oxford and Cambridge entrants were from independent schools; at the other universities, only 15 percent (*Robbins Report*, 1963. See Doc. 3.2.5).

- "public schools dominate British life."
- e.g. percentage of posts filled by those with a public-school education (*Fabian pamphlet*, p. 17):

° Conservative cabinet (1959-1964)	87%	(80 from 1868-1916)
° judges (1956)	65.5	(66 in 1926)
° Conservative MPs (1964)	76	(78 from 1918-1939)
° chief executives in 100 large firms	64	(1963; 57 in 1938)
° Labour cabinet (1964)	35	(17 in 1924)
° Labour MPs (1964)	15	

5. FURTHER DISCUSSION

When the Labour Government took office in 1964 an Educational Trust was set up to advise on the best way of integrating the public schools into the state programme. The opponents of reform claim that in a free society citizens have a right to spend their income as they like and to obtain the best education money can buy.

FURTHER READING

- Howard Glennester, Richard Pryke, *The Public Schools*, a Fabian pamphlet, 1964.
- Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, Macmillan, 1967 (first published 1856).
- Ronald King, *Education*, Longman, 1969.
- Royston Lambert, *The Hothouse Society*, Weidenfeld, 1968.
- Anthony Sampson, *Anatomy of Britain Today*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1965 (chap. 5 is particularly relevant).
- John Wakeford, *The Cloistered Elite*, Macmillan, 1969.

3.2.4. 'Comprehensives and equality: the quest for the unattainable' (E)

- This passage is taken from an article by Richard Lynn, Research Professor of Psychology in Dublin, which appeared in *Black Paper Two*, October 1969.

- The *Black Papers* are three pamphlets published in 1969 and 1970. Each *Black Paper* contains a controversial set of articles by academics, politicians and writers whose doctrine is that 'more means worse'. Their central theme is that an egalitarian system of education would neglect the intellectual élite and bring about a general decline in academic standards. Therefore they are characterized by their opposition to the programme of turning all State secondary schools into comprehensive schools, which was announced by the Labour Government in 1969.

1. GLOSSARY

the 1944 Butler Education Act: named after the Minister of Education in the coalition government of Winston Churchill.

- ° main point: free and compulsory secondary education for all;
- ° created the 'tripartite' system of secondary education (adding the non-selective secondary modern schools to the already existing grammar and technical schools; the latter are both selective);
- ° raised the school-leaving age to 15, a measure which took effect in 1947 (raised to 16 from 1972).

the eleven plus: a device for selecting children leaving a state primary school. It may include reports from teachers, intelligence tests, tests in English and arithmetic, interviews with parents and children.

a grammar school: a secondary school for the more 'academic' pupils who are selected after an eleven plus examination.

a direct grant school: a secondary school which receives a grant direct from the Department of Education and Science and is independent from the L E A (Local Education Authority), while a state school is maintained by the local authority and controlled by the L E A.

a comprehensive school: a secondary school which takes all the children from a particular area and offers all kinds of courses.

an independent school: one outside the state system. If it is run by its proprietor it is called a private school; if it is run by a governing body it may be called a 'public' school (see Doc. 3.2.3).

a voucher: a ticket which enables one to get something in exchange for it.

a tax allowance: a reduction in a person's income tax granted because he has taken on some financial burden.

2. DIFFERENT POINTS OF THE ARGUMENTATION

- 2.1. Survey of the present situation:
 - excellence of the British educational system (stated twice) (§1):
 - ° proof of its efficiency: great cultural tradition of intellectual achievement (see impressive number of Nobel prizes);

- ° aim of the system: to produce an intellectual élite.
- destruction of this system (stated twice) (§1):
 - ° by whom? by the progressives;
 - ° why? they want equality. But their quest is hopeless: they underestimate genetic class differences; they overestimate the value of higher education for the economy and for different temperaments.
- can the process of destruction be stopped (§2)? Perhaps not; obstacles:
 - ° difficulty of preserving quality in a democratic age;
 - ° the masses are envious, malicious, philistine;
 - ° some intellectuals side with them.
- > A prophecy: breakdown of civilisation?
- what is to be expected from the political parties (§3)?
 - ° from the Labour Party: merely a rhetorical question;
 - ° from the Conservatives:
 - resigned to the abolition of the eleven plus for tactical reasons;
 - guilty of passing the 1944 Butler Act;
 - responsible for today's situation;
 - must make up for their mistakes.

2.2. Solutions proposed:

- what should be done to restore quality education (§4)?
 - ° restore the grammar schools as independent fee-paying institutions;
 - ° scholarships for intelligent children from poor families;
 - ° why? If schools are subject to majority control, minority values and interests cannot survive ---> grammar schools must not be a state service.
- practical steps: what should be done (again) (§5)?
 - ° a voucher system?
 - ° state grammar schools could become direct grant schools;
 - ° fees introduced on a means tested basis;
 - ° tax allowances for parents paying fees;
 - ° at least one independent direct grant school in every major city for able working-class children;
 - ° a number of fee-paying private schools;
 - ° state loans for parents educating their children in fee-paying schools.

2.3. Advantages of this system:

- no child denied a grammar school education because of poverty;
- parents decide whether they wish to spend money on education;
- thus people would be responsible for their destination: choice of school left to parents;
- the social and political difficulties caused by the eleven plus would no longer exist. This would establish a politically sound system to preserve quality education.

3. AUTHOR'S STANDPOINT

- 3.1. Stylistic approach:
 - types of vocabulary:
 - ° specific: eleven plus, Butler Education Act, direct grant school, etc.;
 - ° military: outpost, to lose a battle, position (2), to capitulate;
 - ° emotional: adjectives: great, major, outstanding ≠ hopeless, dreadful, etc., substantives: envy, malice, tyranny, breakdown, etc.
 - patterns of vocabulary: