"Differential Commitment to School and Patterns of Peer Group Culture."

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
by
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This study was designed to investigate the media use of thirteen to fourteen year old adolescents and, in particular, to demonstrate the extent to which the peer group is an important intervening factor. It is argued that the 'pop media' include a broad spectrum of cultural artefacts, and that peer groups, whose members both occupy different positions within and display different attitudes towards the social structure, will use the media to different degrees and in different ways.

Fifty pupils were selected who represented peer groups differentiated by sex, social class and attitude to schooling. They came from five secondary schools (two Grammar, two Secondary Modern and one Comprehensive) situated in contrasting areas of four cities located all over the country. Each child completed a questionnaire and was individually interviewed, as well as responding to a number of more experimental techniques.

Two systems of cultural alternatives were found to dominate the leisure pursuits of these adolescents. These were the culture of the 'pop media' as represented by listening to records, keeping up with fashion, going to dances etc., and the culture of the local neighbourhood, the continuing traditions of working class street culture. A complex series of relationships is demonstrated between these and the middle class ethos of the school. The popular argument that the 'pop media' are primarily a refuge for anti-school educational rejects is shown to be a fallacy and a high degree of involvement with certain forms of pop material is exposed among both failures and successes in the school system. Clear distinctions are made, however, between the uses to which these media are put by the various groups and the importance of these differing functions is underlined.
The possibility of the mass media "having (their) influence indirectly, through or together with the other agencies in the socialisation process is one that ought to be pursued. Unfortunately this is the type of approach which has rarely been tackled by researchers."

J.D. Halloran (1970)
'The Effects of Television' (London: Panther) p.30

"All too often, crude negative evaluations of the mass media, including cinema and television, are peddled by professors and priests alike. Most of them amount to little more than this: media watching is passive brainwash. One comes across this view again and again. Films, radio, television, pop music are described .... as having an undifferentiated output: the differences between programmes is so trivial, it doesn't count."

I.C. Jarvie (1970)

"With trembling hands I read the questionnaire:
It asked me lots of things about my momma and poppa,
Now that aint what I call exactly fair."

The Flying Burrito Brothers.
'My Uncle'
FOREWORD

This thesis was carried out during the years 1967-1972 while the author was Research Assistant at the Centre for Mass Communication Research, employed on a project sponsored by the Schools Council entitled "Mass Media and the Secondary School Child", the results of which will be published during 1973.¹ The main aim of this project was to investigate the involvement of young people, at this stage of their education, in the media. It was divided into two parts: the first looked at schools and the teachers, studying the sorts of attitudes and approaches they displayed towards the media. As a result of this study a smaller number of schools were selected in which a sample of pupils were rigorously examined both by questionnaire and by personal interview. The original 90 schools were reduced to 10 for this second stage of the work, and it is to this second stage that this thesis is related. It should be noted, however, that the actual research design of the thesis was drawn up when the main project was still in stage one, i.e. the plan precedes the planning of the relevant stage of the project. This is not, of course, to deny that this work is greatly indebted to the main project. The thesis design was incorporated into the project design, and the two were administered as one entity, and there are parallels also in the analytical procedures. The thinking that lies behind the two studies is naturally common to both, although there are obvious differences in the way that they have been operationalised. The project was particularly concerned to examine the ways in which the various school structures (comprehensive

or selective, mixed or single sex) are related to the attitudes and media use of pupils. This aspect is not a feature of this thesis, the principal focus of attention here being the way class and attitudinal differences are active in peer relationships. The key role of the peer group in the social life of young people is rather taken for granted in the project, or it is at least not in the centre of the stage. Here the group is taken as the basis of analysis and its importance is demonstrated and evaluated.

The general topic of the pop media is not one that has been subjected to extensive academic study. Partly this stems from the neglect from which the whole area of 'leisure' has suffered until very recently, but even under this more limited sub-heading the pop media have received particularly little notice. This has been an unpopular corner within an unpopular genus and the reasons are not difficult to pinpoint. In the first place academic snobbery has always held back work on this sort of subject matter which does not have the respectability of others. This attitude is now disappearing, but the pop media have proved to be among the last to be discovered worthy of consideration. Media research itself has generally concentrated on some media at the expense of others. Television, the most recent and the most pervasive, has been the most extensively researched in recent years. The Centre for Mass Communication Research was founded in the first place specifically to look at television, and academics in other universities who are involved in the mass media almost invariably are concerned with television. There is no doubt, of course, that for the majority of people in this country it is the main provider of entertainment and an important source of news.
However there is some evidence that if there is one group which is less enamoured of television than any other, it is young adolescents. At this stage in their development they prefer to look outside the home for a good deal of their leisure activities, and so a relatively antipathetic attitude towards T.V. results, despite the fact that, as Belson (1967) has demonstrated, viewing figures are exceptionally high.

This age group is clearly much more deeply involved in another medium - pop music - one of the attractions of which is that it is generally rejected and abused by adults. For many young people pop music is a very important part of life, yet this medium has not received adequate attention from media researchers.

Partly this stems from the natural interests of academics. No wise researcher embarks on a topic unless it is one in which he is deeply involved, and few adults, particularly those who are most sophisticated, have much sympathy with or understanding of the musical tastes of pubescents. As a result few people possess the qualifications necessary for a fruitful investigation of this area. Considerable background knowledge is essential if useful theories and hypotheses about teenagers use of the media are to be drawn up. Consequently most writers concentrate on those media with which they themselves are more familiar.

Yet few would argue that the 'pop media' (and the precise meaning of this phrase will be explained later) are not a significant phenomenon of twentieth century life. They play a large part in the lives of people at a crucial stage of their development, and should not therefore be overlooked. The research reported in this thesis and in the associated project is an attempt to start filling this gap. It could not have been undertaken without the help of the Schools Council who initiated
and financed the project, and I am also greatly indebted to Professor Halloran who supervised this thesis, to Graham Murdock who directed the project, and to all other members of the Centre for Mass Communication Research, both academic and secretarial, who made its development and completion possible. The relatively small sample involved allowed most analysis to be completed by simple mechanical card-sorting, but some stages required computer work, and here thanks are due to Mrs. Judy Lay of the Atlas Computer Laboratory at Didcot.

But undoubtedly I owe most to those teachers and pupils who co-operated on this research. Even those schools which had certain reservations about the work were nonetheless courteous and helpful, and all the children responded with diligence ( and often enthusiasm ) although to many of them the questions we asked can hardly have seemed 'exactly fair' or very important.
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PART ONE

RESEARCH LITERATURE
Two conflicting stereotypes tend to dominate thinking about pop music and its 'effects' on those who listen to it. The first emphasises the passivity of the activity, often without ever demonstrating what it is about the exercise which makes it passive. Thus for Davies (1965) watching television, listening to (or, as he puts it, being "submerged in"), pop music, or reading "cheap" magazines are all classified as passive activities, whereas listening to jazz or reading novels are pronounced to be active. Possibly a distinction between emotional and intellectual involvement is proposed, but this is never made explicit and certainly no proof is offered that such a distinction exists, and no explanation is given for assuming that one level of involvement is superior to another. Paul Johnson (1964) has colourfully described the results of too much absorption of pop music: "What a bottomless chasm of vacuity they reveal! The huge faces, bloated with cheap confectionary and smeared with chain-store make-up, the open, sagging mouths, the hands mindlessly drumming in time to the music, the broken stiletto heels, the shoddy, stereotyped, 'with-it' clothes. Here apparently is a collective portrait of a generation enslaved by a commercial machine."

On the other hand however, critics also complain that, far from reducing teenagers to apathetic morons, the pop media very actively encourage a wide range of deviant, or at least, disapproved behaviour. Art Linkletter, after testifying before a congressional committee on drug abuse, blamed the pop music industry for the increase in the use of illegal drugs. He wrote in the "New York Times" that "Almost every time a top-40 record is played on the radio, it is an ad for acid,
marijuana and trips. The lyrics of the popular songs and the jackets on the albums are all a complete total campaign for the fun and thrill of trips*. Other commentators have blamed pop music for supposed increases in promiscuity, revolutionary political activity and a host of other "ills" of society.

Clearly both these points of view cannot be wholly accurate. Yet each may have partial validity if two assumptions implicit in both are abandoned. These assumptions are: (1) that all pop music is much the same, and (2) that every person who listens to a piece of music takes the same things out of it. If it is accepted that there are many different sorts of pop music with many different ideologies, and that all of these can be used by different audiences in many different ways, the absurdities of the generalisations quoted above become manifest.

The aim of this research is to show how groups of adolescents in different structural positions in society use the mass media in certain ways. It is argued that schoolchildren today are presented with a variety of choices between a number of cultural alternatives - although the element of choice is largely theoretical, for the precise structural position of each child will eliminate most of the options. In particular it is suggested that the child is presented with the apparently diametrically opposed assumptions of the "school culture" on the one hand and "leisure culture" on the other.

Schools are of course one of the main instruments through which "individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles" (Parsons 1959). Through this process of socialisation children are prepared for their adult
life, being taught the sorts of attitude and behaviour appropriate to
the position they are likely to have in the social structure. The
emphasis in school is towards the future careers of pupils, rather
than towards their future lives outside their work environment. Since
educational opportunity is supposed to be equal for all, the pattern
of socialisation is very similar in all types of school. To some extent
the fiction that all pupils have the chance to secure a "good middle-class"
job means that all pupils are being educated towards this goal. A "good"
pupil in all schools is one who accepts the values of the middle class
career, individual achievement, deference to authority and seniority,
and deferred gratification. Research has shown that, although secondary
modern school teachers lay greater emphasis on the inculcation of moral
social attitudes, they still define pupils in very much the same way
as teachers in grammar schools (Musgrove and Taylor, 1969).

Throughout our education system the stress is firmly placed on
intellectual skills rather than physical and emotional expression. ¹
Although adolescence is a crucial period of sexual and physical maturation
when emotional expression is very important (Tanner 1969), the school
systematically ignores these aspects of development. Many children are
able to sublimate their emerging self-awareness and accept the central
values of the school culture, defining themselves in terms of the pupil
role. Many others, however, turn towards cultural constellations which
reverse the school's priorities and stress the immediate and spontaneous
gratification of physical and emotional needs. For, as Mays (1965) has

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¹ Start (1966) has demonstrated how school sports are not a satisfactory
physical outlet for pupils who do not accept the pupil role. Games
become no more than another manifestation of school culture.
indicated, adolescents have alternatives to the "individualistic, middle-class high school and university career system." Mays mistakenly assumes that there is a single culture "based on working-class peer group solidarity and the commercialised entertainment world." In fact these are two quite separate cultures.

The working class 'street culture' is rooted in a pattern of life based on "the personal, the concrete and the local" (Hoggart 1959). It is largely transmitted through the medium of the peer group and is centred around the ongoing patterns of meaning contained in the neighbourhood. For many working class adolescents it continues to provide the obvious viable alternative to school culture.

Pop media culture is quite different, although many of its values may be similar. Based not on locality but on the nationwide (indeed in certain respects international) mass media, it has a much wider range of application. But, as will become clear, it does not follow that all young people can be considered part of an all-embracing 'pop culture', for the ways in which the media are used varies widely. Many adolescents whose primary orientation is towards a local street culture may make wide use of the pop media - so may children who conform to the pupil role. By divorcing their lives in school from their lives out of school, many young people are deeply involved in both school and the pop media.

It has already been suggested that not all alternatives are open to every individual, and that many children, by virtue of their structural position, are almost bound to 'choose' one or another. The factors involved here are fairly obvious and need not be spelled out at great length. The pupil's position in the formal school structure is the most important. Academic 'successes', i.e. those in grammar schools and the higher streams of comprehensives, are likely to accept the pupil
role, although, as Musgrove (1964) has pointed out, the strains of keeping up in a highly competitive situation may force some pupils to gravitate towards other cultural systems. Academic 'failures' are much more likely to reject the school's criteria of skill and attainment in favour of a system which offers them a greater chance of success and personal esteem.

Those who do reject the culture of the school do not have a free choice of alternatives. Street culture is open, as a rule, only to working class adolescents and the majority of its roles are masculine. Middle class adolescents and, to a lesser extent, working class girls, are excluded and one would expect these groups to be more deeply involved in the other alternative, pop media culture.

One final criterion determining the pattern of pupils' involvement in alternative cultures, may be pointed out. It is notable that many of the activities associated with street culture and pop media culture are essentially group activities, so that the extent of a child's ability to make contact with peers is an important factor. Those who, for one reason or another, are isolates, cannot become involved in these cultures and may become immersed in individualistic activities.

Clearly, the relationships between the degree of pupils' commitment to school and the nature and extent of their involvement in alternative cultures are by no means simple. The direction and forms of these relationships are affected by a number of structural factors, all of which must be borne in mind when undertaking any analysis.

These few words should already have been sufficient to show the inadequacies of the concept of 'youth culture'. This line of argument will be investigated further in the chapters that follow, and a more
useful formulation of adolescent behaviour will be suggested. Another fallacy that will be exposed is the assumption often made by academic commentators that the content and style of 'pop' is more or less homogeneous and can be described under the heading of 'pop culture'. Part Two will demonstrate the error of this conclusion, but perhaps a few words should be added here concerning exactly what is meant by the term 'pop media'. Very simply, this phrase is used to refer to those parts of various media whose contents or style is in some way connected to, associated with or related to the content or style of pop music. Around pop music and pop musicians has grown up a sector of the entertainment and mass media industries which caters specifically for young people. The record industry lies at the heart of this complex, but also included are radio stations such as Radio One and Luxembourg, television programmes such as 'Top of the Pops', magazines such as Jackie and Valentine, and pop newspapers such as Melody Maker and New Musical Express. In addition other forms of entertainment such as dance halls and discotheques are closely related, as is a sizeable and important sector of the fashion industry.

Clothes and dancing are examples of the stylistic aspect of pop, and pop style has had an even more pervasive effect than pop content. Pop style is described by epithets such as trendy, fast, action-packed, ephemeral and expendable, and may be displayed by products otherwise unconnected with pop music. Frost (1969) found, for instance, in his study of audience perceptions of television programmes, a cluster that included not only 'Top of the Pops' but also 'The Man from UNCLE' and the comedy 'Bewitched'. The only link between these programmes was stylistic; all were seen by respondents as having a similar overall
style. This discovery could no doubt be replicated in terms of other media. Many films of recent years, for instance, have displayed a very clear pop style derived from some very different sources. The films of Richard Lester spring to mind as particularly good examples—he even directed the first Beatles films. His sources and inspirations included the French new wave and the documentary cinéma vérité among others, but the most obvious of all is advertising, and the relationship between pop and advertising is close. Many of the words used to describe pop are used in advertising to describe products, and they can also be used about advertising style itself. The fascination that advertising holds for so many 'pop artists' is not coincidental.

However, as will be demonstrated in Part Two, the pop media cannot be characterised as the purveyors of a unified, homogeneous 'pop culture'. As will become clear even the term 'pop music' covers a wide range of different styles, and the pop media similarly offer a whole series of different sets of meanings. The adolescent is able to select those parts of the media which he can incorporate easily into the value-system of his own sub-culture. This research will try to isolate groups of adolescents in different structural positions and discover the various ways in which they use the pop media, and the very different meanings that they have for them.

This brief outline indicates that the work falls into a tradition of media research that has been found to be particularly fruitful in recent years, and which is usually called the functionalist, or "uses and gratifications" approach. This has been developed as a response to the limitations of the 'effects' studies which have dominated mass
media research. Such studies arose from the conception of man as an isolated being, all too easily changed by the blandishments of the ubiquitous media. In addition, as McQuail (1969) has remarked, "A more general explanation for the preoccupation with mass media effects has to do with the motives of those who have sponsored research or posed research questions. A premium has been placed on 'useful' information - on devising rules for the more effective utilisation of techniques of information and persuasion" (pp.52-3). However, the results of such research have in general proved disappointing to the "students of persuasion". The effects turned out to be either less than had been anticipated, or less easy to detect than had been hoped.

The 'uses and gratifications' approach "avoids the relative sterility of oversimplified questions, such as, Does television produce crime and violence?" (Television Research Committee, 1966, p.22). Instead it "begins with the assumption that the message of even the most potent of the media cannot ordinarily influence an individual who has no 'use' for it in the social and psychological context in which he lives. The 'uses' approach assumes that people's values, their interests, their associations, their social roles are pre-potent and that people selectively 'fashion' what they see and hear to these interests" (Katz 1959).

As Halloran (1968) sees it, "The main tasks are seen as (a) the identification of groups and individuals in terms of their differential usage of media material, (b) finding out what precise use is made of such material, and (c) attempting to establish the consequences of these various uses" (p.35). The approach therefore displaces the idea of the atomized individual in a mass society and puts him back in his social
context. In Klapper's (1963) phrase "the nexus of mediating factors" is taken into account. In particular the value system of the individual and the groups to which he belongs become of primary importance. This is a very relevant point, for this research will deal basically with groups of adolescents. It is a central hypothesis of the study that different groups will adhere to different value systems which will be associated with different ways of using the pop media.
CHAPTER 2 : ADOLESCENCE IN MODERN SOCIETY

Adolescence is a period of change and growth; a time of transition during which young people learn the roles and values of adulthood. During this period they experience probably a greater degree of strain than at any other time of their lives, both physical, as they are unbalanced by the rapid changes that occur in their bodies, psychological, as they reformulate their concepts of themselves, and sociological, as they discover their new relationships in society. In primitive society this difficult transition was eased by the "rites de passage" (Van Gennep 1960, Eliede 1958 etc.) which marked important changes in status and role by giving them symbolic expression.

No such process eases the transition for modern youth. Even the way in which adolescence is defined in our culture reflects the ambiguous way in which modern society perceives this period. Adolescents are those who are physiologically old enough to have experienced puberty but not yet sufficiently mature to have developed the physical stability of adult life. (Fleming 1963). Thus the onset of adolescence is defined in physiological terms while its end is defined culturally, referring to a much broader and vaguer set of criteria. During a period of time that for a number of reasons is tending to increase, the adolescent is in a "no man's land" between childhood and adulthood, without the clearly defined status of either. Eventually, adulthood is conferred, but the process takes place over an extended period of time with no apparently logical ordering of events. At fifteen it is permissible to end full time education, at sixteen to ride a motor bike and to marry with parents' consent, at seventeen to drive a motor car and at eighteen to buy drinks in a public house and to vote. In many ways adolescence does not really
come to an end until marriage which does not occur, on average, before the early twenties.

The prolonging of adolescence has had important consequences for adult-youth relationships and to gain even a partial understanding of how this is so a historical perspective must be employed. Before the industrial revolution it was economically and socially essential that young people should become adult as soon as possible, so that they could contribute to the wealth of the family. Industrialisation broke down this process as it did so many others. The traditional mores and customs that had eased the transition from childhood to adulthood were swept away. Since then there has been a constant process of social change at an unprecedented speed and of proportions unforeseeable only a short time ago. The ramifications have been far-reaching, not least in the whole area of inter-generational relationships. The anthropologist, Margaret Mead, has argued most persuasively that this acceleration of social change has had revolutionary effects on the whole structure of human society.

In her book Culture and Commitment (1970) she postulates three kinds of cultures: "post-figurative", in which children learn primarily from their forbears; "co-figurative", in which both children and adults learn from their peers; and "pre-figurative", in which adults learn also from their children. She maintains that it is the failure to recognize that industrial societies have moved from post-figurative to co-figurative that is the key to the breakdown of relations between the generations. In post-figurative culture the relationship is easily and firmly defined: the older generation by virtue of their greater experience, have complete authority.
Social change is slow so that the future and the past are inter-
changeable - the children's future identical to the parents' past.

The post-figurative system can be broken in a number of ways.
Mead suggests, among others, through a catastrophe that decimates
the older generation, through the development of new forms of
technology, or as a purposeful step in a revolution introducing
new and different life-styles. The first two of these may certainly
be applicable to western culture if we take it that the whole history
of the mid-twentieth century represents a symbolic destruction of a
generation. World War II, Korea, Vietnam, the failure to appreciate
the problems of hunger and pollution, may have so shaken the faith of
the young in their elders, that the latter are effectively destroyed
as guides and mentors. The result is a culture in which the old
no longer dominate the young, although they still exert a powerful
influence. Behaviour is now modelled largely on that of
contemporaries, especially adolescent age mates. The experience
of the young is so different from that of the old that the latter
can no longer be a model - Mead likens them to immigrants in a new
country, being forced to adapt to new conditions. The young on the
other hand, are born in the "new country". They understand and
accept it in a way that is impossible for their elders. They can
clearly see that their parents are not dealing successfully with
the new environment, that their ways and means are inappropriate.
In these circumstances, the young find that their peers are
the best guides. Mead argues that "these peers present them with more practical models than those of the elders, the officers, the teachers and officials whose past is inaccessible to them and whose future it is difficult for them to see as their own." (1970, p. 40).

Keneson (1963) has reiterated this point, remarking that "The young, who have outlived the social definitions of childhood and are not yet fully located in the world of adult commitments and roles are most immediately torn between the pulls of the past and the future. Reared by elders who were formed in a previous version of the society, and anticipating a life in a still different society, they must somehow choose between the competing versions of past and future." (p. 169).

Yet at the same time young people are being expected to yield to adult authority for an increasingly long period. Not only do young people reach physical maturity at an earlier age than before, but there has also been a continuing trend towards the postponement of adult status. "Children" are obliged to continue their education to a higher age and are thus denied entrance to the world of work. There is thus a widening gap between the achievement of physical adulthood and the bestowing of social adulthood. The self-realisation of the young depends to a great extent on their replacing the

1. Klapp (1969) has commented that in America, there has been a "reversal of the usual socialisation pattern, in which we find the old turning to the young for knowledge, if not wisdom - with style change among the young so rapid that the old feel out of date and get "with it" only by turning to the young for guidance". (p. 94). McLuhan (1967) more cryptically notes: "The worldpool of information fathered by electric media - movies, Telstar, flight - far surpasses any possible influence mom and dad can bring to bear. Character no longer is shaped by two earnest fumbling experts. Now all the world's a sage." (p.14).
preceding generation. This process is being progressively postponed, although the proportion of young people in the population has risen.\(^1\) For, at the same time, the oldest age group has also increased proportionately and has retained a considerable degree of economic and political power.\(^2\) The increased time of their subordination to adults forces the young to redefine their position. Adolescence cannot any longer be seen as a mere transitional stage but must assume a more positive function. Teenagers are certainly no longer children and resent adult classification of them as such. A researcher found that "school was ... regarded with something approaching contempt... The respondents were not prepared to put up with being treated like children." (Carter 1963). Just as clearly they are not adults for they lack both the status and power of the adult. As schoolchildren, or even as young workers, they are deprived of full responsibility until their "apprenticeship" is complete.

In other ways too the teenager is set apart from the adult. Adolescence under any circumstances is a time for experiment, as the young person searches for his identity. In a changing society such as ours this aspect assumes great importance. Old values and standards are no longer accepted simply on the grounds of their longevity. New

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1. In 1951 those aged between ten and nineteen constituted less than 13% of the total population of England and Wales. By 1961 this proportion had increased to over 15%, although by 1971 the figure had settled back to 14.5%.

2. Longer life expectancy can affect the young in several ways, one being the reduction of their promotion chances. C.F. Snow in The Masters has pointed out that "the average age of fellows in 1937 was over 50. In 1870 it was 26." Political and economic power is now as much as ever the prerogative of the aged. For a discussion of the ramifications of longer life span see Stub (1969).
answers must be sought in new conditions. Faced with a normative confusion, the adolescent is forced to adopt a different role. He must not only learn, he must also innovate.

Experimentation is also forced upon him by the greater flexibility of society. Increased social mobility means that, theoretically at least, it is possible to move relatively easily across social boundaries, both up and down in prestige and across in specialisation. Young people have a plethora of choices for which their parents cannot provide a sufficient model. "To the teenager extreme mobility is essential, for in the short space of time between acquiring the beginnings of an adult viewpoint and the final settling into a role in life, he must experiment with a good many of the available avenues; almost every day marks another choice made, if only by neglect. And the more specialised our society becomes, the more difficult is the choice, and having made it the smaller is the possibility of changing roles. So teenagers stand in the same relationship with adults as explorers do to settlers - the one has to travel light, acquire information, react flexibly to any chance; the other has to stay put, narrow his gaze, concentrate his energies, and hoe his furrow." (Laurie, 1965, p. 11).

Lying behind all the social changes of recent years has been the technological revolution. The world of satellites, computers and nuclear fission is very different from that in which older generations grew up. Such developments are comprehended more readily by the young whose thinking is free of the limitations imposed by out-of-date modes. This is McLuhan's reasoning when he asserts that "youth instinctively understands the present environment - the electric drama."
It lives mythically and in depth. This is the reason for the great alienation between generations." The mass media themselves are a central part of the new technology. The electronic media employ a language very different from that with which older people are accustomed. Thus the new directions taken by modern music or the complicated syntax of film montage are easily accepted by the young but provide formidable barriers to those weaned on a different diet. McLuhan goes on to argue that in the same way the child is confused when he is faced by the older order: "Today's television child is attuned to up-to-the-minute "adult" news-inflation, rioting, war, taxes, crime, bathing beauties - and is bewitched when he enters the nineteenth century environment that still characterises the educational establishment where information is scarce but ordered and structured by fragmented, classified patterns, subjects and schedules." (McLuhan 1967, p. 18). Similarly Musgrove (1964) has questioned the utility of school education for many adolescents, since he feels that the type of education received in school is not really applicable to life outside. The situation of primitive societies where if children do not learn the accumulated knowledge of the tribe, the knowledge is irretrievably lost does not obtain in a society which has discovered the printing press and the computer data bank.

The content that the media disseminate also plays an important part in the changing of adolescent-adult relationships. It might well be argued that while technological changes of other sorts have created a situation in which the autonomy of the family as the primary unit of socialisation has been undermined, the results would not have been so strongly or immediately felt without the mass media being there to make the change apparent to all. The media have had an important
function, for instance, in making people aware of circumstances quite different from their own. An amusing but pointed comment was made by the far-eastern ruler who claimed that American films were the strongest force for revolution in his country, for they showed the relatively immense wealth of the ordinary American and so created great dissatisfaction among his own poverty-stricken proletariat. Certainly everyone with access to a television set can now compare himself to a wide range of others, and for many people, particularly the poor, and to a lesser extent the young, this may be a frustrating experience. The limitations of his environment and prospects can be spelled out only too clearly to the powerless adolescent.

On the other hand mass media content may have helped to "create" the teenager, or at least to diffuse him around the world. Through the media young people everywhere can see and read about their peers elsewhere. Any fad or fashion can be immediately transmitted around the world. As a result almost identical behavioural phenomena have been noticed in many places separated in space by thousands of miles but united in time by newsprint, the sound wave or electronic impulses. Fyvel (1963) has noted that while Britain had its "rockers" other countries had corresponding groups. "In Western Germany and Austria the similar gangs of provocatively dressed adolescent rowdies have been called the Halbstarken, the "half-strong". In Sweden, troublemakers were referred to as the skinnmanttar or "leather-jackets", a name coined for gangs of youths obsessed by a craze for motor-cycle racing in the streets. France similarly has her blousons noirs, or "black jackets". The Japanese, elegant as ever, have coined the name taiyozoko, or "children of the sun", for their new groups of anti-social youth.
The Australians, more briefly, have termed theirs "bodgies". And it is instructive that soviet abuse has been directed not only at the lowly mass of hooligans, but also at the stilyagi, or "style boys". (p. 33).

Cohen has studied a case where media coverage has apparently had a powerful influence on the behaviour of certain teenage groups. (Cohen 1972). He looked at the way in which the media reacted to the appearance of the "mods" and "rockers" during the years 1964-6, and came to the conclusion that the way incidents and the phenomena in general were reported had a direct influence on the image that the groups had of themselves. For instance, newspapers printed articles with titles like "Are you a mod or a rocker?" and itemised specific attributes that the groups were supposed to possess. Cohen argued that such articles enabled potential "mods" to realise their own image in terms of dress and tastes in music.

Much of this analysis has explained the reasons for inter-generational conflict. It is more difficult to decide quite how far this conflict actually goes. The existence of the necessary pre-conditions for a phenomenon does not always ensure its appearance and there is a continuing debate concerning the emergence and reality of the "generation gap". A review of the state of this debate will be the subject of the following chapter.
Implicit in much of the analysis presented in the previous chapter (and at times quite explicit) was a model of intergenerational relationships based largely on conflict. Many factors were adduced which have contributed to the widening of the gap between the generations and many commentators have concluded that the result has been a very real breakdown in the relationship.

Margaret Mead's analysis presented earlier, for instance, clearly leads towards the rejection of adult authority by the younger generation. In another work she has argued that in the new configurative society with its rapid social change, the remembered behaviour of parents can no longer provide a model for their children (Mead 1961). She suggests that the conspicuous consumption patterns of young couples a few years older has become the recognized model and that this pattern is transmitted to adolescents through the mass media. Moreover, "the pseudo-permissiveness of the last twenty years which has combined some recognition of the physical problems of puberty, a distrust of any absolute pedagogical or parental imperatives, a relaxation in school discipline very often unaccompanied by genuine changes in the context of classroom learning or in parental and pedagogical expectations, has encouraged the development of an adolescent generation more than usually dependent upon the mores of the peer group, and unresponsive to the efforts of responsible elders. The commercialization of the styles and fads of various subcultural groups and the continuous publicising in the mass media of teenage behaviour styles in their more extreme forms, have created a mass adolescent culture pattern, available to high school students, of a
sort that was not available even to college students twenty years ago". (p.39)

Bettelheim (1963) has argued that the lengthening period when the young person is physically mature but socially repressed brings into the open the inherently conflictual relationship between the generations. It is the problem of generations that gives rise to trouble, founded on the fact that "the self-identity and even more the self-realisation of the young man implies to a large degree his replacing the preceding generation". This ascendency of youth fitted in well with "the survival needs of the family and the facts of biology" in the extended family system. But when "society is so organised that youth remains dependent on the older generation because of the duration of the educational process or for other reasons, and this older generation is not so ready to step aside economically, politically and emotionally, a psychological impasse is created which may be aggravated by unresolved oedipal conflicts". (pp. 66-70)

Fletcher (1966) has suggested that "it may be that in modern society we are tending too much to extend artificially the period of supposed immaturity of children, to draw out the period of their dependence upon the family. Perhaps young people are mature before we choose to think they are, and perhaps many of the tensions experienced between parents and young people are a result of this delayed recognition of their maturity and their capability of independence". (pp. 156-7)

Some commentators have even gone so far as to suggest that teenagers represent a distinct class. Ralf Dahrendorf has written that "In that it is in the social context and authority structure of the school that the adolescent social system with its stratifications exists, it constitutes a social class". (Dahrendorf 1959; see also:
Goodman 1960, MacDonald 1959, Rountree 1968 and others). Of course this analogy has one obvious fault arising from the transitory nature of youth. A more common conclusion of the conflict argument is that youth has developed into a subculture.

Subcultures can be defined as relatively cohesive cultural systems, worlds within the larger world of our national culture. For Yinger (1960) the term points to the normative system of a group smaller than a society, so that emphasis is given to the way this group differs in things like language, values or style of life, from the larger society of which it is a part. Bell (1963) has argued that the ambivalent position of adolescents in modern society forces them to react by developing a subculture which distinguishes them from adults. Bell suggests three important areas around which the subculture is based. Firstly teenagers adopt different symbols, such as clothing and hair, around which there is great conformity within the structure of rapidly changing styles. Patterns of behaviour are also strictly determined by the subculture concerning activities such as dating, while a 'rallying point' is also developed - something around which adolescents can identify and express their independence from the adult world. Teenage music and other forms of recreation to which adults tend to react negatively, perform this function for the subculture.

Parsons (1963) similarly has argued that the special strains imposed on young people by the conditions of contemporary society inevitably lead to a rejection of the status quo. The way in which young people react to this type of situation is summed up as "a relatively differentiated youth culture", characterized by a
compulsive independence in relation to certain adult expectations and a compulsive conformity to the norms of the peer group. Much of the strain to which Parsons refers stems from the changes in education and mobility which have led to greater "expectancies of the individual". The greater opportunities result in profounder feelings of failure for those who do not succeed and a higher likelihood of the individual contracting out altogether and opting for the quite different and in many ways less demanding value-structure of the peer group culture.

Ernest Smith (1962) asserts the existence of an American youth culture, his book describing many of its characteristics, while perhaps the most influential of all proponents of this point of view is James Coleman (1961), whose research in ten Illinois high schools led him to the conclusion that "with his fellows (the adolescent) comes to constitute a small society, one that has most of its important interactions within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society". This situation, according to Coleman, has produced "an 'adolescent culture', with values of its own". (p. 5)

Given these theories and explanations it comes as a surprise to find Musgrove in a paper read to the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Institute of Race Relations in 1966, maintaining that "American educators are now very perturbed that adolescents are not in conflict with their parents". A similar fear is expressed by Friedenberg (1959) who argues that the great importance placed on adjustment and uniformity (the basis of the 19th Century concept of education) is injuring the central developmental tasks of education -
the realisation of self-definition and the building of a sense of individuality. He maintains that this can only be accomplished through a dialectical combat with society: that adolescence is conflict with society, and that in cultures where this conflict is absent, so is the characteristic development of personality. Furthermore he places the onus primarily on the school. He argues that the school still functions as though America were a melting pot and the main job of the school to turn out a sufficiently standardised product. This over-emphasis on uniformity as opposed to individuality limits perception and responsiveness and the child is stunted correspondingly. Moreover, the solid lower middle class ethos of the school alienates the working class child who is either neutralized or gets out as fast as possible. The effect on self-esteem is devastating. Friedenberg concludes that fewer and fewer children are going through a proper period of adolescence with consequent damage to the emergent adults. Instead a breed of conforming but underdeveloped personalities is being produced.

Both Friedenberg and Musgrove forward the theory that adult-adolescent relationships are being impaired, not by a rejection of their elders by the young, but by a fear of the young on the part of adults. The change to tolerant, democratic approaches to teenagers will, "if adults dislike or fear adolescents .... make those adults more frightened and hostile, because it is a very real threat to their continued domination". (Friedenberg 1959 p.25) They are disturbed in situations when teenagers are not under their complete control. Musgrove similarly argues that intergenerational relationships are deteriorating as a result of adult fear that their status is being threatened. There is moreover, a considerable amount
of empirical evidence to support this point of view.

Elkin and Westley's (1955) study of white upper-middle class Anglo-Saxon Protestant teenagers is much quoted in this respect and has gained an authority out of all proportion to its merits. It is a small sample study of a very unrandom group and its conclusions should not be generalised beyond the population with which it was concerned. Nonetheless their finding that there was a high degree of continuity between these adolescents and their parents is relevant, and has been supported by other, more important studies.

Mugrove himself reports a study of adult attitudes towards the young in which he found the most common tone to be one of rejection. He concluded that his findings were "in line with those American investigations which have shown adolescents belittled by their elders, regarded as a separate, inferior, and even threatening population, exposed to contradictory expectations and demands from the general body of adults ..." (p. 105) Eppel and Eppel (1966) found that adolescents were aware of this attitude. Young workers aged 15-18 were found to feel that adults were "against them, jealous of them, critical of their clothes, their taste in music, their love of excitement and adventure, and ready to condemn them on mere hearsay and gossip". (p. 61)

Adolescents on the other hand, are not nearly so critical of adults. Harris and Tseng (1957) studied 3,000 Minnesota youngsters asking them to complete sentences such as, "My father is ...." Both boys and girls expressed overwhelmingly more favourable than unfavourable attitudes towards their parents. Hess and Goldblatt (1957)
revealed that young people were more willing to ascribe favourable traits to adults than were their parents. There has been in fact a great deal of research which shows the absence of real conflict between adults and adolescents. Rose (1956) asked rural high school pupils to identify the most important reference point in their lives and found that three-quarters mentioned parents and only 10% their friends. Moreover a number of American surveys have demonstrated that there is a broad level of agreement between the two generations over a large range of issues. Remmers and Weltman (1953) studied the interrelationships between attitudes of parents and adolescents, and on a random sample of problems such as the purpose of education, self-government in schools and race relations, they found a high degree of correlation (0.86) between the attitudes of the two groups. Sherif and Sherif (1965) studied adolescent attitudes towards the future and the goals towards which these young people were aspiring. They found that "Youth in all areas cherished an image of individual success as an adult, as it is spelled out through the magic symbols purveyed by television, advertising, movies, magazines and popular books .... The ingredients of the image were desired by nearly a hundred per cent of every sample of high school students studied: cars, comfortable homes, attractive clothing, appliances, telephones, radios, T.V. sets, money for entertainment, including movies. Regardless of what they have or what is available, youth in settings of low, middle and high rank, want the 'good things of life' as defined in mass salesmanship." (p. 315)

Tindall (1968) conducting a similar study in England made similar discoveries. The working-class London grammar school girls
in the sample generally saw their future to be very like the lives of their parents. Their general outlook differed very little from that of the previous generation. Eppel and Eppel (1966) also studied adolescent attitudes and came to the conclusion that with regard to important values young people and adults were in general agreement. Many authorities support this thesis, pointing out that despite this general consensus there may yet be areas of conflict.\(^1\)

In other words while adolescents may demur to the authority of their elders over certain issues, in other areas of decision they may find the approval of their peers more important. Remmers and Radler (1957) studied 2,500 young Americans and found that conflict with parents was limited to certain specific areas, particularly dating, clothes and discipline. The authority of parents and peers did not really clash because they occupied different domains. Peers were the chief reference group in respect to problems such as how to act when out with the gang, what to wear to a party, personal grooming, and what club to join. Parents were referred to in decisions over political preferences, how to spend money and personal problems. Brittain (1963) came to identical conclusions in his study of 280 high school girls, finding that the responses to parent-

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\(^1\) Others however deny that 'youth culture' can be disentangled from the adult culture which surrounds it and point to the many areas in which adolescents do not construct their own values but defer to the experience of their elders (e.g. Morris 1958, Pitts 1960). These writers seem to ignore many other areas in which adolescents clearly do not concur with adults. Thus Ryan (1966) found that 90% of eighth grade schoolgirls volunteered that they got their ideas on what to wear from "girls at school" or "girl-friends", while Glickman (1952) found that 64% of boys, when asked where they got their ideas of what was smart to wear, replied "what other fellows wear".
peer cross-pressures were a function of the content of the alternatives, some items eliciting peer conformity, others parent conformity. He found that "responses reflect the adolescent's perception of peers and parents as competent guides in different areas of judgment", and that "parent conformity was more prevalent in response to dilemmas posing what were perceived to be the more difficult choices". Similar findings were reported by Putney and Middleton (1961) who found that in an important but problematic area such as religious ideology, a high degree of conformity to parental opinion could be found, while research discussed by Bealer, Willits and Maida (1969) found that adolescents judged their parents' attitudes to a whole range of behaviour, such as drinking, smoking, school failure, dancing, dating and church attendance, to be "sensible" rather than "too critical" or "not critical enough".

Further support for this argument is provided by the work of Kandel and Lesser (1969) who looked at the educational plans of adolescents compared with the aspirations of their mothers and their best friends. "Not only was parental influence on future life goals stronger than peer influence, but it remained strong throughout the entire adolescent period." They concluded that the particular content area under discussion must be specified when dealing with adolescent influences; "for certain values or areas, peers may be more influential than parents; for other issues, the reverse may be true".
The work of Riley, Riley and Moore (1961) may also be noted at this point for they suggest an even further breakdown of the conflict model when applied to empirical test. Studying 2,500 ninth and tenth grade schoolchildren they found that both peer approval and the goal of successful school performance were highly valued: work had not lost its importance. Furthermore adolescents were not faced with a simple conflict between the co-operative demands of the peer group on the one hand and the achievement demands of the parents on the other. They found that both peers and parents demanded that the adolescent seek peer approval. The only conflict was the lesser order one between parental expectations of achievement and peer expectations of having a good time.

Clearly the basic conflict model must be very considerably changed in the light of all this empirical evidence. A lot of more recent work has in fact been devoted to sorting out the contradictions in the approaches to adolescence and a more satisfactory model will be presented after this material has been discussed. The next chapter will start, however, with an analysis of the role of the peer group, whose importance will already have become clear.
Chapter 4:

**ADOLESCENT PEER GROUPS**

One group in particular has, in recent years, been very insistent on the existence of a growing conflict between adolescents and adults. Teachers in our schools are apparently very aware of an increasing degree of rejection of authority by pupils leading, according to some members of the profession, towards classroom anarchy. A report to a London teachers' association in 1969 listed the symptoms of the collapse of discipline as: chronic misbehaviour, breaches of school rules, challenges to teachers' authority, disturbances of lessons, lateness, incorrect dress, vandalism, and general deterioration in the tone of the school. The report\(^1\) comments, "This appears to be mainly due to an increase in neurotic types of children". A similar publication by the "London Joint 4" (1970) referred to "evidence that a situation is developing which militates against good teaching. This is due to a slow but certain deterioration in general discipline". A major factor was identified as "social climate" the result of which was that "modern youth tends to be less tolerant of authority than previous generations, while society and its leaders are increasingly permissive".

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\(^1\) Report prepared by a working party of the London branch of the Association of Assistant Masters, presented to the Association's annual meeting in January 1969.
The American writers G. and F. Hechinger (1962) must have spoken for many when they attacked the "worship" of youth. The result of this attitude they claimed was that adults were starting to take their cues from adolescents rather than the other way round. This "softening of adulthood" leads to "immature goals in music, art and literature. It forces newspapers, television producers and movie-makers to translate the adult English usage into the limited vocabulary of the teen-culture". They announced their book as an attempt to redefine adolescence as "a transition period to full man- or womanhood rather than a tribal 'subculture'; a temporary condition to be terminated with normal speed rather than to be artificially induced and prolonged like the life of a hothouse plant". (p.x)

The analysis of the previous chapters should have demonstrated the errors in such a point of view. Recourse to explanations in terms of "neurotic children" or "permissiveness" is both wrong and essentially unhelpful, while it is apparent that modern social conditions have permanently changed the functions of adolescence.¹ In many ways adults can no longer be sufficient models, guides and referent points for their children, and the peer group as a consequence comes to play a far greater part than before in the socialisation process.

¹ Not that complaints about youth are exactly new. Socrates' famous lament that "Our youth now loves luxury. They have bad manners, contempt for authority, disrespect for their elders. Children nowadays are tyrants" has been reiterated in every century.
Of course the peer group has always, in all cultures, had an important function in helping the child to achieve independence of the adult. In relation to his elders, the child is inevitably in a situation of subordination. In order for him to be able to develop into an adult he must have scope to practise a more adult role. The peer group provides a structure within which the members have roughly equal status, and within which the individual is in a position to experiment with experience and to play roles very different from that of the child. Such a group constitutes a conducive environment for such experimentation for, in comparison with the family, it offers a situation in which learning can occur in a relatively unemotionally charged setting, particularly as relationships are of a fairly transitory nature.

The peer group is also an essential agent providing both new social roles for the teenager and new models on which to pattern behaviour suitable for these roles. For instance, the peer group offers a social organisation which is characterized by greater democracy and a less tightly structured framework than that of the family. This aspect of the function of peer groups becomes of greater importance in a rapidly changing society, and one in which the important institutionalized roles of the system are no longer allocated on the basis of family or kinship membership, and the main integrative principles of the social structure differ from those which regulate the family. This point has been made by Eisenstadt (1956), who comments that under such conditions, "the solidarity of age-heterogeneous relations tends to be broken, and there arises a tendency towards the emergence of age-homogeneous
groups. This tendency arises because (a) the individuals develop
need dispositions for role performance based on ascriptive, diffuse,
universalistic and solidarity criteria; and (b) role and reward
allocation based on these criteria intensifies the solidarity of
these social systems". (p.54) This tendency is further emphasized,
as Gottlieb and Reeves (1963) point out, by the complexities of
Western industrial society which require an increasingly long period
of training for increasingly specialised occupations. This higher
level of training has to be given by agencies outside the family,
especially the school. Thus the child is kept longer in the
educational programme, while the social system of the school forces
him to interact with his peers.

Both before and after leaving school, the adolescent is kept in
a position of very low status vis-à-vis the adult world. Cohen (1956)
has described the process that takes place in such circumstances
"If we lack the characteristics or capacities which give status in
terms of these criteria, we are beset by one of the most typical and
yet distressing of human problems of adjustment. One solution is for
individuals who share such problems to gravitate toward one another
and jointly to establish new norms, new criteria of status which
define as meritorious the characteristics they do possess, the kinds
of conduct of which they are capable". (pp.65-6) The adolescent
thus reacts by attending to status differentiations within his own
more restricted world. Gorer (1966) has made a similar point,
underlining the importance of what he calls social respect. "On the
basis of the comparative studies of many societies, I would consider
that the according of social respect is essential for the integration of any sizeable group into the population. If social respect is not accorded, one of two undesirable results occurs: either you get the formation of counter-mores groups, as they are technically called, groups who set up their own standards of social respect in opposition to the values of the dominant society; or you get very badly distorted characters .... This withholding of social respect seems to be driving a sizeable number of teenagers into forming counter-mores groups." (p.103) Musgrove has pointed out that it is not only those who are clearly failing to achieve the goals laid down by society - i.e. those in secondary modern schools or the lower streams of comprehensives - who become alienated. He noted that the privileged grammar school children who are undoubtedly benefiting from the system and would therefore be expected to be in tune with it, also "appeared beset by irreconcilable social demands" which brought doubt and uncertainty and led them to identify relatively little with the adult world. Musgrove goes so far as to suggest that "The grammar school and technical college, which make extreme demands upon their pupils and emphasize their dependence and protracted exclusion from full involvement in adult affairs, may induce a deeper sense of conflict than the modern school ...." (p.121)

Mays (1965) places the emphasis on lack of power rather than of status. While the adolescent's horizons are broadened, the limitations in his own prospects become more severe, the pressures to achieve greater. A concentration on the narrower but more accessible world of the teenager may be the result. "Modern urban youth, at least a substantial proportion of them, want to look
different from the rest of the community. They want to talk, to behave, in a distinctively teenage manner. Only thus, it seems, can they assert their disapproval of the whole adult world which they experience, in spite of their improved economic position, as excessively powerful and frustrating. The common dress and habits, furthermore, act supportively and help individuals to feel conscious of their solidarity with one another which gives them added courage in their struggle for self-assertion." (pp.21-2)

One may doubt whether Mays is correct to assert that adolescents reject "the whole adult world," but the increased importance of the peer group is undeniable. Mead (1961) has written a good summary of the reasons for this charge: "New standards of educational and vocational adjustment, earlier onset of puberty, earlier ages of marriage and parenthood, compulsory military service for many, great economic prosperity with economic opportunities for untrained workers, increasingly deep uncertainty about the future of mankind in general and of the United States in particular - all these considerations have altered the manner in which young people meet the age-old problems of shifting from the contradictions and unevenness of physical puberty, dependency upon parents and teachers, and juvenile status before the law, to the status of responsible adults." (p.37)

A large body of research now exists which demonstrates the importance of the peer group in western society and a brief review of this evidence will throw further light on the subject. A great many writers have shown how the orientation of the child changes as
he grows up and how, in certain respects, the peer group takes the
place of the family — e.g. Kinch and Bowerman (1951), Vaz (1961),
Sherif and Sherif (1965) found that "common to youth in all areas
was their orientation towards age-mates as the reference set".
School samples were asked to say why they found school to be fun,
75% of replies pertaining specifically to the opportunities that
school gave for interaction with age-mates. Thompson and
Horrocks (1946) demonstrated that these friendship configurations
are more stable than has often been assumed, while Hallworth (1953)
has shown that it is possible to identify these groups by means of
sociometric tests. He found relatively stable groups, associated
with particular value systems, centred on individuals overchosen on
sociometric tests. Hollingshead (1949) also verified the existence
of these "cliques" and suggested something of their importance as
 arbiters of attitudes and behaviour.

But the degree of involvement in such cliques, and indeed the
sort of values that the cliques espouse are by no means standard for
all adolescents. This is inevitable given that young people do not
react to a common social situation. Many factors operate to alter
this environment and the most potent of these is social class.
Society, and the educational system within it, are to a very great
extent divided along class lines. Reforms have been implemented to
limit the extent to which the education programme is based on and
perpetuates social divisions, but as much research has shown
their effectiveness is questionable. Correlations are still found
between social class background and educational opportunity and this
situation is likely to stay with us unless a deeper structural reorganisation of society is attempted. Children from different backgrounds therefore occupy very different structural positions vis-à-vis the educational system and their reactions are naturally very different.

The end result of the organisation of education is that children largely find themselves in contact with others from a similar background. Consequently a child's friends are very likely to be from homes of a similar kind to his own, although there is some debate as to how far this tendency extends. Hollingshead found that in Elmtown, three quarters of the high school boys and girls chose as their best friend a person of the same social class and that for such choices to be mutual even more invariably required membership in an equivalent prestige stratum of society. He argued that limitations in certain social skills and in the economic facilities to participate in certain activities, combined with adverse attitudes of persons in both the upper and lower prestige groups imposed almost insuperable obstacles to the continuance of cross-class relationships. However, to study best friends is not to study peer groups and in any case, Udrey (1960) in his study of Californian suburban children concluded that "the tendency to choose one's same sex friends from one's own social class is negligible in this population as compared to the tendency in this direction reported by Hollingshead for Elmtown". The different sets of conditions extant in an old mid-Western town and in a new, relatively unstable, community probably accounts largely for this contradiction in findings. Talcott Parsons (1961) accepts that both homogeneity and heterogeneity
will exist to some extent, but adds that "there is a broad correspondence between the prestige of friendship groups and the family status of the members".

English research generally supports the hypothesis that pupils tend to mix with others from a similar social background. Oppenheim (1955) found no clique formation along class lines in a study of grammar school boys but Ford (1969) has suggested that "it seems that the class structure of the world outside the school shapes the structure of informal relations within the school not only through the children's social class of origin but also through their class of aspiration". (p.76) In any case Jackson and Marsden (1962) and Dale and Griffiths (1965) have produced evidence that working class children in grammar schools tend to slip down-stream. Since most friendship choices are made within the stream (see Chapter 14) these findings contradict Oppenheim. In her study of comprehensive schools, Ford found "little comfort for those who have put their faith in comprehensive reorganisation as a means of destroying class barriers in interpersonal relations," (p.82) for in nearly all cases "children show a tendency to choose their hypothetical friends from those of similar class background". She concluded that "The option for social mixing which is supposedly created in the comprehensive school by the house system is simply not taken up: children are more likely to choose their 'real friends' from their own academic streams than any others in the same school .... Within these homogeneous academic streams children apparently prefer to mix with those from similar social backgrounds". (p.105)
What is less debatable is the way in which the organisation of the school can further differentiate the experiences of its pupils. This point has been well made by both Hargreaves (1967) and Ford (1969). The former has shown how the school creates a cultural dichotomy between the upper and lower streams. The organisation of the school leads to differential opportunities for interaction for boys in upper and lower streams and the consequent segregation favours the development of common values within each half. The system of transfers between streams leads to a convergence of boys with similar orientations in the same stream. Hargreaves enumerates other factors which also reinforce this trend and concludes that lower stream pupils who are status-deprived and are made more aware of their failure by the school, become members of a delinquent subculture seeking alternatives to the pupil role as defined by the teachers.

Other factors besides class and school organisation may also be important in differentiating the environment in which the peer groups find themselves. Age, race, ethnicity and rural or urban residence are some of the other factors which ought to be considered. Moreover the extent to which any individual absorbs himself in the peer-group also varies widely. Douvan and Adelson (1966) have compared two polar types which they identified as "family oriented" and "friend oriented" depending on their answers to questions about whose advice they would take in a number of circumstances. "Friend oriented" teenagers were apparently more mature on various behavioural indices, and, not surprisingly, were less submissive, substituting conformity to peer group norms for the general pattern of authoritarian submission manifested by the others. Douvan and Adelson also suggested differences
between the sorts of peer groups developing amongst boys and girls.\(^1\)

They argued that a boy needs "a band of rebels with whom he can identify and (so) gain the strength he needs for a stance against adult authority", whereas girls, who less frequently oppose parental regulation, rely more often on a close tie to a best friend and do not value the solidarity of the group qua group in the way that boys do. To some extent this sex differentiation is probably still valid but the situation is obviously more complex than these writers seem to imagine.

A similar division into family and peer oriented children was noted by Riley and Riley (1951) who discovered different reactions with reference to animal cartoons. "One key to such a difference lies, we believe, in the social structure itself. The children who belong in family groups but not in peer groups are offered a set of adult values by their parents. This usually means that they are expected to help at home, to do well in school, to learn to strive in order to achieve, and in general to prepare for a future life as adults. For many 10-12 year old children these goals may often seem difficult, or even completely unattainable. Small wonder then that they love to read about little animals like Bugs Bunny, whom they perceive as the complete negation of the goals and conventions established by adults .... On the other hand, the peer group members, though still tickled by his humour, are less engrossed by Bugs Bunny .... This is perhaps because they have less need to defy parent values,

\(^1\) See also: Tiger (1969).
since they, as members of two groups, have a choice between two sets of values - those of their parents and those of their peers. Peer values are usually far less discouraging, having to do with being just like the group (not too poor but also not too good at anything) and involving certain routines of keeping up with baseball and with the latest tunes, hanging around with the gang, and seeing the funny side of things."

(p.451)

This section has been quoted at length because it provides a good example of the sort of thinking that underlies this research, while at the same time showing how use of mass media material both reflects the differences between the groups and comes to have important symbolic value. Although the Rileys' formulation is far too simple it provides a useful starting point. However we are getting ahead of ourselves, for we have yet to sort out a satisfactory and workable solution to the conflict consensus debate, although the analysis in this chapter has offered clues as to how it may be resolved.
CHAPTER 5: YOUTH SUBCULTURES

Earlier chapters have picked their way, rather circuitously at times, through the two opposing views of adolescents today. On the one hand the conflict model proposes a breakdown in relations between the generations. As Richard Neville (1970) has crudely put it: "In American schools, it is said that Che Guevara is 13 years old and not doing his homework," or to take an example from a different situation, "One of the most astonishing sights of the May revolution was thousands of school children marching to the slogan 'Power is in the streets, not in Parliament'" (Seale and McConville 1968). Wilson (1969) has put forward the theory that "as a cause of dramatic popular disturbances the conflict between the generations .... has eclipsed the class struggle" and fears that "The potential enemies of culture are recruited from those who are also its potential inheritors - the young. The effect is to make it more likely that they will destroy, rather than receive, the fruits of civilisation."

On the other hand writers such as Parsons and White (1961) see the emergence of youth culture as a part of the general process of structural differentiation that takes place in modern society under a relatively stable general system of values. For them the peer group represents patterns of orientation that are secondary to the main patterns which are those of the system of formal education.

The most useful approach to the problem seems to be to see, not a unified youth culture either in conflict with or in concordance with adult culture, but a whole series of subcultures ranging from revolutionary to totally submissive to adult authority. All these subcultures are subject to a number of restrictions which limit their autonomy. In the first place a subculture is, by definition, firmly
rooted in the overall culture of which it is a part. In many ways youth subcultures are bound to reflect the adult culture and reinforce most of its values. Young people are not a section of the community that can effectively cut themselves off from the rest and develop a totally different life-style. Their inevitable involvement with older (and younger) people at home, in school and during many other activities necessarily ties them to the total culture. Only in certain areas of activity where they are involved solely with their peers in pastimes beyond adult control can they assert their independence.

Among many groups, particularly if they are middle class, it may be very difficult to discern anything that is not closely related to and evolved from the adult culture. The child's path to adulthood may be so clear and troublefree that adults are used as an anticipatory reference group, so that the peer group becomes functionally redundant. It was just such a group that Elkin and Westley (1955) studied and which has been taken as a proof of the unimportance of peers. But this is probably a pattern only for the minority of adolescents. For a greater number it may be said that young people "can hardly be regarded as a homogeneous group in the meaning that they are oriented towards or choose one and the same reference group. One can rather speak of different groups of young people, such as have, to a great extent, broken away from the family and become oriented towards peers, and such as are still strongly dependent on parents. Very few persons are consistently oriented towards one of the groups, but orientation varies, not only from one individual to another, but also from one situation to another." (Anderson 1969, pp. 347-8). For many children a schizophrenic situation results in which they are constantly adjusting and readjusting to the cultural
demands of each particular environment. This is by no means difficult or extraordinary for young people during this stage in their lives when they are testing out and experimenting with different role patterns.

Clearly, Coleman's (1961) thesis is not adequate. His argument that "society is confronted no longer with a set of individuals to be trained toward adulthood, but with distinct social systems which offer a united front to the overtures made by adult society," (p. 4) is altogether too simple. As Epperson (1964) has remarked: "Coleman's work has drawn attention to the importance of the teenage peer culture in adolescent behaviour, but we still need a conceptual scheme that takes into consideration the multiple loyalties of the teenager and the relation of these loyalties to specific situations."

Consideration of adolescent peer groups as belonging to a whole series of interrelated subcultures each with a different structure and value system vis-a-vis the general culture, provides such a framework for it allows for any number of adaptations. There has been a considerable amount of debate as to whether the term 'subculture' can properly be used in this respect. The problem is in part a semantic one, but various authorities have put forward the prerequisites for a subculture, most of which are clearly met by at least some sorts of teenage culture. Sebald (1968), for instance, has argued that a subculture must contain the following features: "(1) The establishment of common values and norms, (2) A specific lingo not shared with the larger culture expressing what is of particular significance to the participants, (3) A common style of behaviour, including the observance of fads, (4) Standards specifying
the right appearance, in terms of dress, grooming, make-up, etc.

(5) A feeling of belonging, thinking of one's peer group in terms of 'we' instead of 'they'. (6) An understanding of status relations, i.e. the existence of a working order of social positions that, at the minimum, clarifies leader-follower relationships.

(7) Gratification of specific needs for which the larger culture does not provide." (p.206). Sebald concludes that adolescent subcultures fulfil all these functions. It may be added that the development of common forms of leisure activity and art forms is another indication of the emergence of a subculture and teenagers' use of the pop media is a clear example of such a development. Cole (1970) has shown how all the subcultural elements identified by Sebald may be related to young people's involvement in the pop media.

In an attempt to clarify the debate Gottlieb and Reeves (1963) surveyed the opinions of twenty social scientists to find out whether they accepted the existence of "an adolescent subculture". The majority argued for the existence of a number of such subcultures. A sensible approach to the problem is the one put forward by Jahoda and Warren (1965) who suggest that there is more than one way of examining any social phenomenon. "The major culture of which (young people) are part is transmitted by family, school and community in which they mix with other age groups to varying extents. It follows that such a group in society can usefully be studied from the point of view of what they have in common as well as from the point of view of what they share with the major culture. Both are legitimate approaches whose ultimate value stem from what they reveal. Subculture is not a "thing" whose absence or presence can be verified; it is a concept that may lead to fruitful research and does not exclude other
conceptual guides".

Much of the work on adolescent groups has centred on the delinquent aspect and it is notable that even within this limited sphere of teen activity, not one, but a number, of identifiable subcultural patterns can be isolated. Cohen and Short (1958) for instance, have distinguished six types of delinquent behaviour and Marshall and Mason (1968) have described the various conditions that can lead to different sorts of juvenile delinquency. No doubt even further refinements could be made to these theories, making even finer differentiations. Each of these many subgroups has its own patterns of thought and behaviour that distinguish it from others and which can only be acquired by participation in the group. Cohen (1956) has remarked that the crucial condition for the development of cultural innovations is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment. A process of mutual conversion takes place. "The emergence of these 'group standards' of this shared frame of reference, is the emergence of a new subculture. It is cultural because each actor's participation in this system of norms is influenced by his perception of the same norms in other actors. It is subcultural because the norms are shared only among those actors who stand somehow to profit from them and who find in one another a sympathetic moral climate within which these norms may come to fruition and persist." (p.65)

Cohen's comments apply more widely than within the limited context of delinquency. Gottlieb (1965) has taken a broader view and offered some light on the various ways in which subgroups appear. He reports research by Clark and Trow who had formulated a taxonomy of peer group types with regard to college students. They suggested that the different ways in which the students related to the culture of the
college, affected the sort of peer-relationships they entered into. Gottlieb concluded that three main factors are salient to the emergence of youth subcultures: (1) adolescents' perceptions as related to goal consensus between his goals and those of potential socialisers, (2) perceptions as to desire and (3) ability of socialisers to help them to attain the goals. Thus maximum involvement between the adolescent and the potential socialiser will occur when the adolescent perceives goal consensus and the desire and ability on the part of the socialiser. Naturally an empirical study showed greater consensus for middle class children. The fewer perceived adult referents of the working class were used to explain why their peer-groups were more tightly knit. Furthermore, and this point is most important in terms of this work, the working class adolescents saw less relationship between what went on in school and their immediate goals. Their alienation from school was expressed in the form of their peer groups. This suggests that children's commitment to school and how they see the future are key factors in differentiating the peer groups to which they belong.

Further evidence is supplied by two researchers starting out with very different views about youth cultures. Turner (1964) does not believe in the theory that youth-culture is related to background but negatively related to ambition. Nor does he believe that peer-groups emerge as a reaction to the adolescent's problems in dealing with the adult world. On the contrary, he proposes that "Release from the primary groups of childhood creates problems of control and identity in the youth's relations with his peers. Youth subculture is a device to resolve these problems, and arises more from the youth's problems of relations with his peers than out of opposition to adults. If youth culture is ritualistic and is not primarily anti-
adult in character, it would neither obliterate class distinctions nor effectively oppose high levels of ambition among most students.\"(p.169) Unfortunately for Turner his empirical data only partially supports this thesis for "when relationships are examined within neighbourhoods, the standard hypothesis regarding youth subculture finds possible support in the middle-level schools, whose core populations are from lower-middle class backgrounds." Turner has discovered different sorts of peer group in different sorts of neighbourhood, a finding not in accord with his inflexible formulation of "youth culture."

Sugarman (1967) makes some very different assumptions. He sees the teenager as being presented with two alternative roles. The pupil role, as defined by teachers, is characterised by acceptance of deferred gratification and subordinate status. The teenage role denies both and emphasizes spontaneous hedonism. Sugarman argues that the two roles are exclusive and seeks to divide pupils according to which role they adopt. Youth culture is the preserve of those who reject the values and norms of the school in favour of the teenage role. This is altogether too rigid a conception of the situation and Sugarman's evidence to support it is unconvincing, based as it is on a very unsatisfactory definition of teenage commitment. His conclusion that youth culture is the culture of "the non-mobile working-class, the downwardly-mobile and of those who cherish hopes of mobility along channels where the criteria of school do not apply," cannot be accepted. Nor is his attempt elsewhere (1968) to isolate different sorts of peer group very successful. He assigns children to different groups according to whether their school achievement and conduct is good or bad. Not surprisingly this process does not produce very meaningful results so that Sugarman is forced to conclude that he found "no support for the hypothesis that between these peer groups there are differences in the value assigned to youth culture."
involvement", although he did find that "the peer group to which a pupil belongs at school may affect his level of academic achievement - in some peer groups the value system favours academic achievement and middle-class values, as indicated by the greater sociometric preference for members who have these characteristics."

Clearly a more satisfactory system of differentiating sub-groups is necessary. Most of the attempts that have been made in this direction have been based on the work of Merton (1957). Merton isolated two elements of social and cultural structures of key importance for the ways in which individuals adapt to the structures. These were:

1) culturally defined goals, purposes and interests,
2) acceptable and regulated modes of attaining these goals.

Merton was primarily concerned to explain why people deviated from the norms of society when there is so much pressure to conform. He concluded that "aberrant behaviour may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realising these aspirations."

Merton saw American society as a polar type in which there is an increasing concentration on goal achievements without an equivalent emphasis on the institutionalised means for seeking these goals. Equilibrium between the two aspects of social structure has been lost, and technical expediency has become more relevant than the institutionalised procedures. Merton recognized five different forms of adaptation to this problem of the alienation of means from goals.

1) Conformity, when both goals and means are accepted.
2) Innovation, "when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalising the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment."
3) Ritualism, in which there is "abandoning or scaling down of the lofty cultural goals .... to the point where one's aspirations can be satisfied. But .... one continues to abide almost compulsively by institutional norms."

4) Retreatism, in which individuals "have relinquished culturally proscribed goals and their behaviour does not accord with institutional norms."

5) Rebellion, which "presupposes alienation from reigning goals and standards" and where there is an attempt "to bring into being a new, that is to say, a greatly modified social structure."

Merton summarized these forms of adaptation in a diagram which is here reproduced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modes of Adaptation</th>
<th>Cultural Goals</th>
<th>Institutionalised Means</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innovation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ritualism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Retreatism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebellion</td>
<td>✤</td>
<td>✤</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ = acceptance  
- = rejection  
✤ = rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new ones.


Many other writers have produced revised versions of Merton's classification, e.g. Dubin (1959), Cloward (1959), Harary (1966), but most of these refer to adult forms of adaptation. Riley and Flowerman (1951) have applied Merton's conceptual scheme to children even younger than those in our sample, and have also suggested ways in which media use may vary between the forms of adaptation. They identified five modes:

a) Conformity to adult culture, in which the child appears to have internalised both the cultural goals and the institutionalised means of the adult world and to accept and conform to them.

b) Innovation, in which the goal is accepted but the institutionalised means is rejected. These children may favour media heroes who rely on magic or other such short cuts to success. They may even prefer the villain.*

c) Ritualism, in which the child clings to the means while markedly reducing the level of his private goals to a point where they seem attainable.

d) Retreatism, in which the individual, feeling defeated, abandons both goals and means. Retreatists tend to be entranced by animal figures such as Mickey Mouse or Bugs Bunny, who apparently serve to bolster morale wherever anomie is greatest.

e) Rebellion, in which not only the goals and means are rejected, but new ones are substituted. Riley and Flowerman conjecture that this adaptation may take the form of immersion in the different

* For further discussion of this point see Klapp (1962) p.133.
values and standards of "youth culture".

Wakeford (1969) has produced a reduced version of Harary's typology (which involved seventeen modes of adaptation), and introduced a dynamic factor specifically in terms of schoolchildren. He defined the modes thus:

a) Conformity: both the school's goals as perceived by the headmaster, and officially approved means of reaching them are accepted. This mode is rarely adopted (as in Goffman's total institutions) except in the case of a core of senior boys.

b) Retreat: becomes more feasible in later years, and is an expression of rejection or indifference to goals and institutional means of the school, normally without replacement in either case. The retreatist is 'in the society, but not of it' (Merton).

c) Colonization: ambivalence over formal rules and regulations with indifference to goals. Attempt to live within the system by maximising what is perceived as the available gratifications whether officially permitted or proscribed. The adaptation corresponds to what Goffman calls 'working the system'.

d) Intransigence: rejection of institutionalised means and indifference to ends. Hate of rules and regulations and desire to 'beat the system' results in a distinctive type of deviance through means proscribed by the school organisations. This is often a temporary mode.

e) Rebellion: some boys develop from intransigence to rebellion which involves a rejection of some at least of the official goals and the substitution of others.

Wakeford argued that the general pattern (for public school boys at least) is:
(i) Early years - colonization (+ retreat).
(ii) Middle years - intransigence (+ colonization and retreat).
(iii) Later years - colonization (+ conformity, retreat and rebellion).

Lambert (1968) has also studied public school children whom he classified on a strictly Mertonian basis with the five classic modes of adaptation. He suggests that juniors are usually wholly accepting and ritualistic; that around thirteen to fifteen there is a phase of adolescent rebellion, followed by a more complete crystallising of reactions. He argues that different types of school produce reactions different in scale and in depth. Thus not only may conformity be more widespread in one school than another, but the commitment of children who are predominantly conformist may differ in degree from a mild to a really deep commitment. Reactions may also differ according to the nature of the school's ends: a child may feel differently about the instrumental and the expressive aims of the school, accepting one and rejecting the other.

Matza (1961) has devoted his attention to the 'rebellious' aspects of adaptation and casts doubt on how accurate such a designation really is. He identified three modes of youthful 'rebelliousness' - delinquency, radicalism and bohemianism, representing the 'subterranean traditions' already existing within the framework of American society. He argues that these traditions link teenage intransigence to the traditions of the conventional community. There is an ongoing dialectic between conventional and deviant traditions in the process of which both are modified. The very existence of these conventionalised versions of subterranean deviant traditions assists young people to find their way back to a normal way of life when their rebellious stage ends. Matza suggests that it is these conventional versions of hidden deviance that we are usually meaning when we refer to 'teenage culture'. He
argues that their function may in fact be one of prevention and restoration since they may prevent many adolescents from going too far in the way of outright deviancy, and suggests that it may well be worth bearing this 'conservative', 'system-maintaining' aspect of teenage culture in mind.

Mays (1965) has been less concerned with the functions of different adaptations and has produced what he has called a 'rough and ready typology of adolescents'. He distinguishes between six groups, many of which he describes largely in terms of male characteristics.

Group One consists of "youngsters who react aggressively against the limitations of their environment". They are working class, have low status and are resentful of their impotent role in society.

Group Two are a stratum in a similarly depressed structural position, who react, not by open aggression, but by participation in illegal forms by behaviour. A typical example may be found in Whyte's (1943) corner boys.

Group Three are described as 'the beats' and 'other socially and psychologically depressed elements', and are presented essentially as a withdrawal reaction.

Group Four are the "angry young men" and their descendents. "Politically leftish, strongly humanitarian in their attitudes", they are frequently well-educated and come from high income groups.

Group Five are the "new men of the affluent society, the new type of proletarian male especially". Although working class in origin and background they view the world optimistically.

Group Six are the "middle class grammar/public and high school battalions who have made a good adjustment to the realities of life in their milieux and accept its goals and aspirations."
Mays adds that most adolescents belong in groups five and six, whilst those in groups one to four, considered by society (and certainly by Mays) as deviants or failures get most of the publicity. As a result of heavy criticism, Mays later added a seventh group: those who probably make up the bulk of working class adolescents, who see no future at school but who accept their situation.

Mays' classification is laden with value-judgments, a criticism that may also be made about the work of Carter (1966) which concentrates on the varying kinds or "home and social background". He distinguishes three main types:

(a) The home-centred aspiring family, which has two sub-divisions - the traditional middle class 'respectable' family, and the newly affluent, both producing the same sort of 'aspiring' adolescent.

(b) The 'solid' working-class type which accepts life as it comes without wishing to 'get on'.

(c) The 'rough' deprived home where there is little regard for the 'official' norms and values of society. This sort of background, according to Carter produces 'ill-equipped' children, ready-made for 'dead-end jobs' and anti-social in their behaviour.

Milson (1972) divides young people into two groups depending on their dominant attitudes to life - assenters and dissenters. The second group are further sub-divided into revolutionaries who want to change society and the 'socially-rejected' who are discontented with their personal position in society. Within these categories Milson identified a large range of behavioural forms, finally arriving at twenty-seven different groups although many of these are distinguishable only in theory. Rather less complicated and more
empirically based is Willmott's study of Bethnal Green (1966). He noted three distinct types which he labelled 'working class', 'middle class' and 'rebel'. The first and last of these are clear enough, referring to those who (a) have the same values as their fathers, are engaged in manual occupations and expect to stay there, or (b) reject the values of the local community and the middle class values of the wider society. His 'middle class category' are not middle class in the usual way, for Bethnal Green is a wholly working class area. These children, however, are oriented towards the middle class way of life, looking beyond the locality for inspiration and criticising and renouncing its values. Willmott also identified a further group, although he found only four in his sample of 246. Those were retreatists, critical of school but not delinquent, and inclined towards cultural, intellectual and artistic pursuits.

Many of these various attempts to differentiate between peer groups have certain features in common. In Part Three a taxonomy will be presented which draws on these features, adds some others and which is suitable for the population to be studied.
The question of whether pop music is a worthy subject of study hardly needs answering. Many writers have shown the large part that listening to music plays in the lives of adolescents. Hirsch et al (1970) found that 60% of a sample of American teenagers rated "attending to popular music" to be an important activity, while only "athletic activities" and "being with friends" received more choices. Johnstone (1961) concluded that his data "reflects the great importance of music listening within the culture of this age-group". Brown and Leary (1971) have presented data to show the great involvement of British secondary school pupils in pop music. In America there is already an academic journal devoted to the study of "Popular Music and Society".

As Hirsch et al (1970) have noted, "researchers in the field of popular culture generally perform either a content analysis of the medium under study, or a survey of the audience, or an institutional analysis". Research in the area of pop music is no exception to this rule. On the whole studies of the organisation of the music industry, such as Hirsch (1969) and Peterson and Berger (undated) will not concern us here, though they will be drawn upon occasionally in the course of Part Two. Nor are content analyses directly relevant, although since they constitute the bulk of pop media research a few words should be said about them.
For obvious reasons nearly all analyses have concentrated on the lyrics rather than the music, and most have traced the way in which the subject matter of songs has changed since the days when Horton (1957) found that 85% of all popular songs concerned stages in the "drama of courtship". In general the findings have been that songs have not only dealt with a wider range of issues, but that those that have been about relations between the sexes have been franker, less romantic and more realistic (Carey 1969(a), Carey 1969(b), Cole 1970, Hirsch et al 1972, Robinson and Hirsch 1969). Concentration on the words can be a very misleading form of analysis for it seems likely that the words are of very secondary importance. Robinson and Hirsch (1969a) found that when they asked teenagers if a song's attraction lay in its 'sound' or its 'meaning', 70% responded that they were more attracted by the sound. Elsewhere these writers have shown how only a small number of listeners actually know what a song is about, and that the wider the audience there is for a song, the less likely it is to be understood by its admirers (Robinson and Hirsch 1969b). A further criticism of this kind of content analysis has been made by Denzin (1970) who has pointed out how this approach assumes that the artistic production is a "social fact", and ignores the meanings given by the artist and derived by the audience. He felt that it may be particularly true of pop songs that the artist and the audience have different interpretations.

Only a study of the audience can solve this problem, but few have attempted to look at the pop media in this way. However those studies that do exist offer considerable support to the hypothesis that different groups of adolescents use the pop media in different ways and that the
peer group is an important factor. Riesman (1953) was one of the first to tackle the problem, and although his attempt to differentiate peer groups and relate them to different musical interests now appears a little crude, his findings are most suggestive. He concluded that "in general, what the teenager perceives in the mass media is framed by his perception of the peer groups to which he belongs. These groups not only rate the tunes but select for the members in more subtle ways what is to be 'heard' in each tune". Riesman suggested that even listening alone is conducted in the context of "imaginary others" so that the same processes of selective perception and judgement are at work.

Johnstone and Katz (1957) also found evidence linking peer group membership with pop music preferences, and showing that popularity with peers is an important factor determining the pop music choices of adolescents. They found that members of cliques chose the same songs as favourites and also gave their approval to the same disc jockeys. Thus members of each group tended to display a common pattern of taste preferences. Johnstone's doctorate dissertation (1961) adds to this evidence, showing that "record and radio listening is predominantly a collective mass media experience among adolescents, since by far the most desirable social situation for exposure to this fare is the group itself". In addition, "it is the persons who are well integrated into peer groups who are the heavier purchasers of recordings". Johnstone concluded that, "The present data show how specific 'brands' of mass media content come to be fitted within a cultural and perhaps subcultural context. In general, the data provide strong support for the thesis that the mass media are not consumed identically among members of the same demographic aggregate."
They suggest that even the entertainment-oriented consumer selects his 'products' with an eye to their potential impact on his social identity."

Johnstone also found a strong relationship between the liking of certain singers and both social class and position within the adolescent social structure. The second of these relationships he thought the more intriguing and suggested that "one interpretation for this finding is that persons located in different positions of the adolescent social structure actively seek out symbols which help to identify with their perceived position." He did not however follow up this line of inquiry and it has been left to Hirsch and his associates at the University of Michigan to do further research in this area. Their starting point is the affirmation that while variation between classes of respondents and gross categories of musical styles has been reported (e.g. Schuessler 1968, Brunswick 1962) the Coleman study (1961), of which Johnstone's work is a part, is the only one to have looked at variation within classes and within single musical categories. "We have no way of knowing, therefore, whether all popular records are attended equally by the same audience, or whether certain popular song styles (e.g. 'social protest') may appeal disproportionately to particular subgroups in the audience for popular music. Thus, the assumption of taste homogeneity within classes grouped by age, sex, income, and musical preference remains to be tested." (Hirsch et al, 1970)

The authors have conducted a series of surveys of teenagers, one of the aims being to test the assumption of taste homogeneity within
this age group. Four pilot studies in Michigan, reported in Robinson and Hirsch (1969) led them to believe that "teenagers as a group can be said to constitute a 'homogeneous' audience in only a very superficial sense." A later study involving an omnibus national probability sample of 589 teenagers confirmed suspicions that the "widespread hypothesis of homogeneity of musical taste preferences among teenagers is untenable". They tested the relative strengths of six background variables which were thought to be most highly associated with teenagers' popular song style preferences: region of residence, size of community of residence, age, sex, socio-economic status and race.

Of these, age and sex appeared to be relatively uninfluential, although, in line with other studies, it was found that girls were generally more involved in pop music than were boys. Apart from this, sex seemed to be a relevant factor only among those teenagers for whom pop music was a central activity. In these cases boys tended to make less conventional choices, selecting more often as favourites records falling into categories such as 'social protest'.

The place of residence of the respondents seemed to be a more important variable. Rural children had more conservative tastes than urban, but the more influential factor was 'region'. Teenagers in the north-eastern and western regions showed a greater receptivity to less conventional musical styles, indicating "a more 'catholic' set of popular song style preferences, and a greater degree of cultural 'open-mindedness' in these regions."

However, by far the most reliable predictors of preferences were social class and race, and the authors expressed themselves to be
"especially surprised to learn the magnitude of these associations".

These two variables indeed, probably accounted for a greater proportion of variation in taste than all other background variables combined. In particular they found that liking of 'social protest' songs was closely linked to background variables such as father's education, family income and father's occupation. Children from upper-middle class homes were far more likely to appreciate this sort of music. Yet at the same time children from this sort of background were the most likely to choose really conservative records as their favourites. Teenagers from the opposite end of the social scale also exhibit contradictory taste patterns so that the authors conclude that "teenagers with the least typical musical taste preferences are the sons and daughters of fathers at the very top and very bottom of the American social structure."

Summarizing their findings Hirsch and his colleagues write that "there is no single, undifferentiated mass audience of American teenagers, each of whose members has an equal probability of being attracted to and possibly 'influenced' by a given popular hit song. Rather, we have documented a finding that each major popular song style appeals disproportionately to a particular 'subculture', or listener segment of the mass audience." The next chapter will trace the development of the major musical styles and the rest of Part Two will demonstrate how pop music is related to the other pop media. This section might best be concluded, however, with a brief résumé of the main points that have been made, particularly those that are of immediate relevance to the empirical data that will be presented in Part Four.

In general we have seen how macroscopic approaches to the subject
in terms of concepts such as 'youth culture' and 'pop culture' have not been very useful, because they cannot take into account the very wide variations of phenomena that are included under these broad headings. It has been argued that it is misleading to talk about the adolescent without discussing the specific circumstances of the environment in which the particular adolescent under review is located. While certain features of adolescence are naturally common to all young people, many more are infinitely variable. For this reason also the arguments between proponents of conflict and consensus relationships between the generations seem often to be missing the essential point, as do discussions in terms of a simple division between the cultures of the school and of the mass media. The role of the peer group has been stressed but, here again, the point has been made that its influence is not necessarily great. For some teenagers it may indeed be of paramount importance, but for others it may be relevant only in relatively limited spheres of activity, while others may be almost completely cut off from peer influence.

The conclusion that we have reached is that there are many different youth sub-cultures, covering a very wide spectrum of attitude and behaviour, and that the differences result from the varying positions in the social structure of the adolescents who make up the groups. It may be hypothesized therefore, that children in different structural positions will belong to peer groups who use the mass media, and the pop media in particular, in different ways. Previous research suggests that among the variables that are relevant in this differentiation we may expect to find social class, sex, age, area of residence and attitude to school.
This is a very broad and unspecific hypothesis. It is preferable to work from a larger number of more limited theories, but in an experimental study such as this, the ideal is not always attainable. The aim of this research cannot be more than to provide a few clues in an area that has not been extensively studied. This being the case it is not necessary to have a large, rigorously selected sample, nor to attempt detailed statistical analysis. Instead, a small number of respondents have been questioned in some depth, and while the results cannot be put forward as ultimate proof in any respect, they do offer some interesting and provocative possibilities. Of course, more weight must not be placed on the results than the limitations of the data allow, but it is hoped that the findings of this study will enable more research to be undertaken that can follow up and give statistical backing to the suggestions that this work offers. This point will be taken up and expanded in the conclusion to the study.
PART TWO

THE "POP MEDIA"
CHAPTER 7: INTRODUCTION

Part Two will describe the past and present of the pop media showing how they have developed as a very important sector of entertainment. A brief history of pop music provides essential background for an understanding of the different varieties that flourish today and also acts as an introduction to the main themes that run through this part. A summary of these themes will give a helpful perspective from which to view the chapters that follow.

(1) Firstly we will see repeatedly the interdependence of pop music and the other pop media, including fashion. At the same moments in history that important changes occur in one medium, we will nearly always find associated changes in the others.

(2) It is a significant fact that pop music has emerged and developed at a time when the role of the adolescent has gone through a series of very far-reaching changes. The two phenomena are very much related. Until adolescence appeared as a definite stage between childhood and adulthood there was no need for any such thing as pop which appeals largely to groups going through this phase. Pop provides a support to help the adolescent through these years by providing an alternative set of meanings and a different way of looking at life. As the status and needs of young people alter so we will expect changes in the sectors of entertainment and business which depend on this audience or market.

(3) Technological progress has played a major part in the development of pop. The development of the electronic media has taken place at a very fast rate, continually allowing new avenues
of experiment and change in the music industry. Whether technologi-
cal breakthroughs leads to other advances or whether new conditions
inevitably lead to new and more appropriate technology is an argument
that is not directly relevant here. Suffice it to say that the two
go hand in hand and react upon one another in a continually stimulating
way.

(4) The chapter on the history of pop music will explain the very
complex nature of pop today. It is the result of a long series of
fusions of different musical traditions. As some of the elements
of a new idiom become laid over the pattern of the existing form, the
texture of pop becomes even more rich and offers wider possibilities.
It is important to grasp the very hybrid nature of pop rather than to
treat it as a more or less homogeneous form, for pop does not offer
one cut and dried set of meanings to its devotees. Within its
enormous range are encompassed a large array of different attitudes
and approaches to life.

(5) Finally we may note a consistent trend in the development of pop
music. This is the continued borrowing from negro forms which are
incorporated into white pop music in a rather more refined version.
In response negro music seeks out new forms and the cycle starts over
again. This process of appropriation and revitalisation will be
discussed more fully after we have seen how it recurs throughout the
history of pop.
CHAPTER 8: A BRIEF HISTORY OF POP MUSIC

(1) Origins

Pop, like the "teenager", was born in America. What we know today is the result of many fusions of different sorts of music over a period of many years. American music in the thirties was strictly divided by race, with "black" and "white" radio stations, "black" and "white" record companies and "black" and "white" hit-parades.

"White" music had two distinct branches. The most widespread form and the one which dominated the industry in the late thirties and forties was "big-band music". Even this form owed greatly to black origins, for it was derived essentially from the negro jazz bands of ten years before. Big band music had replaced the "show tunes" written by men such as Cole Porter, Hoagy Carmichael and Lorenz Hart, who had provided the majority of the successful songs up to this time. But public interest in this "stage music" had flagged badly by 1933, record sales in that year being only 6% of what they had been twelve years before. The end of the depression and the reappearance of better times called for a new impetus and this was provided by the big bands. The most successful, such as Goodman's or Dorsey's could gross half a million dollars a year and one expert has estimated there to have been over 300 big swing bands of national reputation in existence at that time. Two journals were devoted wholly to the band business.

In the early forties a change in emphasis resulted in the band's singer becoming more important than the band leader. This new
evaluation of the role of the singer resulted from the discovery that the microphone (and at first, also the megaphone), demanded a different singing approach. Bing Crosby and Rudy Vallee were among the first to adapt their techniques to the new technology and Crosby, in particular, was influential in producing the style known as "crooning". But his success never stimulated the sort of adulation accorded to Frank Sinatra.

Sinatra was probably the first singer to possess the qualities essential for a "star". He was much younger than most of his rivals; still in his mid twenties. He was also good-looking and prepared to use his performance to encourage idolatry. His more personal style encouraged the audience to identify him closely with his songs, leading to the confusion of singer and song, private personality and public performance which had previously been reserved only for film-stars.

Other singers followed in Sinatra's footsteps - Tony Bennett, Perry Como, Andy Williams and many others. Most of these complied to a fairly rigid formula of dark good-looks, and many of them have showed surprising endurance. The emergence of the band singer meant a swing back towards the less original, novelty or ballad songs that had been in fashion before the big bands had flourished. Most were performed in the cool, unemotional manner made popular by Crosby, although some songs required a tougher approach to match the melodrama of the music. This style reached its peak with Johnnie Ray in 1951. He dispensed with the emphasis on technical perfection and control and substituted instead a style of total involvement culminating in what approximated to an emotional collapse, complete with sobs and tears.
He too was young for the times (25) and his pathos appealed to his female fans, leading to riots at his performances. His music was unoriginal, traditional romantic ballad but his performance transformed the material into something new. He was the first indication that style could transcend content, a discovery that was of great importance for the development of pop.

The other strand of white music came as a result of a merger of British worksongs, evangelical hymns and popular sentimental ballads. In the American South these constituents combined to produce "country music", otherwise known as "country and western" or "hillbilly". Radio and records gave country music a much wider audience from the twenties onwards, while in the thirties it came to be used as the most appropriate scores for western films and was given a new impetus by the numerous singing cowboys such as Gene Autry and Roy Rogers. By the forties country records sold in millions and many non-country singers recorded country-type material. From 1945 Nashville in Tennessee became more and more the centre of country music as record companies set up facilities there. The popular radio show "Grand Ole Oprey" also emanated from Nashville as it had done since 1925 and continues to do today. The vogue for country music reached its peak between 1949 and 1953 when 49 such records sold over a million copies each. Eleven of these were contributed by Hank Williams, an influential singer who conveyed more of the authentic spirit of country music than many of his more polished rivals.

Set quite apart from white music, and with its own radio stations and record companies was black music. This had developed along a regional rather than a national basis, but had as its basis the music originating from the Delta region of Mississippi - the blues. In the
early years of this century the blues evolved along two different paths which separated those who employed several instruments in a band and those who played solo relying on their own accompaniment. The former group subdivided into jazz which was nationwide and emphasized improvisation, and band blues which originally were identified with the South West but gradually appeared in every major city, and which featured singers. Over the years the solo blues artists also migrated north to the cities and the spread of electronic instruments in the thirties gave birth to the "urban blues".

Charlie Gillett (1971) has differentiated a large number of blues styles, but during the forties one style was evolved in the cities which was to eclipse all others. Because it used a strong dance beat, heavily emphasized by the rhythm section, this style came to be called "rhythm and blues". Much of the emotion of the blues was lost but the style was distinctly more exciting than the white music of the time. The lyrics were still generally too new and earthy, concentrating largely on sex to allow such material to be played on white radio stations. However, changes in the structure of the record industry after the second world war were gradually producing a national "Negro market". A revolution in the distribution system meant that "black" records were no longer confined to their own particular areas. Previously the East Coast, the Midwest, the West Coast, the South and the South West had each constituted a separate market with their own particular performers being recorded by small independent companies. During the forties the number of these companies multiplied greatly and most of these concentrated largely on the new "rhythm and blues" music. This quickly came to dominate
the air-waves of the black radio stations.

Throughout this period white music made much use of black singers and bands were not slow to produce their own versions of black songs, being careful first to tone them down both musically and lyrically so that the result was a bowdlerized copy lacking the fire and spirit of the original.

(2) Rock and Roll

By 1950 therefore there were still three distinct hit parades existing for three types of music: country, rhythm and blues, and the white band and ballad music of Tin Pan Alley. However, the preconditions necessary for change were already present. The new prosperity was greatly increasing the market and creating new possibilities. The emergence of the young that was noted in Part One had altered the character of the radio-listening and record-buying public. Moreover many of these young whites were beginning to "discover" the black radio stations that were transmitting music much more to their liking. This minority grew so rapidly that when, in 1952, a Cleveland disc jockey called Alan Freed experimented with a rhythm and blues show on his white programme it was an instant and enormous success. The white record companies immediately began to look around for white performers who could handle the new material, although inevitably the resulting "cover versions" were considerably watered-down and made more suitable for white consumption. Among the performers signed up during this period was a group called "Bill Haley and his Comets" who had been recording for some time for a small independent record company. At their first recording session for the "Decca" company they produced "Rock Around the Clock" and "Shake, Rattle and Roll", two early hits
in the style that came to be called "rock and roll", to avoid the black connotations of "rhythm and blues".

Haley represented a blend of black and white music. The rhythm was black but simplified in comparison with authentic black versions. The voice and style were clearly white with the choral chants typical of many bands of the time. Elements of country music were also present and Haley himself, who had spent some years in a mid-west country-and-western group, played acoustic country guitar. He was an unlikely teenage hero; plump and balding, he was twenty-six at the time of his breakthrough. Neither did his music possess too many intrinsic virtues, whilst the performance lacked the guts of the negro originals. Haley succeeded because he was the first. To the white adolescent of America who knew little of the roots of Haley's music, he was a revelation and they bought his records in such numbers that "Shake, Rattle and Roll" was in the top ten for twelve weeks in late 1954 and "Rock Around the Clock" for nineteen weeks early the next year. The latter record was helped by its incorporation into the film Blackboard Jungle" the story of which concerned teenagers' rejection of their teacher. It helped establish Haley as the leader of the rebellious young. He continued his success with another hit record "See you later Alligator" and other films "Rock Around the Clock" and "Don't Knock the Rock" which again emphasised the theme of adolescent rejection of adults and their ways.

However, Haley had neither the charisma of a star, nor enough real ability to survive as anything but a gimmick, albeit a most successful one. He was soon replaced by others, particularly Pat Boone and Elvis Presley. Presley came from the South, where he had
been influenced by a great many types of music, from coloured rhythm and blues to country ballads, from blues to gospel. All were incorporated into his style which was the nearest to a black style that whites had yet responded to. Not only was his music more appealing to young people than what had gone before, but he himself had the necessary qualities to become a symbolical figurehead. He was young and good-looking, had great presence on stage and record, and was hated by adults for his re-introduction of sex into music. As various cities barred him for obscenity, so his popularity among the young grew. His recording of "Heartbreak Hotel" became number one in all the top twenty charts, a feat never before achieved and evidence of a great change in the market. Over a two year period Presley held the number one position for fifty-five weeks (Billboard); a domination that has never been equalled.

That Pat Boone could be enormously popular at the same time as Presley indicates the complexities of pop, for Boone was basically an old-style ballad singer converted to suit the new material, which itself had to be tailored to fit his clean-cut image. Rock and roll, itself a watered-down version of rhythm and blues was already being further refined, and, if James Coleman (1961) is correct, it was this castrated version which appealed more strongly to younger adolescents. According to Coleman's study the majority of American adolescents (45% of girls and 43% of boys) favoured Boone, while only 21% of boys and 17% of girls favoured Presley (p. 23).

The successors to these first rock and roll stars were more often cast in the image of Boone than of Presley, and it was not long before Presley himself began the slow process of change which has brought him
to the role of family entertainer which he now cultivates. Few of
the "imitators" had any individuality and the material they were given
to sing (for few had the talent to write their own songs and most were
merely puppets in the hands of the now ubiquitous "manager") was nearly
always produced to a tried and tested formula that was getting
further away from the original vitality of rock and roll. By about
1959 the refining process had brought about the end of rock and roll
altogether.

(3) The legacy of Rock and Roll

Although it had lasted only a short time, rock and roll had
affected a number of irreversible changes in the music world.

(a) There could never again be a complete division of music into black
and white as had been possible previously, and had been reflected in the
radio stations. Few stations could rely solely on black or white music
and few could be sure that the composition of the listening audience
would be monoracial.

(b) This was partly because the success of white rock and roll singers
had generated white interest in the black performers from whom the style
originated. As the record industry went through a period of boom in
these years (sales trebled between 1955 and 1959) more and more black
stars were having hits in the white market. Fats Domino, Chuck Berry
and Little Richard were among those who broke through at this time and
who were to be influential over a long period.

(c) Many of the new stars, both black and white, were discovered by
small independent record companies who were able to challenge the
oligopoly of the major companies. While this challenge was ultimately
overcome - the majors usually succeeded in enticing away the
important performers, and then in buying up the independents now shorn
of their largest source of income - the confrontation had more lasting
repercussions in the publishing trade. Publishers had had the loudest
voice in the industry during the years before the coming of records,
because sales of sheet music provided the main source of revenue. This
control was maintained by their publishing organisation, the American
Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) who obtained
royalties for all live and radio broadcasts of their material. The
emergence of the small independent record companies, whose publishers
did not belong to ASCAP, broke this stranglehold. The independent
publishers established a rival association, Broadcast Music Incorporated
(BMI) and it was with this authority that most rock and roll songs were
registered.

(d) Rock and roll convinced the moguls that the youth of America
really did constitute a considerable market, one which could not
profitably be ignored. The success of rock and roll during those
few short years had stimulated the record industry to the extent that it
was now a big business. If, in 1959, rock and roll itself was showing
signs of fatigue, it was by now certain that someone somewhere would
find something to give new momentum to the sales figures.

(4) Revitalisation

Not surprisingly, the new impetus originated in black music,
which has provided the basis for most recent developments in pop
music. It is also significant that these new movements were taking
place in the North, for while the origins of black pop lie in the rural
south, its recent history is more closely connected to the urban north. While the south had provided the inspiration, the north was to add sophistication and technique.

For the new trend led away from the original roots, towards a much more mass-produced sound which owed a very great deal to the technological advances that had been made in the recording industry. Recording had now become extremely complicated, so much so that the producer - the man who oversaw the actual making of the record - became the key man in the whole process, superseding even the performer himself. It was the producer's style that was most immediately recognizable, dominating the performer, who was, in fact, usually a group, thus giving the producer wider possibilities in the interplay of the many voices, while, at the same time, making it easier for him to produce a fairly standard corporate sound.

The producers of these negro groups were themselves, in fact, usually white, but there was one notable exception. Berry Gordy had worked on a Detroit assembly line before becoming, first, an independent producer, and then the founder of his own record company, Tamla, in 1960. Whether by luck or by judgement he happened upon a formula that was to appeal to young people throughout the sixties. Without any great changes he marketed this standard product throughout the decade, and in the process built up a whole new industry in Detroit. The Motown sound as it came to be called (referring, of course to the town's huge car factories) consisted of the by now popular, heavily arranged sound of the north, allied to a strong 'gospel' influence. The Tamla Motown company is still going strong today, with many successful performers such as Stevie Wonder and the Jackson Five under contract.
The emergence of "gospel" as a major influence in negro music can be interpreted as a response to the "take-over" by whites of rhythm and blues, for the new style was not apparent only in Detroit. The whole phenomenon known as "soul" music which was to dominate black music throughout the decade, was heavily indebted to "gospel". The two most significant soul singers of this time had both had long experience in the south, and had been performing for many years before they broke through to a larger audience around 1960. James Brown's style was basically gospel-tinged rhythm and blues, deriving from his early days in a gospel quartet in Atlanta, while Ray Charles was at his peak in the years 1959-63 when he perfected a fusion of blues and gospel. After this period he changed his style, and his influence declined, but soul itself continued to thrive, and, as performed by singers like Aretha Franklin and Wilson Pickett still has a large following today.

(5) British Pop

Black music, as we have seen, had quickly found itself a new direction. White music, on the other hand, took some time to recover from the demise of rock and roll. Whereas thirty-seven out of 106 hits on the white charts in 1961 were by black performers, white singers had only nine of the ninety-eight hits on the black charts. Three years earlier, when rock and roll had been popular, white performers had had more than half the total number of hits in the black charts. A new impetus was needed, and it came from an unexpected direction: England.

Until this point English music had been a pale reflection of the American original. Whilst American white music toned down its borrowings from the black tradition, by the time it had crossed the Atlantic even more of the vitality had been dissipated. England
produced no singers of the quality of Crosby or Sinatra, merely inferior imitators. Rock and roll shook this country even more than it had done the States because, with no previous access to black music the contrast with what had gone before was all the greater. The reaction to the rock and roll films was particularly hysterical and violence erupted on a number of occasions. The reaction of our Liverpool gangs has been described in an article by Colin Fletcher (1964):

"Gangs filed in and filled up row after row. Unlike most of the films, this one had commanded an almost entirely adolescent audience. When the music started it was infectious - non-one managed to keep still. It was the first time the gangs had been exposed to an animal rhythm that matched their behaviour. Soon couples were in the aisles copying the jiving on the screen. The "bouncers" ran down to stop them. The audience went mad. Chairs were pulled backwards and forwards, arm rests uprooted, in an unprecedented orgy of vandalism."

At first the only development was yet another search for performers who could imitate the new American style. A number of young businessmen saw the opportunity of making a great deal of money and scoured the coffee bars of Soho, the traditional sources of talent. Tommy Steele was the most notable of these discoveries, but he was soon eclipsed by Cliff Richard and Adam Faith. Richard started as a weak imitation of Presley, but soon became another ballad-singer, while Faith, more intelligent than talented, soon became the media's favourite tame pop-star and could be seen on television being interviewed by John Freeman or in discussion with the Archbishop of Canterbury.
The first indication that Britain had anything to offer came in the winter of 1955-6 when a track from an L.P. by the Chris Barber Jazz Band was released as a single. The song, "Rock Island Line" had been written by the negro blues singer Hudie Ledbetter, and featured Barber's banjo-player, Lonnie Donegan. Its enormous success, both in Britain and America, led to the "skiffle" craze that submerged this country for the next two years. Skiffle groups sprang up everywhere in a spectacular revival of amateur music-making. However, since the music was essentially American, based on old negro songs, skiffle inevitably had a limited life-span, although it did much to make white English audiences aware of black music. Having "discovered" black music in this way, they were eager for more, and many skiffle groups turned to other forms of black music in response to this demand.

The most important of these groups, of course, were the "Beatles", a large part of whose talent lay in their ability to draw from a large number of different black and white influences. In particular they drew from two main sources. Firstly they were inspired by rock and roll, especially the aggressive black version of Chuck Berry. Many of their early hits were directly in this tradition. Secondly, they were influenced by the producer-dominated rhythm and blues of the American north, with its distinctive gospel flavour. Among other things their use of falsetto and high-pitched harmony derived from this source. Fusing these two main styles and adding from many others (such as the countrified rock and roll of the Everley Brothers and Buddy Holly) they produced a new style, upon which they could eventually graft their own considerable abilities.
Other groups were able to build on the foundations laid by the "Beatles". The "Rolling Stones" cultivated a style based primarily on rhythm and blues, rather than rock and roll. They featured many songs from the American R. & B. hit parade and were heavily dependent on the black singing style of lead singer, Mick Jagger. The "Animals" were also essentially a rhythm and blues group, but they also incorporated elements of "soul", particularly in the voice of singer Eric Burdon who modelled himself primarily on Ray Charles. These and numerous other English groups toured extensively in America, and for some time dominated the American pop charts. They were one of two influences that restimulated the dominant state of white American music.

(6) The Underground

The other stimulant came in the form of a revival of the folk tradition, which had survived, with a faithful but small following, through the work of men like Ledbetter and Woody Guthrie. The new generation of singers were steeped in the old tradition but demanded greater freedom of expression and a wider audience. Bob Dylan was the first of these singer-songwriters, developing a style that fused elements of folk and blues, later adding rhythm in the form of an electric supporting group. Dylan reaffirmed that the lyrics are an important part of a song. Both he and those who followed him, such as Donovan and Leonard Cohen, place great emphasis on the words. Usually their songs are expressions of personal experience, but they also comment on political events and social problems. In this way they have become associated with what is loosely termed the
"Underground". A clearer statement of the meaning of this overworked term will be found in the next chapter but essentially it implies a stratum of young people who oppose the mainstream of politics and art.

Underground pop music consists not only of the singer-songwriters and their job-oriented music but also of "progressive rock". This phrase is properly used to describe attempts to experiment with new musical styles within a pop framework, but, in fact, the term progressive tends to embrace a rather wider area than this. It is tempting to try to draw a distinction between progressive and mainstream pop with regard to the attitude underlying them. Whereas mainstream is undeniably commercial, progressive music, at least in theory, retains greater integrity and should be to some extent a form of artistic expression. Given that both forms exist within a blatantly commercial industry, however, this distinction is hard to draw.

What is more certain is the fact that progressive music only became possible as a result of important technological developments. Long-playing records, with twenty to thirty minutes playing time on each side, had been developed in the late forties, but only in the sixties did they assume importance. Now they easily outsell the three-minute "single" record. The musician therefore has a much larger time span within which to develop ideas, and a much larger range of possibilities has been opened up. Secondly, there has been enormous progress in electrical amplification. While the guitar has been an important melodic instrument for some time now, other instruments are being electrified or even invented. The electric bass and the organ are now accepted and both have had a powerful influence on the way that pop has developed. The sheer volume available has been a considerable
factor. The more recent use of melotrons and Moog Synthesizers are a further step in this direction, further extending the range of the pop composer and performer. Finally, changes in recording and reproducing equipment has enabled both the production and consumption of much more complex musical forms. On the one hand the development of magnetic tape and multi-track recordings have made the recording studio almost a musical instrument in its own right, while on the other the now widespread dissemination of stereophonic (and more recently quadrophonic) record players allows the complex musical product to be played to maximum advantage.

All these technical innovations are leading to changes in the structure of the recording industry that are essential before "underground" music can be produced. The sheer skill and "know-how" involved in recording a record are now so great that the record-producer's role is much more important than before. In many ways the producer is a performer in that what he does profoundly affects the finished product. Necessarily a new breed of producer has emerged who understands this new electronic environment and who can achieve the very necessary rapport with the performer. Ideally producer and performer work as a team and there is an increasing tendency for the two roles to become less distinguishable.

In this situation there has been some change in the distribution of power in the industry. It is now not possible for executives to retain full control over producers who cannot easily be replaced and whose specialised job is beyond their understanding. Pressure can, of course, be brought and the industry is still unarguably run by the businessmen, but their stranglehold has been broken. Circumstances thus allow the personnel involved in the actual making of records,
a greater degree of freedom than has previously been the case. Record companies, as a result, find themselves marketing products which attack the very system within which the companies operate. Many underground records are concerned with radical politics, sex, drugs and social problems, and express opinions quite alien to those of the company whose profits they ensure. A more detailed study of underground styles will be attempted in Chapter Eleven.
CHAPTER 9: FASHION AND DANCE

That pop styles, dance, and fashion go hand in hand has been amply evidenced. (e.g., Nuttall 1968, Cash 1970, Cohn 1969). This chapter will try to make the relationship a little more explicit, showing how changes in fashion and dance have coincided with developments in pop music.

The clothes that a person wears are an essential part of his image. How he looks is one of the ways that he communicates what sort of person he is. It enables observers to categorise him according to whatever stereotypes they use. But clothing is a very ambiguous form of communication. The impressions that it gives lie somewhere between what sort of person the wearer is and what sort of person he would like to be, or would like to be thought, as well as being influenced by many other factors. Angela Carter in an article in New Society (1967) points out that the "nature of apparel is very complex. Clothes are so many things at once. Our social shells; the system of signals with which we broadcast our intentions; often the projection of our fantasy selves...; the formal uniform of our life roles...; sometimes the simple economic announcements of income or wealth... Clothes are our weapons, our challenges, our visible insults. And more. For we think our dress expresses ourselves but in fact it expresses our environment, and like advertising, pop music, pulp fiction and second-feature films, it does so almost at a subliminal, emotionally-charged, instinctual, non-intellectual level."

Care must clearly be taken in decoding the messages offered us by fashion, but there are certain features of the changes that have taken place that are clear and significant. In particular there is no doubt that the whole structure of the fashion industry has been
overturned during the last few years, and that the new role of the adolescent has been largely responsible for this. Traditionally fashion was dictated by the upper classes in the form of a small number of exclusive designers mostly based in Paris. These made clothes for the wealthy few who could afford the limited number of "originals" that were produced. The smarter firms in the world's big cities then based their designs on the Paris models, and eventually, after a suitable time-lag, the new fashion would find its way in a rather modified version into the mass market through the high street chain stores. Moreover "fashion" referred almost exclusively to women's clothes, for menswear had hardly changed for decades.

When during the fifties it became evident that the young constituted a growing market of great potential, the industry was forced to change to accommodate them. The old Paris fashion houses were not the right media for the new trade. Increasingly young designers tended to dominate, and these designers were finely tuned to what was going on around them. Mary Quant, for instance, found much of her inspiration from looking at young people in the shops and dance-halls of London. The art colleges became the roots of the new structure. From these a stream of students poured, keenly aware of the requirements of their peers. Many of these were contracted by tiny new shops, "boutiques", which rapidly became the dictators of fashion. The fashion houses and the chain stores picked up the trends at about the same time as each other.

1. Compare this account of the change in the structure of the fashion industry, to Gorer's (1957) account of the evolution of rock and roll dancing. "Sociologically rock n' roll is peculiar in the way it has entered our society. Other dances previously have come from abroad, usually being presented first in a West End stage show or revue, and permeated downwards from the expensive dance teachers to the Palais. Rock n' roll came by record and permeated upwards."
The flood of new ideas, together with changes in the function of clothes, meant that fashions came and went at an unprecedented speed, and not only female attire was affected. At certain times male fashion has been more important and more ephemeral than female, as we can see if we look more closely at what has happened in the last twenty years.

The origins of the new styles may be traced back to two groups that emerged in America after the war, which gave birth to two lines of descentence that can be still seen today, although both are much muted compared to their earlier forms. In the forties, of course, young people had not yet emerged as a force of any sort, so the first signs of dissatisfaction with the consensual way of life came from a slightly older age group. Their cues were later picked up by teenagers who adapted the style to their purposes and with all the limitations and restrictions that their social position necessitated.

California was the birthplace of one form. From 1946 onwards gangs of nomadic motor-cyclists roamed the state, frequently getting into trouble with the local authorities. One such gang turned over a small town near San Francisco in 1947, earning a great deal of publicity and providing the inspiration for the film "The Wild One". When this was released in 1951 with Marlon Brando and Lee Marvin in the starring roles, young people in thousands eagerly took up the outward expressions of the style. The motor-bike became "de rigueur" as did the leather clothes sported by Brando in the movie (although many gangs did not wear such material at all - "Hell's Angels", the most famous of all, wear sleeveless denim jackets). Although "The Wild One" was barred in England until very recently (1968) the motor-cycle and leather craze spread across the Atlantic, helped by plenty of imitators of the original film. In this country they became the "Rockers", their name suggesting their links with rock and roll.
They appeared in numbers in 1956, the year in which rock and roll really hit Britain. They were working-class educational "failures", whose lives centred on the road-side cafés and their rock and roll juke boxes, but they were old-fashioned almost before they started - by 1957 British pop was dominated by Cliff Richard and Adam Faith. Their appearance with their hair long, greased and slicked-back looked back at the early Presley. They took over, as far as press and public were concerned, the violent image of the Teddy Boys. This style had emerged in Britain at the very beginning of rock and roll and consisted of an exaggeration of the popular West End Edwardian fashions. This parodying of Savile Row styles by, originally, East End kids had been the first indication in England of youthful defiance. The extravagant attire adopted by the "Teds" was a new trend amongst working-class boys who had never previously shown any interest in clothes. It was an indication of things to come but no real value system evolved as could be said of later developments. The extremes of Edwardian drapery meant that the Teddy Boys inevitably had a short life. The Rockers rapidly swept them away - they not only had a distinguishing appearance but also embraced particular activities and patterns of behaviour. During the later sixties the Rockers themselves declined, although, known now as Greasers, they still exist in small numbers.

The other group who appeared in post-war America were the "Beats". They were very much more intellectual and politically and socially aware, being basically a middle-class drop-out phenomenon. In America they included several important writers such as Kerouac and Ginsberg, but the British version was, predictably, less distinguished. They had a similar form to the American original, but little of the content.
They tended to disassociate themselves from society to a much smaller degree; in fact they showed a high level of social concern, numbers of them being politically active in movements like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Their music was jazz and, later, folk. Bob Dylan became the hero in the mid-sixties and he led the way into electronic pop music. The American Beats had always been oriented towards drugs and religion, and these aspects took on a new shape in the second half of the sixties, as the Beats became the Hippies. Political involvement has led to offshoots such as Yippies and Weathermen. British beats were called "beatniks" and, like the American originals, were pointedly anti-fashion. They favoured simple, casual clothing such as jeans and jerseys, which became almost a standard uniform.

"The Beatles" heralded a resurgence in both British pop and British fashion. In particular they pioneered the fashion for longer hair, and their Italianate suits were the forerunners of a whole new style. Just as British pop flourished during the years 1962-5, so Britain hatched a new fashion as well - the "Mod". At first mods could be seen as heirs to the Teddy Boys. They were working class and carried their devotion to clothes and appearance to fetishistic extremes. Girls played a very secondary role compared to the mod male. While the latter was invariably meticulously attired in the very latest styles (and fashion at this time were changing almost by the week), sometimes even with make-up, the girls tended to underplay their feminity, cropping their hair, wearing clumpy shoes and unspectacular clothes. The mod differed from the teddy boy in that his clothes were only one part of a distinctive pattern of life, centred on the newly established and proliferating boutiques of Carnaby Street and the King's Road, and the discotheques of London's West End. He was also distinguished from the rockers by his use of the scooter as transport. Aggravation between the two groups reached its peak in the
notorious seaside "battles" of 1964 and 1965.

There was, however, another sort of Mod, who appeared a little later, and differed in several important respects. This group was predominantly middle-class, older and more highly educated than the other. The Art Schools were the main breeding ground for this movement. Just as they were providing members for most of the leading pop groups of the time - e.g. the "Rolling Stones", the "Animals" - so they were the force behind the more inventive mod styles. Fashion and music were fused in the group known as "The Who", the leader of whom, Pete Townshend, was not only one of the best songwriters of the time, but also to the fore in the field of fashion, and in particular in the application of "pop art" to clothes.

In 1966 these middle-class mods merged with the beatniks to become the "hippies" during the brief "flower-power" craze. Music and fashion were again closely allied in this movement. The favoured music was a softened version of underground music, while fashion was dominated by kaftans and long hair. Not surprisingly a working-class backlash to this style was not long in coming. The "skinheads" represented a reassertion of the basic values and interests of the male working-class peer group - cleaners, toughness and virility. Their uniform of boots, short hair, jeans and braces contrasted strongly with the more showy, androgynous hippy styles. They rejected the underground theory that music was primarily an aesthetic experience, and gravitated towards negro dance music. Their music, however, was not the black/white rhythm and blues of the mod, but the wholly black "Reggae", which had developed out of the "ska" and "blue beat" of the West Indies. In fashion, as in music, there has been a discernible black influence.
Jeff Nuttall (1970) has pointed out how negro styles of the thirties and forties indicated the developments of later years in the white cultures. "Only in Harlem were the teenage groups of the fifties and sixties anticipated. Here the jivsters, or hep-cats, or jitterbugs, or alligators, or hipsters, as they were variously called, developed the first grotesque fashion whose purpose was differentiation. The trend was toward knee-length jackets and knee-length watch chains, floppy trousers, pork-pie sombreros, all making up the "soot suit". The group was negro and they made up the first real attempt at an alternative culture. In the forties the clothes changed to cod-bohemian styles, the beret, the floppy bow tie, the goatee beard and horn-rim spectacles, a music-hall caricature of the uniforms of academic erudition. Thus subsequent teenage fashions have grown up under the shadows of a harder previous negro fashion." (p. 113)

Similar points as those made so far in relation to fashion, can be applied to dance. It hardly needs demonstrating that pop music and dancing are closely related, since nearly all pop has been dance music. As pop has changed over the years, so dancing also has evolved. Every musical style has been accompanied by its own distinctive dances. In general the trend has been towards the reduction of contact between dancers. There seem to be two main reasons for this. In the first place the music itself increasingly makes dancing in pairs difficult. Maintaining contact between partners places a great deal of restriction on the movements that can be made. As music became more energetic with the arrival of rock and roll, so the need for freer expression grew stronger. Through the jive and the twist to today's many solo styles, contact has grown ever less. Dancing now frequently is performed without any partner at all. The greater individuality that
is possible is reflected in the fact that there is no one dance that
dwarfs all others in fashion. Dances hardly have names at all now
and allow for any response to the music that the dancer cares to express.
The other reason for the diminution of contact is the changed function
of dance and the dance-hall or discotheque. These places are no longer
the principal meeting places for boys and girls and dancing is not now
the simplest way of making literal and metaphorical contact with the
opposite sex. Changing sexual mores have allowed the dance to become
an activity in its own right. At the same time the proliferation of
different dances reflects the fragmentation of the youth sub-culture.
The dances become symbolic elements identifying the group.

As with the music itself, dance styles have owed a great deal to the
negro tradition. Eldridge Cleaver (1968) has argued that the white
acceptance of black dances may be a hopeful indication for the future,
representing a narrowing of the abyss between the two - "the whites have
had to turn to the blacks for a clue on how to swing with the Body,
while the blacks have had to turn to the whites for the secret of the
Mind. It was Chubby Checker's mission, bearing the Twist as good news,
to teach the whites, whom history had taught to forget, how to shake
their asses again. It is a skill they surely must once have possessed
but which they abandoned for puritanical dreams of escaping the
corruption of the flesh, by leaving the terrors of the Body to the
blacks". (pp. 142-3)

Most pop dance styles have black origins. In particular, the
Jamaican form of music called ska or blue-beat has had a great influence,
as Orlando Patterson (1966) has indicated. The ska developed as a
reaction to American dominance of music during the forties and fifties,
and is derived from the dancing and music of the Pocomania cult.
Ska emerged in the urban working class areas of Jamaica in the very
early sixties and in 1961 under the name of blue-beat it became a
temporary craze in Britain. Blue-beat music soon disappeared but not
without leaving behind elements of its rhythm and the accompanying
movements. Most modern dances are based on these, with many modifi-
cations. In 1970 ska surfaced again, this time known as reggae, and
adopted by the skinheads as their form of music (while allowing that the
West Indians had just claim to it). At a time when dancing is
relatively out of fashion reggae provides the bulk of today's"danceable"
music, and is thus having a great effect on dance styles. Patterson
sees several ways in which the ska marks a break from previous British
traditions. "The first is the greater muscular play given to various
parts of the body as a whole, while dancing. This is a conception of
dancing wholly alien to the west European, and particularly to the
Anglo-Saxon, dance tradition." Greater spontaneity is also given
while there is also a diminution of sex-roles in dancing, males and females
performing in the same fashion.

The research findings in later chapters will further point out
the relationships between pop music, fashion and clothes; concrete
evidence for the amusing but accurate examples offered in Richard Mabey's
Connexions booklet (1968).
CHAPTER 10: THE OTHER POP MEDIA

From what has already been said, it should be clear that there really are no "pop media" as such, but that certain media, used in a certain way with a special sort of content or style, become pop. This chapter will discuss the media which most commonly express pop, but paradoxically we will start by looking at a medium - film - that is rarely used in this way.

(1) Film. During the thirties and forties, the cinema was the main entertainment medium for adolescents. Since the war, however, cinema attendances have consistently fallen. In America audiences fell from 82 million each week in 1946 to only 36 million in 1950 and this dramatic trend has continued and been repeated on this side of the Atlantic. Undoubtedly one of the main causes of this decline in attendance was the advent of television. During those same four years the number of television sets in America rose from less than 200,000 to around ten million.

The one section of the public who have remained most loyal to the cinema has been the younger age-group; nowadays about half the film audience is under the age of twenty. Probably the main single reason for young people's continuation of the cinema-going habit lies in the fact that going to the pictures takes them out of the family.

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1. During the thirties cinema admissions in Britain were approaching the thousand million a year mark, while by 1971 they had fallen to 182 million despite a larger population. (Board of Trade statistics)
It is somewhere they can go where they can escape from their parents and can expect to be in a predominantly youthful audience. However, another important function of the movies has been to supply "stars", identification figures. The star system emerged very quickly as films developed, in a way that it had never done in the theatre. Florence Laurence is usually credited as the first "star" as early as 1910, and she was soon overtaken by Mary Pickford, Madeleine Clarke and Mary Miles Minter, the establishers of the star system. The history of the American film industry is more or less a history of the star system, a fact recognized by Andy Warhol who has raised his players to "superstar" status. The decline of the cinema from its prominent part in the culture of the west has left a gap that can never be filled by television. The screen is too small, the programmes too short and too continuous, the viewing environment not conducive to the raising of heroes. No performer has been accorded star status on the basis of television appearances, although T.V. has done much to boost the careers of many who owe their fame primarily to other activities.

The cinema does still produce stars, but their number is small, their stature low in comparison with the idols of the past, and as the cinema seems headed for lower budgets, their future uncertain. The film has ceased to be a performer's medium; it may not be coincidental that the rise of 'auteur' theory more or less parallels the decline of the cinema. Films are not providing identification figures for today's teenagers and adolescents in the way that they did for the young adults of the thirties and forties. Only Kazan has made a real effort to appeal to the younger audience in the fifties. His "discoveries", Marlon Brando, James Dean and Warren
Beatty have not been succeeded in recent years. Instead the young person finds his heroes and models in a different medium - and it is ironic that the cinema is more and more being forced to recruit its stars from this new source - the world of pop music. Elvis Presley was the first pop singer with the characteristics necessary to become a star and his physical conformance to the Brando, Dean mould has been noted elsewhere (see the pictures on page 117 of Anatomy of Pop (Cash 1970), for instance). Presley was of course only the first of a succession of such pop idols, although none have made more films than he (over 30 so far). More recently certain underground performers have changed media and gone into films, usually in productions that reflect the same sort of values that they espouse themselves. Perhaps the best example here is that of Mick Jagger, the singer with the "Rolling Stones" who has appeared as an actor in "Ned Kelly" and "Performance" in both of which he played the part of a non-conformist. These films and many others have used pop music as part or all of the "score". From "The Blackboard Jungle" onwards, pop music has contributed in large part to the success of many films, culminating in productions such as "Woodstock" and "Gimme Shelter" which are based entirely on the music and connected events.

Even more important than these trends, however, has been the introduction of a pop style into the cinema. The man more than any other responsible for this was the Canadian director, Richard Lester, who in three films, "A Hard Day's Night", "Help" (both starring "The Beatles") and "The Knack" developed a new visual style characterised by speed and the use of "gimmicks", with jump cuts, undercranking etc., and which captured the essence of pop. Lester had spent several years directing advertising films, and it was the application of many of the techniques learnt in this field to the feature film
that distinguished his style. Since then many directors have graduated from advertising to features bringing with them more ideas for the creation of a more modern, pop, cinematic style.

(2) Radio and records. These two media are so closely connected in regard to pop, that it is convenient to treat them together. Between them they constitute the very basis of the pop industry. Until the technology upon which these media depend had been developed pop itself could not evolve.

Up until the twenties the music business was dominated by the publishers of sheet music. The song itself was the commodity, and it was sold in the form of a score suitable for amateur performance. This inevitably placed severe limitations on the sort of material that could be used - it had to be fairly simple in form and not present too many problems in performance. The inventions of the phonograph, the radio and the "talking-picture" changed all this. All became important during the 1920's and between them they revolutionised the whole business. The recorded professional performance took over from the amateur interpretation as the primary form of expression. The public could now hear these performances on their phonographs and became listeners rather than participants. The limitations on the types of music suitable for dissemination as sheet music no longer existed and people could now enjoy music without needing any skills themselves. By 1927 sales of records in America had reached 106 million while sales of sheet music plummeted.

At this time, before radio had developed, the cinema played an important part in the dissemination of music. The coming of sound in "The Jazz Singer" of 1927-8 had established the musical
as one of the most popular forms of film entertainment. In January 1929 Edwin Evans wrote in Music and Letters: "It is estimated... that the cinema is the sole, or at any rate, the chief, avenue by which music reaches three quarters of the potential audience in the population". Five years later music critic, Constant Lambert (1934), commented that "The cinema is undoubtedly the most important of the mechanical stimuli offered to the composer of today".

The cinema had one very important effect which followed from the fact that millions of cinema-goers each week were seeing the stars singing. This instigated the whole process whereby the public began to associate a particular song with a particular singer, and a particular performance with each individual song. The singer now mattered at least as much as the song, and the two became very highly identified.

The cinema was not an important musical medium for very long, for, by the early thirties, radio had become organised as an industry. At first it provided a boost for the record business. People could hear records on their radios either on a national network (the BBC had been set up in 1922, the American NBC in 1926) or, in America, on the small local radio, which would encourage them to go and buy their own copy. The industry was in need of such a boost, as the depression had had a catastrophic effect on sales which in 1932 in America had fallen to 6% of their level of five years before. Gradually the record companies and the publishing firms grew jealous of radio's freedom to play their records without payment and litigation led to the systems of royalties and needletime (a limit on the number of hours in which radio can play records each week).
Thus the structure of the music industry in the thirties was quite different from that of twenty years previously. The old publishers' monopoly was broken and their essential conservatism no longer held the stage. New men with new ideas were now in positions of power and it was this circumstance which allowed new forms of music to find other forms of expression. Among these forms were the blues whose influence on the development of popular music we have seen. They were recorded and distributed by small independent companies operating on a local basis and it was not until the rise of rock and roll that these companies managed to get their fair share of radio time which had become so essential if records were to become big sellers. That they were able to break through during the fifties was partly a result of the further technological and organisational changes in the industry, that were discussed in Chapter Eight.

Among these changes we noted a certain restructuring of the power hierarchy within the recording companies. The younger men on the production side now have greater autonomy and are less under the thumb of the businessmen. Despite this, business still largely dominates the "creative" side of the industry. Pop music production is still primarily a money-making concern in which profit is the main motivation. Four big companies continue to dwarf all others, while being themselves only a part of even larger industrial complexes. As long as the four - E.M.I., Decca, Philips and Pye - play such a commanding part, radical changes are unlikely and difficult to effect, although the success of a number of smaller independent companies with more ambitious policies, has, to some extent, forced the hands of the majors, who have been induced to become rather less conservative than in the past.
The recognition of change has been as slow at the reception end as it was at the production end of the business. Juke boxes had been a common feature of coffee bars and other teenage haunts since the forties: now the invention of the transistor meant that many more people could afford to own their own set. Moreover, the transistor brought mobility to radio, freeing it from the restrictions of mains electricity. The transistor radio swept Britain in the late fifties bringing the price of ownership within the reach of young people. Radio rapidly became an important cog in the music machine. No record could hope to be sold in large numbers (and therefore to be profitable) unless it was played consistently on the air.

Unfortunately the BBC with its near monopolistic control of radio in Britain has never shown any interest in, or understanding of, pop, which it has always treated with distaste. Its policies have always enjoyed a reputation for conservation and conformism, illustrated in its nickname "Aunty". During the fifties the broadcast "light" music programmes were mostly family-oriented request shows covering a wide spectrum of tastes and apparently attempting to "improve" taste by exposing the public to "good" music along with the entertainment. Not until 1958 was there a programme which recognized that there was a real audience for rock and roll music. This was "Saturday Club", a distinctive mixture of live and recorded music, interviews and commentary from disc jockey Brian Matthew, an ex-actor who did much to get pop music onto the air. Together with "Easy Beat", both produced and compered by Matthew, "Saturday Club" dominated broadcast music for several years. Otherwise the BBC mixture remained much as before, and the inadequacy of this service led to the emergence of "pirate radio" - transmitting from ships anchored around the coast, usually around the Thames.
The first of these, Radio Caroline, was the brainchild of Ronan O'Rahilly, a young club-owner and agent who wanted to start his own record label. In order to ensure that he would get radio-time he approached the only major alternative to the BBC which was Radio Luxembourg, a commercial station based on the continent which broadcast five or six hours of pop music in English each evening. However, the station operated a system that made it little more than an advertising agency for the big record companies. Programmes financed by these companies and featuring their own records occupied the largest part of Luxembourg's output. Undeterred O'Rahilly copied an idea that had been tried in Scandinavia - the commercial radio station on a ship. Caroline started transmitting over Easter 1964 and other stations soon followed. The diet of pop music, advertisements and fast-talking disc jockeys in the American style proved satisfying to a large number of people. In three weeks Caroline gained seven million listeners over the age of 17 out of a potential of only twenty million (Gallup Poll). Although they were closed down by government legislation in 1967 the pirates had stirred the BBC out of its complacency. In July 1967 plans were announced to kill off the old "Light Programme" which was to be replaced by "Radio One", a new popular music service concentrating largely on pop. On September 30th the new series was inaugurated, displaying a style clearly based on that of the pirates, although rather less frantic. But strangely, little attempt has been made to cater for special audiences within the wide range of pop music. Those few programmes that are designed to concentrate on particular sorts of pop music have been successful but the overall policy is still to try and generate the largest possible audience all
the time. So most programmes include all sorts of music, preferably short numbers, the aim being to discourage people from switching off.

Radio and records remain the major sources of music for today's teenagers. For the younger listener with whom we are concerned, records must mean primarily the 45 r.p.m. "single" costing around 50p.¹ The long-player now retails at about £2.50, and so is not so easily available, although all told L.P. sales now exceed those for singles. The boom in cheap long-players, either re-issues of older records or "samplers", records consisting of tracks from a number of L.P.'s and acting more or less as an advertisement, has put this product more within the reach of the schoolchild. An article in The Times of June 23rd 1969, entitled "Budget labels give new life to record sales" estimated that of approximately fifty million L.P.'s sold during the twelve months preceding that date, a quarter or more were cheap issues costing less than 15/- (75 p.). The Melody Maker of that week put the proportion a little higher at a third of all L.P. sales.

Radio has come to play a completely new role as a result of the rise of pop music. Tom Wolfe (1968) has vividly described the way in which radio is used by teenagers today: "Radio is back strong after its early losses to television, but in an altogether new form. The radio is now something people listen to while they are doing something else... The kids ... are more active. They are outside, all over the place, fooling around in automobiles, lollylagging around with

¹ At the peak in 1964 almost 100 million singles were pressed in Britain alone. This figure is now much reduced - 48 million in 1971 (compared with 72 million L.P.'s) - Monthly Digest of Statistics.
transistors plugged into their skulls, listening to the radio. Listening is not exactly the word. They use the radio as a background, the aural prop for whatever kind of life they want to imagine they're leading. They don't want messages at all, they want an atmosphere." 1

(p. 40).

This sort of approach to radio makes it hard to assess the importance that it has in teenagers' lives. No amount of figures can do justice to this situation. Any expression of the hours per week that young people devote to the radio would be both inaccurate and misleading. Sense can only be made of such estimates if they are related to the whole range of interests and activities that make up the life-style of any particular individual. We suggest, and will hope to demonstrate, that deep immersion in pop music will be associated with a number of other behavioural patterns, all of which when looked at together will make up a relatively consistent picture.

(3) Television. Television has played a curiously small part in the history of pop music. Now and again a successful formula has been arrived at and one or two very popular and influential programmes have resulted. But only rarely have people in television taken an intelligent interest in pop music and the best programmes have usually sprung from the enthusiasm of individuals. The first big name in television was undoubtedly the producer, Jack Good, who was largely responsible for "Six Five Special", "Oh Boy" and other rock and roll shows in the fifties.

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1. This impression has been confirmed by Schramm, Lyle and Parker (1961), and Hirsch (1969) who has described the emergence of "subcultural programming".
Only one programme can be said to have made progress from Good's efforts and that was an ITV show called "Ready, Steady, Go". It alone has managed to convey the atmosphere of pop music. It did not stick rigidly to performers who were in the top twenty but put greater emphasis on those who generated some sort of excitement - had "star-quality" perhaps. It also had a girl announcer called Cathy McGowan who was the archetypal girl-next-door; unashamedly inarticulate, but showing genuine excitement at what was going on, she seemed as overawed by the whole thing as any pop fan. Moreover the programme managed to be as visually thrilling as the music and presentation.

Since the demise of "R.S.G." the commercial channel has failed to create a successful programme, largely because of an unwillingness to allow a reasonable budget, and because nobody has had a sufficient understanding of pop music. The BBC has fared a little better. Its main show is the long-running "Top of the Pops" based on the stock format of top ten performers and produced with little flair or originality. Recently the Corporation has shown some signs of awareness of the possibilities offered by pop. Two shows, "Disco 2" (later re-titled "The Old Grey Whistle Test") and "In Concert" have featured more specialised pop tastes, particularly underground. However, both shows are transmitted late at night on BBC2 and therefore cannot develop a large audience of younger viewers.

If pop music itself does not find much outlet on the screen, pop style has had a much greater impact, but this will be discussed more fully in Chapter 19.
Magazines. Magazines and comics constitute the bulk of young people's reading matter. These differ considerably in their approach, reflecting the different audiences for which they cater, but there are three main types which might be classified as pop media.¹

(a) The pop music press. A large number of publications deal solely with pop music and the activities of pop personalities. The oldest and most serious of these is Melody Maker. Originally a jazz paper it has gradually increased its coverage of pop, whilst retaining solid sections on jazz and folk. Its approach is generally intelligent and relatively unsensational and its range broad enough to include articles on the technical and business aspects of pop. It has tended in recent years to concentrate on the underground end of the pop spectrum, the growth of which has led to the appearance of a rival to Melody Maker, the very similar Sounds.

The other pop papers are almost wholly concerned with the more commercial, mainstream music. The New Musical Express is the most well-established of these. It was this paper which in 1952 introduced Britain's first official hit parade, and it still maintains the largest circulation of all. It aims primarily at adolescents, consisting very largely of gossip and chat with relatively little informed criticism. Disc, Record Mirror and the rest also conform to this pattern, although some include colour and a higher proportion of pictures.

¹. Here again is a case of pop music replacing the cinema. During the thirties and forties film fan magazines proliferated wildly. Now they barely exist while the doings or sayings of every pop star has become magazine material.
(b) Many other teenage publications rely on pop to provide a great deal of their copy. Two interesting points should be made about these magazines. Firstly they are all aimed at girls. Boys' equivalents are primarily oriented towards sport or hobbies. Secondly they have appeared at just those times when British pop music has been going through a period of boom.

The first important group, the "romance comics", were introduced at the time when rock and roll was at its peak in Britain. Marilyn appeared in 1955, Mirabelle in 1956, both Valentine and Romeo in 1957 and Roxy in 1958. According to C.L. White (1970) "Mirabelle was originally intended for girls of eighteen and upwards, but the publishers later discovered, to their astonishment, that it was most popular with the 13-16 age group. Largely due to the drop in the age of puberty, older teenagers were reading periodicals which not long since would have been considered suitable only for their mothers." (p. 174). Nowadays the readers are probably even younger, a fact which troubles David Holbrook (1964) who considers that such papers are "the source of the precocious 'knowingness' of the adolescent that, as teachers know, does lead to personal disaster". (p. 141).

Characteristically, Holbrook's assertions are not backed up by any proof of these causal relationships. In fact these papers seem harmless enough. They consist largely of comic-strip stories about young girls and their romantic problems, together with 'information' about pop stars, most of it clearly straight from publicity hand-outs. Valentine is the biggest survivor of these comics, its style at the time of this survey having changed very little from that of its early days.¹ Not surprisingly it looks rather dated in comparison with

¹ It has since been re-formulated.
more recent publications and its circulation now is only half
the 375,000 it claimed as recently as 1964.

The British pop music explosion of 1963-6 produced the second
group of girls' magazines. These included Jackie, Rave and Fabulous
208, which were all founded in 1964, Petticoat and Trend (1966) and
Intro (1967). All attempted to appeal to the pop-fan, but Jackie
was the most successful in finding the right balance between the sort
of romantic stories pioneered by the romance comics, and the greatly
increased interest in pop stars and fashion. With a weekly readership
of approaching 500,000 Jackie is by far the most popular magazine
amongst teenage girls. Trend and Intro both failed and were subsumed
into Petticoat which concentrates on fashion with a much smaller
readership of some 180,000.

Fabulous 208 and Rave are both attached more closely to the world
of pop music, and their sales have been marked by the same sort of
decline as has overtaken the record industry itself. Whereas
Fabulous (the earlier name) and Rave sold respectively 900,000 copies
a week and a quarter of a million monthly in 1965, by 1970 their sales
had fallen to about 160,000 and 120,000. Rave apparently had high
aspirations at first. White commented that it was "being developed
as a major publication reflecting a complete range of young interests
and one markedly different from the usual teenage publications...
The magazine runs serious features side by side with the world of
pop music, which receives dispassionate scrutiny, unlike the near-
idolatrous approach of other magazines. Throughout magazine staff
are trying to capture the new social codes and standards". (p. 176)
Falling circulation seems to have undermined these ideals and the
paper now relies heavily on pop gossip and "news" about the supposed
doings of the stars. The more serious function has to some extent been taken over by the magazines in the third section.

(c) Young women's magazines. Pop music hardly figures in these magazines at all, but fashion is a major component and the style is distinctly 'pop'. Being less closely tied to pop music they were not founded at a time of increased activity in the pop world. Honey, the first magazine in this category, was in fact produced in 1959 in response to Abram's demonstration of the potential spending power of young people (1959). 19 appeared in 1968 as a result of the success of Honey. Unlike other teenage magazines, these rely to a great extent on advertising for their income and are very much glossier and more sophisticated, aiming for a rather older readership. They present a more rounded outlook on life today, covering a wider spectrum of subjects, while Freeman (1967) has noted that "It is only in the teenage magazines like Honey ... that one finds an intelligent reassessment of values which is common to today's youth." (p. 53). Not that these magazines are in any way preaching revolution; trendy would be a more appropriate description of their approach, or in Susanne Puddefoot's words "pitched at a rather frenetic level of swinging gaiety" (1970, p. 79). Nevertheless, their circulations are both high (over 200,000 each in 1970) and growing. Whether their numerous pages of smart clothes and other possessions well beyond the reach of the schoolgirl offer any more realistic a view of the world than the fantasies of the romance comics, is less clear.
CHAPTER 11: CONTEMPORARY POP STYLES

Before embarking on a description of the state of the pop media today, a few further comments on some of the themes outlined in the introduction to this section may be useful. In particular, the process of appropriation and revitalisation which has been a recurring feature of the development of pop could helpfully be explained in more detail.

The whole history recorded here shows this interaction between black and white music. That the two should mix so well is perhaps strange but results from the similarities between West African music and European folk music. As Marshall Stearns (1956) noted in his book *The Story of Jazz*, "European folk music is a little more complicated harmonically and African tribal music is a little more complicated rhythmically. They are about equal in regard to melody." (p. 19) In general, the pattern seems to be one of white music borrowing from black and incorporating elements of it in a more refined version into its own styles, although inevitably there is a certain amount of influence channelling back from white to black. It was Charles Keil (1966) who called this the appropriation-revitalization process. White America via the white-controlled music business appropriates aspects of black music and just possibly an attendant value or two as well. Keil traces this continual process in jazz and blues and argues that the Negro musician feels a very real sense of alienation as a result. The response is, as Leroi Jones has indicated in *Blues People* (1963), a revitalisation of the black idiom, the form of expression being altered to reaffirm the negro identity and attitudes. As we have
seen, as far as the blues are concerned, revitalisation has most frequently taken the form of the incorporation of a greater element of church music into the whole. The result of the process has been that American music has been led further and further towards the African origins of negro culture. Keil remarks that, "It is simply incontestable that year by year American popular music has come to sound more and more like African popular music. The rhythmic complexity and subtlety, the emphasis on percussive sound qualities, the call-and-response pattern, the characteristic vocal elements (shout, growl, falsetto, and so on), blues chromaticism, blues and gospel chord progressions, Negro vocabulary, Afro-American dance steps - all have become increasingly prominent in American music." (pp.45-6)

Quite why white Americans and in particular young white Americans should respond so readily to negro music is not easily explained. Keil suggests that it results from certain similarities in their social position, the young standing in the same relationship to the adult as the black is to the white. Other commentators have suggested economic and political parallels. It would seem more likely that certain qualities in black music arising from the experience of the negro are appealing to white youth. Black music is heavily concerned for instance with sex, a key preoccupation of adolescence. The music is frequently crude in comparison to white sophistication, it is often aggressive and demanding physical and emotional participation rather than a more intellectual response. Much black music is associated with dancing. The 'Twist' craze of the early sixties is an example of a black dance music that elicited a powerful white response. Typically the version that sparked off the mania was a cleaned-up one by the black singer Chubby Checker.
The original recording by Hank Ballard had been a small rhythm and blues hit a few years earlier. The twist is one of a series of dances in which the dancer performs alone. The 'partner' if present is more or less ignored. These dances, like the music, are becoming more and more African in form. The most recent at the time of writing goes with the Jamaican based 'reggae' music - the latest source to be raided. This is still performed largely by West Indians and has a large following amongst both West Indian and white adolescents. It is a reversion to simplicity, a reaction against the more complex 'intellectual' music of California. It is primarily an English phenomenon and has had little impact in America. It would seem to be another form of the revitalising process, British immigrants looking back towards 'their' cultural roots.

In certain respects this racial relationship is paralleled by a class one. Pop music's origins are dominantly working class. As we have seen, its roots lie in the rural south of the United States, in the cultures of the negroes and the poor whites. Urban blues was the music of the poor city dwellers, while rock and roll was primarily a working-class form of entertainment. Over the years, however, pop has been increasingly taken up by the middle class, as a brief résumé of trends in British pop will demonstrate.

The first English pop of any importance emerged, as we have seen, in Liverpool, a city that is essentially working-class, based on its large dock industry. 'The Beatles' were basically a working-class group, being the sons of a seaman, a bus driver, a bakery worker and a cotton salesman. Their early days were spent playing to the working-class audiences of the dance halls of Manchester, Liverpool and Hamburg. The 'Rolling Stones' who appeared shortly after the rise of the 'Beatles' were
distinctly more middle-class. Nearly all had been to Art School and one had spent a short time at the London School of Economics. Their style was formed in the jazz and blues clubs of Soho and the London suburbs, before a largely middle-class audience. Many of the later British groups had similar backgrounds, and the 'underground' as we have already noted, was primarily a middle class phenomenon. However, the working-class 'revitalisation' has taken place in the appearance of the 'skinheads' and their Jamaican 'reggae', reaffirming working-class claims to pop music. As the study of contemporary styles which follows will show, class distinctions are very much present.

Broadly, pop can be divided into the two main categories that have already been used in this study: mainstream and underground. Under these two headings, however, a number of different styles can be distinguished.

(1) **Mainstream**

(a) **Ballads.** This style derives mainly from the big band sound of the forties. A large number of singers from that decade still perform today, notably Frank Sinatra, while a number of younger artists are continuing this tradition (Englebert Humperdinck, for example). Singers like Tom Jones (and to some extent Elvis Presley) are more emotional with a more sexually charged delivery reminiscent of Johnny Ray. Finally in this category are singers like Val Doonican who sing material with folk origins but in a highly arranged setting. All these performers have a wide range of

* The examples used in this analysis are not necessarily the most important or representative singers, but are mainly those used in the empirical studies in Part 4. 
appeal and are favoured as much, if not more, by adults as by teenagers (see chapter 22). In fact, many young people find them much too sedate and old-fashioned.

(b) Teen-pop. This category covers a large number of styles that have the widest appeal of all. While these performers are young, vigorous and good-looking enough to attract adolescents they are also respectable and uncontroversial, and thus do not offend adults to whom they appear harmless enough. Many of these singers started their careers in rock and roll and were originally unacceptable to older people. However, over the years they have altered their approach to become "all-round family entertainers" with their own television shows on which they not only sing and chat, but also demonstrate their talent and versatility by dancing, taking part in comedy sketches, and assisting their 'guests' in any necessary way. Cliff Richard, Cilla Black and Lulu are good examples of this career pattern. Also in this category are those pop groups who perform the standard Tin Pan Alley material. Often the groups are especially manufactured for a particular song, consisting of 'session men' who are subsequently replaced by others if the record is successful and needs to be 'plugged' on television or through personal appearances. 'Brotherhood of Man' were a typical example at the time of this study. The members of this group also appeared on other records under different nomenclatures.

(c) Motown. A brief history of this negro style was chronicled in Chapter 8 where it was pointed out how it was essentially a marriage of rhythm and blues and gospel. Almost always performed in a lively tempo and with a heavy, insistent beat, the records on
this label quickly became popular as accompaniment for dancing. As such they were ideal for the discotheques which sprang up everywhere during the second half of the sixties. Among the top Motown stars at the time of this study were the solo singers Stevie Wonder and the teenage group the 'Jackson Five'. Motown had passed its peak by this time, but these performers were still extremely popular.

(d) Soul. Soul is also negro dance music, but rather different from Motown. Based on Memphis rather than Detroit it relied on the individual characteristics of the singer rather than on a heavily produced 'sound'. The performer was encouraged to express the deep feeling or 'soul' which is supposed to underlie all black music. This style also was withering by 1970 but Aretha Franklin, in particular, still had a large following.

(e) Reggae. This music represents a recent development in pop being a newer version of 'skat', itself a mixture of calypso and the rhythm of the pocomania cults of Jamaica. Its chief characteristic is its extreme simplicity. Like 'motown' and 'soul' it is primarily dance music, and the three also share the feature that they are favoured particularly by working class adolescents who do not respond to those styles which demand greater concentration. Like all mainstream styles, they have lyrics that revolve around a very small number of topics, by far the most common being some variation on the theme of romantic love, although some reggae songs are quite sexually explicit.
(2) **Underground**

Underground music places far greater emphasis on both words and instrumental quality. In both cases it stresses individual expression to a much higher degree than mainstream pop. Lyrics often deal directly with sex, drugs and social or political problems, while the music requires greater technical skills from the performers, and frequently involves improvisational abilities. At the present moment no particular underground style is dominant - in fact there is a conscious awareness of the need for as much diversification as possible, drawing heavily from a multitude of musical heritages. Three key types of underground may be categorized, but to a great extent such a classification reifies differences that barely exist. It would often be hard to decide to which pigeon-hole many performers should be ascribed.

(a) The singer/songwriter. Dylan is the archetype performer in this category. His words stand up in their own right as poetry and his music owes much to the folk tradition. Similar comments could be made in relation to the British singer Donovan, to Leonard Cohen, the Canadian poet-turned-singer, who clearly stands in the 'Beat' tradition, and to a lesser extent to the duo Simon and Garfunkel. Other performers owe more to rock and roll than to folk - John Lennon of 'The Beatles' is clearly a case in point, while others again are more in the tradition of blues or country music.

(b) The blues-based artists. This is the so-called 'progressive rock' music, based on rhythm and blues but with a wider lyrical
range, wider improvisational possibilities and much use of electronic devices such as heavy amplification and feedback. Performers in this category include Johnny Winter, the 'Rolling Stones' and 'Led Zeppelin'.

(c) Bridge-builders. Many underground musicians are trying to relate pop to other musical forms such as jazz ('Blood, Sweat and Tears'), country music ('The Byrds'), concert music ('Deep Purple'), and modern electronic music ('Pink Floyd'). Within a pop framework they attempt, with varying degrees of success, to fuse some of the elements from these other traditions.

Needless to say, all these experiments take underground music a long way from the simple dance music of the mainstream. Their greater intellectual content ensures that the underground is the prerogative of the better educated. However, pop music is always integrating minority styles into the mainstream, and this process has already overtaken the underground. A number of underground performers are now extremely popular, while other extreme forms, such as reggae, are also being synthesised into the whole. It is always foolish to distinguish pop styles too finely, for, almost before the ink is dry, changes will have taken place which invalidate the analysis. Nevertheless, at the time that this survey was done, the distinctions made here fairly accurately differentiated between the major pop styles then evident.

Summary of Part Two

This section has given an account of the pop media today, and how they have come to be in their present form. It has dealt at some length
with the historical development of pop music, for it is music which is
the central feature of the constellation. We have seen that pop music
has its origins in a number of different sources and that from these
it has developed in various different directions. During these develop-
ments it has inspired, or come to be associated with, changes in other
media forms, particularly dance and fashion, with the result that 'pop'
now offers a wide variety of cultural articulations. We have seen that
not all these varieties are equally available to all the possible
audiences: some make particular appeals to certain sections. Although
all the pop media are essentially the results of the activities of
industrial concerns, and most of them are connected in one way or another
with very large business corporations, the social attitudes expressed vary
considerably. This is one important factor which leads to the differentiation
between the audiences of the pop media. We have seen how certain sections of
performers can, within limits, attack the very processes through which their
message is being transmitted, and how these may have a following which contrasts
strongly with that of more conservative elements.

We have also noted how racial distinctions in the origins of the music
have to some extent been overlain with class distinctions. Historically
there has been a growing division between the life-styles and cultural
preferences of middle and working class groups, a fact which we should
expect to see reflected in the tastes of the respondents in our empirical
sample. Before testing this hypothesis, however, we must examine how
this sample was obtained and what research techniques were used in the
study. This is the major task that will be undertaken in Part Three.
PART THREE

SAMPLING AND METHODOLOGY
CHAPTER 12: THE SAMPLING FRAMEWORK

The mass of literature reviewed in Part One threw up a plethora of alternative frameworks for looking at the adolescent and his relationships to his work and his leisure, and an attempt was made to sift out those accounts which seemed to offer the most accurate analysis. Nevertheless no rigid series of specific hypotheses were put forward for examination and test, for the reason that an area of study that is contentious and largely uncharted does not lend itself to this sort of approach. As Kerlinger (1967) has said "It is not always possible for a researcher to formulate his problem simply, clearly, and completely. He may often have only a rather general, diffuse, even confused notion of the problem." Confusion is not our difficulty here, but we are concerned with a subject where we are not always sure of what we shall find. In such circumstances carefully delineated hypotheses may entirely fail to cover the most interesting and informative areas of study. A more general approach is better suited to the type of enquiry in which we are engaged. It allows the researcher more scope to react to information as it emerges and to adapt his lines of investigation if necessary. An explorer in relatively unknown territory must always be prepared for the unexpected; it is for those who follow, who are in a position to use the information that he has unearthed, to ask the more detailed questions. We must deal with more general topics such as:

- Are the pop media related in the way that we have suggested in Part Two?
- If so, are they used by different groups of young people in different ways?
- Are social class and attitude to school important determining factors?
- Are the pop media as important to young people as we have suggested?

The Questionnaire and Interview schedules which will be described later were designed to answer these questions and are based on the various assumptions and expectations which have been derived from the efforts of previous researchers and writers.

Put very briefly by way of recapitulation the situation we have described is one in which the young person today, for a variety of reasons which have been discussed at some length, is faced with a very different world from that of his forebears. In order to understand his role in this society and to interpret the complexities of his social experience he turns to a variety of explanatory structures. The three most important have been identified as the culture of the school, the culture of the local environment and the culture of the peer group.

One of the aims of this study will be to throw some light on the relationships between these cultures, for they are not necessarily functional alternatives but can be used by different individuals in different structural positions in a number of different ways.

The first essential is to define the various structural positions with which we are concerned before we can identify individuals in these positions and examine how they respond to the three cultures to which they are exposed. The most important of these cultures, and the key socialising agencies are the school and the family. The influence of the peer-group can only be properly considered within the structural context of these agencies, for the peer group can have a normative control only within the restrictions imposed by these more pervasive
elements. Of the two, the school is the more predictable, providing a relatively common normative structure which it tries to impose, with varying degrees of success, on its pupils. Within this shared framework, of course, will be found wide divergencies of emphasis and application, as may be seen from the plentiful literature dealing with different types of schools. The larger project from which this work derives has also demonstrated how schools differ in their approach to the mass media. Essentially, however, it is sufficient for our purpose to characterise the school as a purveyor of literary middle-class culture.¹

No such simple summary can be put forward to describe the culture of the home and local environment for these offer a wide range of possibilities. The basic divergence coincides with the classic Marxian division of the social structure. The middle-class family and the social environment in which it exists will generally ally with the school, a consensus arising from the sharing of goals and the belief that such goals are readily attainable. The working-class child is faced with a more complicated situation. Very often a deep-seated conflict exists between the cultures of the school and of the home and local environment. In part this is based on the realistic and accurate assessment that education is largely organised so that middle-class children can most easily achieve the aims set for them by middle-class values. In

¹ For a lengthy discussion of the culture of the school see again Murdock & Phelps (1973).
part it arises from the failure to appreciate that education can offer a route towards success, although it is also probable that very often this fact is readily realised but rejected. For working class life has at least as many explanations of life as does middle class culture and it is arrogant to suppose that one is necessarily superior to the other or that one should be denied while the other is universally acknowledged. In many ways a child from a working-class background can have alternatives to the possibilities offered to him by school. A very important set of values to which he may turn are embodied in what may be termed 'street culture' which is based not on the small nuclear family as the unit, but the extended family, the street, even the neighbourhood. This feeling of local 'togetherness' and 'belonging' which cannot develop among the more mobile middle class nor among those working class who are uprooted and transplanted elsewhere (see the work of Young and Willmott) offers a viable basis for rejection of the school. The child, his family, friends and indeed everybody with whom he comes into meaningful contact outside the school will support this point of view taking the traditional, anti-intellectual stance, in which school is attended grudgingly, only for as long as the child is legally bound and will be left at the earliest possible opportunity so that the child can establish his true position in the closely-knit community to which he really belongs.

A significant number of working-class families, however, do not reject the school and its aims. They may resolve the conflict by turning away from their immediate environment and adopting the values of the school. The child will be encouraged to take an 'upwardly mobile' attitude and to better himself through education. While
accepting that they themselves are 'irredeemable', the parents will hope that their offspring will be able to 'rise above' their background and establish themselves in the middle-class. By a process of anticipatory socialisation, the family comes to identify with the school. This situation may impose a different kind of conflict upon the child most of whose neighbourhood friends will be rejecting education and orienting their lives around their leisure pursuits. It may produce great strain on the child if he has to break these long ties and attempt to emulate the achievements of pupils from a very different sort of home.

These are, of course, polar cases in what is, in reality, a continuum. There will also be differences in the extent to which the family exerts pressures on the child to conform to its attitudes, and also in the ways in which the child reacts to these pressures. Once again this reaction may be anywhere on a broad continuum between submissive agreement on the one hand and aggressive rebellion on the other. The child is likely to involve himself in a peer-group which gives support to his reaction, or rather, a peer-group will develop which reflects this attitude, particularly where there is an inherent conflict with school or family. The pop media provide an alternative set of values around which a peer-group may develop. By bringing leisure and entertainment to the front of the stage, rather than leaving them in the wings a new way of looking at life becomes possible and for certain peer groups this point of view may become their central vantage-point for interpreting their social experience. For them the mass media will take a greater importance than for their peers who are primarily oriented towards school or environment.

A similar analysis can be found in Hargreaves (1967). He argues that subcultural development is a function of several mutually
reinforcing variables, the two most important of these being:

a) The home which predispaces the child to acceptance or rejection of the school values and which affects the child's career in school and the way in which he will be integrated into or isolated from his peer group values. In cases at each extreme home and school are mutually reinforcing; when peer group and home conflict, the pupils is faced with a problem of adjustment.

b) Organisation of the school which leads to differential opportunities for interaction for boys in upper and lower streams, and the consequent segregation favours the development of common values within each half and of negative stereotypes between halves. Low stream boys are status-deprived having failed to reach Grammar school or an upper stream, and school accentuates this state of failure. The allocation and attitudes of teachers increases this divergence between upper and lower streams. The system of transfers between streams leads to a convergence of boys with similar orientations in the same stream.

Arising from this discussion and from the review of literature in Part I, we may attempt to distinguish the various sorts of peer-group which may be expected to manifest themselves among secondary school children, bearing in mind once more that these are 'ideal types' in the Weberian sense, which will not be perfectly replicated in real life. It may be recalled that a number of commentators have produced classifications of adolescent behaviour based on the early foundations of Robert K. Merton. With these examples in mind, a new classification can be drawn up, more relevant for the particular purposes involved in this research. In one major respect the sample with which we shall be dealing differs from nearly all the others which have been borne in
mind during the process of arriving at a codification. These were almost always concerned with adults or adolescents at a later stage of development. Here we will have a sample of young people all of whom are still involved in full-time secondary education. Their position in the social structure imposes a number of limitations on their possible modes of behaviour, quite apart from the fact that, being relatively young and inexperienced, they are bound to abide by most of the rules laid down for them for lack of knowledge of alternative possibilities.

At that stage in their lives, adolescents are in no position to challenge the authority, whether of parents or teachers, which fairly closely controls most moments of their lives. Their autonomy is further reduced by the necessity to do homework, take a part-time job etc. which prevents them from using their free time as they would wish. Moreover, their freedom to engage in certain activities - driving, drinking, going to 'X' certificate films among others - is impeded by legal restrictions. The problem of transport is an especially difficult one in this respect, particularly if the economic situation of the teenager is also taken into consideration. The financial dependence of the adolescent on his parents is a very important factor that is bound to affect much of his behaviour. As we shall see, these are not the affluent teenagers about whom so much has been written and said.

Bearing in mind these considerations, a classification of teenagers into five "types" can be produced.

(a) Middle class conformist. In this case the child's primary reference points support each other. His school, his family, his general environment and his peer group are in a state of broad normative agreement. Since there is no major conflict the child has no need for alternative cultures or sets of meanings. His interest in the pop media may therefore be expected to be fairly superficial, although he may nonetheless
spend a lot of time listening to records and radio, reading
magazines and so on.

(b) Middle class rebellious. A minority of middle class children
reject some of the values of their parents and their school. The
reasons for this rebellion against a system in which they are well-
equipped to succeed are too complex to be gone into here, although it
may be noted that, particularly in America, many new alternatives to
the post-industrial capitalist life-style are being explored by an
increasingly large army of middle-class well-educated 'drop-outs'.
Here, of course, we are concerned only with the foetal stage of this
development and the protest can at this age take only a limited form.
One manner of expression, however, is of immediate concern to us, for
many of these children may immerse themselves in the pop media and it
is amongst these groups that it perhaps becomes tempting, but misleading,
to speak in terms of a 'pop culture'. What is undeniable is that
these adolescents rely heavily on their peer associations to provide
them with normative support, and that some of these peer groups may
become 'innovatory' in the Mertonian sense at a later stage of their
development. For these groups the pop media become much more than
just a form of entertainment. Certain parts of these media offer a
totally different point of view about life, an alternative interpretation
of experience to that accepted by parents and teachers.

(c) Working class aspirant. This group consists of the potentially
upwardly mobile whose reference groups are likely to be primarily
anticipatory. The working class background and tradition is rejected
in favour of the opportunities offered by education for self-improvement.
School values are therefore accepted, usually supported by the
encouragement of parents. Such children will integrate into middle class peer-groups, or if this is not possible may do without the peer group as a support. The pop media will probably be rejected by these pupils who are not oriented towards leisure and entertainment but are immersed in the 'work ethic'.

(d) Working class conformist. This group is characterised by acceptance of the environment and by lack of aspirations - they correspond closely to Merton's 'ritualists'. Conflict between school and child is resolved by a high level of indifference on the part of the latter who is prepared to conform provided that little is asked of him and he can leave at the earliest opportunity. In response many schools adapt to this situation accepting that many pupils have no inclination to work and will profit little from their years of 'education'. By a system of concessions and unstated mutual agreements both sides make life relatively easy for the other and try to avoid creating 'trouble'. Most of these children come from homes where education is entirely unvalued but is merely an evil that keeps the child from earning. The child's main reference point is the culture of the street with its adaptations of traditional working class pattern and values. This alternative obviates the need for them to seek out the pop media as a means of normative support. The street gang is the centre of their life.

(e) Working class rebellious. While perceiving the social system in a way similar to those in group (c), these children react to it in a manner more akin to those in group (b). They are trapped by the structure of society and become frustrated at their inability to escape from this environment. In a system dominated by the middle-class they cannot, in Merton's terms, attain the goals which are culturally prescribed. Eventually their hostility to society may result in their
being disowned as 'delinquent'. These children may also turn to street culture as an alternative form but in this case they may later be led into that part of working class culture whose rejection of societal values leads to involvement in crime. Pop music for these children is unlikely to play the major actual and symbolic part that it does for middle class rebels, although it may take up a fairly large amount of their leisure time and interest.

These categories are brief and generalised\(^\text{I}\). However, as Figure I demonstrates, they correspond well with previous efforts - not surprisingly since all owe such a debt to Merton's original paradigm. The descriptions of each 'adaptation' show clearly that the two principal distinctions are being made - social class, and attitude to the environment. The problem now is to find ways of judging into which of these groups each individual sampled should most accurately be placed.

Social class was attributed in the conventional manner, using the stated occupation of the head of the household. This is not a perfect indicator but greater accuracy can only be achieved by the expending of more effort than the results would justify. Children's responses were coded in terms of the 'Interscan' classification which divides the population into six grades of household. For the simple requirements of this study these were collapsed into two groups, middle class (made up of non-manual occupations in grades A, B and C1) and working class (manual occupations graded C2, D and E).

Estimating "attitude to the environment" presents a more complex problem and requires a battery of measures to provide a reasonably accurate assessment. A number of factors were isolated which, it was felt, would throw light on this area. Type of school attended and stream in school are obviously relevant. One would anticipate middle class conformists and working class aspirants to be found most commonly in

\(^{I}\) Even greater simplification will be found in the actual research, where categories (c) and (d), for reasons of brevity and clarity, and because they seemed to be empirically similar, have been combined.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MERTON, LAMBERT, ET AL.</th>
<th>THIS STUDY</th>
<th>MIDDLE-CLASS CONFORMIST</th>
<th>WORKING-CLASS ASPIRANT</th>
<th>WORKING-CLASS CONFORMIST</th>
<th>MIDDLE-CLASS REBEL</th>
<th>WORKING-CLASS REBEL</th>
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<tr>
<td>WILMOTT</td>
<td></td>
<td>MIDDLE-CLASS CONFORMIST</td>
<td>WORKING-CLASS CONFORMIST</td>
<td>WORKING-CLASS REBEL</td>
<td>MIDDLE-CLASS REBEL</td>
<td>WORKING-CLASS REBEL</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAPNER</td>
<td></td>
<td>CONFORMIST</td>
<td>COLONISER</td>
<td>INTRANSIENT</td>
<td>REBEL</td>
<td>RETREATIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAYS</td>
<td></td>
<td>WELL-ADJUSTED MIDDLE-CLASS</td>
<td>AFFLUENT WORKING CLASS</td>
<td>ANGRY YOUNG MAN</td>
<td>FRUSTRATED WORKING CLASS</td>
<td>REBEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CONFORMIST</td>
<td>RITUALIST</td>
<td>INNOVATOR</td>
<td>REBEL</td>
<td>RETREATIST</td>
</tr>
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</table>
grammar schools and the upper streams. The number of school clubs, societies and teams in which pupils participate may also be a useful and simple measure, sorting out middle class conformists and working class aspirants from the rest. It was also felt that anticipated leaving age would be a potent indicator of children's attitudes to education and their relationship to the school, groups (d) and (e) being particularly keen to leave at 15. The child's relationship with his parents was also drawn into the study, it being felt that the two 'rebellious' groups were more likely to show greater strains in this area than the others. In addition it was felt to be essential to have measures of "commitment to school" and of "attitude towards life" by which is meant pupils' estimates of the importance of thinking about the future, the relative satisfaction of work and leisure, the 'fairness' of the career structure and their own ambitions in terms of this structure. The actual questions that were used in assessing these and other factors will be described in detail in chapter I4 where the different levels of prediction allowed by each of these measures will become clearer. Obviously some of these predictors are very much more potent than others, but taken together it is felt that they can offer a reasonably accurate picture. Certainly, in practical terms, the task of categorizing children into the five groups, presented no difficulties at all, which is at least some justification for the methods used.
CHAPTER 13: THE SAMPLE

Selection of Schools

This study was part of a larger project involving one hundred schools and the sampling framework is necessarily that of the larger project, details of which may be found in Murdock and Phelps (1973). Here only those details relevant to the final sample used in this study will be presented, although it may occasionally be essential to refer to the larger project in order to explain the factors which led to a particular decision.

The overall strategy used was that of stratified sampling. This procedure allows a number of factors to be built into the sample rather than hoping that they will be thrown up in a purely random fashion. Experience from a number of pilot studies, together with consideration of previous research suggested a number of factors that would have to be allowed for.

(1) Area of location. It is evident that media use is to some extent a function of supply, and this supply is not constant over the whole country. London, in particular, provides a much fuller and wider range of media possibilities than any other area, whilst the provinces vary considerably amongst themselves. Rural areas offer the poorest selection and a child from such a neighbourhood may have great difficulty in getting to a cinema, record shop or large newsagent. In order to try to eliminate these differences as much as possible it was decided to concentrate purely on urban areas so that all pupils in the sample would have a wide supply of available media material. All four cities finally included have populations in excess of a third of a million inhabitants.
(2) Social class. As wide a cross section of pupils' backgrounds as possible was clearly desirable, so schools were categorized into two types:

a) those catering predominantly for middle class pupils;  
b) those serving the working class.

Schools of both types were included in the sample.

(3) Type of school. The English educational system at present involves three major sorts of school - grammar, secondary modern and comprehensive. (Public schools were excluded from the study, both for simple logistic reasons and because, being outside the "state system", they are not easily comparable with other sorts of school. Most public schools for instance, are for boarders whose media fare maybe to some extent preselected or censored.)

The state system has been in turmoil for some years now following the Labour Government's instructions that all authorities must prepare plans for transition to a comprehensive system, and the return to power of the Conservative Party who are less willing to abandon the grammar school. While some authorities have had an all-comprehensive system for some time, others are in the midst of reorganisation, with the disruption that this often entails. Others still are prevaricating and trying to delay the process as long as they can. At present, less than 20% of all secondary pupils are attending schools that can be called comprehensive (King 1971, p. 116). Research suggests, moreover, that in many cases a comprehensive school is one in name only (Ford 1969). Many authorities still "cream" off the best pupils so that the comprehensive is only a secondary modern in disguise. On the other hand, an old grammar school headmaster may well see his new school only as a rather "inferior" version of his old one and try to "recreate" the
sort of school with which he is familiar.

Although the comprehensive seems likely to be the school of the future, it seemed clear that all three types would have to be included in order to study the range of secondary schools as it exists today.

(ii) Sexual composition of the school. The three types of school may cater for boys, girls or both. Mixed schools are becoming the norm but many single-sex schools - especially grammar and secondary modern - still exist. As it was desired to study both boys and girls (far too much work has been done with boys alone) but with a small number of schools, it was decided to use only mixed schools.

It was not easy to transform this "ideal" strategy into practical form, for it was found that the number of education authorities whose schools conformed to the requirements was strictly limited. Many areas were already fully comprehensive or else had not yet started reorganisation. Those authorities who had all the three types of school were often in a state of flux. Many could not offer assurances that the status of their schools would not change during the three years in which field work was to be done. Many Education Officers were uncertain about the future of their schools, especially where the return of numerous Conservatives at recent local elections had cast doubts on how far the Government circular 10/65 was to be implemented. A further problem arose when some authorities felt unable to offer co-operation, feeling that they already had as many research commitments as they could reasonably manage.

Finally four urban authorities were located which satisfied sampling requirements, could give firm assurance about the status of schools and were agreeable to help with the research. These were Leeds, Coventry, Lancashire and the London borough of Barnet.
From these areas five schools were selected to fulfil our criteria and these are shown in figure 3 on page 153.

(a) Park Road School. Although under the jurisdiction of the Lancashire Education Authority the school is situated in an area that is very much a part of the Manchester conurbation. Situated in a prosperous commuter belt, Park Road suffers from old and no longer adequate buildings, and a move to newer premises is imminent. Its 750 pupils and 40 staff are at present severely cramped and inconvenient - the refectory buildings are several streets away from the main school, entailing a walk of some minutes. The playing fields are also distant, and the school is surrounded only by a very small playground. Despite these problems, an air of enthusiasm pervades the school engendering a most pleasant atmosphere. The headmaster was both interested in and helpful towards the research project, and, despite a premium on space, enabled us to carry out our investigations.

(b) Woolton School presents a most forbidding exterior - a solid rectangular Victorian block set in the midst of acres of squat working class terraces, in one of the industrial areas of central Leeds. Facilities for the five hundred pupils are poor in many respects, which presented quite a problem during the administration of the research when it was found that very few rooms were equipped with electric points. In keeping with the intensely academic orientation of the school, our research was considered rather a distraction, but was suffered so long as it interfered as little as possible with the efficient running of the school. The researchers
were actively discouraged from meeting the staff from whom they were rigidly separated - interviewing was carried out in the caretaker's office!

(c) Churchgate School is at the other end of the same city and presents a strikingly different physical appearance. A Church of England foundation it possesses a set of new buildings on a pleasant hillside site surrounded by playing fields and parkland. Situated almost on the edge of the city, it is in an area which consists largely of modern private estates with pockets of older semi-detached houses from an earlier development. Nearby are the very wealthy suburbs housing the owners of local industry. This is an expanding area, and already the school is suffering from a shortage of space for its 700 pupils. The atmosphere of the school is very conservative and no member of staff could raise any interest in our study, although the headmaster gave us every possible assistance.

(d) Middleton School occupies cramped quarters in a drab part of Coventry. It shares its none too spacious buildings with the primary school, which leaves little room for the 700 pupils. Like many such schools, it has a great problem recruiting staff. Apart from the solid core of teachers who have been there for years, there is a very high staff turnover. Younger teachers do not find it an attractive long-term proposition. The headmaster is young and vigorous and should do much to improve the efficiency of the school, but he too will doubtless move elsewhere when opportunity arises. The school's problems are compounded by the presence of
a large local immigrant population, mostly of Indian origin, so that every year has a significant number of pupils with language difficulties.

(e) Northlawns School. This is the only comprehensive school in the sample but the size and nature of its catchment area is such that it satisfies our requirements. Although this part of North London is primarily wealthy and middle class, the school also caters for a sizeable minority from much poorer backgrounds. The two sets of pupils are different in several ways. A very large number of the middle class pupils are Jewish while the working class children are primarily Gentile, and there is some friction between the two groups. The Jewish pupils tend to dominate the school in many respects which has built up resentment in the other pupils, many of whom at the time of our study had adopted the aggressively working class anti-intellectual teenage style known as "skinhead". Skinheads championed traditional working class values at a time when these were being denied by most young people.

Apart from this group, the pupils in Northlawns (of whom there were about 800 altogether) were by far the most sophisticated in the sample - and also among the liveliest. The school was more liberal than any other in many ways, allowing a considerable range of styles with regard to hair, clothes etc., largely due to the influence of the headmaster, a champion of progressive ideas. The changes he was bringing to the school were supported by many of the younger teachers, but were greatly resented by a formidable minority in the staffroom suggesting some problems for the future.
Selection of Pupils

It was not possible nor necessary to study all the pupils in these schools. For the purposes of this work it was felt that the study of pupils in one school year would be more than adequate and a number of considerations made the final decision about which year to choose very simple.

Since the same age range was to be studied in all schools, it followed that only the first four years could be used in order to ensure a full secondary modern and comprehensive schools sample. Furthermore, as it was wished to continue the study for a two year period it was not possible to include fourth year pupils, many of whom would have left at the end of the first year of study. The most suitable group of those remaining was considered to be those in the third year, for research has indicated that the thirteen-fourteen age group is marked by a deep immersion in sub-cultural activities, particularly those based on the "pop media".

The population from which the sample was drawn consisted therefore of the entire third year pupils of these five schools. The questionnaire was administered to all these pupils, except in the comprehensive school which was too large for this policy to be carried out. Here a random selection of classes was taken ensuring only that a cross-section of ability groups was obtained. A total of 634 third year pupils answered the questionnaire, supplying sufficient information for a small sample to be selected which fulfilled the requirements of our plan, being small friendship groups corresponding to the types detailed earlier. These pupils, numbering fifty, were interviewed in depth a year after the questionnaire had been completed, i.e. during their fourth year of secondary education.

The composition of the sample is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2: The Composition of the Sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Naturally any study of a sample of this size and with cell numbers as small as these cannot constitute the final word on the subject. Nor was this the intention here. It has been emphasized earlier (p. 77), and it is perhaps worth repeating, that this is an exploratory investigation. It is designed not to offer conclusive proof, but to make preliminary suggestions. By looking closely at a small number of respondents, directions for future research may be discovered; by using a small sample and returning to each individual two or three times, unencumbered by restrictive methodology and high level statistical techniques, one allows for the emergence of the unexpected findings that may prove as interesting as those that were anticipated. By really getting to know a small number of children, a better context is available in which to fit such serendipitous results whose value and meaning can then be more fully appreciated. In short this is largely qualitative rather than quantitative research. Numbers are used to suggest differences between groups, and are never offered as proof or as numerical evaluation of these differences.
CHAPTER 14: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

To provide information in the areas which we have discussed a two year plan was formulated. The first stage, comprising a questionnaire to be filled in by complete school-form groups fulfilled a number of functions. Most basically of all, it allowed the identification of pupils belonging to the sorts of peer groups described earlier. As a secondary function it also provided a great deal of general information about their use of the mass media. It therefore made possible the more searching second stage, during which the selected respondents were individually interviewed and a lot of much more specific data elicited. Putting together the results of both stages gave a reasonably wide ranging picture of the media habits of these very different peer groups. This and the following chapter will describe the questionnaire and the interview schedule. These are naturally of paramount importance, as useful results can only be obtained if the right questions are posed.

The questionnaire was administered during February and March 1970 to the sample of pupils illustrated in Figure 3. Each school was personally visited and the procedure was supervised by the researchers. The questionnaire had been carefully designed so as to be completed in 35-40 minutes, i.e. during one school lesson. The researchers explained to each class the nature of the task and exactly what had to be done. Particular emphasis was lain on the fact that no school personnel would see completed forms, that the questionnaire was not a test with right and wrong answers, and that complete honesty was essential. The researchers were present throughout the lesson to answer queries and advise any pupil in difficulties. Nearly all children
managed without any trouble and problems were only encountered with classes containing a large proportion of slow or non-readers.

FIGURE 3: The Sample of Pupils Completing the Questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SUBURBAN</th>
<th>INNER URBAN</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GRADE</td>
<td>PARK ROAD</td>
<td>WOOLTON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECONDARY</td>
<td>CHURCHGATE</td>
<td>MIDDLETON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MODERN</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPREHENSIVE</td>
<td>NORTHLAWSN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since this could be anticipated, whenever it was felt necessary two lessons were allocated for the completion of the questionnaire, and with assistance, even the most backward pupils were able to finish the task.

Essentially the questionnaire was designed to fulfill three purposes. Firstly it had to enable the pupils to be categorized in terms of class and attitude to school and leisure. Secondly it was to supply information about the friendship groupings of pupils.¹

¹. Hallworth (1953) has shown that children in school classes are organised in relatively stable groups each of which has its own value system, and that these groups can be identified by means of sociometric tests.
Finally it was to give a general picture of the media use and leisure activities of these adolescents. Questionnaire items will be discussed under these three headings.

[1] Categorizing questions

Of the eight areas of information discussed in Chapter 12, clearly no questions needed to be asked with regard to (1) stream in school, or (2) type of school.

(3) Commitment to school was measured by a Likert-type scaling instrument, designed to evaluate pupils' general orientation towards school. Previous research (Morton-Williams and Finch 1968, Kniveton 1969) has demonstrated that although overall attitude to school is made up of several distinguishable dimensions that are not necessarily interrelated, a general factor can be found, which can be called 'school commitment'. On the basis of pilot studies, seven statements were selected which appeared to measure school commitment, and pupils were asked to respond to each in terms of a five point scale. The five points were: I agree strongly, I agree, I can't decide about this, I disagree, I disagree strongly, and the direction of the points was alternated in order to avoid response set. The validity of the instrument was tested by a Principle Components Analysis of final returns and the loadings of each statement on the principle factor is indicated in brackets after each one, the level of total variance accounted for being 59%.

Beneath each statement a series of five labelled boxes were provided in which pupils were to record their responses. The question was presented in the following terms.
Here are some things people have said about their schools.

Please show how much you agree or disagree with them by ticking one box on each line.

(a) "Most of the lessons you do at school are a waste of time." (0.79)
(b) "On the whole, I quite enjoy school." (0.81)
(c) "School is the same, day after day, week after week." (0.85)
(d) "Most of the time at school they treat you like a kid." (0.75)
(e) "I am usually glad to get back to school after the holidays." (0.63)
(f) "Teachers at school don't really try hard enough to make the lessons interesting." (0.80)
(g) "I can't wait to get out of school for good and start work." (0.72)

Each statement was scored 0 to 4 so that a pupil's total score could vary between 0, showing very low commitment to school, and 28, indicating a very high commitment.

(4) School clubs and societies were more easily researched by a pair of simple questions. After each one a blank space was left for pupils to fill in as required.

Do you belong to any clubs or societies here at school? If you do, please make a full list.

Do you play for any sports teams here at school? If you do, please make a full list.

(5) Leaving age was similarly easy to find out about, pupils responding to one simple question.
Q When do you think you will leave school? Tick the box which is right for you.

□ When I'm 15
□ When I'm 16
□ When I'm 17
□ When I'm 18 or more
□ Don't know. Haven't decided yet

(6) Agreement with parents required a more complicated procedure. Pilot work unearthed a series of issues on which there was often friction between parents and children. Pupils were asked to say for each issue whether they 'often disagree', 'sometimes disagree' or 'never disagree' with their parents over that particular problem. Eleven stimuli were used in probing this area.

Q How often do you disagree with your parents about any of these things?

The number of evenings in a week that you go out.

How much pocket money you get.

Who you should be friends with.

What sort of clothes you should wear.

The time you have to be in bed.

How much help you should give at home.

What you spend your money on.

Saying where you are going when you go out.

The television programmes that you watch.
How hard you work at school and how long you spend on homework.

The time you have to be in by in the evenings.

Scoring 'I often disagree' 2, 'I sometimes disagree' 1 and 'I never disagree' nought gives a range of scores from 0 to 22, the latter score representing a complete lack of concensus between parent and child on these issues.

(7) The way in which the child sees himself in relation to the school was measured by a sort of self-analysis question. Pupils were asked to say how much like themselves they felt a number of 'ideal type' cameos to be. These cameos were invented for the purpose and pupils responded to a complete list of ten, but of these only three were used at this stage. For each cameo pupils were asked to tick one of five boxes, labelled 'a lot like me', 'quite like me', 'I can't really decide', 'not much like me' and 'nothing like me at all'.

Please read each of the following descriptions carefully and then show how much you think that person is LIKE YOU by ticking ONE BOX on each line.

- John (Hilary) gets good marks in most things and usually comes top in at least one subject. The teachers like him (her) because he (she) always pays attention in class. John (Hilary) wants to stay on and pass some exams.

- Pete (Mary) never comes top in anything but he (she) works hard and always does his (her) best. On the whole he enjoys his (her) lessons.

- Mick (Sheila) feels that most of the things you do in class are a waste of time. He (she) is always mucking around in class and
being cheeky to the teachers. He (she) can't wait to start work.

(8) The final question used for categorisation probed pupils' opinions of their life-chances and their attitudes to work. Based on similar questions devised for earlier research, a quiz was constructed whereby the answers to one question decided which was to be answered next. Each respondent answered four of the eight questions.

Q Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:
(a) "It's not worth the effort to get a good job: there are lots of other things in life."
(b) "When you're young you ought to enjoy yourself and not worry too much about the future."
(c) "It's wise to work hard when you're young to give yourself a good start in life."
(d) "In this country everybody has the chance to get on in life."
(e) "Many people just don't have the opportunity to get on in life."
(f) "Life is just like a competition and the best man usually gets the prize."
(g) "Most people get the sort of job they deserve."
(h) "Lots of people are wasted in the sorts of jobs they get."

Willmott (1966) has outlined a type of classification similar to this. Noting its weaknesses - crude measurement giving equal weight to items, involving subjective and often arbitrary decisions in borderline cases, he used component analysis to provide a statistical check. He found 'broad correspondence in the results.'

In allocating individuals to the various categories, all these measures were taken into account. They were not all, however, given equal weight. The Likert scale was considered to be the most reliable measure and was used as the basis for the allocation process. Pupils were divided into three groups depending on their responses to this scale. Those with high scores (i.e. over 17) and those with low scores (under 10) were then studied in terms of the other measures. Only those showing consistency of response to all measures were included in the sample. Thus a conformist would have a high commitment score, belong

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1 Research has shown a positive correlation between the levels of occupational and educational aspirations of friends (Haller and Butterworth, 1960).
to school clubs and societies, want to stay on at school after the permissible leaving age, tend to be in general agreement with his parents, identify with John (the successful pupil) but not at all with Mick (the rebel), and have an optimistic, uncynical approach to life. He would probably be in the upper streams of a grammar or comprehensive school. Rebels would show a highly contrasted pattern of attitudes and behaviour.

In choosing the sample, however, individuals were not looked at in isolation. Since the focus of this work is the peer group, it was groups of adolescents who were required. Consequently, only those individuals were selected who belonged to peer groups all of whose members showed a consistent outlook corresponding to one of the categories we have defined. These groups were identified through the use of sociometric tests (see below) and the sociometric and categorising data were studied in conjunction. Studies of the composition and role of the peer group have suggested that individuals within a group are likely to have similar attitudes to work and leisure, and this expectation was fulfilled in many cases, particularly where groups were small and close-knit. Larger, more 'open' groups naturally tended to show less uniformity among members.

(2) Friendship grouping questions

Each respondent was asked "Who do you usually go around with here in school?" and a space was provided in which the names and forms of friends were to be filled. Nearly all choices were made within the year and the large majority had friends only in their own form, particularly in larger schools where it is harder to make contact with children in other classes. Almost all choices were of the same sex, although a small number of girls mentioned boys, usually from a higher form.

Pupils were also asked, "Among your schoolfriends, who usually takes the lead when you are doing things out of class?". This question provides further insight into the dynamics of the group, suggesting which children are likely to be leaders and which followers. Generally this distinction showed up clearly, one or two pupils in each form being given nearly all the nominations by their fellows.

I King (1969) found that 69% of such choices were made within the year in the grammar school he studied. Ford (1969) found about 70% of choices made were within the form or stream or its equivalent. Hargreaves (1967) reported that over half his secondary modern school boys selected their friends from their own form.
Sociometric data is most easily presented in the form of sociograms in which relationships are represented by lines connecting the related individuals. In this way the friendship groupings become clear as examples will demonstrate. Figure 4 shows the friendship choices of some of the third year boys from Woolton school.

FIGURE 4: Sociogrammatic representation of friendship choices of some third year Woolton boys

Reciprocal friendship choices
Each line represents a reciprocal friendship choice - i.e. each pupil mentioned the other as one of his friends. Study of the diagram shows one very clear group which includes A, B, C and D. Within this group every member chooses every other as a friend. Proctor and Loomis have devised some simple formulae for analyzing sociometric data and their measure of 'Group Cohesion' is relevant here (1951).

\[
C_0 = \frac{\text{Number of mutual pairs}}{C_2^N}
\]

where \(C_2^N\) is the total number of possible pairs, i.e. \(\frac{N(N-1)}{2}\). Using this measure group A, B, C, D can be said to have a cohesion of 1.0, the highest possible score. E, F and G are on the periphery of this group, having reciprocal choices with one or two only of the main four. F is also oriented towards the other group in the diagram which involves H, J and K. This trio also has a group cohesion of 1.0, but if F were included this would fall to 0.3. F is in the midway position between the working class rebels of the A, B, C, D group and the conformists H, J and K. Both these groups were included in the sample for study.

Figure 5 shows the friendship choices of the girls in one of the third forms at Northlaws comprehensive school. Here some of the unreciprocated choices have been included for they add much to the picture that emerges. Five distinct groups appear ranging in size from as many as five members down to as few as two. The unreciprocated choices show something of the relationships between the groups. Two members of the large group J, K, L, M and N seem to be aspiring to join the pair P and Q, while in a similar way E, a member of the other large group is clearly trying to join the smaller group F, G and H. Quite detached from all the others are the trio comprising R, S and T, who
FIGURE 5: Sociogrammatic representation of friendship choices of girls in one third form at Northlawns

- Reciprocal friendship choices
- Unreciprocated friendship choices
are a group of middle class conformists. They differ markedly from the other trio F, G and H who are the rebels in this form and who we will meet again in chapter 21, where they are described in more detail as Sally Johns, Margaret Robinson and Vanessa Spencer.

These are but two examples of the many different patterns which emerged from the data. Some forms divided into many small clusters, others seemed to operate as one large gang with all members of the form choosing most of the others. This latter configuration was more common among boys, whereas girls were more likely to be in pairs or other small groups.

Groups did not necessarily divide by social class, for more often than not groups included children from both middle and working class backgrounds. This may partly reflect the well-known inaccuracy of children in assessing their parents' occupations. Pupils were asked both for the name of their father's job and for a description of what he did at work, but even so it was not always easy to classify into class groups on this basis. However, it does appear that there is a considerable degree of mixing in school and that home background is not always an important factor in making friends at school. Despite this problem a large number of single-class groups were discovered and sixteen of these constituted the sample.

Leisure Activities and Media Use

At the questionnaire stage only a very limited amount of information could be collected, but enough to build up a general picture of the importance or otherwise of the pop media for these teenagers. It was decided to restrict questions to four specific areas, enquiring into (a) the amount of money available to young people,
(b) television viewing, (c) comic reading, and (d) listening to pop
music on records and radio and at dances and discotheques.

(a) Adolescent finances.

Schoolchildren are inevitably restricted in their leisure
practices by their limited financial means. This is obviously a most
important factor for the amount of money available is bound to be highly
relevant in the decision making process. Any differences between groups
of young people in, for example, record buying, must be shown to be
independent of the money that they have if it is to be a meaningful
finding.

The most usual source of income amongst schoolchildren is, of course,
the pocket money they receive from their parents. To probe this area
an open-ended question was asked, respondents being reminded that all
replies would be totally confidential.

Q About how much spending money do your parents usually
give you each week?

In addition many teenagers have part-time job, working in a local
store, delivering circulars or doing a newspaper round. The income from
this source had to be found and added to pocket money to give the total
spending power available to pupils. Each respondent was asked to reply
'yes' or 'no' to the following question:

Q Do you have a part-time job?

Those who gave a positive response were required to answer a
further question.

Q If YES about how much do you get paid for it each week?

Summing pocket money and earnings should give a reasonably accurate
indication of the money available to these young people, although it may
be that other less formal sources of income exist which are not included here, such as regular 'supplements' from another relative or 'bonuses' from parents for doing odd jobs around the home.

(b) Television viewing.

Television is the great free source of entertainment and is therefore bound to be a major feature in the lives of schoolchildren, who cannot always afford to indulge in other more expensive pastimes. A preliminary question established whether or not respondents had a television set at home.

Do you have a television set at home?

This was followed by a very much more difficult question aimed at discovering the sort of viewing hours which adolescents put in.

On an ordinary weekday (Monday to Friday), when you are not going out in the evening, how many hours do you usually spend watching television?

Respondents were required to place a 'tick' in one of six boxes which were labelled 'none', 'half hour or less', '1 hour', '2 hours', '3 hours', and '4 hours or more'. This sort of question is open to any number of valid objections, against which there is really no defence, except to say that a really satisfactory form is hard to arrive at and would be very lengthy. Since any question which demands an estimation of this nature is bound do be fairly unreliable, there seemed little point in refining it further, particularly as only a very general picture was required for our purposes. ¹

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¹ Estimates are probably more accurate than one would anticipate. Bogart (1956) quotes research by T.C. Battin in which Battin studied children's viewing hours. He tested the accuracy of their estimates by first getting a self-estimate of weekly viewing time and then using a seven day diary as a check. He found that 86% of children estimated correctly to within 2 hours a week.
Finally it seemed necessary to find out a little about the sorts of programme which these teenagers watch and enjoy. To this end a question was devised which, in two parts, probed into this area. Firstly respondents were presented with a list of six popular programmes - 'Blue Pete', 'Tomorrow's World', 'Top of the Pops', 'Wacky Races', 'Match of the Day', and 'Dr. Who' - covering a wide range of tastes. For each they were asked:

Q How often do you look at each of the following television programmes?

and were provided with four possible responses - 'every week', 'most weeks', 'sometimes', and 'never'. Having completed this section, they were then told:

Q If we have missed out any of the television programmes which you watch every week, please write their names in the black boxes at the bottom of the chart.

Thus this question provided both a list of all the most popular programmes amongst this section of the viewing audience, and fuller information about a range of six programmes of very different types.

(c) Comic and Magazine Reading.

A similar sort of question was used to discover the comics and magazines seen by the sample. Pupils were asked:

Q How often do you read or look at each of the following magazines or comics?

and presented with a list of eight popular publications in respect of each of which they were required to answer 'every week', 'most weeks', 'sometimes' or 'never'. Naturally this list could not be identical for
both boys and girls. The boys' list included – *Beano, Valiant, Hornet, Fabulous 200, New Musical Express, TV Times, Look and Learn,* and *Soccer Star.* The girls' version substituted *Judy, Valentine and Jackie* for *Valiant, Hornet and Soccer Star.* These lists offered a wide cross-section of the various different sorts of teenage publications, but, as before, a further section allowed respondents to add other magazines not included in the lists.

Q If we have missed out any of the comics or magazines which you read every week, please write their names in the blank boxes at the bottom of the chart.

(d) Pop Music

Involvement in pop music is less easily measured for we are here dealing with content rather than form and pop music can be found in a number of different media, including, of course, television and, in a rather different way, magazines. Probably the most important form (partly because the cheapest and most accessible) for many adolescents is through the medium of radio. Transistor receivers can now be purchased for as little as £3, placing radio within the means of most teenagers. To provide information regarding access to the medium, pupils were asked:

Q Do you have a radio of your own or do you share one with the rest of your family?

Three boxes were provided, so that a 'tick' could indicate that 'I have a radio of my own', 'I share a radio with the family' or 'neither'.

In the same way that television hours had been assessed radio listening was measured, although here a rather more specific question was posed and weekends also were added.
On ordinary weekday (Monday to Friday) when you are not going out in the evening, about how long do you spend listening to Radio 1 (the pop music station) and Radio Luxembourg? Count any time you are doing something else as well.

Once again a series of boxes was supplied, labelled 'none', 'half hour or less', '1 hour', '2 hours', '3 hours' and '4 hours or more', in which one 'tick' was to be placed. An identical series was also provided for answers to the further question:

About how long do you spend listening to Radio One and Radio Luxembourg at the weekends (Saturday and Sunday together)?

The other principal source of pop music is, of course, records, but finance is a much greater restraint here than in the case of radio, although once records have been purchased there is no further outlay unless the record player fails. At the questionnaire stage only two questions were asked concerning records. The first established whether or not the household possessed the necessary equipment.

Is there a record player at home which you can use when you want to?

The other question asked pupils to estimate their record buying habits. They were given a series of boxes in which to respond to the question:

How often do you buy a pop record?

The boxes were labelled: 'once a week or more', 'once a fortnight', 'once a month', 'three or four times a year', 'once or twice a year', 'less than once a year' and 'never'.

Besides hearing pop music at home, many teenagers seek it out
elsewhere. They may go to pop concerts either at the local concert hall
or at one of the many open-air pop festivals which are held during the
summer months, or they can attend dances at the local Mecca or Locarno
or at one of the numerous discotheques which sprang up during the late
'sixties. To probe such behaviour the question was asked:

How many times in the last month have you been to a 'pop' concert,
a pop dance or a discotheque?

Boxes labelled '3 or more times', 'twice', 'once' and 'never' were provided
for answers.

Two final questions were included to try to give a measure of teenagers'
involvement in pop music. Firstly they were asked:

Please make a list of all the records you can think of which are
in the 'Top Twenty' at the moment. (Don't worry about spelling,
or getting them in the right order.)

On the empty space beneath pupils filled in as many records as they could
remember from the 'hit charts' of that week. Answers to this question
give a good indication of involvement in one aspect of pop music, but
cannot be taken as a measure of interest altogether. Many pupils have little
or no knowledge of the 'Top 20' but a high degree of immersion in other
forms of pop music. Nevertheless this item provided a very useful general
score which, nine times out of ten, accurately reflected the individual's
attitude towards pop.

The other measure involved the 'cameo' question which has already been
met. Besides describing several imagery characters and their relationship
to school, the list also included several characters and their attitudes to
leisure-time activities. Both sexes were asked to say how much they felt
the following cameo described themselves:
Paul (Carol) is a keen pop fan. He (she) spends a lot of time listening to the radio or playing his (her) own records. He (she) always knows what's in the 'Top Ten' and can usually say whether a new record will be a hit or not.

This item clearly probes the respondent's self-image of him- or herself as someone who is interested in pop. Other cameos were also included that concern activities not so immediately relevant to pop but which our analysis in Part Two has shown to be closely connected. Fashion is probably the most important of these areas, so girls were presented with the following description:

Diana likes to wear trendy clothes. She spends a lot of time window shopping or browsing through fashion magazines and pattern books to find out what the latest styles are.

Interest in the opposite sex is another activity that is often connected to pop music and fashion. Dances where pop music features are of course an important way of making contact with the opposite sex and interest in fashion inevitably involves the wish to appear attractive to possible partners. A suitable cameo was therefore devised for both boys and girls.

Andy is pretty good looking. He never has any trouble picking up girls and he spends a lot of his time taking them out.

Pat is pretty good looking. She knows how to make the best of herself. Boys find her attractive. She is always being asked out.

Finally it was thought necessary to include cameos for those teenagers who are neither school nor pop media oriented. For boys this means those who are involved in the street culture of working class regions.

George spends most of his time out with his mates just mucking around doing nothing in particular.
This avenue of escape is not so readily available to girls although some may attempt to understress their femininity and become a part of the gang by 'passing' as a boy.

Janet is a bit of a tomboy. She loves swimming and really looks forward to gym lessons. She doesn't like dressing up and would rather wear her old jeans all the time.

Other girls may choose to practise the role that is most likely to be their future career, by focussing their attention on home life and preparing themselves to be housewives.

Liz likes to spend most of her spare time at home. She is pretty good at cooking and makes quite a lot of her own clothes.

Adolescents' reactions to these cameos and the pattern of responses which they give can give further information of a rather different sort from that gained from the straightforward questions. Techniques such as this are of course open to many objections but so long as information is only being used in conjunction with facts from the more scientifically valid tests their use would seem to be acceptable.

In any case it should be emphasized that the questionnaire was in no sense intended to provide a full picture of young people's leisure and media use. This it clearly did not do. It was helpful, however, in providing a few general clues for drawing up the much more detailed and specific interview schedule, suggesting which avenues would be most fruitful to explore and eliciting a few basic facts and figures.
Pupils for interview were selected according to the questionnaire responses. Sixteen sociometric groups were chosen which corresponded to our needs in both social class and the other factors which have been outlined earlier. These fifty children were interviewed in their schools during the winter of 1970-71. Each interview was conducted by one or other of the research team in private wherever the schools could provide vacant rooms, which was not always in the most suitable surroundings. Interviews took place in libraries, medical rooms, spare staff-rooms and even in the caretaker's room. Each interview lasted from 25-60 minutes depending on how forthcoming the interviewee proved. Responses were recorded by the interviewer on an interview schedule, most of which was pre-coded.

The analysis of Part Two, confirmed by findings from the questionnaire, suggested that besides investigating further into musical tastes the areas of fashion and magazines would both profit from further study. Television appeared to be less central but a rather deeper knowledge about the success of the ubiquitous "Top of the Pops" seemed essential. Finally it was decided to try to get a much clearer picture of the general leisure pattern of each respondent and it was an attempt to solve this problem which started each interview.

a) Leisure

Pupils were encouraged to think back to their activities of the last week and describe in as much detail as they could exactly what they had done. The question would be put in terms something like that set out below.
First I would like to ask you a few questions about the sort of things that you do when you are not in school. Think back to last night, after school, and tell me everything that you did between leaving school and going to bed. Try to remember as much as you possibly can, telling me where you went and who with, and what you did if you stayed at home.

The question would then be repeated asking the interviewee to recall the whole of the previous weekend, starting at Friday after school and going right through to Sunday evening. If any interesting media oriented activities, such as going dancing or to the cinema, arose, they were probed further and as many details as possible elicited. In this way a very full dossier was built up on each pupil, showing just how he had spent his spare time during the previous week, and in whose company he was for most of the time.

The restraints imposed by lack of spending money have already been discussed and it seemed an interesting idea to see what activities were being curtailed by this problem. Consequently a hypothetical situation was described and the interviewee asked for his response to it.

Suppose that you suddenly got £5 from somewhere, which you could use in any way that you wanted, what do you think that you would do with it? Do you think you would save it or spend it? What would you spend it on/save it for?
b) **Comics and Magazines**

The questionnaire had provided the basic facts about magazine reading but some more detailed information was needed, so three further questions were put during the interview. The first introductory question was designed primarily to get respondents thinking about a specific publication so that they could more easily answer the other questions.

**Q** Tell me which comic or magazine you see most often.

Having established this favourite paper it was then easier to ask the more detailed questions which followed. The intention behind these was to find out what it was about this magazine which particularly appealed to them, why they preferred it to others. It was felt that a straightforward open-ended question would elicit little response, so the principal components of teenage magazines were listed and respondents were asked to judge them. Specifically they were asked:

**Q** Which of the following parts of your favourite comic (magazine) do you like best, second best, least?

The list of contents included strip cartoons, photographs, stories, advertisements, letters from readers, articles and, in the case of girls, advice columns and fashion features. Having made their choices, interviewees were then encouraged to speculate on why they had chosen the items they had picked out, by means of an open-ended question.
c) **Fashion**

It was anticipated that the hypothetical question involving the spending of £5 would have already shown the importance of clothes in the teenage consciousness, but further questions were clearly needed. A simple, blunt question sufficed as an introduction to this area of questioning.

**Q** Do you like buying new clothes?

It was felt that the circumstances in which clothes are bought would be of major importance, and, in particular, what people and factors guided the final selection of clothes.

**Q** When you go to buy new clothes, who do you usually go with?

Answers would indicate whether pupils were influenced more by their parents or their friends, clearly a crucial distinction, and this finding was amplified by a further question.

**Q** Where do you usually get your ideas about what sort of clothes to buy?

The responses here would again show the different attitudes to clothes and fashion among young people. Furthermore it was easy to tell from the way interviewees were reacting to this line of questioning how they felt about clothes in general. Many pupils gave detailed accounts of their views on fashion and the latest fads and gimmicks and expounded the virtues and failings of the local shops. Others clearly had no interest or enthusiasm at all. This, of course, is the sort of feedback that can only be generated in an interview situation and which no amount of questionnaire study can really match.
d) Television

As we have seen, television is not an important pop medium, but its central place in the lives of many people demands that it be considered, and in the BBC programme 'Top of the Pops' it has one of the most popular, influential and long-lasting of all pop products.

Q What would you say was your favourite television programme at the moment? What do you particularly like about it?

This question gives a very rough guide to the individual's television taste and attempts to isolate the features that are considered important. This done, rather more effort was made to probe into the immense popularity of 'Top of the Pops'. Having established whether or not the interviewee watched the programme (and ratings suggested that nearly all teenagers would be likely to see it at least occasionally), a card was produced which itemised many of the features of 'Top of the Pops'. This list was made up of: 'the dancing', 'the clothes', 'the disc-jockeys', 'the music', 'the interviews', 'the lights and special effects', 'the bits of film' and 'the singers and groups who appear'. Having studied this list, interviewees were required to decide which of these they liked and which they thought were not so good.

Q Which of the features of 'Top of the Pops' that you see on this list do you like best/second best/least?

As in the case of shopping for clothes, it seemed that the social milieu in which the programme was watched might be a suggestive piece of
information. Presumably the atmosphere engendered by a group of teenagers watching would be very different from that existing when a family is gathered around the set. For this reason interviewees were asked:

Q Who do you usually watch 'Top of the Pops' with?

e) Pop Music

This was clearly the most crucial section, so a fairly large battery of questions of several different types was prepared. In the first place more information was needed concerning teenagers' musical tastes.

Q What is your favourite record at the moment?

The answers to this question were analysed to see what sorts of pop music were favoured by respondents. Typical categories used in this process were those discussed in Part 2, including for instance, 'motown', 'reggae', 'underground' and 'mainstream pop'. Beyond this simple exercise, an attempt was made to see if young people could articulate their reasons for preferring these records. A fairly low level of response was anticipated to this request which was put as follows:

Q Can you think what it is about this record which appeals to you?

Very often extensive prompting was necessary to tease out a coherent answer, but generally it was possible to distinguish between those who mentioned musical attributes as being most important (particularly the beat or rhythm of the record), those who referred to the lyrics (very often pointing out that they are intelligible or meaningful), those who mentioned the musical performance (most often the guitar playing) and
those who gave a social reason for preferring the record (generally remarking that it was good to dance to).

A similar pair of questions were asked to find out what performers were popular among respondents.

Q Who is your favourite pop singer or group at the moment? Can you think of any reasons why you like him/her/them more than anybody else?

The singers or groups mentioned were classified in the same way as the records, but the reasons for liking the performers were likely to vary over a wider range than the reasons for liking the records. The character or personality of the performer was bound to be a very important element of his appeal as were his appearance and 'image'.

Another measure of the level of involvement in the pop media was devised, based on the specialised 'argot' that is used by the 'cognoscenti' in the pop world. Like many other sub-cultural groups the pop business has developed a language of its own, which is disseminated to those outside the immediate circles through the various mass media, i.e. by disc-jockeys on the radio, by pop stars in interviews in teenage magazines etc. The extent to which interviewees were 'au courant' with these terms provided a simple indication of their orientation to the pop world. A list of a dozen such words or phrases (itemised in Chapter 17) was drawn up including some words which have almost come into common usage (e.g. 'chart') and some that are comprehensible only to a relatively small number (e.g. 'A and R' man). Interviewees had to try to explain the meaning of each term if they could and the number of correct responses was used to show one sort of pop knowledge.
Finally two questions (or rather series of questions) were included that are quite different from anything else in either questionnaire or interview. Straightforward question and answer techniques are bound to be the staple method of survey research but they have their limitations. The most severe of these is that they rely on the ability of the respondent to gather together what may be a fairly jumbled set of intuitive feelings or judgments that are not made on an intellectual basis, and to be able to present them in a cogent fashion in the space of a few lines or words. The whole process places great strain on the 'reality' of the respondent's felt perceptions and it may be that these bear little relationship to the terms in which he tries to express them. There are two important ways round this problem. One is to use projective techniques, which while they may help to get round these difficulties, are also open to even greater methodological and analytical objections. The complexities involved in interpreting the findings are only the greatest of a number of problems to which these techniques give rise. The other solution is to try to turn abstract questioning into a more comprehensible concrete form. This answer also has the benefit of resolving another problem to which survey work is prone. This is the very real possibility of boring the questionnaire-filler or interviewee with an interminable series of dull questions. By using a different approach this danger can be avoided, and it would appear ludicrous for a rigorously constructed questionnaire to fail simply because nobody can be bothered to pay enough attention to fill it in properly.

The first question which attempted to involve the interviewee more closely was based on the technique known as the "Repertory Grid". This
is described in more detail in the Appendix, but the adaptation which
was employed in this study used a series of cards on which were printed
the names of pop singers. Pairs of cards were selected and the inter-
viewee attempted to describe ways in which these two performers differed.
Having thought of one difference or construct (perhaps in appearance or
singing style) he would then go through the rest of the pack dividing it
into two piles according to the construct under consideration. One pile
might contain all those stars whom the interviewee thought to be smartly
dressed, while the other pile would include those who were adjudged to
be scruffy in their appearance. The process would then be repeated using
another construct thought of by the interviewee.

The eleven performers used in this study were selected, after pre-
liminary pilot work, to represent a wide range of types of music and life
styles. They can be categorised into five groups as follows:

(1) Old-style crooners. Frank Sinatra and Val Doonican come under
this heading, both being rather older than the usual 'Top Twenty'
performers. Singing mostly 'standards' and ballads with orchestral
backing their following is also from an older age-group, though
both have appeared in the best-selling lists several times in
recent years.

(2) 'Respectable' pop singers. Cliff Richard, as we have seen, was
a rock and roll singer for only a short time many years ago. Now,
like Tom Jones and Engelbert Humperdinck he is much restrained,
appealing to that broad cross-section of the public known as the
'family audience'. All sing a careful selection of old and newer
songs and rely on their popular television shows rather than on
records for their continuing success.
Elvis Presley and Stevie Wonder occupy an ambivalent position. Presley was the original teenage rock and roll star and although his image is now very different, memories of his earlier days remain strong and still linger to some extent in his performance. Wonder is a black 'motown' singer who, like Presley, uses a mixture of ballad and beat material. The excitement and energy of his music is counterbalanced by his conventional appearance, static performing technique and low-key stage presence.

Ringo Starr and Donovan both have the outward trappings of non-conformity (long hair, unusual clothes, etc.) but both keep their private lives very much to themselves and do not attempt to become public figures. Neither represents any serious kind of threat to the established order.

The same cannot be said of the final pair, Mick Jagger and John Lennon. They both carry their rejection of many of the tenets of our society much further than Ringo or Donovan. Not only are their music and appearance extreme, but they are matched by life-styles involving much publicised political views, unorthodox private lives, experimentation with drugs etc., which ensure that they are almost wholly disapproved of by adults.

This Grid method combines the advantages of open-endedness, in that respondents are able to express themselves in their own words, with the benefits accruing from a format that is easy to handle at the analysis stage, while eliciting a range and density of information that could not easily have been obtained by more conventional methods.
The other attempt to add a new dimension to the study involved an experimental application of a technique known as the "Semantic Differential". This is also described in greater detail in the Appendix, but arose from the feeling that it seemed a sad waste to be doing research in so entertaining a subject as pop music without including any actual music in the process. It was felt that some effort should be made to look at children's reactions to real examples of music. Since an open ended question seemed unlikely to be a very productive approach, a more formalised research tool was needed. It was also obvious that time would not allow us to carry out this part of the study individually with each respondent, so class groups were again used and a paper and pencil test devised.

Eight records were selected covering a wide range of pop styles, and excerpts from these were played to the groups. After each excerpt the pupils were required to complete three tasks. Firstly, they were asked:

Q How often have you heard this record before?

Answers were recorded in one of three boxes labelled "never", "a few times" and "lots of times". In fact nearly all answers were "never", for the records were carefully picked so as to be unfamiliar to the large majority of respondents, it being felt that familiarity with a song might affect responses. Secondly pupils were asked to assess the record:

Q How much did you like the record?

Five answers were allowed for here: "liked very much", "liked a bit", "I can't decide", "didn't like very much" and "didn't like at all".
Finally, each child had to complete the semantic differential form itself. (This is illustrated in the Appendix.) By this time our sample was quite adept at filling in questionnaires, and all pupils very quickly picked up the idea of this form. It was explained in the following terms:

Q On this page you can see more boxes like those we have come across before. They are labelled across the top - 'very', 'quite' and 'I can't decide'. What you have to do is to take each line, one at a time, and place one tick in one of the columns. As you see each line has a word at either end. These words mean roughly the opposite of each other. The first line is called 'interesting', 'boring', so that you have to decide whether you thought the record you just heard was interesting or boring and then whether it was 'very' or 'quite'. If you can't make up your mind, place a tick in the middle column under 'I can't decide'. When you have done this, go on to the second line labelled 'unoriginal', 'original' and place a tick somewhere on every line. When you have finished you should have nine ticks altogether on the page. There will be one page like this for every record that you hear.
PART FOUR

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION OF ADOLESCENT MEDIA USE
CHAPTER 16: LEISURE

Part Four contains the empirical findings of this report. In most part it consists of a fairly straightforward account of the results obtained from the schedules outlined in previous chapters. However, this sort of question and answer approach is not always adequate to provide a real understanding of the ways in which respondents think about a subject. The composition and nature of such questions may limit the replies that can be made, and the really important issues may not be touched on at all. It is always true to say that the content and style of a question is bound to influence the sort of answer that is elicited. It is also a fact that not all adolescents are especially good at expressing themselves, and any sample is certain to contain a number of relatively inarticulate respondents. An interview situation can often confuse such a subject, with the result that his answers may not be as full as the researchers would wish. Furthermore, a long series of questions, whether posed in the form of an interview or in the even more stultifying form of a questionnaire, which may seem intimidating, too reminiscent of an examination for many school children, can quickly erode the co-operation and patience of the respondent.

For these reasons, the results discussed in later chapters in this section have been obtained by rather more complex and less orthodox methods. While such methods can go a long way towards avoiding these problems, they do, however, introduce new ones - in particular they can often introduce grave analytical difficulties. These may arise because of the greater degree of interpretation
that is introduced. Simple question and answer techniques may
give limited information, but at least what is obtained is usually
easy to explain. The more bizarre of projective methods, on the
other hand, can give data that can give rise to an enormous variation
of interpretation. The scientific value of techniques such as the
Rorschach test for instance, would seem to be very doubtful for this
reason. No stimuli have been used here therefore which are quite
as unstructured and ambiguous as those required by projective methods,
for lack of reliability and validity cannot make up for the greater
flexibility and imagination of these tests.

The actual techniques used here are fully described in the
Appendix, and are variations on methods which have been tried and
tested in the past and found to be useful. They have been introduced
to grapple with different aspects from those discussed in other
chapters and to show how viewing the problem area from a slightly
different standpoint can contribute to a more complete picture. The
fact that the results largely agree with those obtained by the more
conventional approach offers support to the validity of both and gives
confirmation to the belief in the possibilities of experimental work.
However it is the basic survey research which forms the bulk of this
research and it is to the results of this that we will turn first.

Before giving an account of the empirical findings of the
surveys, a brief résumé of the main points made in Part One, which
form the background against which results should be interpreted, will
be made. The essential point was that there are a wide variety of
subcultures among adolescents in modern society. The industrialisation
of the last two centuries has changed the relationship between adults and their children, since the former are no longer adequate models for the latter. In this sort of configurative society peers are an important reference group for members of all generations. However, it was concluded that the dominance of the peer group as a learning situation had been exaggerated in some quarters. In very many circumstances young people still depend on their elders for instruction and support, while in certain areas of knowledge parents are generally regarded as decisive agents due to their greater age and experience. Thus most teenagers look to both their parents and their peers for help, depending on the precise nature of the dilemma. Only rarely will one group or the other become the sole reference set, and these will be extreme cases in which something has gone seriously wrong with the child's socialisation.

Three primary cultural alternatives were presented as being available, based on the values and assumptions of the school, the street and the pop media, although the point was strongly made that the pop media themselves cannot be considered as offering a homogeneous system of values. Certain sections of the media may overlap and be quite compatible with either school or street culture. Naturally this overlap will not be perfect but the contradictions will not be very great either, so that it is fairly easy for young people to move from one to the other without undue strain. Some media product does however offer an alternative set of values that cannot so simply be overlain on school culture, and we have seen indications that this type of pop appeals disproportionately to particular sub-groups in the total audience. This section will
attempt to demonstrate how the pop media have varying appeals to teenagers in various positions in the social structure.

(1) The Affluent Teenager

In earlier chapters reference was made to the failure of critics to be sufficiently precise about the circumstances in which young people are placed. Loose generalisations too often take the place of analysis based on proven facts. One comment that has been frequently levelled at teenagers today is that they are too financially secure. Their ability to pay for their pleasures is frequently cited as a reason for the "decline of standards" among young people. While one may have doubts about whether this decline has in fact taken place, it is possible to find out whether they are in fact as affluent as many would aver. The concept of the affluent teenager seems to be derived from Mark Abrams' study in the late nineteen-fifties (1959) which estimated that young people represented at that time about £900 million a year of uncommitted spending power. 1

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1. i.e., uncommitted to essentials such as rent or food. Jessie Bernard (1961) has argued that 'adolescent culture' becomes possible because 'our society can afford a large leisure class of youngsters not in the labour force but yet consumers on a vast scale, or, if in the labour force, free to spend their earnings on themselves. And they spend it primarily on clothes, cosmetics, recreational paraphernalia, records, cars, travel and other leisure class goods and services.'
However, this figure is very misleading, for that study defined 'teenagers' as all unmarried people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. Since about 85% of all those who fall into this category are wage or salary earners, the actual spending power of those not in employment must be very much lower than the average, which was calculated to be about £4 a head. In fact the study guessed (on what basis is not made clear) that pocket money for the 800,000 non-employed teenagers would be about £1 each, but even this modest sum is probably an over-estimate. Certainly school-age teenagers today receive considerably less than this, as several recent studies have demonstrated. Two surveys of northern towns have shown that teenagers there are very far from affluent. A study of 15 year-old school leavers in Sheffield at the end of the 'fifties found that 63% of boys and 83% of girls had a weekly income of less than 50p, while a quarter of the boys and almost half the girls were getting less than 25p. (Carter 1963). Another study carried out in Bury, Lancashire, in 1962 found that children's spending power was very limited; 89% of 14 year-olds spending less than 50p each week and none more than £1 (Smith 1966).

Findings in this study suggest that children are only slightly better off than they were a few years ago. Table 6 shows that about 40% of these young people receive less than 50p pocket money each week while only 15% get more than 75p. It might be thought that social class would be an important factor with regard to the amount of pocket money parents give their children, but as Table 7 suggests,

1. It is likely that some children supplement their regular pocket money with occasional extra spending money, so that these figures may slightly under-estimate total spending power. "My father gives me some during the week if I hug him nicely" (Carter).
Table 6: weekly pocket money: by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than 50p</th>
<th>50p but less than 75p</th>
<th>75p or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N = 46 \]

this is not the case. Attitude to school is clearly a much more relevant factor, rebels having much greater spending power than conformists. Middle class rebels are the most fortunate group -

Table 7: weekly pocket money: by class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Less than 50p</th>
<th>50p or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N = 46 \]

five of their number getting more than 75p a week.

In addition to pocket money, a number of young people supplement this income with earnings from part-time employment. A study of fourth year pupils in an inner-urban secondary modern school in the Midlands found that 51% had an income of this sort (Watson 1962), while a more recent survey of a similar school in
the North found that, depending on stream, between 26% and 54% of pupils had part time jobs (Hargreaves 1967). Our figure, 34%, is fairly low by these standards but refers to third year pupils rather than the slightly older groups of these earlier studies.

Table 8 shows that the actual amounts earned by these children are

Table 8: weekly earnings in pence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0-49</th>
<th>50-74</th>
<th>75-99</th>
<th>100-124</th>
<th>125-149</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total sample</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

by no means large — added to pocket money they hardly qualify these adolescents for the epithet "affluent". No child earns in excess of £1.50 each week.

A further breakdown of the figures shows that those with part time jobs are concentrated in one group — working class rebels (Table 9), more than half of whom have a job of this sort.

Table 9: Part time jobs; by class and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Have a part-time job</th>
<th>Do not have a part-time job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 47
If earnings are added to pocket money it becomes apparent that the two rebel groups are the most prosperous; the middle class group having the greatest pocket money, the working class having the most earnings as well as relatively large allowances from their parents.

In general, however, all groups have severely limited financial resources. Lack of money is bound to severely restrict the leisure activities available to adolescents and therefore to strongly influence the way in which out-of-school time is spent. Many teenage activities are far from cheap, particularly those which involve using the pop media. A long playing record, for instance, costs over £2, a 45 r.p.m. single is priced at 50p, while entrance to a discotheque costs a minimum of about 20p and often much more. Such prices mean that schoolchildren must be very selective and choose carefully between the options available to them.

(2) Leisure Behaviour

Given these severe financial constraints, most pupils must be content to spend a large part of their time doing things that do not involve expenditure. This is indicated in Table 10 which shows the activities in which interviewees had taken part during the weekend prior to interview. A series of questions in the interview schedule probed into the behaviour of our respondents during this time and the table shows answers in some of the most frequently mentioned categories. Any mention of an activity during the weekend gave the individual one score on that activity - several mentions would still score only once.\(^1\) This gives a rough indication of

---
\(^1\) Since almost all respondents watched television at some stage during the weekend, a different policy was adopted for this activity. Only viewing on Saturday evening has been scored, as this is the time when most young people prefer to do something else. Watching on Saturday night therefore represents a distinct choice of this activity over others.
the sort of behaviour indulged in by teenagers, and it can be seen that there is a distinct difference between the patterns of rebels and conformists. Rebels were much more likely to be with friends, playing records, on the streets, at dances, doing personal shopping, and at the cinema. Conformists, on the other hand, more often watch television, do homework, do family errands and

Table 10: some weekend leisure activities: by attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Rebels</th>
<th>Conformists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watching television on Saturday night</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing homework</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatting with friends</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing pop records</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the streets</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a dance</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal shopping</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the cinema</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family shopping and errands</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50
shopping, read and do hobbies. There is a clear distinction to be made between these two ways of life. Rebels are clearly peer-oriented and pop media involved whereas conformists are oriented towards their family and school. These gross descriptions however obscure a number of important differences between sub groups within these major categories. Fuller details of the leisure patterns of these sub groups is given in Appendix Table I but a summary of the main findings is presented in Table 11.

The basic comparison between rebels and conformists is again apparent but other distinctions also become clear. In particular the street culture of working class boy rebels based on hanging around in the streets and chatting with friends, can be seen. This sort of behaviour is less common among other groups, although middle class rebel and working class conformist boys also have some access to this culture. However their primary orientations lie elsewhere. The middle class group are more involved in the media - cinema, listening to pop records and dancing, while working class conformist behaviour is dominated by family oriented activities - doing errands and watching television, and by homework. All the female groups have some involvement in the pop media, but rebels are far more highly involved than conformists. The latter seem to lead somewhat schizophrenic lives, divided between family

1. Care must be taken in using these findings quite apart from the rather unscientific way in which the material has been dealt with. Questions like this that rely on detailed recall of past events are inevitably unreliable. Certain sorts of behaviour are more 'memorable' than others; we know, for instance, that our respondents spend a lot of time listening to the radio at weekends, yet this was hardly ever recalled as a part of their weekend activities. While this may indicate the way that radio is used - largely as aural wallpaper - it means that we do not have totally reliable information from this question.
Table 11: Principle leisure activities of groups, by sex, social class and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REBELS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>CINEMA</td>
<td>DANCING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dancing Streets Records</td>
<td>SHOPPING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>STREETS</td>
<td>RECORDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TELEVISION</td>
<td>FRIENDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>Shopping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFORMISTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>HOMEWORK</td>
<td>HOMEWORK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Records</td>
<td>Records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Television</td>
<td>Television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>HOMEWORK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ERRANDS</td>
<td>FRIENDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TELEVISION</td>
<td>TELEVISION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td>Records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Streets</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Errands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

and school supported activities and the culture of the peer group, although this takes a minor role. Rebel groups are primarily peer oriented, although the form that this takes is slightly different for the two groups. Middle class girl rebels choose the more expressive patterns of behaviour - dancing and shopping, both of which incidentally involve spending money. The willingness to invest in pop activities given the financial limitations of teenagers, shows their commitment to pop. For working class rebels
these forms of behaviour become less important. The dominant activities are listening to records and chatting with friends. This reflects a class difference that has already been noticed – the greater extent to which working class children prefer to stay within the neighbourhood, and even within the home. This is probably a result of the strength of family ties and the generally greater cohesion of working class localities. Even meetings with peers seem to take place for working class girls, largely in the context of the home. They visit one another's houses to chat rather than meet at dance halls, out shopping or otherwise outside the home. We may conclude that not only does the degree of involvement in pop vary from group to group but the sort of expression that involvement takes also varies. Table 12 gives a summary of the main forms of involvement of the various groups.

Table 12: Main forms of involvement; by sex, social class and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>REBELS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>POP (street)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>POP</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>STREET</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>POP</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONFORMISTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>HOME (Pop)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>HOME (Street)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>HOME (Pop)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N = 50*
(3) What Teenagers cannot afford.

Having shown that young people are generally short of money, it seemed of interest to consider what they would like to be able to buy more often. Consequently interviewees were asked what they would do with a sudden windfall of £5. Answers covered a wide range but two items were mentioned far more frequently than others. Of the 47 children who answered this question, twenty-six (56%) volunteered that they would spend all or part of such a sum on clothes, while twenty-three (49%) elected to save some or all.

Earlier (Chapter 9) it was argued that clothes are very much connected with pop music, and later (Chapter 19) this assertion will be elaborated on and demonstrated. If, for the moment, it is accepted that an interest in buying clothes is an expression of involvement in pop, a study of which groups show particular interest in spending money in this way will be valuable.

Table 13 shows the percentage of teenagers divided into groups according to sex, class and attitude to school. Girls and rebels clearly are more enthusiastic about clothes than boys or conformists, but there is very little class difference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage wishing to buy clothes</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sex and attitude to school being the key variables here, Table I4 shows the results from a tabulation involving these factors, of the percentages wishing to save and to buy clothes. These figures emphasise that girl rebels are the keenest followers of fashion, whereas boy conformists are not at all interested. Conversely girl rebels are not intent on accumulating savings whilst the majority in all other groups, particularly conformists, would like to be able to save more.

Table I4: Percentages wishing to spend on clothes or save; by sex and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>55 : 55</td>
<td>93 : I4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>8 : 67</td>
<td>60 : 70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fairly high percentage who would wish to save all or part of their money should not be interpreted necessarily as being examples of deferring of gratification. As often as not these children are saving on a short-term basis for something that costs more than £5. Frequently holidays, hobbies and items such as record players were mentioned in this respect. Overall the impression was one of hedonism, with pop related items, especially clothes but also records, being particularly desirable.

Summary
This chapter has shown that teenagers are by no means as well-off as many have assumed. Their money is in fact very limited and must be spent with care. Rebels tend to be wealthier and they are more likely to spend on clothes – especially girls. Clear leisure time behaviour patterns were found distinguishing between different groups, the rebels being much more involved in the pop media, with the exception of working class boys who turn to street culture for an alternative.

A few comments might usefully be made about the phenomenon of street culture, for it will be called on frequently in the pages that follow. That it is associated with the behaviour of working class boys is not surprising, for, in its purest form it is available only to this group. It represents a continuation of traditional working class responses to the experiences brought about and resulting from the industrial revolution. Although there have obviously been many important and far-reaching changes since then, a large number of the patterns of meaning and explanation which developed at that time remain and continue to have
relevance, particularly in those geographical areas that retain much of their old character. Street culture is more likely to flourish in areas that still rely on traditional industries, such as the docklands of London or the Northern milltowns than in places that have been modernised and 'improved' in recent years. The work of the Institute of Community Studies has demonstrated many facets of this process, showing how attempts to introduce certain aspects of the middle class environment into a basically working class context is not necessarily productive.

The adolescent peer group remains an important agent for transmitting this culture. It is better suited than the family or the school for carrying on the traditions based on a pattern of activities revolving around the local streets, cafés, youth clubs, parks, billiard halls, working men's clubs etc. It is noticeable, however, that the majority of roles available in this milieu is exclusively masculine. Even working class girls have limited access, for only by taking the role of tomboy or girl-friend can they become involved. While the former is not a satisfactory solution for many individuals, the latter can only be a form of 'associate membership'. It is a secondary role that lacks security and stability and does not give access to the complete range of masculine activities.

The skinheads who were discussed in Part One represent a recent example of the re-assertion of the traditional working class values that underlie street culture. They emerged in both the traditional working class areas and on the newer council estates. While the latter may be more satisfactory places in which to live in certain respects, it is questionable whether they are suited to the continuance of the sort of culture with which we are concerned, and it is tempting to speculate that the much publicised (if unproved) increase in violence among the young is related to the destruction of the conditions within which street culture flourishes. Such conjecture, however, is outside the scope of this thesis. For our purposes it is clear that such a culture does still exist, and that it provides an outlet for working class boys that is not available for middle class or female adolescents. For those who have access to it, it offers the most obvious alternative to the value system of the school.
Chapter 17: Measures of Involvement in the Pop Media

The extent to which young people are involved in the pop media will be demonstrated again and again in the following chapters. This chapter, by the way of an introduction, will show involvement as measured by three simple devices all of which were incorporated in the questionnaire.

(1) Top 20 Scores

Firstly pupils were asked to write down the titles of as many records as they could remember which were at that moment in the Top Twenty. The number of correct responses gives a reasonable measure of the individual's contact with Radio One, Top of the Pops, the pop music magazines and the other pop-oriented media, for no correlations were found between these scores and measured intelligence. Different scores are very real indications of different levels of knowledge and therefore of involvement. Table 15 shows the average number of correct responses given by children in the four groups. The possible total is, of course, twenty - a score which was actually achieved by one girl, a really astonishing performance. The average score for the whole sample is 9.5 which is a fair indication of the generally deep involvement in pop. To remember almost half the records in a Top Twenty which changes every week is no mean
performance, and Table 15 shows that three of the four groups achieved this. In fact these groups - the middle class conformists and both rebel groups - have very similar scores, all of them more than double the score of the fourth group, the working class conformists. Here is the first indication that for those working class children who accept the school culture, the pop media are of lesser import than for other children. Table 16 adds to this information the fact that it is boys in this group who are the least knowledgeable about popular records. Working class boys score very much lower than other young people, although boys in general tend to score lower than girls anyway. The girls' overall average score in fact indicates that they can recall almost thirteen records in the charts at any one moment, while middle class boys can remember about half of these "hits".

Table 16: Average Top 20 Scores; by class and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

These findings are confirmed by Table 17 where we can see that conformist boys have easily the poorest response, recollecting fewer than a quarter of the possible total. On the other hand rebel girls are comfortably the highest scorers with an average of 14.3 correct answers. One slight surprise here is the low score contributed by
rebel boys, but this apparent anomaly will be returned to and explained at a later stage.

Table 17: Average Top 20 Scores: by sex and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th></th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

(2) Argot Scores

The use of a common particularized language is one way in which a group identifies and defines itself. Lerman (1967) and Gibson (1964) have shown how young delinquents start learning the peculiar criminal argot at around the age of ten and that this learning process quickens significantly at fourteen. Pop also has a language of its own developed largely from that of the beat movement of the '50's which itself had come directly out of that invented by the Negroes of the 'bebop' era. This language is disseminated by the media, by the columnists in the musical press, by the disc-jockeys, by the singers themselves, and then by fashionable people in society at large. If Lerman's findings can be generalised to another context, secondary school pupils should be well aware of pop jargon by age fourteen, so that their relative knowledge of this language may be taken as another indication of involvement in the pop media. During interview, pupils were asked to explain the meanings of a dozen such words or phrases, each of which has a very particular connotation in the pop context. The list in the order in which they were presented, starting with the words which were likely to be most commonly known, was as follows:
Chart (the list of the best selling records)
Album (long-playing record)
D.J. (disc-jockey)
Number One (the best selling record of the week)
Flip (the reverse or "B" side of a single record)
Tranny (transistor radio)
Follow Up (the record released by a performer after he has had a hit)
Stateside (America)
Groupie (female pop group follower)
Gig (a performance)
Roadies (men in charge of the group's equipment while they are on the road)
A. and R. Man (man in charge of "Artistes and Repertoire" for a record company)

Forty seven pupils answered this question and the average number of terms which they defined correctly was 6.9, or rather more than half. Table 18 shows the scores of pupils differentiated by social class and by attitude to school. The pattern of Top Twenty scores (Table 15) is very largely repeated except that middle-class conformists score lower than expected. While they are very knowledgeable about the composition of the Top Twenty, their knowledge of pop argot is more limited, suggesting a rather different kind of involvement in pop from that shared by the two rebel groups. To know some of the more obscure terms in our test requires more than a simple interest in Radio One and it is the rebels whose involvement reaches this level.
Table 18: Average Argot Scores; by class and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rebel</th>
<th>Conformist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 147

Tables 19 and 20 show the average scores in terms of sex and school attitude and sex and social class, and both clearly reflect the same picture as the relevant Top Twenty Tables. Once again working class boys and conformist boys are the lowest scorers and working class girls and rebel girls show the greatest degree of familiarity with pop language.

Table 19: Average Argot Scores; by sex and class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boy</th>
<th>Girl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 147

Table 20: Average Argot Scores; by sex and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boy</th>
<th>Girl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebel</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformist</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 147
(3) Identification with "Pop Fan" Cameo

The third simple measure used here is derived from the questionnaire schedule. Respondents were asked to read the description of a 'typical' pop fan and decide the extent to which they felt that they themselves were like this invented character. The cameo was drawn in the following terms:

"Paul (Carol) is a keen pop fan. He (she) spends a lot of time listening to the radio or playing his (her) own records. He (she) always knows what's in the 'Top Ten' and can usually say whether a new record will be a hit or not."

Responses were elicited in terms of a five-point scale on which pupils indicated that the pop fan seemed either 'a lot like me', 'quite like me', 'not much like me', or 'nothing like me at all'. The centre point catered for indecision and was entitled 'I can't really decide'. For our purposes here the five points have been condensed into three expressing 'likeness', 'unlikeness'

Table 21: Identification with "Pop Fan" Cameo: by class and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>I am not like the pop fan</th>
<th>I can't decide</th>
<th>I am like the pop fan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class Rebel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class Conformist</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class Rebel</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class Conformist</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50
'uncertainty' and Table 21 shows replies classified by class and attitude to school. These clearly correspond greatly with those given to the argot question (Table 18) - the two rebel groups finding the cameo character much more like themselves than do the conformists. Working class conformists in particular do not identify with Paul or Carol; of the thirteen who do not consider themselves to be like the pop fan, nine were in the extreme 'not at all' category. Only fourteen pupils altogether responded in this way.

Table 22: Identification with "Pop Fan" Cameo: by sex and class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I am not like the pop fan</th>
<th>I can't decide</th>
<th>I am like the pop fan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class boys</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class girls</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class boys</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class girls</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22 shows that it is primarily the working class boys who do not see themselves as pop fans. While all other groups are more or less equally divided, twelve out of seventeen pupils in this group rejected the cameo, and of these twelve ten did so in extreme terms finding the character 'not at all' like themselves. Not surprisingly Table 23 confirms that boy conformists are least like the pop fan. In fact all twelve rejected this role, while their female counterparts also
did not feel themselves to be like Carol. Both rebel groups saw more of themselves in the cameo character and the boys particularly were inclined to identify with him.

Table 23: Identification with "Pop Fan" Cameo: by sex and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I am not like the pop fan</th>
<th>I can't decide</th>
<th>I am like the pop fan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boy conformists</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl conformists</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy Rebels</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl Rebels</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

Summary

All three measures used here have shown one outstanding phenomenon - the great contrast between working class conformist boys and all other groups. The former uniquely have only a very passing and limited interest in or knowledge of pop music, while all others display at least some involvement. Other less dramatic discoveries have been that, in these areas at least (and, as will appear later, we must take care not to generalise too far on these findings alone) girls are more knowledgeable than boys, while rebels display a greater identification with pop roles. In general, very high degrees of knowledge were displayed but respondents were wary about describing themselves as pop fans - rather more thought that they were not like the cameo than thought that they were.
CHAPTER 18: LEISURE TIME USE OF POP MUSIC

The previous chapter has indicated levels of knowledge of, and involvement in, the pop media. This chapter will add to this a study of the actual use of pop music by young people. Not only will the extent to which they listen to music on the radio and the number of records they buy be studied, but the incidence of going to dances will also be looked at, as pop music is one of the basic attractions of this pastime.

(1) Radio Listening

Radio listening provides the simplest measure of pop involvement and one that is free of complications arising from differential accessibility to the media and variable amounts of money available. Every respondent in this survey had access to a radio at home, either in the form of their own personal set or as a shared family facility. In fact almost two-thirds of these adolescents owned their own radio - usually a cheap but efficient transistor. Money is no problem, for these radios run on batteries that last for a long time and cost very little.

Pupils were asked to estimate the approximate number of hours that they spend listening to Radio One or Radio Luxembourg (the two pop stations) on "an ordinary weekday when you are not going out in the evening", and "at the weekend". In general, as will be seen, the figures were very high, though they must be interpreted with care partly because estimations such as these are notoriously inaccurate, and partly because the numbers presented here have been calculated from questionnaire material that only calls for approximate guesses (see Chapter 14).
Findings from this question correspond largely with the pattern found in the previous chapter. Table 24 shows the average listening hours on weekdays and at weekends and the results are very similar to those found from the Top Twenty scores - and the argot scores (Table 18).

Table 24: Average pop radio listening hours, for 'ordinary' weekdays and (in brackets) weekends; by class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Rebel</th>
<th>Conformist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.8)</td>
<td>(2.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.7)</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rebels listen for longer than conformists and working class pupils for longer than their middle class peers. Strangely no strong differences appear when groups are distinguished by sex and class (Appendix Table 2) and working class boys do not have the lowest score as has been the case previously. In fact the large proportion of very heavy listeners makes this group the most avid fans of pop music on the radio (Appendix Tables 3 and 4). A more 'normal' pattern reappears in Table 25 where conformist boys emerge as the group with the lowest listening figures.
Table 25: Average pop radio listening hours, for 'ordinary' weekdays and (in brackets) weekends; by sex and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boy</th>
<th>Girl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebel</td>
<td>2.2 (3.7)</td>
<td>1.5 (3.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformist</td>
<td>1.0 (2.4)</td>
<td>1.0 (3.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here it is the rebel boys who score more highly than expected and become the keenest listeners. Clearly radio is providing some form of pop which appeals more strongly to this particular group who generally have not scored very highly on our other measures. Later we will be able to see why this is so, and in what way the pop transmitted on the radio is not necessarily typical of pop as a whole.

(2) Record Buying

Pupils were asked how often they usually buy pop records, and the findings were very similar to those encountered already. Table 26 shows that, when divided by social class and attitude to school, all groups except one have a similarly fairly high score. Once again the odd group out is that comprising working class conformists. As before rebels in general score more highly than conformists and the middle class more highly than working class, although working class rebels buy more records than any other group.
Table 26: Average number of pop records bought each year; by social class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rebels</th>
<th>Conformists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N = 50 \]

Table 27 emphasizes this class pattern and also shows the expected sex difference. Girls of both classes buy more records than boys.

Table 27: Average number of pop records bought each year; by social class and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N = 50 \]

Table 28 completes the picture showing the anticipated pattern with boy conformists having much less interest in buying records than other groups. A little unusual is the finding that rebel boys buy more records than rebel girls; light will be thrown on this finding by later results.
Table 28: Average number of pop records bought each year; by sex and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

Overall these tables suggest that two groups dominate the record sales among these young people: middle class boy rebels and working class girl rebels buy more records than other groups. As later results will show, however, the two groups do not buy the same sorts of records or enjoy the same sort of pop media products.

(3) Dancing

Dancing represents a rather different sort of involvement in pop than either listening to the radio or buying records. It calls for real participation in an environment that is wholly peer-oriented. The clientele of the discotheque or dance hall is almost wholly young and the atmosphere reflects the gay hedonism of youth at leisure. It takes adolescents right away from the home and its values, and plants them in an entirely different situation. Only the really committed therefore indulge in this sort of activity. In the past dancing has been predominantly a working class form of entertainment. The dance hall has been the natural meeting place for girls and boys who have nowhere at home which offers privacy and comfort. The emergence of the discotheque during the sixties has rather changed the situation however. While the dance halls cater
for a rather old age-group, the seventeen and eighteen year olds engaged in serious courting, many discotheques attract a younger public, and one that is predominantly middle-class. Most of the better off urban areas in which this study took place boasted at least one such discotheque which appealed largely to school-age adolescents. Working class boys at this age are still primarily immersed in street culture while only the more precocious of the young girls venture into the more adult dance-halls. For adolescents at this age the middle class is now better catered for as far as dancing facilities are concerned than the working class for whom this has been a traditional pastime. This may be considered as an example of the appropriation phenomenon that was discussed in Chapter 11.

Given these considerations it would not be expected that the results of investigations of dancing habits would be quite the same as those for listening to the radio or buying records. Indeed this is not the case. As Table 29 indicates the suggested higher involvement implied by going dancing is reflected in the far higher scores of rebels than conformists. Furthermore as was anticipated middle class young people are far more likely to go

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Rebels</th>
<th>Conformists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: Average number of dances attended during previous month; by class and attitude to school.

N = 50
to dances than their working class peers. As a result middle class rebels were easily the most consistent dancers of all the groups. All ten respondents in this group reported having gone to a dance or discotheque at least twice during the previous month. In contrast seven out of nine middle class conformists and fourteen out of fifteen working class conformists had not been to a dance at all during the month.

Table 30 confirms this difference between rebels and conformists and also shows that there is a slight, but by no means startling difference between boys and girls, the latter having been to rather more dances than the former. Appendix Table 5 confirms the class and sex difference, but very clearly attitude to school is by far the most important variable in this case.

Table 30: Average number of dances attended during previous month; by sex and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is made even clearer by Table 31 which shows the simple contrast between the dance habits of rebels and conformists. Whereas twenty-one out of twenty-four conformists had been to no dances during the specified period, only eight of the twenty-six rebels had not been dancing at all. In fact seventeen of them had been at least twice, and ten had been three or more times. Clearly we have here
evidence of very different use of the pop media by rebels and conformists. Even those conformists whom we have found to be involved in pop to a high degree — and among girls there were quite a number — do not go dancing to the same extent as rebels. This distinction between rebels and conformists will be clarified further in Chapter 20 when pop music itself is studied more closely.

Table 31: Number of dances attended in previous month; by attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>One</th>
<th>Two</th>
<th>Three or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions. The findings in this and the previous chapter have demonstrated a high but differentiated interest in the pop media. Appendix Table 6 presents a summary of the information in these chapters on the basis of which we can divide our respondents into groups distinguished by their levels of involvement in pop as evidenced by the measures used. In Appendix Table 6 marks have been allocated to each group in relation to each of the six criteria used in these two chapters. 2 marks denote high involvement, 1 mark medium involvement and no marks little involvement. If these scores are summed a composite involvement score may be obtained for each group, as is presented in Table 32. Brief study of these scores show that a group can be divided into four divisions and that a distinct pattern becomes immediately discernable. The four divisions, each representing a level of involvement, are:
Table 32: Involvement Scores, by sex, social class and attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Working class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebel</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conf.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very Highly Involved
- Middle class girl rebels (32)
- Working class girl rebels (30)

Fairly Highly Involved
- Middle class boy rebels (27)
- Working class boy rebels (23)

Fairly Little Involved
- Middle class girl conformists (20)
- Working class girl conformists (16)

Very Little Involved
- Middle class boy conformists (9)
- Working class boy conformists (3)

It is immediately clear that, of our three variables, attitude to school is the most important; all rebels score more highly than all conformists. Within this pattern, sex is the most important factor, boys scoring less than girls. Finally class appears to be the least relevant factor, although a consistent pattern is still visible, middle class groups scoring more highly than similar working class groups.

Our evidence has also suggested that different groups use the pop media in different ways: The various patterns displayed in Appendix Table 6 lead to this conclusion. In particular there is support for the hypothesis that "street culture" represents an alternative set of sub-cultural meanings. The group for whom this alternative is most accessible are working class boys, and as Appendix Table 6 has shown, this group is not at all involved in the pop media. Further it has been demonstrated that working class boy rebels are less involved in pop than other rebel groups. Similarly, working class boy conformists are less
involved than any other conformist group, and, in fact, are easily the least involved of any group (Table 32).

At this stage, of course, findings can only be considered as pointers. Much more information will be brought forward to support these, as yet, speculative conclusions. Nonetheless, even this early evidence gives general support to the basic hypotheses. It also falls in line with what others have discovered about media consumption patterns of young people. A study of secondary modern school children in 1954, for instance, had pointed to the growing interest in pop music, with 87% of 750 pupils saying that they liked it "very much" and a further 12% liking it "a little" (Dimsdale 1964). This study had found a marked growth of interest at age 13, which certainly seems to be reflected in the behaviour and attitudes of the 13-14 year old children of this work. A recent British study has demonstrated the attraction of dancing to young people, particularly school-age girls (Aust 1969) and comparison with an earlier investigation (Wilkins 1955) shows that there has been a surge of enthusiasm for dancing since the mid-fifties, coinciding with the rise of rock and roll. While British surveys of the late-fifties found very little radio listening, an American study found that in that country radio had adopted a new function as a provider of non-stop pop music, and had again become very popular amongst teenagers (Schramm, Lyle and Parker 1961). From results presented here it would seem that this adaptation in the face of competition from television has now taken place in this country, and that radio is now very much a pop medium.
CHAPTER 19: POP: CONTENT AND STYLE IN THE MEDIA

As we have discovered earlier, 'pop' is a matter both of content and style. While both components are naturally present in pop music, other media may at times use either content or style or sometimes both. In this chapter elements of pop in three other media will be considered and the way these media are used by adolescents will be discussed.

(1) Television

Pop style on television is most obviously apparent in those programmes in which pop music is the primary element of content. The best example of this fusion of content and style was the Rediffusion production 'Ready, Steady, Go' (see chapter 10). This programme was on the air during the peak years of British pop and played an important part in this flowering of the medium. George Melly (1970) has described it as "technically and emotionally very exciting" and noted that "new trends in dancing, clothes, even erotic habits appear on this programme at the same time - or even in advance of - what's going on in the teenage clubs". (pp. 170-1)

The BBC's competitor, 'Top of the Pops', paled in comparison - and significantly it continues to be shown - whereas 'R.S.G.' took itself off at the height of its popularity. 'Top of the Pops' is still however immensely popular with a steady audience of 11-12 million viewers over the last few years. Its pop style is very restrained and muted but recognizable, and evidently sufficiently appealing to achieve its continued popularity. Primarily it is a programme of perpetual motion - neither the studio
participants nor the cameras are still for a moment. Talk is kept to a minimum while clips of film and numerous 'special effects' help to keep the programme moving. These elements - speed, action and orientation to youth, are central to pop style, and may be seen in many programmes not connected with pop music. 'Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In' is a good example of such a programme; part of its enormous success must be set down to its fast, contemporary style, and 'Monty Python's Flying Circus' has taken this development a stage further. These programmes are quite different from the typical British situation comedies such as 'Steptoe and Son' or 'Bachelor Father'. Thriller series such as 'The Avengers' and 'The Persuaders' (and, in another medium, the James Bond films) also make use of a style that owes much to pop.

Deciding whether or not a particular programme manifests a pop style is a difficult problem that is not really relevant here. It is sufficient to note that in response to a question probing pupils' favourite television programmes, pop music emerged as the largest category as is shown in Table 33. As the figures show, the three main categories are almost equally popular but whereas comedy and dramatic series (which include mostly crime and investigation together with science fiction programmes) both consist of a very large number of individual programmes, the pop music category in fact refers exclusively to 'Top of the Pops', which is now the only really popular pop music programme. Further study shows that pop music is favoured more by pupils in certain structural positions. Table 33 shows that working class rebels and, to a lesser extent, middle class rebels, are most likely to mention 'Top of the Pops'
Table 33: Favourite Television Programmes - the four main categories; by sex and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pop Music</th>
<th>Dramatic series</th>
<th>Comedy</th>
<th>Films</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 47

As their favourite. As we found in the previous chapter, class is not the most important factor, so Table 34 shows the percentage of pupils who have 'Top of the Pops' as their favourite programme,

Table 34: Percentage of pupils choosing 'Top of the Pops' as their favourite TV programme; by sex and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Boy</th>
<th>Girl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebel</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformist</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 47
differentiated on the basis of sex and attitude to school. Clearly
girl rebels are the biggest fans of the programme, with boy rebels
a long way behind. However it should be made clear that these
figures bear little relationship to actual viewing habits. We shall
see that the vast majority of children in all groups watch 'Top of
the Pops' regularly, when we undertake a closer look at that
programme in the next chapter.

(2) **Comics and magazines**

Our analysis of magazines in chapter 10 has indicated the
extent to which the content of many girls' magazines is concerned
with pop material and how the style of the more recent publications
owes a lot to pop. The same is not true of magazines for boys where
content and style are usually very different. Table 35 shows that
boys' reading interests lie in the fields of sport, hobbies and
adventure while a large number of conformists also still read
children's comics. In addition boys generally read fewer magazines.
In our sample boys saw an average of 3.5 comics or magazines each
week as compared to 4.4 among girls.*

Girls' reading patterns exhibit a much greater difference
between rebels and conformists than do boys'. While both boys'
groups read magazines almost equally (rebels read 3.4 each week,
conformists 3.6), girl rebels far outscore conformists in this

* No great difference between social classes was found, middle
class children reading 4.1 each week, working class 3.8.
Table 35: Comic and magazine reading among boys; by attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rebels</th>
<th>Conformists</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports magazines</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's comics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' adventure comics</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies magazines</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 11 12 23

respect, the two groups reading 5.5 and 3.0 magazines a week respectively. As Table 36 indicates this extra reading material consists very largely of magazines with a high pop content and a clear pop style. Rebels are much more likely to read pop music magazines such as New Musical Express and Fab 208 and what are here

Table 36: Comic and magazine reading among girls; by attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rebels</th>
<th>Conformists</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romance comics</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teen magazines</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop magazines</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls' comics</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's comics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 15 12 27
called 'romance' comics under which heading are included *Valentine*, *Romeo* and *Mirabelle*. Teen magazines are, rather surprisingly, in view of their high pop orientation, more evenly divided, although still read more commonly by rebels. In fact this category is almost wholly taken up by one publication -- *Jackie* -- which is easily the single most popular magazine among girls of this age. Table 37, which features the most widely read magazine in the four most popular categories, indicates the dominance of *Jackie*. Its success is clearly based on its ability to appeal to all types of girl, both rebel and conformist, middle and working class.

Table 37: Most popular magazines among girls; by attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rebels</th>
<th>Conformists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jackie</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.V. Times</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentine</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fab 208</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 15 12

These findings largely confirm those of Alderson in her study of magazine reading among teenagers (1968). She particularly studied the readership of *Jackie*, *Valentine* and *Trend*, the three most popular girls' publications. The last named is now defunct but Alderson's
figures for readership of the other two in her 13-15 age group are shown in Table 38 to be very similar to those derived from this study.

Table 38: Percentage of girls reading Valentine and Jackie, in this study + Alderson (1968).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Alderson</th>
<th>This study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valentine</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackie</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 203 27

Not surprisingly the older, less up-to-date Valentine has lost popularity since Alderson's study was done in 1966 while the more modern Jackie has surged ahead. Circulation figures reveal that while Valentine's readership fell from 375,000 (Alderson) to 190,000 (IPC 1970) between 1964 and 1970 Jackie has gained until it now approaches the half million mark. Alderson concludes from her study that "Judging from the reading habits, the girls appear to read juvenile comics and teenage magazines from the age of 11. They pass on to teenage magazines and pop music magazines in the middle groups and reach Woman and Woman's Own in the last age group .... The striking fact which emerges from the analysis is that apart from the 17-plus grammar school girls, the girls' figures show that their interests appear to be concentrated on romance, pop and clothes." (p. 84)
Alderson also analysed the content of magazines and a summary of her findings is presented in Table 39 which clearly shows the extent to which both Valentine and Jackie rely on pop and fashion to fill their pages - in both these constitute about 40% of the total space. In addition Alderson notes that "the pop star content is actually higher than the figures show because their signatures and names appear on some of the problem letter pages. They appear on the fashion pages, and in Valentine every strip-story has the same title as the name of a current pop song and a picture of the star or group appears at the beginning of the story". (p. 9)

Table 39: Contents of Jackie and Valentine in percentages, as reported by Alderson (1968). p. 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jackie</th>
<th>Valentine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Picture strip stories</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pictures, Gossip, Material) Letters.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion, beauty and shopping</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other letters, inc.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Problem stories, Adverts, Competitions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It has been argued that clothes and fashion are closely related to pop and this relationship is made clear in these magazines. Two findings from the project upon which this thesis is based throw further light on the importance of the fashion component in many magazines aimed at teenage girls. Firstly it was found that when asked what features of their magazines they liked best, 46% of respondents mentioned fashion, a higher figure than for any other component. Furthermore 51% of girls claimed to get some of their ideas about what clothes to buy from looking at these magazines.

(3) Fashion

Clothes are an important means of expression. On a social level they are an indication of the groups to which the wearer belongs or aspires. On a personal level they have particular importance during adolescence as they provide a basis for experimentation. The young person attempting to find out exactly who he (or she) is, can try on a range of identities and personae. McLuhan (1968) has noted how there is "an unmistakable rapport between the shaggy and dishevelled garments of the teen-aged male and the sounds of the music and the look of the art to which he also gives his loyalty". (p. 163)

An indication of the close relationship between pop and fashion can be seen from further study of the ' cameo ' question. The 'pop fan' cameo has been discussed in chapter 14. A role of "follower of fashion" was also presented to girls in this question, expressed in the following terms:

"Diana likes to wear trendy clothes. She spends a lot of time window shopping or browsing through fashion magazines and pattern books to find out what the latest styles are."
Of the thirteen girls who identified with this role only three rejected the pop fan role, while of those fourteen who did not see themselves as fashion-conscious only five identified with Carol, the pop fan. Furthermore, as will become clear, the same groups are interested in fashion as were found to be keen on pop in chapters 17 and 18.

We have already seen (chapter 16) that over half the sample would spend any extra money they had at least partly on new clothes, and that for rebels the proportion was over three-quarters. Table 40 shows that interest in fashion is not confined to any one group. All four overwhelmingly said that they like buying clothes,

Table 40: Interest in buying clothes; by class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Like buying clothes</th>
<th>Do not like buying clothes</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50
although a class difference is apparent in that all those who disagreed with the majority were working class children. Moreover as Table 41 makes clear there is some sex distinction. Whereas all girls are fashion conscious, a minority of boys do not show interest in this direction. Thus seven out of seventeen working class boys showed disinterest in fashion.

Table 41: Interest in buying clothes; by sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Like buying clothes</th>
<th>Do not like buying clothes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

Not only is the level of involvement in pop associated with differences in interest in clothes, it is also connected with different ways of knowing about fashion, and different ways of actually going about buying clothes. Interviewees were asked how they get ideas about what sorts of clothes to buy, how they know what is "in fashion". Answers fall almost entirely into six categories: window shopping (mentioned by 19 pupils), magazines (by 16), what fashionable people in the street or at dances etc. are wearing (14), what peers are wearing (14), television (5) and finally a group of ten who had no particular ideas about fashion.
at all. These sources can be distinguished by the degree of fashion-leading or fashion-following that they entail. Taking ideas from magazines involves the use of a source that may be described as 'primary' in that magazines are a principal cog in the machinery of fashion dissemination. Window-shopping may be seen as a 'secondary' source, one step away from the media taste-makers, while copying peers or people seen on the street or on television is yet further removed from the origin - a tertiary stage. Figure 42 shows the most common sources used by different groups - the full answers may be seen in Appendix Table (7). The three groups who display interest in fashion are shown to place different emphases on these sources. It appears that middle class rebels are the principal fashion leaders. Not surprisingly girls are more caught up in fashion than boys. Girls use primary and secondary sources to a far greater extent than boys, who rely predominantly on tertiary sources with a large number falling into the group with no ideas on the subject (Appendix Table 8).

Figure 42: Sources of fashion ideas; by class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal source</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>No ideas*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Eight out of fifteen in this group had no ideas about fashion.
Consistent with these results are the findings about whom young people go with on their shopping expeditions. Table 43 shows the numbers who usually go with their parents and with their friends. It is apparent from these statistics that rebels are far freer from parental authority in this matter than conformists. Rebels, and in particular, middle class rebels are far more likely to buy clothes in the company of, and no doubt with the assistance and advice of their peers. Sex differences are not great in this context, although girls are more likely to go with friends and boys to go alone.

Table 43: Companions when shopping for clothes; by class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Rebels</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

1 Thirteen answers mentioned going alone or with a brother or sister. These were almost equally divided among the four groups.
Summary and conclusions

This chapter has discussed the pop element in television, magazines and clothes. In general it has been shown that this aspect appeals most strongly to rebels and to girls; within this framework certain differences have been observed. For instance, whilst middle class girl rebels seem to be the fashion leaders, it was their working class counterparts who most often referred to 'Top of the Pops' as their favourite programme. These differences are further evidence that the two groups use pop material in rather different ways, a fact that will be elaborated at a later stage. Finally, it may be noted that, again, working class boy conformists showed the least involvement in the pop material reviewed in this chapter.
CHAPTER 20: RESPONSES TO POP MUSIC

This chapter will try to examine more closely adolescents' use of pop music and the meanings that it has for them. Firstly viewing of and reactions to the popular television programme 'Top of the Pops' will be considered, followed by studies of respondents' favourite records and singers and what the young people think of them.

(1) 'Top of the Pops'

We have already noticed the very great popularity of this programme (Chapter 19) and have discussed its style. Table 44 adds a little further information, showing how many in each group actually watch this programme regularly. Forty of the fifty claimed to watch either every week or at least most weeks, and all but one of the rebels fall into this category. Rebels of both sexes are very regular viewers. A large number of female conformists also watch the programme, but once again the boys behave differently. They are more likely to view rarely or not at all. If social class is also taken into consideration (Table 45) it becomes clear that it is working class boy conformists who

Table 44: Frequency of watching 'Top of the Pops', by sex and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Every week</th>
<th>Most weeks</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boy rebels</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl rebels</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy conformists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl conformists</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50
are not fans of 'Top of the Pops'. Middle class rebels on the other hand are very consistent viewers.

More revealing are the results of a question which tried to find out what aspects of the programme appeal to young people.

Table 45: Frequency of watching 'Top of the Pops', by class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Every week</th>
<th>Most weeks</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

Each interviewee was presented with a list of the various attractions of the programme and asked which of these features appealed to him/her. The following items were listed: the dancing, the clothes, the disc jockeys, the music, the interviews, the lights and special effects, the film clips, and the singers and groups who appear. Not surprisingly most respondents mentioned the music and the performers as being among the attractions of the programme. However there were some interesting differences among the other items which were selected rather less often.

Dancing and disc jockeys, in particular, seemed to be picked out much more often by rebels than by conformists. Of the nine
children who mentioned dancing, eight were rebels, while of the six who mentioned disc jockeys, all but one were rebels. Interest in dancing among rebels has already been noticed when actual behaviour was studied, so it is no surprise to find greater interest again here. In both cases middle class rebels were the most enthusiastic. Rebels' favouring of the disc jockeys is also a consistent finding, indicating as it does their greater empathy and identification with people in the pop business. In particular working class rebels chose the D.J.s as good features of the programme and this may be a reflection of the qualities of Jimmy Saville who is one of the two presenters. Unlike most D.J.s who cultivate a classless accent and image, Saville is aggressively northern and working class in origin. For working class rebels he may represent the 'local lad made good', they may find him to be a suitable identification figure, being a man from a similar background to themselves, who has succeeded in a world which they admire.

Not too much should be made of these findings, however, because when the answers to the question concerning which features of 'Top of the Pops' do not appeal to young people, are analysed, we find that dancing and disc jockeys again figure prominently among the responses of rebels. By far the most often mentioned category in this respect was 'interviews' which were disliked by fourteen of the twenty-five who disliked aspects of the programme. Dancing and disc jockeys were the only other items mentioned, and of the five who picked out dancing four were rebels, while of the six who disliked the disc jockeys four were rebels.
These seemingly contradictory findings - that more rebels than conformists like the dancing and disc jockeys, but that also more rebels than conformists dislike these aspects - in fact can be interpreted as another indication of the greater involvement of rebels in pop. They discriminate more keenly than the less involved conformists. Although rebels are much greater fans of both pop in general and 'Top of the Pops' in particular, they were also more critical of the programme. Of the twenty-five who picked out items to criticise, sixteen were rebels. Clearly enthusiasm for pop is by no means blind. These children are well aware of what they like and dislike about the programme - and those who like it most are also the most critical. As we shall see, this discriminating approach is also discernible in other ways.

(2) Records

Pupils were asked to name their favourite record of the moment and to try to describe it and suggest what it was about that particular record which appealed to them. The majority of answers could be classified either as 'mainstream pop' or 'underground pop', the two main categories discussed in Part Two. There we suggested the very different gratifications to be derived from the two types of music. The underground does, to some limited extent, embody a set of values opposed to that of the school. The words of these songs are often relatively original and of far greater consequence than those of most mainstream songs. The music is also usually more original, relying less on arrangement and orchestration to give support to a run-of-the-mill concept. Mainstream pop is almost purely a commercial product carefully
designed to sell as many copies as possible. As such its values, such as they are, cannot be considered as in any conceivable way subversive. They merely reflect the sort of socially acceptable standards upheld by capitalist business concerns.

Given these great differences one would expect these two sorts of music to be favoured by groups to varying extents. Table 46 indicates that this is so. Underground music is clearly much more popular among rebels, particularly those from middle class backgrounds.

Table 46: Categories of favourite records, by social class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mainstream</th>
<th>Underground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working Class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 46

Conformists are almost wholly involved in commercial mainstream pop and have little time for the more esoteric sorts of pop. Table 47 adds further information from which it can be deduced that underground music is favoured primarily by girl rebels and middle class boy rebels. Working class boys, the group who are least involved in pop anyway, show no enthusiasm for progressive music, whereas middle class boys have the highest ratio of underground fans in their number.
Table 47: Categories of favourite records, by social class and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mainstream</th>
<th>Underground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working Class</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 46

Table 47 confirms that girl rebels are the most underground oriented, while boy rebels are divided between those who are very keen on underground material (middle class boys) and those who

Table 48: Categories of favourite records, by sex and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mainstream</th>
<th>Underground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rebels</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conformists</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 46
do not appreciate it at all (working class). These findings are very important for they suggest that pop is used by certain groups, especially middle class rebels, for purposes different from the majority of young people. These are the groups who have the least access to street culture, and so are attracted to that part of pop which expresses a basically non-conformist attitude. For these pupils pop really does become a symbol of their rejection of school values. This is less often the case with working class adolescents, particularly the boys, for whom street culture more usually fulfils this particular function. Consequently their involvement in pop takes a different form; they are interested in those forms of pop that coincide with their existing patterns of values. This difference is reflected also in the reasons offered for liking the records that were picked as favourites as will now be demonstrated.

(3) Why records are liked

Answers to this question fell into a fairly small number of categories, and a clear difference between rebels and conformists emerges. The most common category into which conformists' responses fell was "rhythm" (Table 49). This answer implies a rather elemental response to the basic beat of the record, a not very discriminating judgement of records in terms of their general sound. Rebels, on the other hand, seemed to judge according to different criteria. Their replies most commonly fell into a category labelled "music" which meant that they were commenting on the musical qualities of the record as a whole rather than
simply on its beat. For example they often picked out the tune as being an important feature or remarked on the ability of the song-writer. Rebels also responded much more often than conformists in terms of "feeling". That is to say that they picked out the emotional tone of the record as being an important quality, implying a much greater sensitivity to and awareness of what the record is trying to communicate.

Table 49: Reasons for liking records, by attitude to school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rhythm</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Feeling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 47

In passing we may also note a sex difference in the answers to this question. Not surprisingly girls were much more likely than boys to respond in terms of 'dancing' and 'liking the singer'. The one is a reflection of girls' greater interest in dancing, the other a result of the well-known sexual attraction of certain pop stars for young girls. More interesting and less obviously explicable is the greater emphasis placed by girls on the words of the songs. They claimed to prefer songs that have words that are clearly heard and also liked songs to have meaningful words. Perhaps girls are more likely to feel (or hope) that
that songs are addressed to them personally and so give greater attention to the lyrics.

Table 50: Reasons for liking records, by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good to dance to</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$N = 47$

4) Favourite Performers

Just as they had selected their favourite records, pupils were asked to name their favourite singer or group. These were classified according to the sort of music they perform and the results corresponded with those derived from the record question and so are not presented here. However, pupils were also asked why they liked their particular favourite, and replies do add a little to what has already been found. Girls and conformists tended very much to think in terms of appearance, manner of performance and singing style, while rebels and boys were more aware of musical distinctions and, in particular, instrumental qualities. Middle class rebel boys (the keenest underground fans) especially made very perceptive comments on the merits of the guitar styles and general performing ability of their favourites. Again this suggests a more profound understanding of and involvement in pop and a much more serious and thoughtful approach to the music. The next chapter will present more evidence to support this contention.
Summary.

Throughout this chapter we have been made aware of a very great distinction between the ways in which rebels and conformists approach the pop media. It is apparent that for the former pop has a much greater symbolic value, its importance going beyond the simple gratifications of enjoying the music. Conformists, and particularly girls, respond in a much more straightforward way, liking pop because it can be danced to, because of its sexual appeal in a direct, uncritical way. Rebels, and especially middle class boy rebels, use these media in a fashion that forces us to adjust our appraisal of pop. Up to this point we have analysed its appeal as being essentially emotional, but for these teenagers this is plainly an inadequate and sweeping generalisation. Their attitude is, at least in part, intellectual. They are much more critical and discriminating than would be expected and they are attracted to the music largely as a result of what it stands for. And in their case the pop media do have some of the functional qualities of an alternative to the culture of the school. For these boys, pop is not only the main focus of their leisure time activities, it may also be the basis for their optimistic hopes for their future careers. Certainly their lack of success in their academic performances springs, as their teachers are usually aware, from their disinterest in school activities rather than from lack of ability. In the next chapter we shall look more closely at some of these boys, as well as at several contrasting groups.
CHAPTER 21: CASE STUDIES OF POP MEDIA USE

To demonstrate the different ways in which different groups use the pop media let us take some adolescent groups from our sample and examine their leisure patterns more closely. The most important distinction which we have made is between those groups who are alike in rejecting the value system of the school, but who are distinguished by their sex and social class background. To demonstrate this point in a more concrete way let us look at a middle class peer group from a grammar school and a working class group from a secondary modern.

(1) THE PARK ROAD AND MIDDLETON BOYS

The middle class group we have chosen is from Park Road school and consists of three members, Alec Wilkinson, Roger Carr and Paul Dickens. Although they have all successfully reached grammar school, none of these boys is well integrated into the school ethos. In general they reject what the school is offering. Paul Dickens is typical in remarking that he 'hates school'. He also volunteered that he never does the homework set for him and intends to leave school immediately after "O" Level. He is less sure what he wants to do after he has terminated his education, suggesting only that he is quite interested in becoming a photographer - not a realistic hope in view of the fact that there was no reflection of this intention in his reported leisure activities. No doubt the supposed glamour of this 'trendy' occupation is the main attraction.

Our working class group consists of four boys - Jeff Brown, Leyton Dale, Andy Munk and John Russell, who are pupils at Middleton school, Like most of their classmates this group is very disenchanted with school life which seems to them to have little to offer. John Russell
made a chance remark which summarized the lack of rapport between this school and many of its pupils. A keen football fan, John was asked whether he played in any school team. The sarcastic reply was "No, it's all rugger here. I was picked once but of course I didn't turn up."

The leisure patterns of these two groups show very striking differences resulting from their social background. The working class group is firmly rooted in the local street culture. "Mucking about with mates" was the reply which most often answered queries about their activities. John Russell, for instance, the previous weekend had spent the whole of the Sunday, much of the Saturday afternoon and all the Friday evening "mucking around" on the streets. Andy Munk had little time for anything but a friend's motorbike. Nearly all his time was spent either washing it, maintaining it or going out on it, and if he had any extra spending money, Andy would spend it on additional motorbike parts. Jeff Brown also spends much of his spare time with his mates, wandering around town, going swimming or watching football. Occasionally he goes to the local working men's club with his father. Leyton Dale's leisure pattern is similarly based on his male peer group, but unlike the other three he did have some contact with the pop media in his visits to the Locarno dance hall, although this is a more typically working class type of location than the trendier newer discotheques. Apart from this, none of this group had made any use of the media during the previous weekend apart from watching the television.

This contrasts markedly with the behaviour of the middle class group from Park Road. All three had been to the pictures over the
weekend and Alec Wilkinson is a regular cinema-goer who is prepared to visit the local cinema whatever film is showing. Two of the three - Alec and Paul Dickens had been to a discotheque within the previous week. Alec had been to the local one in the town but Paul had travelled several miles to a neighbouring town in order to go to a rather superior place which featured not only the usual disco material - negro dance music - but also "progressive" pop which Paul found more to his taste. He had spent the whole of a weekday evening there, not leaving until the discotheque closed at 10.30 p.m. All three also mentioned listening to music either on radio or records, and all possessed sizeable record collections including a number of L.P. s. These records largely fall into the category of progressive or underground music and their latest acquisitions had been records by George Harrison and Led Zeppelin. This taste is reflected in their choice of favourite performers and favourite records while the reasons they gave for these selections fell into two clusters. Firstly they tended to mention instrumental prowess as being a commendable feature of these records - Roger Carr picked out the electric violin featured by his favourite group as outstanding. Secondly the sheer volume and energy characteristic of this type of music was clearly important - adjectives such as 'loud', 'lively' and 'wild' were used to describe the appeal of these records.

Radio and television do not provide many programmes that cater for these tastes so Alec, Roger and Paul make limited use of these media. Only Alec watches Top of the Pops every week and it is the style more than the content which appeals to him - his favourite feature of the programme was its use of lighting and special effects.
Paul occasionally watches this programme but said that he doesn't like it very much, and particularly dislikes the sort of music which it presents. A programme more to his liking was "Disco 2" which the B.B.C. used to screen late on Saturday evenings and which consisted mostly of underground music. Similarly Paul doesn't listen widely to Radio One except for one specialised programme which features his preferred type of music. This is 'Sound of the Seventies' which was on the air each weekday evening and which Paul listened to regularly. Alec and Roger are less selective and Alec in particular listens to quite a lot of radio.

The working class boys showed a much lesser involvement in pop altogether and their use of the media was quite different. All listen extensively to Radio One (some 10-20 hours a week each) and prefer the sort of programme which plays the hit records of the moment - such as 'Pick of the Pops' on Sunday afternoons. 'Top of the Pops' is also very popular with these boys and all four watch it regularly - three of them adding that the type of music played is one of the programme's greatest merits. Their favourite performers reflect this general interest in undemanding "Top 20" type music. Jeff and Leyton expressed interest in the negro Tamla Motown stars, Stevie Wonder, and the 'Four Tops'. Leyton explained that this is good music to dance to, while John said that he often dances along with records on the radio. Andy preferred all-round family entertainers such as Cilla Black and Lulu, and John chose the Beatles as his favourite group although he expressed some reserve in regard to their recent developments and preferred them "like when they started." The attitude of the group to underground music was
expressed by Jeff who said that "I don't like that 'progress' music -
there's nothing to it." All four chose as their favourite record
one that was in the top three records of that week, but, significantly,
none of them owns large record collections.

When asked whether they thought that teachers should be more
aware of the mass media, introduce them in lessons and be prepared to
talk about them, all four felt that this would be a good idea. Not
only did they feel that this approach would make lessons more interest-
ing, they also suggested that it would create greater understanding
between teachers and pupils and so help in the teaching-learning
process. John remarked that teachers could "teach us more if they
know our interests" and Jeff that present lessons did not have enough
to do with the life experience of the pupils: "we're always learning
the same old things, not about real life."

This distinction between school and non-school activities
has been shown I to be a feature of teachers' definition of
their role. It is not surprising then that their pupils also should
separate the 'learning' situation from the 'real life' situation,
and the same distinction was also made by the middle class group at
Park Road. They in fact felt that teachers should not involve
themselves in the media. Although rejecting school values they share
the same definition of the function of school as their grammar school
teachers. Unfortunately this leads them to believe that there is no
possibility of communication between pupils and teachers: their two
worlds are too far apart. Paul said that "teachers should stick to
teaching. It's up to us what we do out of school." Alec was rather
less dogmatic and thought that it might be useful to discuss the media
in lessons, "but only as long as it doesn't interfere with work."

I: See Murdock and Phelps.
Education for those pupils has become a purely instrumental experience; they are in school to pass the necessary exams and then they will leave. As far as possible they do not allow it to affect their leisure time activities.

The two distinct sets of interests and leisure activities that we have demonstrated are shared by other groups in similar structural positions. The same patterns can be found amongst school rejectors who are distinguished from the cases we have studied both by sex and by the sort of school they attend. To show this let us look at two groups of girls, one from wealthy middle class backgrounds in North London, the other made up of working class northern girls.

(2) THE NORTHLAWS AND WOOLTON GIRLS

Girls' peer groups tend to be smaller than those of boys and very often consist simply of a pair of very close friends. Joan Moss and Maureen Cooper are one such pair who attend the largely working class Wootton grammar school. Working class girls do not have the accessibility to street culture of their male counterparts so their leisure patterns are necessarily rather different and their involvement in the pop media is correspondingly greater. Like the boys however they spend much of their time, whether in or out of the house, in the company of their peers. Often Joan and Maureen are together, sometimes in a larger group of friends. Most of the remaining time they spend with their respective boy friends. They prefer to be away from home if possible. Joan has a part-time job selling in the local market which keeps her busy for much of the weekend. Her evenings in the previous few days had been spent dancing at the Mecca dance-hall, drinking in the pub or listening to records with her friends. Maureen also likes to listen to records when she is
at home, usually in the company of Joan or her boy friend. She
goes to the cinema every week, not because she particularly enjoys
films, for she goes irrespective of what is showing, but because it
is "a good way of getting out of the house." Usually she goes on
Sunday evenings when the rest of the family are gathered around the
television. She enjoys being at school about as much as being at
home and is eager to leave the following Easter, as soon as she is
15, because she is bored by the lessons which she finds repetitive.
Typically she was absent from school when we tried to talk to her.
When she reappeared next day she told us that she had been down
town buying a new pair of shoes!

Our middle class group are equally disillusioned with school.
Although they all come from affluent backgrounds (one has three
television sets at home, of which one is colour) and are in the top
stream at Northlawns school they do not see education as a means to
success. All three - Sally Johns, Margaret Robinson and Vanessa
Spencer - hope to leave at 16. Vanessa had wanted to stay on at
school but had become "fed up with teachers and school." Although
hoping to pass "O" Level in seven subjects she wants to leave, with
vague hopes of combining secretarial training and modelling!

Like their working-class peers these girls are very much
oriented towards their friends and spend nearly all the time with
one or more age-mates. They each had a very similar pattern of
behaviour over the previous weekend. Friday night was bath and
hair-washing night accompanied by records or television, preparation
for the two days of freedom ahead. Saturday morning and afternoon
was spent in the West End and Kensington boutiques where all three
bought hot pants, which were just coming into fashion at the time. Saturday evening (and part of Saturday night) was the climax of all the preparation when the three descended on the clubs of the West End. 'Samantha's' which features a discotheque seemed to be the favourite of the moment and all three - no doubt passing for seventeen-year-olds - were there with friends and boy friends. The music, which includes both dancing and 'progressive' music, and the opportunity to meet people are the chief pleasures of these clubs to which the girls go most weekends. Margaret and Vanessa spent Sunday morning recovering but Sally was up early to go to a part-time job, working in a hairdresser's salon. The lure of the West End claimed Sally and Vanessa again on Sunday evening. This time they went for a drive around in the car of one of their boy friends. Margaret went to a local Youth Club where there was dancing and also a discussion group on the topic of 'fashion'.

The leisure patterns of these two groups reflect their different social backgrounds, although geographical location is also an important variable. The facilities and entertainments available to the London girls are much more numerous and more varied than those to which the Northern girls have access. Metropolitan life also gives the London group a sophistication and superficial maturity that makes them seem much older than their counterparts in other parts of the country. But by no means all London girls develop in this way. Those in our sample who lived in the East End were much more like working class adolescents in other areas than they were like the Northlawn girls. They rarely leave the areas of their homes and as a result do not lead a 'metropolitan' life.
As their leisure activities have indicated both groups of girls are highly involved in the pop media, but the use they make of them is very different. While the working class girls were both very interested in clothes and would spend any spare money they had on them, fashion is not as central to their lives as it is to the Northlawns group. All three of the latter are fashion conscious to a very high degree. We have already seen that Vanessa Spencer has aspirations towards modelling, but Sally Johns and Margaret Robinson also hope to pursue careers connected with the fashion world. Sally would like to be a beautician while Margaret, who wants to be a fashion designer, already designs and makes a lot of her own clothes. This obsession with fashion is reflected in their reading of magazines. Whereas Joan and Maureen from Leeds choose the highly popular adolescent magazine Jackie as the favourite, Sally and Vanessa read the more sophisticated publications such as Honey and 19 which deal almost entirely with fashion and which are aimed at a rather older readership. Margaret has a rather wider taste and reads magazines as diverse as Valentine, Jackie, Fab 208 and Petticoat, but all of them are chosen primarily for their fashion interest.

Sally, Vanessa and Margaret all share the middle class school rejectors' interest in 'progressive' music that we noticed among the boys. All chose artists such as Jimi Hendrix, George Harrison and Leonard Cohen among their favourite performers. This taste was reflected in their record collections. Both Sally and Margaret have large collections, consisting mostly of L.P.'s, among which are examples of records which one had thought appealed only to the most 'advanced' musical taste - pop equivalents to Stockhausen. However, the interest of all these girls in dancing results in their appreciation
also of negro dance music - particularly Tamla Motown. It is this sort of music which has the greatest appeal for the working class girls. Motown, Reggae and Soul records make up the bulk of their relatively modest collections which consist primarily of 45 r.p.m. 'singles', although Joan does have a more catholic taste than the majority of such girls and also appreciates some of the more accessible and easily understood 'progressive' music. Both she and Maureen rely heavily on the radio as a provider of music, each listening to about ten hours a week, whereas the London girls are more likely to listen to their records. Similarly Joan and Maureen are keen fans of 'Top of the Pops', whilst only Sally of the Northlawns girls watches it regularly. Vanessa and Margaret watch occasionally if they happen to be at home but in general they find the programme "too teenybopper".

Unlike their male counterparts, Sally, Vanessa and Margaret agree with their working class peers that teachers should be more prepared to talk about the media in classes. The girls' involvement in pop music and fashion is so intense that it outweighs their rejection of teachers and they feel that introducing such material could alleviate the boredom they feel in many lessons and might improve teacher-pupil relationships. Vanessa thought that teachers should "definitely" be more aware of the mass media which could act as common ground on which to build a new sort of relationship between teacher and taught. Maureen also felt that there was a gap which needed bridging from both sides. "We could get to understand teachers more and get to know them. At the moment we seem far apart from them. On the other hand they could judge us better out of class".
The grammar school ethos came over in Joan and Maureen's responses to this question. While agreeing that teachers could usefully take greater account of the media, they both qualified their agreement, adding that the introduction of special lessons "would take up too much time". Once again the division between school and leisure is discernible.

(3) **CONFORMIST GROUPS**

These examples should have helped to give an impression of the different degrees to which certain groups of adolescents who reject the school culture are involved in the pop media. Different patterns of involvement again are displayed by those groups who are more committed to the value system of the school and who therefore have less need of an alternative system of meanings. Study reveals that working class groups of this sort, particularly male groups, have very little use for the pop media at all. They have little interest in clothes or fashion and are usually either indifferent or positively hostile towards pop music. They tend to be more oriented towards their home and family and consequently the mass medium they use most is television - but not for programmes like 'Top of the Pops'. Naturally they do not consider that teachers should make any concessions to the mass media - "they're meant to teach us subjects, not what's on the telly."

Middle class adolescents who accept the school's culture do make use of the pop media, but it is in no way central to their lifestyle. They read the most popular magazines such as *Jackie*, watch the most popular television programmes like 'Top of the Pops' and admire the most popular performers, such as Cliff Richard, but their
involvement does not extend beyond this relatively superficial level. They also are very much 'home-based' and besides watching a good deal of television they read widely, spend a lot of time on their homework and pursue other activities which the school system adjudges to have cultural value.

These cases illustrate the situation that we have encountered in our earlier findings, namely that a number of factors are relevant in ordaining what use adolescents make of the pop media and what meaning they have for them, and that the most important are social class, and evaluation of the school culture. If we know these things we can, with some accuracy, predict the media use of most secondary school pupils.
CHAPTER 22: EVALUATIONS OF PERFORMERS

(1) Constructs

This chapter brings us to the rather more experimental work to which reference was made in Chapter 16. Material is drawn once more from answers to a question in the interview schedule, but the structure of this question is a good deal looser than of any other and does not involve a simple verbal response. The technique used, known as the 'Repertory Grid' is described fully in the Appendix, but briefly it involves presenting interviewees with pairs of stimuli selected from a pre-arranged list and asking them to compare these stimuli, saying how they differ from each other. In the case of this study the list consists of the names of a number of pop-stars covering the whole range of pop-singing. Each comparison that a respondent makes is called a construct and these were later categorized into eleven groups, namely: type of music performed, sort of words in their songs, stage performance, singing style, versatility, "up-to-date-ness", dress, appearance, behaviour and character, attitude to drugs, and ideology (e.g. whether or not they are Christians).

This question is measuring a rather different sort of involvement than the questions studied so far in Part Four. Pupils were here being asked to articulate their responses to pop stimuli and the results demonstrate the different levels of thought and consideration which pupils give to pop. Pupils who are more involved in pop have a greater knowledge of the area to draw from and therefore use a larger number of constructs than those who are less involved. They also find this more taxing sort of question more interesting and so were more prepared to think harder about the stimuli. For these reasons the number of
constructs used by pupils gives some indication of involvement at a fairly high level. Pupils who used many constructs may be assumed to be those who take pop most seriously.

Naturally we would expect rebels to score more highly than conformists, and that this is indeed the case is demonstrated by Table 51. Whereas rebels used about four constructs each, conformists were less able to distinguish between the pop stars, using only $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ constructs each.

Table 51: Average number of constructs used by groups, by sex and attitude to school.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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</table>

At first sight, social class does not seem to be a relevant factor here - middle class pupils averaged 3.7 constructs, working class pupils 3.6. However, when class and sex are combined a more interesting picture emerges. In conjunction the two factors isolate two groups who use a large number of constructs, and two groups who use a much smaller number. This is illustrated in Table 52 which clearly shows the contrast between, on the one hand middle class boys and working class girls, and on the other working class boys and middle class girls. The very deep involvement in pop of some middle class boys has already been noted (Chapter 20) and this group of middle class boy rebels used the highest number of constructs of all groups (5.3). For these boys pop is highly symbolic of the rejection of the school and they immerse themselves very deeply in the "culture" of pop. As we have seen their primary interest is in the more "intellectual" forms of pop, the
underground or progressive music.

Table 52: Average number of constructs used by groups: by sex and social class.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle-class</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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Not only are the numbers of constructs chosen by respondents relevant, so also are their natures. Of the eleven categories into which nearly all answers seemed to fit, the most frequently mentioned were: appearance (27 mentions), type of music (26), dress (22), performance (20), "up-to-dateness" (16) and ideology (16). The sort of constructs which pupils in various positions in the social structure use, will give a further indication of how they think about pop, the sorts of distinctions they drew and the criteria by which they judge pop stars. Table 53 presents the number of respondents using various of the constructs. The four categories not shown revealed few differences between groups.

Rebels were clearly more likely than conformists to discriminate in terms of "up-to-dateness", dress and drugs. "Up-to-dateness" was always conceived as a positive virtue by rebels who criticized certain pop singers for being dated and old-fashioned. This is a less important characteristic as far as conformists are concerned. They are less enthusiastic over the necessity to be right in tune with the very latest fashion and show less admiration for the very "trendy" performers. The distinction between rebels and conformists over
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>Dress</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Style</td>
<td>Maturity</td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>Rebel</td>
<td>Working-class</td>
<td>Middle-class</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>96</td>
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Table 37: Constructs used by groups by sex, class and attitude to school.
dress and drugs is a sign of a much greater difference between the
groups for these two categories are symbolic of a 'life style'. The
strange clothes worn by many 'underground' stars are well-known as an
outward sign of a certain attitude to life. The great resistance to
unusual styles of dress or hair derives from their very strong
symbolic value. Similarly use of drugs was common practice in the
pop world during the years before this survey was conducted and the
arrests and trials of several important stars had received a great deal
of publicity. Thus using drugs was another manifestation of a certain
way of life. It is consistent with other findings therefore that rebels
should be more aware of these factors than conformists, and that middle-
class pupils should also mention these more often than working-class
pupils. Girls, not surprisingly, were more likely to be aware of differences
in dress but it is the middle class rebel boys who most often referred to
drugs, once again revealing their great involvement in 'underground pop'.

(2) Perceived Parental Attitudes toward pop stars

As well as being required to make these distinctions between the pop
stars, respondents were also asked to judge their parents' opinions of
these listed singers. Specifically they were asked to say whether they
thought that their parents approved or disapproved of each one. From these
replies a net score can be computed which indicates the extent to which
each was perceived as being approved or disapproved of by parents. Each
reply signifying approval was scored +1 and each disapproval scored -1.
If respondents were not sure what their parents thought of a particular
singer or thought that they had no particular feeling either way, their
answer was scored 0. These scores were summed, divided by the number of
respondents to this question (34) and multiplied by 100 to give whole numbers.
The maximum score, suggesting perceived approval by all parents is
therefore 100, and the minimum signifying total disapproval is -100.

The resultant scores for all the singers listed is shown in Table 54.

Table 54: Scores of perceived parental attitudes towards selected pop performers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Val Doonican</td>
<td>+65</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Sinatra</td>
<td>+62</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cliff Richard</td>
<td>+41</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Jones</td>
<td>+38</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engelbert Humperdinck</td>
<td>+32</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvis Presley</td>
<td>+15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevie Wonder</td>
<td>-03</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donovan</td>
<td>-26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringo Starr</td>
<td>-47</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lennon</td>
<td>-74</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mick Jagger</td>
<td>-76</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They fall quite plainly into five distinct groups ranging from group 1, which has almost universally perceived approval, to group 5, which is accorded equally strong disapproval. The five groups also differ markedly in respect of the type of singer in them and their images.

Doonican and Sinatra are the most conventional of all the performers used in this test. They are very much older than any others, belonging to the same generations as the parents of most children in
this study. They represent the same sort of style as the big band crooners of these parents' younger days (see chapter 8). Their images are ultra-respectable, Sinatra having seemingly arisen above the adverse publicity of his early days and managing to avoid too great an awareness by fans of some of his less laudable connections. Each wears suits or casual clothes and has short hair (if any) and sings mostly ballads with some carefully arranged upbeat numbers designed to appeal primarily to family or adult audiences.

Group 2, comprising Cliff Richard, Tom Jones and Engelbert Humperdinck are also accorded adult approval, if to a rather lesser degree. They also rely heavily on ballads and similar material but treated in a rather more modern style. Richard was originally a rock and roll singer but quickly made the change to become a family entertainer. Jones and Humperdinck have both been groomed to be the younger person's Sinatra. All wear highly respectable clothing and look ultra-clean and smart. Their popularity is largely based on their highly successful television shows in which they demonstrate their versatility by dancing, doing sketches and cracking jokes as well as singing.

Parental attitudes towards Elvis Presley and Stevie Wonder are ambivalent. Most parents in fact know very little about Wonder, who is one of the most successful Tamla Motown singers (see Chapter 8), and this partly accounts for his near zero score. However, there is also a contradiction between his own image - neat, well-dressed and asexual, (his blindness necessitates a rather less frantic style of performance than many Motown performers) and the image of the music he sings - the fast, noisy negro music which does not usually appeal to the older generation. Presley also has a dual personality. Firstly he is still remembered as the earthy rock and roll singer of the fifties, infamous for his appearance and unambiguous stage performance. But on the other hand time has lent even this memory a nostalgic tinge - rock and roll has
not changed the world as many people feared. Furthermore Presley himself has altered considerably from those early days. His material is now more commonly balladlic and his general image is one of subdued good behaviour, while his avoidance of any hint of scandal over a period lasting twenty years has convinced adults of his basic harmlessness. 

Groups 4 and 5 are very different. The singers in these groups all display the outward signs of unacceptance of adult values and authority. They all have long hair and wear "outrageous" clothes and show a general disregard for many things dear to the hearts of the conventional. Donovan and Starr are less subject to disapproval than the others. Donovan is not widely known to adults anyhow and is thus probably not seen as a great threat. No publicity is undoubtedly good publicity in this respect. His image is one of peacefulness and non-aggression. He may not be considered as exactly a pillar of society but neither is he a revolutionary. Ringo has a similar image. In the days of the Beatles he was always built up as the 'lovable one', the common man who had somehow wandered into an uncommon situation, and couldn't quite understand it all. His lugubrious looks and his respectable life as a quiet family man add to his more acceptable persona. John Lennon on the other hand is definitely unacceptable with no mitigating features. His looks, his style of life, his generation of publicity, his involvement in radical politics, all contribute to his being perceived as anathema to parents. The same can be said for Jagger, but to an even greater extent. His liaison with Marianne Faithful, his famous drug trial and his association with violence (however unintentional) make him even less acceptable to parents than Lennon.

Groups 4 and 5 also differ from the others in the type of music that these performers record. Whereas the music of groups 1 to 3 is what has been designated "mainstream pop", Donovan, Starr, Lennon and Jagger
are underground artists. As we have already seen, and as will be made even clearer in the next section, this is the favourite music of a significant minority of adolescents.

(3) Pupils judgements of pop stars

Having judged their parents' perceptions, pupils were then asked to express their own opinions, saying which of the singers in the list they like and which they do not. Of the eleven, Stevie Wonder was most liked (by 21 respondents), mostly by girls who favour his musical style as ideal for dancing to. Ringo Starr was chosen least often (by only 9) probably because he has little identity of his own outside the Beatles' group. All other performers were selected by between ten and sixteen respondents, showing that all types of music were liked by some children in the sample. Dislikes produced a less even pattern with some performers being disliked by a large number (e.g. 25 pupils disliked Mick Jagger) and some by hardly any (only 5 disliked Stevie Wonder and 6 Cliff Richard). Scoring each liking +1, and each disliking -1 as before, the total scores for each performer are calculated in Table 55. Since forty seven pupils answered these questions, there is a possible range of ninety-four, from +47 to -47.

This evidence shows that pupils do not agree with their parents. Groups 3 and 4 are rated more highly and groups 1 and 2 very much lower. Only group 5 is accorded similar dislike both by pupils and by parents as perceived by their children. None of this is in any way surprising, although it is interesting to note the low net scores given by pupils' responses. This is a further indication of a discriminating approach to pop. There is certainly no suggestion that adolescents accept everyone and everything connected with pop. In fact seven out of the eleven performers in our list were disliked by more respondents than they were
Table 55: Scores representing pupils' attitudes towards selected pop performers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Group to which performer belongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stevie Wonder</td>
<td>+16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cliff Richard</td>
<td>+13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvis Presley</td>
<td>+06</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donovan</td>
<td>+05</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringo Starr</td>
<td>-01</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Val Doonican</td>
<td>-02</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Sinatra</td>
<td>-03</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engelbert Humperdink</td>
<td>-05</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lennon</td>
<td>-05</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Jones</td>
<td>-07</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mick Jagger</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

liked. The highest score, 16, is hardly an indication of widespread adulation.

However, the distribution of likes and dislikes becomes very much more interesting when it is broken down by criteria such as sex, social class and attitude to school. Table 56 shows which pop stars were liked by most pupils in groups distinguished by these criteria.
In each case the two most popular performers have been included except in those cases where two performers received an identical number of choices placing them equal second. In those cases three names are included in the table. This table suggests that rebels are keenest on groups 3-5 while conformists favour groups 1-2. This is just as would

Table 56: The performers liked by most pupils in groups; by sex social class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adolescent Groups</th>
<th>Performers most liked</th>
<th>Groups to which these performers belong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>Donovan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jagger</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Wonder</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lennon</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wonder</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wonder</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presley</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Presley</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donovan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doonican</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Humperdinck</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinatra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doonican</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wonder</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doonican</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
be expected. The rebels like pop stars of whom their parents disapprove, while conformists have tastes very much more like that of their parents.

Of all the rebels, the middle class boys show the most extreme choices. As we have found before, their immersion in the underground is the most complete. Only the five performers who were given negative ratings by parents (Table 54) were chosen by these pupils as being liked, and the four underground stars, Donovan, Ringo Starr, John Lennon and Mick Jagger, were clearly their favourites. Working class boys, on the other hand were the least underground-oriented of all the rebel groups. They chose performers from groups 2 and 3, indicating that their form of rejection of the adult world does not take the form of 'deviant' musical tastes.

Similarly the working class boys among the conformists are the most conventional of all groups in their choices. Their favourites are Val Doonican and Frank Sinatra, the two singers most approved of by their parents. They clearly make little effort to be 'au fait' with the latest trends in pop. Once again, the middle class boys are quite different from them. They are the least conventional of the conformists, liking Donovan and Elvis Presley. Here we have further evidence that, while girls' interest in pop is undoubtedly more widespread, boys include both the most involved and the least involved in those areas of pop whose meanings are the most far-reaching.

Table 57 confirms these findings, showing the performers most disliked by pupils. Not surprisingly these are very much the antitheses of those that are most liked. Rebels reject performers from groups 1 and 2 while conformists reject, very firmly, group 5. As before, it can be seen that working class rebel boys and middle class conformist boys do not quite conform to this pattern. The working class group dislike John Lennon from group 5, and the middle class boys reject Tom Jones who is
Table 57: The performers most disliked by pupils; by sex, social class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adolescent Groups</th>
<th>Performers most disliked</th>
<th>Groups to which these performers belong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Sinatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td></td>
<td>Humperdinck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Doonican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Humperdinck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lennon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Doonican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Jones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Jagger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lennon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Jagger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lennon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Jagger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=47

from group 2, while not expressing dislike for either Lennon or Mick Jagger.

These findings are all to some extent ambiguous as it is never quite clear whether respondents were judging the man or his music. No doubt both elements were taken into consideration by most pupils and there is, of course, a close connection between the two. The next chapters will clarify this problem by studying the music alone.
CHAPTER 23: THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

(1) Records and analytic methods

The remaining two chapters in this section take off on a slightly different tack from those that have gone before. While they continue to study the way in which young people think about pop music, they do so from a new angle. The first point to notice is that here respondents were asked to react, not to abstract questions, but to specific musical stimuli in the form of taped records. It was felt that much more reliable responses would be obtained if the children were directly exposed to the sort of music about which they were supposed to be thinking. Reliance on memory obviously cannot be as satisfactory as the real thing. Besides, this sort of test is naturally more interesting and fun for the respondents, who are therefore more highly motivated to take the exercise seriously and become sufficiently involved to give useful answers.

The data that this sort of test throws up are inevitably of a slightly different order from that elicited by more conventional methods and add to, rather than merely repeat, previous findings. On their own, such results could not, of course, be allowed any great weight, for the technique used is fundamentally experimental and exploratory. No comparable work has been done before using the sorts of methods that have been employed here in relation to music. Interpretations can only be tentative but the fact that we can be guided by what we know from earlier chapters helps this inferential process, and the general agreement between the various findings suggests that the results have some validity.
These chapters also put to the test some assumptions that have been made throughout this work, based only on the historical perspective of Part Two. There, a distinction was drawn between two sorts of pop music - mainstream and progressive - and we saw the different ways in which these have developed from the same roots. We also argued, and evidence has been brought to support the contention, that the two styles are favoured by different groups of young people. Until this point, the distinction between the two has been accepted as self-evident, but since it is rather an important division it seems worth demonstrating empirically. The point becomes even more important when we consider that even if two items are clearly shown to differ in certain respects, it does not necessarily follow that the difference is perceived by others. It is a recurring problem of media research that audience perceptions of a media product can be markedly different from what the makers intended or from what the researchers themselves perceived. This problem is particularly grave when it is younger people who are being dealt with; their ways of seeing and assessing are often very different from the ways of adults.¹

¹ An example of this may be seen in the case of the Prix Jeunesse Committee in Germany, who bi-annually gather a jury of media people to award prizes to films for children that they consider to be specially good and suited to that audience. Research has shown that children, in fact, are not unduly impressed by the award-winning pictures (Eyre-Brook 1972).
These two chapters do throw some light in this area, demonstrating that the theoretic mainstream-progressive division does have practical reality for young people in this age group at least.

It should also be noted here that, resulting from the way this test was administered, a rather different sample was used, from that discussed earlier. This is explained more fully in the Appendix, but the central point is that a larger number of pupils was included but that they are not divided up in the same way as the smaller sample. This limits the degree of analysis that can be done, but in any case, detailed breaking down of the sample is not necessary for our purposes.

The research instrument utilized here is known as the "Semantic Differential", the aim of which is to evaluate the meanings of concepts as they are perceived by respondents. For each concept (in this case the concepts are records) the respondent is required to make a judgment in terms of a number of bipolar adjective pairs (such as beautiful-ugly) and to rate that concept on a five point scale, at one end of which is "very beautiful", at the other "very ugly", and whose central point indicates that the concept is perceived as neither ugly nor beautiful.

The stimuli used were a series of pop records, excerpts from which were recorded on tape. Eight such excerpts, each being $1\frac{1}{2}$ - 2 minutes long, were selected, in order to represent the major popular musical styles of the time, as described in Chapter 8. In the order in which they were played to pupils the records were as follows:
(1) "Come Back Baby" by Aretha Franklin. A typical soul record by one of the most celebrated soul singers.

(2) "The Young Folks" by the Jackson Five. An example of another negro style – Motown. The Jackson Five were consistent Top 20 performers at this time.

(3) "The Two of Us" by The Beatles. A Lennon and McCartney composition from their last L.P. as a group.

(4) "Song for the Asking" by Simon and Garfunkel. Paul Simon is an American singer-songwriter who, with his singing partner, had had a number one hit a few weeks before this study was done.

(5) "Girl What You Doing to Me" by Owen Gray. A typical example of the reggae music that was so favoured by negroes and certain white adolescents at the time.

(6) "Living in the Land of Love" by The Brotherhood of Man. The sort of mainstream pop that makes up a large part of the Top 20. A heavily arranged ballad performed by a group consisting largely of session men.

(7) "Let It Bleed" by The Rolling Stones. The Stones have developed from their early rhythm and blues days and this record exemplifies the blues based progressive rock which they now perform.

(8) "That's No Way to say Goodbye" by Leonard Cohen. A well-known Canadian poet, Cohen has turned to putting his poems to music. Like this one, his songs are nearly always slow and sad, acoustic guitars accompanying Cohen's idiosyncratic singing style.
All respondents judged these eight records (concepts) in terms of nine bipolar adjective scales, thus generating seventy-two scores. This material provides various sources of variation, so that scores can be analyzed for differences between concepts, between scales, between respondents or between any combination of the three. In addition, the scales are designed to measure a number of factors or dimensions. In the case of this study the factors are *evaluative* (made up of the bipolar pairs 'beautiful' - 'ugly' and 'interesting' - 'boring'), *activity-potency* (constituted by 'exciting' - 'unexciting' and 'gentle' - 'powerful'), *understandability* ('easy to understand' - 'hard to understand' and 'simple' - 'complicated') and *novelty* ('old-fashioned' - 'up to date' and 'unoriginal' - 'original'). These factors are another source of variation which can be used for analysis.

Differences between the scores can be analysed in a number of ways, and in this study two methods have been utilised. The simpler consists of computing mean scores. For every concept (record) a total mean score can be calculated from all the answers of all respondents, and additional means can be given by subdividing respondents or by breaking down their replies into scales or factors each of which has a mean score. Comparisons of these means can indicate how the concept is perceived by various groups of respondents from a number of different angles.

The second analytical method employed, was developed by Osgood and his colleagues, and is an attempt to measure the distance between concepts in semantic space. If two concepts are close together in semantic space we can conclude that they have similar meanings for the group making the judgement. In order to measure this distance, Osgood developed the 'D' statistic, 'D' representing the distance
apart of the two concepts in semantic space. A low 'D' score shows that the two concepts are perceived as similar in meaning. 'D' scores can be used to build up a concrete picture of the respondents' semantic space in respect of the concepts in consideration - in this case, pop records. In actuality this representation will have an unlimited number of dimensions, but, in general, it can be reproduced with sufficient accuracy on two dimensions in the same way as socio-metric data.

(2) The Understandability-Activity Dichotomy

Respondents reacted to each record in terms of nine bipolar scales, each of which allowed any of five possible answers (see Appendix ). These answers were scored from 0-4, so that a score of 2 represents the mid-point between the two extremes. The mean scores of all respondents are shown in Table 58, which indicates that, on the evaluative dimension all but two records scored above 2, only the Rolling Stones and Aretha Franklin being rated as generally 'ugly' and 'boring'. All the others were perceived as 'beautiful' and 'interesting', with the Beatles and Simon and Garfunkel particularly so. As we shall see in the next chapter, this finding corresponds largely with pupils' decisions in regard to liking or disliking the records.

Table 58 also shows that the 'activity' and 'understandability' dimensions produce the largest degree of differentiation between records. The range of scores on these factors is larger than on either 'evaluative' or 'novelty' factors. Further study of the 'activity' and 'understandability' dimensions throws some light on
Table 58: Mean Semantic Differential Scores by factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACTORS — RECORDS</th>
<th>EVALUATIVE</th>
<th>ACTIVITY POTENCY</th>
<th>UNDERSTAND-ABILITY</th>
<th>NOVELTY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARETHA FRANKLIN</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JACKSON FIVE</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEATLES</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMON AND GARFUNKEL</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWEN GRAY</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BROTHERHOOD OF MAN</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLLING STONES</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEONARD COHEN</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 211

the respondents' evaluations. Table 59 gives a summary of the relevant information from Table 58, scores above 2 being denoted by +, and scores below 2 by −. A consistent relationship between the three factors becomes immediately apparent. All six records that were positively evaluated (i.e. had a mean score above 2)
Table 59: Relationships between mean semantic differential scores on three factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH EVALUATION</th>
<th>ACTIVITY POTENCY</th>
<th>UNDERSTANDABILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BEATLES</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMON AND GARFUNKEL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JACKSON FIVE</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BROTHERHOOD OF MAN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEONARD COHEN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWEN GRAY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LOW EVALUATION

| ROLLING STONES           | +                | -                 |
| ARETHA FRANKLIN          | +                | -                 |

N = 211

were also rated positively on the 'understandability' factor, whereas the other lowly evaluated records were both rated negatively on this factor. Conversely, whereas five of the six were rated
negatively on the 'activity-potency' dimension, the two were both rated positively. From these findings it would appear that adolescents as a whole tended to like those records that were 'simple' and 'easy to understand', and that 'excitement' and 'power' were not favoured attributes. Figures 60 and 61 illustrate the responses to these two attributes in relation to the evaluative factor in a clearer way than tables. Figure 60 shows how 'understandable' records are positively evaluated, and Figure 61 that 'active' records are generally not highly evaluated.

Figure 60: Mean scores on the 'evaluative' and 'understandability' factors.
Figure 61: Mean scores on the 'evaluative' and 'activity-potency' factors.

Figure 62, showing the relationship between 'understandability' and 'activity', demonstrates how the records fall into distinct clusters. At one extreme are the Rolling Stones, Aretha Franklin and the Jackson Five which are all rated high on activity, but relatively low on understandability. These records all feature what may be called a 'black' sound. Two of the three are by black performers and are examples of the distinctive negro styles of Motown and soul, while the Rolling Stones, as was shown in Chapter 8, draw heavily upon black influences. A great contrast to this group is the cluster comprising...
Leonard Cohen, Simon and Garfunkel and the Beatles, all of whom are white performers. Both Cohen and Simon Garfunkel base their music on the relatively simple musical structures of folk music, while the particular record used was also folk-influenced. As we have noted elsewhere all these writers place as much emphasis on the words as on the music. Between these two extremes lie the other records, by Owen Gray and the Brotherhood of Man, which may accurately be described as 'Top 20 music' or 'mainstream pop'. The records by the Beatles and the Jackson Five lie nearer this pair than the others, and these four are in fact the records which would be most likely to appear in the best-selling charts.

Figure 62: Mean scores on the 'understandability' and 'activity-potency' factors.
A very similar pattern emerges when difference scores are calculated. These are illustrated in Figure 63. The short double lines represent low 'D' scores, indicating that the two records were perceived as similar by the respondents. The longer single lines show those records which are judged to be fairly similar. Records not joined by any lines are those that are not perceived as similar in any way. Once again the three groups emerge clearly with the

Figure 63: Diagrammatic Representation of 'D' Scores.

== close relationship
--- some relationship

- Simon and Garfunkel
- Beatles
- Led Zeppelin
- Brother Hood of Man
- Jackson Five
- Aretha Franklin
- Rolling Stones
- Leonard Cohen
- Owen Gray
Beatles and the Jackson Five again tending towards the central point.
The four records in the centre of the diagram lie between the
'activity' and 'understandability' clusters, indicating that they may
include elements which appeal to a wider public than the others. Of
the four, the Beatles record has more relationships than any other
which may offer some clue to their enormous popularity.

The 'activity'-'understandability' dichotomy is further underlined
if 'D' scores are calculated for each factor or dimension separately.
These scores are shown in diagrammatic fashion in figures 64, 65, 66
and 67, which reinforce the observations already made. Firstly it
should be noticed that the range of scores within each factor is much
greater in respect of 'activity' and 'understandability' than for the
others. Clearly respondents are making more drastic differentiations
in respect of these dimensions, further suggesting that these are
the crucial factors. Secondly we can see a very distinct pattern in
the diagrams representing 'activity', 'understandability' and 'novelty'.
Those records that had high mean scores on these factors (see Table 58)
cluster at one extreme of the relevant diagram. High 'activity' and
high 'understandability' are again seen to be opposed to each other,
while high 'novelty' cuts across the dichotomy. 'Evaluation'
naturally presents a less simple pattern, but one which approximates
most closely to 'understandability'.
Figure 64: Diagrammatic Representation of 'D' Scores on the 'Evaluative' Dimension.

- close relationship
- some relationship
- high mean score on evaluative dimension
- low mean score on evaluative dimension

Range of scores on evaluative dimension (i.e., difference between highest and lowest score) = 7.7
Figure 65: Diagrammatic Representation of 'D' Scores on the 'Novelty' Dimension.

- close relationship
- some relationship
- high mean score on novelty dimension
- low mean score on novelty dimension

Range of scores on novelty dimension (i.e. difference between highest and lowest score) = 6.1
Figure 66: Diagrammatic Representation of 'D' Scores on the 'Activity' Dimension.

- close relationship
- some relationship
- high mean score on activity dimension
- low mean score on activity dimension

Range of scores on activity dimension (i.e., difference between highest and lowest score) = 13.9
Figure 67: Diagrammatic Representation of 'D' Scores on the 'Understandability' Dimension.

- close relationship
- some relationship
- high mean score on understandability dimension
- low mean score on understandability dimension

Range of scores on understandability dimension (i.e. difference between highest and lowest score) = 13.6
The basic pattern we have discovered, with the distinction between black 'active' records and white 'easy to understand' records seems to be a perception common to most of our respondents. Attempts to find different clusters by breaking down the sample by sex, class, attitude to school, and degree or orientation to pop were generally unsuccessful. Time and again the same picture emerged, showing a high level of concurrence over the actual qualities of the records even between pupils who rated the records very differently. It is interesting to see that figures 64-67 all present roughly the same lay-out. Even though the records were being judged on quite different criteria on each occasion, the diagrammatic representations can be drawn up with the records remaining in roughly the same position in relation to others.
In addition to completing the semantic differential schedule for eight records, the pupils were also asked to say how much they liked or disliked each one. Answers were recorded in terms of a five point scale ranging from 'liked very much' to 'didn't like at all' with 'I can't decide' as the central point.

Since the way in which children perceive records is bound to influence whether they like them or not, we would expect the patterns observed in the previous chapter to be repeated, in part, in any findings concerning likes or dislikes. Indeed we noted earlier that findings on the evaluative dimension corresponded very largely to the results obtained from the 'liking' question. However, other factors are present which tend to disrupt the pattern, so that it is not perfectly reproduced. In particular we will see that the black/white, active/understandable dichotomies that we discovered become submerged in another division that has been mentioned at many points during this text. This is the distinction between mainstream and underground music (see Chapter 8).

This is made very clear if we study the intercorrelations of 'liking scores', to see how much the liking of one record implies approval of another. A high positive correlation between two records will indicate that liking one is usually associated with liking the other. Once again these scores can be translated with reasonable accuracy into two dimensional representations, as in Figure 68. This diagram still shows clearly enough the presence of the black - active/white-understandable dichotomy. The 'active' records all lie down the left hand side of the diagram, while
Figure 68: Diagrammatic Representation of Correlations of Liking Scores.

--- close relationship (correlation > 0.32)

--- fairly close relationship (correlation 0.23–0.32)

--- some relationship (correlation 0.16–0.22)
'understandable' ones are on the right. However, the mainstream/
underground distinction is also apparent in this new configuration.
It is clear that those records lying in the cluster at the bottom
of the diagram are those which fall most easily into the group we
have described as underground. The term is being used rather loosely
when applied to these records but they undoubtedly differ from those
in the other cluster which can be accurately described as mainstream
pop.

Earlier chapters have indicated that whereas almost all girls are
involved in pop, a large number of boys are oriented towards a
different set of cultural references. Those working class boys
who participate in the culture of the street generally have little
need for or interest in the pop media. It would seem probable
therefore that by removing such respondents a clearer picture could
be obtained. Figure 69 which includes the responses of girls only
indicates that this is indeed the case. This diagram illustrating
the correlations of girls' pop music preferences, demonstrates
admirably the division into two taste clusters. The mainstream group
at the top are clearly separated from the other records. If one is
wary of calling these latter examples of underground pop they can
certainly be distinguished from the mainstream group by their use
of lyrics. Whereas records in the mainstream cluster are all
concerned with romantic love treated in a clichéd and stereotyped
way, the others deal with personal relationships in a much more
individual way. Cohen was a poet long before he became a song
writer, and Paul Simon also lays considerable emphasis on the words
of his songs, although his efforts are perhaps less original than
Cohen's. The Beatles' merits as writers hardly need pointing out
Figure 69: Diagrammatic Representation of Correlations of Girls' Liking Scores.

- close relationship (correlation > 0.32)
- fairly close relationship (correlation 0.23 - 0.32)
- some relationship (correlation 0.16 - 0.22)
having already been discussed at length in a variety of different contexts. Nor should the Rolling Stones be underestimated in this respect. Many of their compositions are highly imaginative, their speciality being the creation of an air of decadence and menace, as in 'Let it Bleed', the song used in this study, or in 'Memo From Turner' which fitted so well the bizarre atmosphere of the film 'Performance'. It is significant that all four songs in the underground cluster were composed by their performers, all of whom write nearly all their own material. The mainstream records, on the other hand, were all written by people other than those who performed them.

The actual percentages of respondents who liked the various records is shown in Table 70. The results concur with the findings presented in Part Four. Girls clearly liked more records than boys and reacted particularly favourably to the 'understandable' records. Boys, on the other hand, liked the 'active' records more than girls, Aretha Franklin and the Rolling Stones being the only records they rated more highly than did the girls.

Attitude to school is also relevant here, for differences can be seen between pupils who were highly committed to school and those who were not. Three records demonstrate the greatest discrepancies between the judgements of the two groups. The school oriented respondents (who more or less correspond to the conformists of earlier chapters) rated the Brotherhood of Man much more highly than did those less committed to school values (the rebels). The latter, on the other hand, gave greater approval to the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. These results confirm our earlier findings that conformists are more likely to favour mainstream material while rebels are keener on underground records.
TABLE 70: Percentage of respondents liking records 'very much' or 'quite'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>CONFORMISTS*</th>
<th>REBELS*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARETHA FRANKLIN</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JACKSON FIVE</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEATLES</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMON AND GARFUNKEL</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWEN GRAY</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BROTHERHOOD OF MAN</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLLING STONES</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEONARD COHEN</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 211  104  107  67  57

* More exactly these columns should be headed 'highly committed to school values' and 'not committed to school values'.
The final form of analysis applied to this material was designed to clarify further the composition of the clusters and, hopefully, to underline the findings of the correlational analysis. To these ends a factor analysis of the intercorrelations of the liking scores was undertaken, and the loadings of the records on each of the four main factors are shown in Table 71. The most cursory examination of this table shows that a very clear pattern has emerged. It is immediately clear that the mainstream/underground dichotomy has once more asserted itself. Factor One, which accounts for more than a quarter of the total variance is evidently the mainstream factor. The four mainstream pop records all load highly on this factor, while the underground records all load very much less. The other three factors are all defined by high loadings on the various forms of underground music. Factor Two seems to be a 'progressive rock' factor, with the Rolling Stones loading very highly. The sound of records loading on this factor is basically black, as is evidenced by the fact that Aretha Franklin also has a noticeable loading on this factor.

This distinguishes Factor Two from Factors Three and Four which are definitely white-sounding, involving the singer-songwriters. The difference between the two factors is probably another reflection of the mainstream-underground distinction. Although in this and the preceding chapter we have generally argued that the Beatles and Simon and Garfunkel are underground, we have also noted their popularity

1. The project of which this study is part also found that a record by the American blues guitarist Johnny Winter loaded highly (78) on Factor Two. Winter also would be classified as a performer of a black-sounding 'progressive rock'.
TABLE 71: Principal clusters of records liked: Varimax loadings with decimal points omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RECORD</th>
<th>FACTOR 1</th>
<th>FACTOR 2</th>
<th>FACTOR 3</th>
<th>FACTOR 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARETHA FRANKLIN</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BROTHERHOOD OF MAN</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-36</td>
<td>-09</td>
<td>-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWEN GRAY</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JACKSON FIVE</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>-08</td>
<td>-43</td>
<td>-07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLLING STONES</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMON AND GARFUNKEL</td>
<td>-05</td>
<td>-24</td>
<td>-80</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEATLES</td>
<td>-05</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-77</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEONARD COHEN</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-08</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% of total variance accounted for

|              | 26.1 | 14.4 | 13.7 | 10.2 |
and the fact that they have had best selling single records. They contrast strongly with Leonard Cohen a more truly underground performer who in eight years has made only three L.P.'s and no single records, made roughly one tour a year accompanied by hardly any publicity and in general kept himself as far as possible out of the public eye. Significantly the lowest loading of all on Factor Four is the Brotherhood of Man, the totally prefabricated group created purely for commercial reasons.

The basic taste clusters can be summarized (Figure 72) by relating them to the two important dimensions, those of activity-understandability, and mainstream-underground.

FIGURE 72: Pupils' classifications of Pop Music: the Four basic taste clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mainstream</th>
<th>Underground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLUSTER 1</td>
<td>CLUSTER 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLUSTER 3</td>
<td>CLUSTER 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active
(negro-based music stressing beat and rhythm)

Understandable
(white music stressing lyrics)
CHAPTER 25: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The sort of methods described in these last chapters would seem worthy of consideration by anyone doing future work in this field. Manipulation of the techniques used here makes it possible to devise probes that go beyond the usual question and answer approach, but which still give results that enable a high degree of objective analysis. In particular, the semantic differential offers possibilities for experimentation. It does not appear to have been used with regard to musical concepts before and the interesting results its use gave here suggest that it can be applied to a wider range of problems than has been the case so far. As noted earlier, the form of semantic differential used here was by no means ideal. Practical considerations imposed restrictions that forced a shortened, imperfect formulation to be employed, but even so the results hint at what might be achieved under more satisfactory conditions. A longer list of adjective pairs and a greater number of semantic dimensions could then be developed, and the more sophisticated types of analysis attempted. In an area such as this where respondents have highly developed opinions which they are not necessarily very successful at expressing coherently and articulately, this sort of technique has a great deal to offer.

It is also hoped that the subject matter of this thesis comes under further scrutiny. Little effort has until now been expended in attempting to come to terms with this important aspect of adolescent experience. This work does not pretend to provide final answers to the questions it has raised. It has been stressed throughout that this should be regarded as no more than a preliminary, exploratory study. Only a very small sample has been scrutinised, and one that was not selected to be typical of all teenagers. It was arrived at by stratified rather than random sampling, and the groups chosen were considered as 'ideal typical' rather than representative. No one piece of evidence presented here is, by itself, convincing, but, taken together, the whole is more convincing than the parts. A consistent picture has emerged that offers credible support to the general hypotheses with which we set out. In many respects its assertions are supported by the findings of the larger project reported by Murdock and Phelps (1973). As a first step it offers suggestive possibilities which, it is hoped, will be taken up and pursued by future researchers. All stages could benefit from verification through the use of larger samples and more rigorous statistical techniques. This work has studied teenagers only at one particular stage in their
growth; other age groups might provide further insights into the function of the media. Even more satisfactory, but of course harder to set up and more expensive to operate, are longitudinal studies. If time and resources can be generated, putting a group of young people under the microscope over an extended timespan can show more fully and with greater validity how tastes change and how the use to which media artefacts are put is in constant flux. For instance, it was apparent in this work that the peer-oriented adolescents were in many ways more mature than their fellows, and it is at least possible that all young people eventually pass through this stage to a limited degree. A longitudinal study, looking at the same individuals over a period of time, can satisfactorily answer this sort of question. The use of larger samples should also make it possible to group respondents in a more sophisticated way. The most important factors have been isolated here, but there may well be others which should also be taken into serious consideration. The necessarily crude and gross measures used here have demonstrated that such an effort would not be made in vain.

This work has suggested another area that might repay further investigation. Part Two demonstrated that a wide range of activities and products are associated under the general heading of "pop". Not all have received adequate attention in the pages that followed, where the music itself has been the primary focus of attention. A much closer analysis of the life-styles that develop in connection with different sorts of music would be illuminating. At the time of writing pop is awaiting the next stylistic breakthrough and fashion and dance styles are confused and undifferentiated, but if past
experience is repeated new impetus will be given from a new
direction. The explanation and description of the new form can
be carried out at a more ambitious level if it is done in connection
with the sorts of factors which this study has shown to be relevant.

It is to be hoped however that this work has implications not
only for future researchers but also for all adults engaged in some
way or another with communicating with young people. In particular
it could be argued that teachers would benefit from awareness of
some of the findings reported here. A constant theme underlying
this study has been the potential gap between school experience
and leisure time experience for many pupils. Time and again
during interviews, our respondents referred to the 'real' world
which exists for them only outside the school gates. For many,
what happens in school is unrelated to 'life' and they complained
all too often of the inability of teachers to bridge this gap.
Fundamentally, the problem revolves around the two different roles
that young people are expected to adopt. During school hours they
are pupils, totally subordinate to adults, to whose authority they
must defer at all times; learners who must be taught how to behave
and what to know. Out of school, on the other hand, they may
adopt an entirely different role. In their peer group they probably
wield equal authority with other members. Status is accredited
on criteria quite different to those upheld by the school, while
the knowledge that is considered important is likely to be not at
all the same as that valued by teachers. For schools put a premium
on intellectual achievement and cognitive ability at a time when
adolescents are undergoing a period of rapid and critical physical
and emotional development. The problems of puberty are realised,
but they are rarely allowed to have any impact in the context of the classroom. While the maturing adolescent is struggling with crises of self-identity, and seeking appropriate ways of expressing himself, the school consistently limits his expressive outlets and insists on emphasizing intellectual ability and largely undervaluing creativity. As a result, many children turn to their peer-oriented leisure activities where physical and emotional expression is encouraged.

It has been argued that this leisure time is dominated by two alternative 'cultures'. On the one hand we identified a culture of the street, a modern version of traditional working class behaviour patterns. This culture flourishes in working class neighbourhoods where there are likely to be few other leisure facilities. It is much less readily available to middle class adolescents whose environment does not allow the growth of this pattern of behaviour based on cafes, pubs, football and hanging around on street corners. Nor do girls have easy access to this way of life, although it is possible for them, either as 'tomboys' or as girl-friends, to become fringe participants. Basically, this is the culture of the working class boy, and it is the natural resort of any such adolescent who rejects the school and its values.

On the other hand, the culture of the pop media is open to all groups. For middle class adolescents and particularly for girls, it is, effectively, the only alternative. It is not surprising that we found that these groups were the most involved in the pop media. However, as has been demonstrated, the situation is complex, for the degree of orientation to pop is related to a number of other factors, such as commitment to school and the
range of alternative leisure activities available. With regard
to the second of these, we have already noted the street culture
of working class boys. Beyond this, it is evident that boys in
general have a far wider range of possible modes of behaviour.
Our society provides far fewer role models for girls, who in any
case usually suffer from greater parental restriction. Consequently,
girls are very often obliged to stay at home with television, the
transistor radio and the record player. A social class difference
is also apparent in that facilities of all sorts are generally
more abundant in middle class areas, while working class people
are less willing to travel beyond their immediate neighbourhood.
Thus, while many middle class children spend much of their
weekend in the city centre, their working class counterparts are
more likely to stay in their own local area.

The relationship between commitment to the school and involvement
in the pop media, is by no means a simple one. Pop is not simply
a refuge for those who reject their school and the values it repres-
ents, for many respondents both accept the pupil role and also
enjoy pop music and its associated activities. What is clear is
that different groups, distinguished by social class and their
attitude towards school, use pop material in quite different ways.
In this work we have identified several kinds of peer groups and
outlined their various uses of the media.

The other side of the same argument is the demonstration
that pop music cannot be adequately considered as an undifferentiated
mass of nearly identical material. Part Two was concerned with
showing how many different offspring have resulted from the marriage
of black and white musical forms, and study of pupils' responses
has indicated that the basic division into mainstream and underground is an empirical fact and not only an historically based theory. We have also seen how children in different structural positions in society gravitate towards these two primary types. Middle class pupils are more likely to favour underground styles. They have limited access to street culture and are forced to express non-conformist attitudes through the medium of pop. For these young people it really does become a symbol of their rejection of school values. This is less often the case for working class adolescents for whom street culture more commonly fulfils this particular function. Consequently their involvement in pop takes a different form; they choose elements that fit in with their existing patterns of values, rejecting the potentially rebellious underground in favour of the less abrasive qualities of more conventional performers of mainstream material.

It has been of central importance throughout this argument that pop is not confined to music. Not only is pop content to be found in many other forms of media, but there is a distinctive pop style that allows inclusion of a very wide variety of material under this heading. The findings of this study provide some empirical validity for this contention, and also show that there is a close relationship between pop and interest in clothes and fashion. That there is the possibility of a distinctive life-style based on the pop media seems indisputable, but no respondents in this study could be said to have yet developed this far, for school-children are not socially or economically independent enough for this to be practical.
In Part One the degree of this dependence was considered at some length and the conclusion was reached that both the extreme conflict and consensus models that have been proposed are inaccurate when applied to this age group. A more realistic conception was mooted which agreed with certain aspects of both positions, but denied that the circumstances in which young people live today allow either extreme to be an accurate expression of reality, except in certain very limited conditions. A rather more fragmented picture was drawn, and the findings reported here seem to suggest that this sort of conceptualisation offers a more fruitful approach. The socialisation process is one which makes it necessary that children should both learn from and copy their elders and also rebel against adult authority and experiment with different answers to their problems. In a changing society it is inevitable that the conflict may apparently be great, but the continuities remain of obvious importance and the number of young people who ultimately reject their parents is small.

It is very easy to overemphasize the apparent gap between the generations, and the point has been made that this gap has always existed, or been thought to have existed. Adult misunderstanding of the role of pop music is a good example of how this can happen. We have seen in this study that pop is largely a conservative, conformist medium, and that only a very small proportion of performers advocate revolution (and even these are compromised by a commercial setting). Yet many adults and teachers assume that pop represents an antithesis of their own value system, and one that is therefore potentially dangerous and should not be encouraged.
The usual reaction is either to attack pop or to ignore it entirely, and in doing so teachers waste a very potent form of communication.

As we have seen pop music is important for adolescents, and total neglect of this area of experience by adults can only result in a deterioration of intergenerational relationships. If better understanding of young people is desirable, this can only be furthered by a radical review of traditional evaluations of those areas of culture that are thought worthy of consideration. More generally, schools should look again at the relative importance and status that are attached to creative expression and cognitive ability. All too often the latter is the sole yardstick against which achievement and progress are measured. At the same time the pop media are considered as being at the nether end of a cultural spectrum which has classical music and literature at the other extreme. That music lessons should be among the least popular of all classroom subjects when pupils are so involved with different forms of musical expression is a sad reflection on this situation. Even though (perhaps because) music is considered as a relatively unimportant fringe subject, it is not used as an opportunity to make contact with pupils. Too often it generates into a period of total non-communication from which the children draw nothing, until eventually the failure is accepted and the lesson is used to practice hymns or some such sterile occupation which has nothing to do with education. The fact that children's personal and social experiences are important is overlooked in this elitist conception, and the "arts" are defined in such a way as to exclude
a large number of young people who, emotionally, are in need of just this sort of expressive outlet. Unless teachers are prepared to try to relate the teaching of art, music and literature to the actual life experiences of their pupils, this aberration will continue and the exciting possibilities offered by the mass media will not be turned to best advantage.

There are also lessons to be learned for the disseminators of the mass media. One is bound to refer here in particular to the B.B.C. which as a result of its near monopoly of the medium of radio is in a powerful position as far as the broadcasting of music is concerned. There is more than a suggestion in the material reported, that the B.B.C. is underestimating its teenage audience, and is not really providing the sort of programme which many would like. This is not, of course, a surprising state of affairs. Young people are only a minority of the total population, and any subgroup therefore comprises only a small audience in B.B.C. terms, and although the Corporation is prepared to broadcast one channel specifically for minorities (Radio Three), this is only very rarely devoted to pop.

When the B.B.C.’s light music policy was revised in the light of the undoubted success of the "pirates" there was a real opportunity to develop a good pop music channel. In fact though, Radio One is not really a pop channel at all. Much of the time it transmits the output of Radio Two, and for the rest its programmes are usually fitted with "middle-of-the-road" inoffensive material. This is a result of a deliberate policy of attempting to build as large an audience as possible. The aim is to ensure that nobody is sufficiently irritated by the music to make them switch off. To
this end a number of rules are followed - no piece is longer than
two and a half minutes; nothing slow or moody is included, but only
bright cheerful music; nothing strident or attention-demanding is
played. As a result while no listener is constantly pleased with
what he hears, nobody is sufficiently motivated to turn it off.
This self-confessed 'prostitution' of the medium increases audience
size, which planners feel is the primary aim of this sort of
programme. This cynical approach to pop takes no account of the
importance that it may have for many young people who are left
without any channel which caters specifically for their tastes.
Unfortunately they are not considered a large enough audience to
merit special consideration, especially as they will probably
listen to Radio One anyway, there being no alternative. The more
challenging pop material is confined to the small number of programmes
that do deal with these less popular styles, so that there is
little chance of their being heard and perhaps appreciated by those
not already attuned to this music. As in so many other areas the
B.B.C. is a follower, rather than a setter, of taste patterns. The
lack of a serious attitude towards pop, which is regarded as nothing
more than "aural wallpaper" or muzak, is another example of an
opportunity lost. Once again adults appear to disregard the taste
of young people which is seen as inherently inferior. While this
sort of attitude persists there can be little hope of greater
communication and understanding between the generations. Yet it is
clear that the continuance of this dialogue between adults and
children is essential if the kind of problems anticipated by some
of the writers whose work was reviewed earlier are not to become
reality.
APPENDIX
(1) The Repertory Grid.

This device is based upon Kelley's theory of personality (1955, 1963) and it is necessary to grasp the essential points of this theory before the technique itself can be fully comprehended.

Kelly argues that people interpret their world by relating objects within it to a series of constructs. "A construct is a way in which some things are construed as being alike and yet different from others." (1963, p.103) Expanding this Kelly goes on to write that "constructs are the channels in which one's mental processes run. They are two-way streets along which one may travel to reach conclusions. They make it possible to anticipate the changing tides of events..... Forming constructs may be considered as binding sets of events into convenient bundles which are handy for the person who has to lug them. Events, when so bound, tend to become predictable, manageable and controlled." (1963, p.126)

The British psychologist, D. Bannister, has summarized three of the most important characteristics of the construing process, in the following terms:

- "A person anticipates events by construing their replications. We do not predict that what happened yesterday will happen tomorrow but we do expect that certain aspects of yesterday's events which we have construed will be replicated tomorrow."

- "Persons differ from each other in their construction of events. People can be seen as differing from each other not because there may have been differences in the events they have sought to anticipate but because there are different approaches to the anticipation of the same events."
"A person's construction system varies as he successively construes replications of events. The construction one places upon events are working hypotheses which are about to be put to the test of experience. As our anticipations are hypotheses to be successively revised in the light of the unfolding sequence of events, a construction system undergoes a progressive evolution." (1966, pp.315-6)

The Repertory Grid technique is a way of discovering which objects or events are perceived by the individual as replications of another, and which are perceived as definitely not replicating it. It is important to note that the construct is the aspect along which the judgments are made, irrespective of whether the items are deemed to be similar or dissimilar. "If we choose an aspect in which A and B are similar, but in contrast to C, it is important to note that it is the same aspect of all three, A, B, and C, that forms the basis of the construct. It is not that there is one aspect of A and B that makes them similar to each other and another aspect that makes them contrasting to C." (Kelly, 1963, pp.59-60)

Kelly's method for discovering the constructs that people use is described as follows: "Suppose I were to give one of you a card and ask you to write on it the name of your mother. Then I would give you another and ask you to write the name of your father. On a third you might write the name of your wife, and on a fourth the name of the girl you almost married but didn't! We could continue until you had as many as twenty or thirty cards, each showing the name of a person important in your life."

"Then suppose I should select three of these cards, perhaps the ones of your father, your mother and your boss or supervisor. Suppose I should ask you to think of some important way in which any two of them seem to be alike and in contrast to the third. What will you say? Perhaps you will say that your mother and your boss have always seemed to know the answers
to the questions you asked, but that your father hesitated or told you to seek out your own answers."

"Now if this is a distinction you can apply to your father, your mother and your boss, can you extend it also to the other persons you have named? You probably can. The important fact is that as you apply it to person after person you are not only characterising those persons but you are also providing an operational definition of what you have in mind."

(Quoted by Bannister 1966, p.372)

This approach was closely followed in this study but with two important changes. Firstly, the stimuli, in this case the cards bearing the names of pop stars, were preselected by the researchers. Secondly, instead of drawing out cards three at a time, only two were presented at once, with instructions to identify ways in which they differed from each other. Both these alterations were thought necessary both to make the procedure simple enough for fourteen year olds and to shorten the time taken by the test, which was only to be a small part of the interview schedule.

Eleven singers were chosen who, it was thought, represented a wide variety of popular musical styles. Pilot studies guided the selection process and the final choices are described more fully in chapter 22. The names were printed on cards which were presented to respondents two at a time, after first ascertaining that all the names were familiar to the respondent. Any performers who were not recognized were removed, but this was not often necessary. For each pair, respondents were asked to explain as many ways as possible in which the two singers differed. For each construct that emerged the respondent was asked to sort through the other nine cards and categorize these also in terms of that construct. The procedure continued until the respondent's repertoire of constructs was exhausted, all responses being marked on a form as illustrated in Figure 73.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSTRUCT</th>
<th>Val Doonican</th>
<th>Stevie Wonder</th>
<th>Donovan</th>
<th>Engelbert Humperdinck</th>
<th>Mick Jagger</th>
<th>John Lennon</th>
<th>Elvis Presley</th>
<th>Cliff Richard</th>
<th>Tom Jones</th>
<th>Ringo Starr</th>
<th>Frank Sinatra</th>
<th>CONSTRUCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emergent Pole (✓)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Contrast Pole (x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart clothes</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>'way-out' clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long hair</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Short hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old fashioned</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Up-to-date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takes drugs</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Doesn't take drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moves about on stage</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Quiet on stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>I dislike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents approve</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Parents disapprove</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 73: Completed Repertory Grid Schedule.
which shows a possible set of replies. Each horizontal line represents one construct with the opposing poles at either end. A tick below a performer indicates that he was classified under the emergent pole for that particular construct, a cross that he was classified under the contrast pole. Blanks show that the respondent did not classify the respondent in terms of that construct.

The test was completed by asking the respondents to study all the cards and to identify which of them they personally liked and which they disliked, and which they felt their parents approved of and of which they disapproved. The results of the whole Repertory Grid question are presented in chapter 22.

(2) The Semantic Differential.

The first important thing to notice here is that a rather different sample was involved in this part of the study. This test was administered in all schools on a separate occasion from either the questionnaire or the interview. It was given to groups of fourth year pupils who did not necessarily correspond with those from either of the two previous occasions, although an effort was made to include as many of their pupils as possible. Essentially though, we had to use whatever form groups were available at the right times. As a result not all of the fifty pupils who have constituted our sample so far completed this test. This being so it seemed wiser to include the whole sample of children who were involved at this stage rather than have a sample of only twenty or thirty. As a result the sample cannot be divided into the same sub-groups as in the rest of the survey. This is not really a serious drawback, as this very exploratory part of our study is really trying to suggest the overall ways in which adolescents respond to pop music rather than break the sample down into
different groups. This may be a possible avenue for future research to follow, but we are content here to show how adolescents in general distinguish between certain sorts of pop music in some interesting ways.

The Semantic Differential technique itself was developed by Charles Osgood and his colleagues at the University of Illinois. They argued that every concept has a common cultural meaning, and that, by identifying its position in what he calls 'semantic space', the meaning of every concept can be illustrated. If this semantic space were two dimensional, any concept could be pinpointed on a graph, its position in space being described by its relationship to the axes, as in Figure 74. Concept 'A' in this example is situated in semantic space at 4 on the X axis and at 1 on the Y axis. It can be said to have a similar meaning to concept B which is at 5,2 but to be quite different from concept C(-3,4).

FIGURE 74: Two dimensional semantic differential graph

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X AXIS</th>
<th>-3</th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y AXIS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both A and B are high on the X factor but lower on Y, whilst C is high on Y but has a negative X value.

Semantic space is, of course, much more complex than this. As Osgood (1957) has written, "To define the semantic space with maximum efficiency, we would need to determine that minimum number of orthogonal dimensions or axes (again, assuming the space to be Euclidian) which exhausts the dimensionality of the space — in practice, we shall be satisfied with as many such independent dimensions as we can identify and measure reliably." (p.25)

Osgood's research has enabled him to identify the most important of these dimensions, so that, in the example above, we can say in what respects A and B are alike and different from C. His method was to get people to respond to concepts in terms of a series of bipolar adjective pairs. Thus they would be asked to decide whether the concept seemed to them to be good or bad, beautiful or ugly, clean or dirty and so on. Each respondent would go through a long list of such pairs and indicate his feeling about the concept by putting an 'X' between each pair on a seven point scale, as in the diagram below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>good</th>
<th>bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clean</td>
<td>dirty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Osgood found that, when analyzed, the adjective pairs fell into clusters. These clusters are the semantic dimensions and Osgood found, rather to his surprise, that three major dimensions account for a very large part of the total variation. "We began our research on the measurement of meaning with the simplest — and most naive — conceptual
model. We hoped that most of the variance in human semantic judgements could be explained in terms of a relatively small number of orthogonal factors, these factors being completely general over both subjects and concepts and always represented by the same set of scales - i.e. we wanted to set up a perfectly general and simple measuring instrument. What is perhaps surprising is how close to the truth this naïve model actually seems to be. The same three major factors of evaluation, potency and activity (which were empirically rather than theoretically derived) have reappeared in a wide variety of judgmental situations, particularly where the sampling of concepts has been broad. The relative weights of these factors have been fairly consistent: evaluation accounting for approximately double the amount of variance due to either potency or activity, these two in turn being approximately double the weight of any subsequent factors. But since a large portion of the total variance remains unaccounted for, we assume that there must be other factors operating; since their individual contributions to the total variance are small, we assume their number must be large - i.e. a large number of relatively specific semantic factors.» (pp.325-6)

Osgood developed a long list of adjective pairs corresponding to the factors he had found and this list still forms the basis of most semantic differential studies. In this work we have employed a variation of Osgood's paradigm to study the meanings that certain sorts of pop music have for adolescents. Study of the literature and pilot studies suggested that four dimensions might be particularly relevant for such a work. The 'evaluative' dimension of course cannot be overlooked and Osgood has made clear its pre-eminent importance. It is
measured here by two adjective pairs, interesting-boring and beautiful-ugly. Ideally a greater number would have been desirable but practical considerations, particularly the need for the whole test to be completable in under half an hour, meant that a rather restricted form of the test had to be employed.

In terms of music it was felt that Osgood's other main dimensions, activity and potency, would overlap to a great extent and this assumption finds some support in Tucker's study (1955) reported by Osgood. Tucker applied the S.D. to perceptions of paintings and found that scales such as exciting-calming and violent-gentle scored high on both factors. We substituted unexciting for calming and powerful for violent, and this dimension is referred to as activity-potency.

Novelty was one of Osgood's minor dimensions but pilot work showed it to be relevant to pop music. The adjective pairs used were original-unoriginal and old-fashioned-up to date.

The fourth dimension used does not derive from Osgood at all, but was identified by Nunally in his study of conceptions of mental health (1961). Pilot work again showed that this dimension, understandability, was a relevant one for our purposes so the adjective pairs simple-complicated and easy to understand-hard to understand were included in the schedule. A final scale, sad-happy was also used to see whether Riesman's findings that adolescents in different social climates prefer records differentiated in this way, was given any support. (This line of enquiry in fact proved to be fruitless.)

Eight records (described in chapter 23 where findings are discussed) were selected for the test, two principal criteria guiding the choice.
Firstly the records were to cover as wide a range of pop styles as possible, including examples of both mainstream and underground music. Secondly we wanted records whose style would be instantly recognizable to respondents but which would not be immediately identifiable, since it was felt that familiarity with some records might contaminate the results. Consequently the records chosen were all L.P. tracks or the reverse side of singles and a check question confirmed that all the records were unknown to the large majority of pupils.

Excerpts from these eight records were recorded on tape, each one lasting roughly 1½-2 minutes duration, and these were played to four groups who filled up an S.D. schedule after listening to each record. The schedule used is illustrated in Figure 75 and proved to be well within the capabilities of even the slowest fourth year pupils.¹

Only the simpler forms of analysis were employed as it was not felt that the nature of the material warranted the use of the more sophisticated procedures such as factor analysis. Two main techniques were used. One was the straightforward computation of mean scores, the other was distance-cluster analysis which requires a few words of explanation. This form of analysis, like so much else connected with

¹ Only five scale points were used instead of the usual seven but Osgood himself suggests that this smaller number may be more appropriate for children. The points were also given a 'heading' which further contravenes the rules, but it was felt that the extra clarity this afforded recompensed for the slightly reduced scientific purity. The problems of adjusting the Semantic Differential for younger respondents has already been met by Greenberg, who, however, found that 12 year olds could answer satisfactorily (1965).
Figure 75: Completed Semantic Differential Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RECORD NUMBER</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very</strong></td>
<td><strong>Quite</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interesting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unoriginal</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentle</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to Understand</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unexciting</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautiful</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldfashioned</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the S.D. was pioneered by Osgood, and represents an attempt to measure the distance between concepts in semantic space. Clearly, the familiar product-moment correlation coefficient is not suitable here for it is a profile statistic; it cannot take into account absolute distances. The 'D' statistic was developed to overcome this obstacle, and is calculated by subtracting the assigned values of one concept from the assigned values of another concept, squaring these differences and summing the squared differences. For two concepts, i and j therefore, the 'D' score is computed from the equation:

$$D_{ij} = \sqrt{\sum d_{ij}^2}$$

where d is the algebraic difference between the coordinates of i and j on the same dimension.
Appendix Table I: Leisure Habits by sex, class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Rebels Middle class</th>
<th>Rebels Working class</th>
<th>Conformists Middle class</th>
<th>Conformists Working class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to records</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do homework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do errands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At cinema</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(X)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the street</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching TV on Saturday night</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X denotes activities mentioned by over 50% of respondents
(X) denotes activities mentioned by over 30% of respondents
Appendix Table 2: Average pop radio listening hours for 'ordinary' weekdays; by class and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Working class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 49
Appendix Table 3: Pop radio listening hours for 'ordinary' weekdays, by class and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily listening in hours</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Working class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than ½</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Table 4: Pop radio listening hours for weekends, by class and sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily listening in hours</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Working class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than $\frac{1}{2}$</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 or more</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Table 5: Average number of dances attended during previous month, by sex and class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Working class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50
Appendix Table 6: Pop media involvement measured by six criteria, by sex, class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Top 20</th>
<th>Records</th>
<th>Argot</th>
<th>Dancing</th>
<th>Cameo</th>
<th>Radio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle class rebels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class conformists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class rebels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class conformists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class boys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class girls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class boys</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class girls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy conformists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl conformists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy rebels</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl rebels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 50

2 denotes high involvement
1 denotes medium involvement
0 denotes little involvement
Appendix Table 7: Where shopping ideas originate, by class and attitude to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Peers</th>
<th>People seen on the street</th>
<th>Shop Windows</th>
<th>Magazines</th>
<th>T.V.</th>
<th>No Ideas</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conformists</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Respondents were allowed more than one response.
Appendix Table 8: Where shopping ideas originate, by sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Peers</th>
<th>People seen on the street</th>
<th>Shop Windows</th>
<th>Magazines</th>
<th>T.V.</th>
<th>No Ideas</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Respondents were allowed more than one response.
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